

Chilean teachers' cultural threat and attitudes towards multiculturalism at school: The role of outgroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity

La amenaza cultural y la actitud de los docentes chilenos hacia la multiculturalidad en la escuela: el rol de la ansiedad exogrupal y la sensibilidad intercultural

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Abstract:

In Chile, the arrival of immigrant students has had significant consequences for teachers, who have had to adapt quickly and with few resources to a new school reality. This makes it relevant to study variables affecting their attitudes towards immigrant students. This work aimed to determine the role of outgroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity in the relationship between cultural threat and attitudes toward multiculturalism at school in a sample of 190 primary and secondary educa-

tion teachers. A sequential mediation model was carried out. Outcomes show the direct effect of cultural threat on teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism at school, as well as its indirect effects through outgroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity. The model explains 55% of the variability of the dependent variable. Results stress the importance of attending to the socio-cognitive and emotional processes affecting teachers' beliefs and attitudes regarding immigrant students to facilitate teaching work and school relationships.

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Keywords: teachers, attitudes toward multiculturalism at school, cultural threat, outgroup anxiety, intercultural sensitivity.

Resumen:

En Chile, la llegada de escolares inmigrantes ha tenido importantes consecuencias para el profesorado, que ha debido adaptarse de manera rápida y con escasos recursos a una nueva realidad en las aulas. Esto pone de relevancia el estudio de variables que inciden en las actitudes que desarrollan hacia el alumnado inmigrante. Este trabajo tuvo como objetivo determinar el rol de la ansiedad exogrupal y la sensibilidad intercultural en la relación entre la amenaza cultural y la actitud hacia la multiculturalidad en la escuela, en una muestra compuesta por 190

profesores de educación primaria y secundaria. Se realizó un modelo de mediación secuencial que muestra el efecto directo de la amenaza cultural en la actitud de los docentes hacia la multiculturalidad en la escuela, así como sus efectos indirectos a través de la ansiedad exogrupal y la sensibilidad intercultural. El modelo explica el 55% de la variabilidad de la variable dependiente. Se discute acerca de la necesidad de atender a los procesos sociocognitivos y emocionales que inciden en las creencias y actitudes de los profesores respecto del alumnado inmigrante con el fin de facilitar la labor docente y la convivencia escolar.

Palabras clave: profesores, actitudes hacia la multiculturalidad, amenaza cultural, ansiedad exogrupal, sensibilidad intercultural.

1. Introduction

The Chilean education system faces relevant challenges due to the fast and substantial increase of immigrant students (Ministerio de Educación, Centro de Estudios, 2023). During the last few years, intraregional migration in Latin America and the Caribbean has increased considerably, with Chile becoming one of the main reception countries (Organización Internacional del Trabajo, 2023).

By 2022, foreigners represented 8.3% of the total inhabitants of the country, hailing from countries such as Venezuela (32.8%), Peru (15.4%), Colombia (11.7%) and Haiti (11.4%) (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Departamento de Extran-

jería y Migración, 2022). One of the main characteristics of these new migration flows is the growing presence of foreign school-aged children and adolescents, which resulted in a 15.7% increase in school enrolment of immigrant students between 2017 and 2022, representing 5.3% of total national school enrolments (Ministerio de Educación, Centro de Estudios, 2023).

For Chilean teachers, teaching in this new multicultural context means confronting not only pedagogical challenges but also the relationship with immigrant students (Flanagan-Bórquez et al., 2021). These teachers have been trained with monocultural curriculums where intercultural education has a

very minor role and focuses on indigenous groups (Riedemann et al., 2020). Furthermore, even though the Chilean State has made efforts to include the intercultural perspective in education policies, major difficulties remain in its implementation (González et al., 2023; Mera-Lemp et al., 2021; Ortega et al., 2020).

Several studies have suggested Chilean teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism in school tend to be ambivalent and negative. The causes would be related to racism (Tijoux & Zapata-Sepúlveda, 2019), as well as to the belief that immigrant students possess educational delays and behaviors that are incompatible with the ones expected by schools (Cerón et al., 2017; Pavez-Soto et al., 2019b; Salas et al., 2017; Stefoni & Corvalán, 2019). This would translate into teaching practices that demand the abandonment of the students' own cultural identities in the class environment to the detriment of their integration into the school community (Jiménez & Fardella, 2015).

1.1. Teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism within the school

There is consensus on how attitude is defined as the evaluative response that people have towards members of social groups they do not belong to, which entails a cognitive, affective, and behavioral component (Allport, 1968).

Specifically, attitudes towards multiculturalism or multiculturalism have been defined as the positive valuation

of cultural diversity, the support for the participation of minority groups in all aspects of society, and the acceptance that all citizens, including members of cultural majorities, must adapt to one another (Berry et al., 1977). Based upon these definitions, attitudes towards multiculturalism in school reflect how teachers evaluate the presence of immigrant students in their centers and its possible consequences (León et al., 2007).

Research has suggested that the work of teachers can be taut when there are difficulties in positively recognizing cultural diversity and including it as a resource in the daily work with students (Gutentag et al., 2018). Teaching has been characterized as an emotionally high-demand job, usually accompanied by high levels of stress and frustration (Fisher, 2011). Numerous studies (Dubeld et al., 2017; Glock et al., 2019; Gutentag et al., 2018) have shown that teaching immigrant students can become a stressor and diminish teachers' self-efficacy when facing difficulties implementing pertinent and effective pedagogical strategies.

Furthermore, teachers are key agents for students' socialization and positive development. The quality of teachers' relationships with their students has important consequences for self-esteem, well-being, and cultural adjustment to the reception country in the case of those who are immigrants (Makarova et al., 2019; Valcke et al., 2022). In addition, through their

attitudes and behaviors in classrooms, teachers transmit values, beliefs, and ways of socializing with people who are different, which affects the relationships between immigrant and local students, promoting their integration or, on the contrary, influencing the existence of conflicts (Grütter et al., 2021; Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002). These highlight the importance of studying the attitudes of teachers towards multiculturalism in schools due to the implications on their well-being, teaching practices, as well as their impact on the development and socialization of their students (Leix, 2015; Zanga & De Gioannis, 2023).

1.2. The effect of cultural threat, outgroup anxiety, and intercultural sensitivity on teachers' attitudes toward multiculturalism

Literature suggests that the degree to which teachers positively evaluate cultural diversity caused by the incorporation of immigrant students depends in great measure on how they perceive these groups as carriers of values, beliefs, and behavioral cues that go against the culture of the societal majority (Mera-Lemp et al., 2021; Nguyen & Boreczky, 2022).

According to the intergroup threat theory (Stephan et al., 2015), the perception of immigrant groups' culture as a threat would cause negative emotions in teachers. These emotions, which have been conceptualized as *outgroup anxiety*, would activate attitudes, stereotypes, and negative beliefs about

the outgroup. Intergroup anxiety is related to fear, anger, frustration, and guilt, among other emotions (Stephan, 2014), which would predispose people to react negatively to outgroup members, affecting nonverbal language (Mendes & Koslov, 2012; Trawalter et al., 2012) and negatively impacting effective intercultural communication (Ulrey & Amason, 2001).

Through this mechanism, the anxiety provoked by the perception of threat would affect the intercultural sensitivity of teachers, understanding it as the ability to successfully communicate in cultural diversity contexts (Chen & Starosta, 2000; Khukhlaev et al., 2022). Intercultural sensitivity means attending to and respecting cultural differences in communicative interactions, trusting in one's capacities to establish these relationships, and, consequently, involving oneself and enjoying the interaction (Chen & Starosta, 2000). This competency would positively influence teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism in school, which could propitiate the development of culturally sensitive and inclusive pedagogical practices (Akcaoglu & Kayis, 2021; Argüello-Gutiérrez et al., 2024; Blazevic et al., 2023; Kim & Connelly, 2019).

From this background, this work aimed to determine the mediating role of outgroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity in the relationship between cultural threat and attitudes towards multiculturalism at school in a sample of Chilean teachers.

On the one hand, it is hypothesized that outgroup anxiety will present a negative mediating effect in the relationship between cultural threat and the attitude towards multiculturalism at school. On the other hand, as a second hypothesis, intercultural sensitivity will have a positive mediating effect. Despite the evidence in favor of the association between the dependent and independent variables, we have not found studies that analyze what variables can intervene in this relationship and consider intercultural sensitivity.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

The study used a non-probabilistic convenience sampling method. The inclusion criteria considered that the participants were Chilean; with bachelor's degrees in education; working in public, private, and schools financed by the State but administrated by private organizations; and working at the primary or secondary level. Foreign teachers and those who did not have a bachelor's degree in education or worked at special education or learning leveling centers were excluded from the sample.

The sample comprised 190 Chilean teachers (70% female, 30% male) between the ages of 24 and 65 ($M = 40.48$; $SD = 11.22$). More than half of the teachers (58.8%) worked at the primary education level, while the rest (41.1%) worked at the secondary education level. Moreover, 47.9% of the sample

taught at public schools, 27.9% worked at schools financed by the State but administrated by private organizations, and 24.2% worked at private schools. 51.2% of the sample worked in classrooms with immigrant students. According to their family income, 43.2% of the teachers had a low socioeconomic level, 44.7% had a middle socioeconomic level, and 12.1% had a high socioeconomic level.

2.2. Variables and instruments

Attitude toward multiculturalism at school. The attitude towards multiculturalism at school scale (León et al., 2007), validated in Chile by Mera-Lemp et al. (2021), was applied. It consists of 8 Likert-type items, with five answer options (1 = Completely disagree, 5 = Completely agree); e.g., "The presence of immigrant students at school negatively affects group academic performance". The instrument's reliability in this study was $\alpha = .74$ and $\Omega = .86$. The model fit was $CFI = .942$, $TLI = .904$, $RMSEA = .115$, $SRMR = .064$.

Cultural threat. 3 items from the questionnaire of perceptions and attitudes towards foreign population (Aierdi et al., 2004) were used (e.g., "Latin-American immigrants enrich the culture of our region"). These items have five answer options (1 = Completely disagree, 5 = Completely agree). The scale's reliability in this study was $\alpha = .80$ and $\Omega = .80$. The fit of the instrument was excellent: $CFI = .999$, $TLI = .999$, $RMSEA = .001$, $SRMR = .001$.

Outgroup anxiety. Koc and Anderson's (2018) adaptation of the original scale constructed by Stephan and Stephan (1985) was applied. The scale consists of 6 Likert-type items with five answer options (1 = Nothing, 5 = A lot). These items asked participants about their emotions when interacting with outgroup members (such as tension, insecurity, and discomfort). This instrument presented a reliability of $\alpha = .89$ and $\Omega = .88$, and its fit was good: CFI = .993, TLI = .987, RMSEA = .054, SRMR = .021.

Intercultural sensitivity. The intercultural sensitivity scale (Chen & Starosta, 2000), validated in the Chilean population by Martínez-Zelaya et al. (2020), was applied. It consists of 24 Likert-type items with four answer options (1 = Very disagree, 4 = Very agree) (e.g., "I avoid situations in which I am forced to interact with people with different cultural backgrounds"). Scale's reliability in this study was $\alpha = .84$ and $\Omega = .85$, and the model fit was adequate (CFI = .952, TLI = .933, RMSEA = .045, SRMR = .079).

2.3. Procedure

First, school principals were requested to participate, and then teachers were asked to participate voluntarily. The researchers administered the instruments at the educational centers. The project was approved by the Ethics Committee of Universidad Alberto Hurtado on May 27, 2022, and the necessary ethical procedures were followed to respect human rights in the study involving human subjects.

Teachers signed informed consent forms that guaranteed the confidentiality and anonymity of the produced information. The information was treated confidentially, and any elements that could identify the participants were removed.

2.4. Analytic plan

The data were analyzed using IBM SPSS 24 statistical software. After the reliability analyses of the instruments were conducted, Pearson correlation analyses were performed. The PROCESS macro was used to carry out a sequential mediation model.

3. Results

3.1. Descriptive analysis

First, descriptive analyses were conducted. As shown in Table 1, participants reported positive attitudes toward multiculturalism in schools, with scores above the midpoint on the 5-point scale. Symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety were low, with both variables having means below the midpoint of their respective scales. Regarding intercultural sensitivity, scores were above the midpoint on the 4-point scale. Overall, these results indicate that teachers tend to value the presence of immigrant students in schools positively. Their appreciation of different cultures tends to be positive, and they exhibit low levels of negative emotions in contact with these students. Additionally, these results suggest that their competence in successfully communicating with members of other cultures is adequate.

TABLE 1. Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations among sociodemographic variables, cultural threat, outgroup anxiety, intercultural sensitivity, and attitude toward multiculturalism at school.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.154*	-						
3	-.006	.267**	-					
4	.004	.010	.008	-				
5	.072	.162*	.145*	-.234**	-			
6	.128	.241**	.245**	-.137	.673**	-		
7	-.081	-.113	-.038	.274**	-.593**	-.596**	-	
8	-.136	-.232**	-.131	.123	-.681**	-.630**	.556**	-
M					2.15	1.85	3.14	4.49
SD					.85	.58	.38	.56

Note 1: 1 = age, 2 = gender (female = 0, male = 1), 3 = teaching level (primary = 0, secondary = 1), 4 = presence of immigrant students (no = 0, yes = 1), 5 = cultural threat, 6 = outgroup anxiety, 7 = intercultural sensitivity, 8 = attitude toward multiculturalism at school.

Note 2: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

3.2. Bivariate correlation analysis

Before testing the hypotheses, Pearson correlation analyses were conducted between sociodemographic and study variables. These relationships were examined to control for their potential effects on the associations among the variables under investigation. The results (see Table 1) indicate the existence of statistically significant relationships between sociodemographic variables and those that are the focus of this study. Gender was significantly and negatively associated with

the attitude toward multiculturalism in schools, suggesting that being female is linked to a more favorable disposition toward the participation of immigrant students in schools.

In contrast, there is a positive relationship between gender, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety. This suggests that being male is associated with a greater perception that the cultures of immigrant people may threaten the dominant Chilean culture, as well as



an increase in negative emotions during contact.

Additionally, working at the secondary education level was significantly and positively associated with symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety. This could indicate that secondary school teachers perceive, to a greater extent than primary school teachers, that the culture of immigrant students may negatively affect Chilean culture, and would be linked to greater negative emotions toward them.

Similarly, teaching in classrooms with immigrant students was related to a lower perception of symbolic threat and greater intercultural sensitivity. In other words, those who work with immigrant students tend to hold lower negative beliefs about the culture of these students and show a greater ability to communicate successfully in multicultural contexts than those who do not work with such students. Teacher age did not show statistically significant relationships with any of the variables under study.

Third, statistically significant relationships among the study variables were confirmed. The results show that symbolic threat was significantly and negatively related to the attitude toward multiculturalism in schools and intercultural sensitivity. That is, as the level of perceived threat increases, the positive valuation of the presence of immigrant students decreases, as does the ability to communicate successfully with these students. In contrast, its association with intergroup anxiety was significant and positive, indicating

that, as the perception of threat increases, so do negative emotions during contact with foreign students.

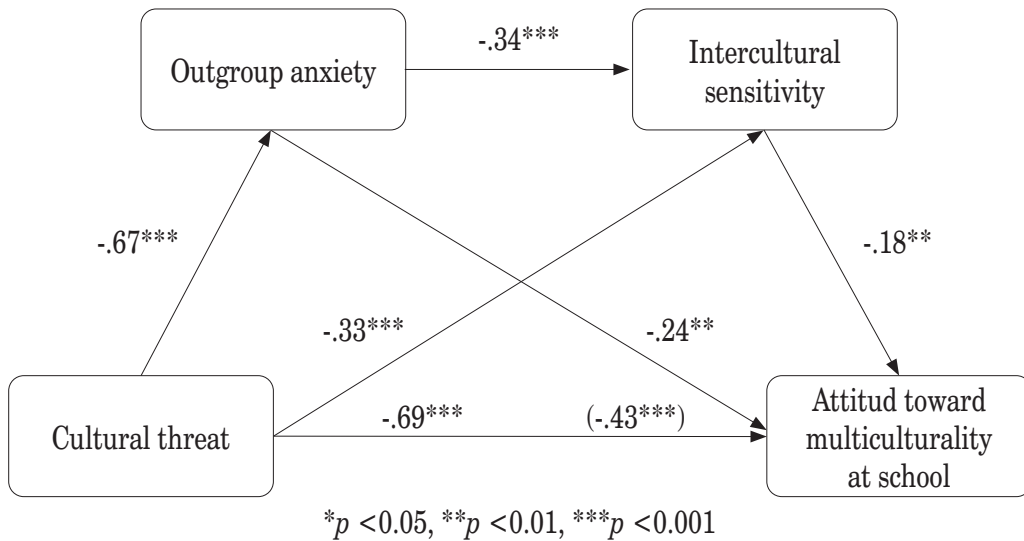
Outgroup anxiety showed significant and negative associations with attitudes toward multiculturalism in schools and with intercultural sensitivity, showing that an increase in negative emotions is associated with a decrease in the acceptance of immigrant students and a lower ability in intercultural communication. The results also reveal statistically significant positive relationships between intercultural sensitivity and attitudes toward multiculturalism at school. This indicates that as teachers' ability to communicate with foreign students increases, so does the appreciation of cultural diversity in schools.

3.3. Mediation model

A multiple mediation model was used to test the hypotheses of this study (see Figure 1). Since statistically significant relationships between sociodemographic variables and the study variables had been previously established, these were included in the model as control variables.

The results show that controlling for the effects of gender ($\beta = -.11, t = -.911, p = .057$), contact with immigrant students ($\beta = -.03, t = -.545, p = .586$), and the level at which teaching is conducted ($\beta = .01, t = .304, p = .761$), the cultural threat has a negative and significant effect ($\beta = -.69, t = -11.964, p = .000$) on the attitude toward multiculturalism at school, and this effect decreases when the mediating variables are included (direct effect: $\beta = -.43, t = -5.976, p = .000$).

FIGURE 1. Sequential mediation model: outgroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity in the relationship between cultural threat and attitude toward multiculturalism at school.



As hypothesized, the indirect effect of cultural threat on attitude toward multiculturalism at school through outgroup anxiety is significant ($\beta = -.16$, $SE = 0.06$, 95% CI [-0.2836, -0.0219]). Its indirect effect through intercultural sensitivity is also significant ($\beta = -.05$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [-0.1031, -0.0094]). Furthermore, there is a total sequential indirect effect of cultural threat on attitude toward multiculturalism at school through outgroup anxiety and then through intercultural sensitivity ($\beta = -.04$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [-0.0826, -0.0112]). This model accounts for partial mediation and explains 55% of the variability in teachers' attitudes toward multiculturalism at school.

4. Discussion

This work aimed to study the incidence of perceived cultural threat on Chilean teachers' attitudes to multiculturalism at school,

establishing the role of outgroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity in this relation.

Even though prior studies conducted with Chilean teachers suggested the existence of negative valuations regarding immigrant people and their participation in school communities (Beniscelli et al., 2019; Salas et al., 2017), our descriptive results revealed that participants in our study tend to show low levels of agreement with the belief that their culture could threaten Chilean mainstream culture, and also low levels of anxiety at intergroup contact. Moreover, outcomes point out to a positive valuation of immigrant students' participation at schools. Besides, teachers present high levels of intercultural sensitivity, partially coinciding with former studies conducted with similar samples that have reported positive moderated levels of this competence (Morales et al., 2017). Differences between our results and those

informed by previous research may be due to different methodologies (quantitative versus qualitative) and measuring instruments.

The analyses of the relationships between participants' sociodemographic characteristics and the variables in the study show that female teachers present a better attitude toward multiculturalism and lower levels of both threat and anxiety towards immigrant people than male teachers. This coincides with studies that have claimed that male teachers tend to present higher levels of nationalism (McCorkle & Rodríguez, 2023) and that female teachers show fewer levels of negative attitudes toward students from ethnic minorities (Abacioglu et al., 2019; Chin et al., 2020). Meta-analytic studies conducted with general populations have found higher levels of ethnocentrism and prejudice in men than in women, which has been explained by socialization differences (Dozo, 2015). This could be a possible explanation for our results.

Besides, a positive relation between teaching at the secondary level, threat, and anxiety was found. Few studies consider the educational level at which teachers work when studying their attitudes toward immigrant students (Monreal & McClorke, 2020). As a hypothesis, we think that it may occur because teachers working at secondary schools have to deal with students who have been less exposed to mainstream culture and to the host country's educational system, which can represent a great difficulty in carrying out their work. Likewise, secondary school

teachers are usually exposed to stressors produced by conflict management both in classrooms and in their relations with parents, which could be intensified in cultural diversity scenarios (Abós et al., 2019; Fisher, 2011).

The outcomes also show that teachers who work with immigrant students present lower levels of threat and higher intercultural sensitivity than those who have no contact with them. It has been suggested that repeated contact with students of cultural minorities leads to a higher social closeness, facilitating the development of positive attitudes toward them (Chin et al., 2020; Glock et al., 2018; Gutentag et al., 2018; Tatar et al., 2003). Other authors have proposed that schools with greater ethnic diversity would be more likely to generate strategies and provide resources to improve teaching with these students, facilitating the relationship with them and, consequently, contributing to the development of higher intercultural sensitivity in teachers (Alonso, 2011).

The analysis of the relationships between the variables in the study also shows that threat presents a positive association with anxiety, revealing that the perception that immigrants' beliefs, values, and culturally based behaviors can damage the host culture is accompanied by negative emotional experiences at intergroup contact (Stephan & Stephan, 2014).

Conversely, its relationship with intercultural sensitivity was negative. This finding is in line with precedents indicating that the development of this competence

requires overcoming the rejection of cultural differences and ethnocentrism. This would promote respect for differences, confidence that communication with different others will be successful, as well as attentiveness, involvement and enjoyment in interaction (Alexandra, 2018; Chen and Starosta, 1998; Bennet, 1986); thus, better intercultural communication would be fostered.

Likewise, the association between threat and attitude towards multiculturalism at school was also negative, in line with studies that relate it to a lower willingness to integrate different others, as well as a lower degree of adherence to multiculturalism (Cala et al., 2018; Nguyen and Boreczky, 2022). This would be explained by the fact that teachers would feel their cultural identity threatened and would decrease their acceptance of diversity. As a consequence, there would be a greater tendency to exclude migrant schoolchildren and more support for their assimilation into the majority culture (Crozier and Davies, 2008; Mera, et al., 2017).

Outgroup anxiety presents a negative link with intercultural sensitivity, which development depends to a great extent on the emotions perceived towards outgroup members. When intergroup contact leads to negative emotions, people try to avoid this kind of interaction because of the anticipation of failure in establishing positive relationships. Feelings such as insecurity, discomfort, and tension reduce the disposition to respect discrepancies through intercultural encounters (Khukhlaev *et al.*, 2021; Khukhlaev et al., 2022).

Besides, our results show positive relations between intercultural sensitivity and attitudes toward multiculturalism at school. This could occur because intercultural competence facilitates the anticipation of positive relationships and a better teaching performance. This is especially important in cultural diversity contexts, which can be perceived as highly demanding, threatening teachers' self-efficacy. Thus, intercultural sensitivity is associated with a favorable disposition towards diversity, promoting a positive teaching climate (Akcaoğlu & Kayis, 2021; Blazevic et al., 2023; Kim & Connelly, 2019).

The sequential mediation model, which explains 55% of the changes on the dependent variable, shows that cultural threat has a direct negative effect on the attitude towards multiculturalism at school. This effect decreases in the presence of outgroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity. As we hypothesized, cultural threat increases anxiety towards immigrants, which, in turn, diminishes intercultural sensitivity, affecting teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism at school.

5. Conclusions

The results highlight the importance of considering the socio-cognitive and emotional processes that intervene in teachers' approaches to multiculturalism in the school context. Our findings show the relevant impact of negative beliefs about immigrant students' cultures on teachers' valuations of cultural diversity at schools. Moreover, outcomes reveal that this effect is produced because cultural threat

increases negative emotions towards these students, reducing teachers' capabilities to communicate successfully in intercultural settings.

Teachers carry out the complex task of teaching in culturally diverse contexts. However, they have frequently been trained through education curriculums that reproduce the worldviews of the dominant social groups, with scarce opportunities for developing intercultural competencies. This is especially true in the case of Chilean teachers (Pavez-Soto et al., 2019a; Sánchez-Sánchez et al., 2018; Sanhueza et al., 2014). Literature shows that in these situations, working in multicultural environments could lead to tensions because the application of teaching practices that have been successful with students of their own cultural groups tends to fail when working with minority groups' students. This can diminish teachers' self-efficacy feelings, increasing stress and jeopardizing their wellbeing (Dubbeld et al., 2017; Gutentag et al., 2018).

Besides, their beliefs, expectations, and behaviors have important consequences on minority group students' learning processes and well-being, who are already in a position of psychosocial disadvantage and undergoing processes of psychological, social, and cultural adjustment to the host country (Pastor-Vicedo et al., 2016; Tyler et al., 2006).

Teachers' attitudes towards immigrant students can also have effects on host society students, who vicariously, learn ways of relating to them, facilitating or prevent-

ing intergroup conflict between students (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002). Thus, teachers' perspectives are critical for the construction of school climates that encourage the positive recognition of differences, justice, and cooperation between school communities' members (Haenni et al., 2019; Ulbricht et al., 2022).

This study presents limitations to be considered. First, the use of an intentional sample in the framework of a cross-sectional design does not allow to appreciate the relationship between variables across time. Second, the sample size does not allow us to study whether there are differences between schools. Third, other variables related to attitudes toward immigrant students were not included, such as acculturation preferences or stereotypes. Also, variables associated with teachers' situations, such as work-related stress, self-efficacy, and perceived school climate, were not included.

Nevertheless, this study contributes to developing a highly important research line due to the increase in multiculturalism at educational centers, both in the case of south-south migration and at the global level. This underlines the need to produce knowledge that can guide interventions to facilitate teachers' adaptation to these new and challenging contexts.

Authors' contributions

María-José Mera-Lemp. Conceptualization; Formal analysis; Investigation; Methodology; Supervision; Writing (original draft); Writing (review & editing).

Javier Torres-Vallejos. Formal analysis; Methodology; Writing (review & editing).

Florencia Guglielmetti-Serrano. Conceptualisation; Investigation; Project administration; Writing (original draft); Writing (review & editing).

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