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INTEGRATED THREAT THEORY:
IMMIGRATION PERSPECTIVES AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

By

Doe A. S. Hain-Jamall

A Dissertation Submitted to the

Graduate School

In Partial Fulfillment of the

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University of the Pacific

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2021

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IMMIGRATION PERSPECTIVES AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

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INTEGRATED THREAT THEORY:
IMMIGRATION PERSPECTIVES AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

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By

Doe A. S. Hain-Jamall

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the glory of God, whose children we have the privilege to serve.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I did not get here by myself. I am grateful for the support and guidance of my dissertation committee. Topic changes, retiring professors, and the COVID - 19 pandemic all added to the excitement, and I thank the committee members for their flexibility.

It also took family support, extra finances, and tolerant relatives for me to complete this project. I commend my children for looking after themselves for the past few years, and I acknowledge with thanks the extended alimony payments that enabled me to go back to school in the first place.

“Thanks Mom and Dad!” somehow does not convey the depth of my gratitude to my parents. Their support allowed me to take a leave of absence from work, without which I could not have conducted the research for this inquiry. My mother’s belief in me never wavered, even when logic suggested it should, and ultimately it convinced me of my own ability. For that, and much more, I will always be grateful. My father read innumerable drafts, offering suggestions without criticism. That is a rare gift. My family even supported me when I spent major holidays writing instead of joining in the fun. This was very much a team effort, held together by faith, love, and my father’s mad editing skills.

INTEGRATED THREAT THEORY:
IMMIGRATION PERSPECTIVES AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

Abstract

By Doe A. S. Hain-Jamall

University of the Pacific
2021

Using integrated threat theory as a theoretical framework, this multiple case study analyzed the effects of threat and the perception of threat from immigrants on the attitudes of teachers toward their elementary school students. The study was conducted with teachers at five California schools. All of the teachers were experienced and well-trained, teaching in low-income neighborhoods with large immigrant populations.

In support of integrated threat theory's premise, results indicated that where threat was present or perceived, teachers' words and reported teaching behavior indicated prejudicial attitudes toward students. The lack of threat corresponded to a lack of bias.

It was found that teaching behavior that reflected prejudicial attitudes affected a number of areas of instruction. Specifically, teachers spent less time in informal interaction with students, limiting their familiarity with the children. Curricular decisions were affected in subtle ways, and there were examples of implicit bias in interaction.

The report concludes with recommendations for practice and further research. Recommendations for policy are particularly important, as teacher education programs and school districts are both able to provide anti-bias training.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Two important forms of protection against academic failure in elementary school are high-quality instruction (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005; Darling-Hammond et al., 2001; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Gay, 2010; Goe, 2002; Hattie, 2008; Pomerance et al., 2016; Sanders & Horn, 1998; Sanders & Rivers, 1996; Wenglinsky, 2002) and positive interaction with teachers (Burchinal et al., 2008; Buysse et al., 2004; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hayes & Salazar, 2001; Hollins, 2011; Howes, 2000; Rey et al., 2007; Verschueren et al., 2009; White, 2013). Children in poverty contend with significantly more academic risk factors than their middle-class peers (Broman et al., 1975; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan 1997; Danziger & Danziger 1995; Duncan et al., 1994; Izard, 2016; Klebanov & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Korenman et al., 1995; Lee & Burkam, 2002; Luthar, 1999; Huston et al., 1994; McLeod & Shanahan, 1993; Parker et al., 1988; Werner & Smith, 1977), and poor children whose parents are immigrants face even more (McHugh et. al, 2014; Park et al., 2018; Pong & Landale, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010). Given the cumulative nature of risk (Atzaba-Poria et al., 2004; Klebanov & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Liaw & Brooks-Gunn, 1994; Pong & Landale, 2012), it is imperative that poor children of immigrants receive high-quality instruction and experience positive interactions with their teachers.

For teachers, working at schools in low-income neighborhoods often presents more challenges than working at schools in middle-class areas. In addition to higher rates of learning and behavior problems related to poverty (Atzaba-Poria et al., 2004; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Danziger & Danziger, 1995; Evans, 2009; Hart et al., 2013; Huston et al., 1994; Luthar,

1999; MacLeod & Shanahan, 1993; McLoyd, 1990; Parker et al., 1988; Pastor et al., 2004; Yoshikawa et al., 2012; Zill et al., 1991), teachers working in low-income schools commonly report insufficient supplies, outdated materials, and little administrative support (Cochran-Smith, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2003; Goldring et al., 2014; Johnson et al., 2012; McKinney et al., 2008; Podolsky et al., 2017; Simon & Johnson, 2015). More than mere inconveniences, working conditions cause early-career teachers to “steadily [leave] schools in high-minority, high-poverty communities to work in schools in whiter, higher-income communities” (Johnson et al., 2012, p. 1). For those who stay, the added responsibility of teaching children with limited English may contribute to their frustration (California State University, 2003; Cochran-Smith, 2006; Gandara et al., 2003; Ingersoll, 2003).

In 2018, approximately 20% of students enrolled in California’s public schools (K-12) were designated Limited English Proficient (California Department of Education [CDE], 2018a). Because English is spoken by the majority of residents in the United States, limited English could be assumed to represent immigrant status. This was important since national anti-immigrant sentiment had risen (Barrouquere, 2017; Cooper et al., 2016; Flores & Schachter, 2016; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Levin, & Nakashima, 2019; Pettigrew, 2017) as immigration rates increased over the past few decades (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017; Zong et al., 2018).

According to Stephan & Stephan’s integrated threat theory (ITT) of prejudice (2000), attitudes and behavior toward new arrivals can become more hostile, particularly in times of heightened immigration, by four forms of threat. Attitudes are understood to be people’s “tendencies to evaluate an entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Eagly & Chaiken (1993, p. 1). The four forms of threat are perceived realistic threat, perceived symbolic threat,

intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotype (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The attitudes and accompanying behaviors predicted by these four threats have been well documented by journalists (see Berenson, 2016; Bump, 2016; King, 2017; Levin & Grisham, 2017; Shear & Cooper, 2017; Simon, 2018; Valverde, 2017; Wolf, 2018) in the past few years (Barrouquere, 2017; Flores & Schachter, 2018; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015) and are discussed in Chapter Two.

While the attitudes and behavior of the public have been well documented, those of teachers who work with the children of immigrants are largely unknown. This inquiry seeks to address that gap, using ITT as a theoretical framework. It explores the effects of teachers' immigration perspectives on their attitudes toward children in high poverty elementary schools with large immigrant populations. In the classroom, a teacher's behavior is central to the provision of high-quality instruction, and empirical studies have demonstrated that attitudes influence judgment and behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005; Fazio, 1990; Fazio & Olson, 2014).

Immigration, Poverty, and Schools in California

Recent responses to immigration. Immigration to the United States increased dramatically in the last half-century. In 1966, immigrants accounted for just over 5% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; Zong et al., 2018), whereas by 2015 immigrants comprised more than 13% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017; Zong et al., 2018). In 2018, immigrants made up approximately 27% of California's population, which was a larger share than any other state (Zong et al., 2018). In an analysis of data, Murphy et al. (2014) reported that in 2014, roughly one-quarter of the nation's children under the age of 18 lived with at least one immigrant parent. In California, the percentage was twice that; according to the

Migration Policy Institute (MPI), by 2016 approximately half of the state's children under the age of 18 lived with at least one immigrant parent (MPI, n.d.).

Increases in immigration often give rise to hostility in host populations (Jackson, 1993; Riek et al., 2006; Sherif & Sherif, 1979, Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Between 2015 and 2020, the United States experienced a rise in anti-immigrant rhetoric (Barrouquere, 2017; Flores & Schachter, 2016; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Jones et al., 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Pettigrew, 2017) and hate crimes (Barrouquere, 2017; Hamann & Morgenson, 2017; CSHE, 2019; Levin & Grisham, 2016; Reilly, 2016).

California's immigrant children. As mentioned above, in 2016 approximately half of California's children under the age of 18 lived with at least one immigrant parent (MPI, n.d.). Children with an immigrant parent may or may not be immigrants themselves, but for the purposes of this study, all children with one or more immigrant parents are grouped together and referred to as *immigrant children*. Whether U.S. or foreign-born, immigrant children generally live in homes in which a language other than English (non-English language) is spoken (Park, Zong, & Batalova, 2018), and in 2018, roughly 20 % (1.3 million) of California's K-12 public school students were designated English learners (ELs) (CDE, 2018a). In this work, the term English learner is used interchangeably with Limited English Proficient (LEP), which the Migration Policy Institute has defined as "anyone above the age of five who reported speaking English less than 'very well,' as classified by the U.S. Census Bureau" (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Children's EL status makes them easily identifiable as immigrants, but because schools do not request citizenship information, teachers do not know the actual legal status of students or their families (CDE, 2020b).

In California, poverty rates for LEP public school students were particularly high (Hill, 2012), “rang[ing] from 74 to 85 percent, much higher than the 21 percent overall rate for California school-aged children” (p. 2). Poverty, as the term is used here, is defined by the U.S. Census Bureau for 2017 as “\$28,805 for a family of four with two children under age eighteen” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Public school data on the socioeconomic status (SES) of students is often measured by the percentage of students who qualify for free or reduced-price meals, and data from both sources are used here. For the 2018-19 school year in California, children from a household of 4 with an annual income at or below \$46,435.00 qualified for meals at a reduced price. Those with an annual income at or below \$32,630.00 qualified for free meals (CDE, 2018b).

Poverty, immigration, and academic risk. Poverty increases children’s risk of academic failure (Broman et al., 1975; Danziger & Danziger 1995; Duncan et al., 1994; Goodman & Conway, 2016; Izard, 2016; Klebanov & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Korenman et al., 1995; Luthar, 1999; McLeod & Shanahan, 1993; Huston et al., 1994; Parker, Greer, & Zuckerman, 1988; Werner & Smith, 1977). For the purposes of this work, a student is considered academically successful if she has “met or exceeded the standards – the equivalency of proficiency” (Fensterwald, 2018, p. 1) on the California Assessment of Student Performance and Progress (CAASPP) in English/Language Arts and Mathematics, (California Department of Education, 2018c), a standardized test administered in grades 3-8. Recognizing that “[s]tandardization is the enemy of diversity ...[with which] immigrants, minority students, and children from the lower class have been either marginalized or assimilated” (Skerrett & Hargreaves, 2008, p. 913), it is, nevertheless, the measure by which public school students are evaluated in California (CDE, 2018c).

Research spanning several decades (Atzaba-Poria et al., 2004; Broman et al., 1975; Danziger & Danziger 1995; Duncan et al., 1994; Goodman & Conway, 2016; Klebanov & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Korenman et al., 1995; Luthar, 1999; McLeod & Shanahan, 1993; Huston et al., 1994; Jensen, 2009; Parker, Greer, & Zuckerman, 1988; Werner & Smith, 1977) has documented the strong associations between poverty and “higher incidences of adverse health . . . developmental, cognitive ability, school achievement, emotional, and behavioral outcomes” (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan 1997, p. 57). According to the National Education Association (NEA), poverty creates, among other things, “acute and chronic stressors... and health and safety issues” (Izard, 2016, p. 5) with lifelong consequences.

In addition to the academic risks that accompany poverty, poor immigrant children often have to contend with the academic risk brought about by their families’ (and their own) unfamiliarity with the host culture and language (Perreira et. al, 2012; McHugh et. al, 2014; Pong & Landale, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Schwartz & Stiefel, 2011), the stress from the separation of families, and sometimes trauma in the home country (Park et al., 2018; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010).

Protective factors. There are, however, protective factors to be found in families and communities (Benard, 1991; Cleveland et al., 2010; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Duncan & Murnane, 2014; Hetherington, 1993; Hofferth & Anderson, 2003; Jain & Cohen, 2013; Kaushal et al., 2011; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Park et al., 2018) as well as in schools (Jensen, 2009; Klebanov & Brooks-Gunn, 2006). Studies indicate that high-quality instruction (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005; Darling-Hammond et al., 2001; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Gay, 2010; Goe, 2002; Hattie, 2008; Hollins, 2011; Pomerance et al., 2016; Sanders & Horn, 1998; Sanders & Rivers, 1996; Wenglinsky, 2002) and positive interaction with adult staff

(Burchinal et al., 2008; Buyse et al., 2009; Franquiz & Salazar, 2004; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hayes & Salazar, 2001; Hollins, 2011; Howes, 2000; Rey et al., 2007; White, 2013) can serve to counter academic risk. Unfortunately, schools in low-income neighborhoods, on average, compare unfavorably with their counterparts in middle- and upper-middle class neighborhoods in terms of supplies, facilities, teacher qualifications (Cochran-Smith, 2006; Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Evans, 2009; Gandara et al., 2003; Hart et al., 2013; Ingersoll, 2003; Lee & Burkam, 2002; McKinney et al., 2008; Pastor et al., 2004; Simon & Johnson, 2015; Yoshikawa et al., 2012; Zill et al., 1991), and teacher retention (Boyd et al., 2011; Darling-Hammond, 2002; Edgert et al., 1998; Johnson et al., 2012; Oakes & Saunders, 2002; Ortiz, 2002; Podolsky et al., 2017; Simon & Johnson, 2015).

Challenges for teachers. Many teachers leave low-SES schools due to low administrative and peer support, outdated materials, and a lack of supplies, as well as dilapidated or chronically dirty campuses (Boyd et al., 2011; Cochran-Smith, 2006; Goldring et al., 2014; Johnson et al., 2012; McKinney et al., 2008; Podolsky et al., 2017; Simon & Johnson, 2015). Given the adverse effects of poverty, low SES schools also have higher rates of students who struggle with socio-emotional, cognitive, and behavior problems (Atzaba-Poria et al., 2004; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Danziger & Danziger, 1995; Evans, 2009; Hart et al., 2013; Huston et al., 1994; Luthar, 1999; MacLeod & Shanahan, 1993; McLoyd, 1990; Parker et al., 1988; Pastor et al., 2004; Yoshikawa et al., 2012; Zill et al., 1991). Because it is difficult to attract and retain teachers in high-poverty schools, principals must often settle for less experienced teachers (Cochran-Smith, 2006; Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Gandara et al., 2003; Ingersoll, 2003).

If, on top of the challenges associated with working in low-income neighborhoods, teachers are instructing LEP students from different language backgrounds, they may feel overwhelmed (California State University, 2003; Cochran-Smith, 2006; Gandara et al., 2000; Ingersoll, 2003; Johnson et al., 2012). Given the high level of anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States at the time this inquiry began (Barrouquere, 2017; Cooper et al., 2016; Flores & Schachter, 2016; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Pettigrew, 2017), it seemed reasonable to suspect that a significant number of teachers would harbor some resentment if they believed immigrant students should not have been in the United States in the first place, and perhaps more so if they believed the children or their parents were here illegally. According to integrated threat theory, the perception of threat from a social group (in this case, immigrants) can affect beliefs, attitudes, and behavior (Riek et al., 2006; Sherif & Sherif, 1979; Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Statement of the Problem

Based on polling results (Hsi, 2016; Jones, 2016; Jones et al., 2016; Lee, 2016; Lopez, 2016; Pew Research Center, 2016; Vandermaas-Peeler et al., 2018), as well as recent increases in anti-immigrant rhetoric and hate crime (Barrouquere, 2017; CSHE, 2019; Flores & Schachter, 2016; Hamann & Morgenson, 2017; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Jones et al., 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Levin & Grisham, 2016; Pettigrew, 2017; Reilly, 2016), this inquiry assumed that a significant portion of the population had less than favorable views on immigration. The term *immigration* as used here includes the act of migration as well as judgments and opinions about immigrants at both the group and individual level. Views on individuals, groups, concepts, and policies are intricately interwoven and were teased apart in the analysis of the data.

Integrated threat theory states that the presence or perception of threat can lead to prejudicial attitudes. The problem was that teachers may have experienced threats or the perception of threat from immigrants. Those who developed biased attitudes could extend those attitudes to their immigrant students. Manifesting as teaching behavior, they would impact the learning of a population already at risk of academic failure.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this multiple case study (Merriam, 1998) was an integrated threat theory of prejudice, generally referred to simply as integrated threat theory, or ITT. Stephan & Stephan's (2000) social psychological theory draws from realistic group conflict theory and symbolic threat theory (Riek et al., 2006). Realistic group conflict theory (RGCT) holds that intergroup conflict arises when members of one group (the in-group) perceive that members of another group (an out-group) may succeed in competition for something tangible (e.g., food, jobs) (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 1999). Symbolic threat theory (STT) stipulates that symbolic threats, such as perceived conflicts in values and beliefs, are better predictors of intergroup conflict (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Riek et al., 2006). Integrated threat theory identifies four major types of threat that can lead to intergroup conflict (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). They are discussed in detail in Chapter Two, as are the attitudes and behavior that often accompany them.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this multiple case study was twofold. First, it aimed to gain a better understanding of teachers' perspectives on immigration. Second, it explored the ways those perspectives influenced their attitudes toward students.

Research Questions

The overarching question was: How do teachers' views on immigration influence their attitudes toward students in a high poverty school with a large immigrant population?

Secondary questions were: 1) How are teachers' perspectives on immigration manifested in their pedagogical orientations? 2) How do teachers' views on immigration influence their curricular decision making? 3) In what way do teachers feel their views on immigration influence their relationships and interactions with students?

Significance of the Study

Immigration was and continues to be a topic of national debate (CSHE, 2019; Cooper et al., 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Major et al., 2016). Scholars have documented how, during periods of high immigration, perceptions of threat increase in the host population (Burns & Gimpel, 2000; McLaren, 2003; Riek et al., 2006; Sherif & Sherif, 1979; Stephan et al., 1999), and those perceptions can influence attitudes and behavior (Esses et al., 2002; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Sherif & Sherif, 1979; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Voci & Hewstone, 2003) toward the new arrivals.

To date, the body of research using integrated threat theory as a framework to study intergroup conflict appears to have been limited to interactions among adults and adolescents. An extensive search did not unearth any studies of the interaction between adults and children using ITT. This inquiry tested the theory as it examined the attitudes of adults directed specifically toward children.

Much of the research on ITT examines the verbal expression of prejudice against groups of people in the abstract, meaning participants may not know individuals from a particular immigrant group. Other ITT research has focused on the behavior of individuals toward groups

of unknown immigrants (e.g., protesting) who may or may not be present. This work extends scholarship by studying the perception of threat in adults and examining their attitudes toward children they know and see nearly every day.

The results of this inquiry are significant to educators as well. Case studies are context-specific, allowing for an in-depth understanding of each case. Multiple case studies build on that understanding, seeking commonalities across cases (Chmiliar, 2010; Merriam, 1998). Thus, findings from this study may contribute to the understanding of how perspectives on immigration can translate to prejudicial attitudes, and ultimately affect classroom instruction.

Chapter Summary

Immigrant children who live in poverty are at higher risk of academic failure than their native-born, middle-class peers. Research indicates that high-quality instruction and positive interaction with teachers can serve as protective factors against academic failure. In recent years, anti-immigrant rhetoric and hate crimes in the United States have increased, indicating widespread hostility toward immigrants. According to integrated threat theory, the presence or the perception of threat can lead to prejudicial attitudes in the host community toward immigrants. Those attitudes often manifest as words and behavior.

The problem addressed by this inquiry was that teachers who perceive threat from immigrants may develop prejudicial attitudes toward their immigrant students. Should they manifest as teaching behavior, those attitudes would impact instruction. The study's purpose was to gain an understanding of five teachers' perspectives on immigration and the ways those perspectives influenced their attitudes toward students. The inquiry is significant in that unlike previous research on ITT, it examined the attitudes of adults toward children, specifically

children in their care. The results are significant to educators as well, as the behavioral manifestation of teachers' prejudicial attitudes can affect instruction.

The following chapter reviews the literature on the risk factors faced by immigrant children in poverty, as well as some protective factors, focusing on high-quality instruction and positive interaction with adults. Integrated threat theory is discussed, with a review of its theoretical underpinnings. Finally, Chapter Two discusses common challenges faced by teachers who work in high-poverty neighborhoods.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Academic success: “Meeting or exceeding standards on the California Assessment of Student Performance and Progress (CAASPP) in English/Language Arts and Mathematics” (Fensterwald, 2018, p. 1).

Attitude: “tendencies to evaluate an entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Eagly & Chaiken (1993, p. 1).

Case study: “[A]n intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, . . . a person, . . . or a social unit” (Merriam, 1998, p. xiii).

Culturally responsive teaching: A pedagogical orientation that “us[es] the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for [students]” (Gay, 2010, p. 31).

English learners (ELs): Children attending school in the United States who come from a home where a language other than English is spoken. (California Department of Education, 2009)

Ethnocentrism: “[T]he tendency to form and maintain negative evaluations and hostility toward multiple groups that are not one’s own.” (Cunningham et al., 2004, p. 1332).

Holistic pedagogy: A child-centered approach to teaching that “is based on the premise that each person finds identity, meaning, and purpose in life through connections to the community, to the natural world, and to spiritual values such as compassion and peace” (R. Miller, 2000, para. 2).

Image: “[P]atterns of . . . coherent beliefs about the character, intentions, motives, and emotions attributed to . . . [an] entire group as a whole” (Alexander et al., 2005, p. 782).

Limited English proficient (LEP): “Individuals who do not speak English as their primary language and who have a limited ability to read, speak, write, or understand English” (LEP.gov., 2018, para. 1).

Low socioeconomic status (SES): As used in this work, low SES is defined as the threshold at which a family qualifies for reduced-price school meals. For the 2018-19 school year in California, children from a household of 4 with an annual income at or below \$46,435.00 qualified (CDE, 2018b).

Low socioeconomic status (SES) school: In this work, a low SES school is one that receives Title I funds (U.S. Department of Education, 2015).

Multiple case study: A “research methodology in which several instrumental, bounded cases are examined using multiple data collection methods” (Chmiliar, 2010, p. 584). See *Case Study* definition, above.

Paternalism: “Thinking or behavior by people in authority that results in them making decisions for other people that, although they may be to those people’s advantage, prevent them from taking responsibility for their own lives” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

Pedagogy: “Pedagogy comprises teachers’ ideas, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and understanding about the curriculum, the teaching and learning process and their students, and which impact on their ‘teaching practices’” (Westbrook et al., 2013, p. 7).

Poverty: The poverty threshold in 2017 was “\$28,805 for a family of four with two children under age eighteen” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018).

Prejudice: “Negative affect associated with out-groups.” The definition of affect “include[s] emotional reactions . . . as well as evaluative reactions” (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Social identity: “[T]hat part of an individual’s self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69).

Stereotype: The “shared belief” that individuals within a social group are associated with “lists of traits” (Alexander et al., 2005, p. 781).

Theoretical framework: “[A]ny empirical or quasi-empirical theory of social or psychological processes, at a variety of levels (e.g., grand, midrange, explanatory) that can be applied to the understanding of phenomena” (Anfara & Mertz, 2015, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 85, parentheses original).

Title I: “Title I, Part A (Title I) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as amended by the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESEA), provides financial assistance to local educational agencies for children from low-income families to help ensure that all children meet challenging state academic standards” (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

Worldview: A “semiotic system of narrative signs that has a significant influence on the fundamental human activities of reasoning, interpreting, and knowing” (Naugle, 2002, p. 253).

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This inquiry examined the effect of teachers' immigration perspectives on their attitudes toward students as they worked with immigrant children in high poverty schools. The phenomenon of interest occurred in the context of high national anti-immigrant sentiment (Levin, & Nakashima, 2019; Cooper et al., 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Major et al., 2016). Because the context and the phenomenon were intertwined, it was necessary to review the literature and theoretical framework for both. The result was a review of literature from a variety of disciplines.

The following literature review describes the theoretical foundations of social psychology's integrated threat theory. It reviews the literature on academic risks that have been shown to be associated with poverty and immigration, drawing from research in health, sociology, psychology, and education. This chapter also examines empirical work in education and psychology that indicates protective factors may be found in the home, community, or school. Two major protective factors are high-quality instruction and positive interaction with teachers. The review of challenges faced by teachers in high-poverty schools is primarily informed by studies in the field of teacher education, as is the discussion on the difficulty in retaining qualified teachers.

Chapter Overview

The first part of this chapter provides the background for the inquiry, briefly describing recent immigration trends in the United States. This is followed by a review of the literature on

integrated threat theory (ITT) with descriptions of the theory's four named threats (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

The third section of the chapter reviews the literature regarding academic risk due to poverty and immigration, the fourth discusses protective factors in the family and community, while the fifth reviews the literature on protective factors in schools, focusing on high-quality instruction and positive interaction with teachers. The sixth section reviews a number of challenges involved in teaching at high poverty schools and possible effects of these challenges on teachers' attitudes and behavior. It discusses the connections between attitudes and ITT, considering the implications for quality of instruction and teachers' interaction with students.

Background: Immigration in the United States

Immigration to the United States has increased significantly in the last half-century. In 1966, immigrants accounted for approximately 5% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; Zong et al., 2018), whereas by 2015 immigrants comprised roughly 13% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). In 2018, immigrants made up about 27% of California's population (Zong et al., 2018), and as of 2016, approximately half of the state's children under the age of 18 lived with at least one immigrant parent (Migration Policy Institute, n.d.).

Integrated Threat Theory

According to Stephan and Stephan's integrated threat theory (ITT) of prejudice, an increased number of immigrants can give rise to the perception of threat in the host community, leading to "negative outgroup attitudes" (Riek et al., 2006, p. 338) toward the new arrivals (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Stephan and Stephan (2000) have defined prejudice as "negative affect associated with outgroups." Their definition of affect encompasses "both emotions and evaluations." Defining affect this way permitted them to "include emotional reactions like

hatred and disdain, as well as evaluative reactions like disliking and disapproval, in [their] measures of prejudicial attitudes toward other groups” (p. 27). Attitudes, as mentioned in Chapter One, have been defined by Eagly and Chaiken as “tendencies to evaluate an entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (1993, p. 1). They elaborated, saying, “An attitude is inside the person, not directly observable and is manifested by covert and overt responses” (p. 584).

As the immigrant population in the United States approached an all-time numerical high (Zong et al., 2018) there was a corresponding increase in anti-immigrant public rhetoric (CSHE, 2019; Cooper et al., 2016; Flores & Schachter, 2018; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Pettigrew, 2017) and hate crime (Barrouquere, 2017; CSHE, 2019; Hamann & Morgenson, 2017; Levin & Grisham, 2016; Reilly, 2016). Policies perceived as “anti-immigrant” were enacted at the local and state level (CSHE, 2019; Hamann & Morgenson, 2017; Mak, 2014), and immigration was a central theme in the 2016 presidential election (CSHE, 2019; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Major et al., 2016; Schultheis, 2016).

Theoretical Foundations of Integrated Threat Theory

Integrated threat theory, from the field of social psychology, draws heavily from realistic group conflict theory (RGCT) and symbolic threat theory (STT). Both RGCT and STT build on concepts from social identity theory (SIT) (Jackson, 1993; Riek et al., 2006).

Social identity theory. In a foundational work on social identity theory, Tajfel (1974) defined social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 69). An individual’s self-concept is, in many ways, derived from the status of the socially constructed group(s) to which he belongs (*in-groups*) (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Tajfel, 1974, 1981; Van Dick & Wagner, 2002). Driven by the

desire for a positive self-concept, the individual compares his group to others (*out-groups*) with an “enhancement of contrast,” or emphasis on what he perceives to be positive aspects of his own group and negative aspects of others (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Billig & Tajfel, 1973).

Unidentified adults in this work are referred to as female, for the sake of brevity, and children as male, for balance. Empirical research has shown that it takes very little for an individual to identify with a particular group (Jackson, 1993). Indeed, Billig and Tajfel (1973) found that assigning people to random groups was enough to stimulate in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination.

Realistic group conflict theory. Realistic group conflict theory states that there are invariably relations of power, status, and resources between socially created groups. Competition for scarce resources (e.g., food, safety) leads to intergroup hostility (Jackson, 1993). According to RGCT, the threat need not be imminent or even genuine. Simply the perception of a tangible threat, such as rising crime or job loss, is sufficient to produce hostility (Riek et al., 2006; Sherif, 1966; Sherif & Sherif, 1979).

As a social psychological theory, RGCT’s unit of analysis is the individual in her role as group member. In this role, people often have strong responses to a perceived threat directed toward other in-group members (Esses et al., 1998; Jackson, 1993) and a stronger identification with the group generally elicits a stronger response (Jackson, 1993). It may be manifested in the creation of stronger intergroup boundaries and the distancing of out-groups and is often accompanied by “self-glorifying and self-justifying attitudes toward one’s own group” (Sherif & Sherif, 1979, p. 11).

Symbolic threat theory. Also from the field of social psychology, symbolic threat theory suggests that anti-immigrant bias is more heavily influenced by perceived threats to

cultural values (Esses et al., 2002; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McLaren, 2003; Reik et al., 2006; Sears, 1988) than perceived realistic threats. Symbolic threats challenge a group's "morals, standards, beliefs, and attitudes" (Stephan & Stephan, 2000, p. 25).

Symbolic threat theory stems from work in symbolic racism theory and the study of out-group bias in the absence of any perceived realistic threat (Riek et al., 2006). Empirical studies have demonstrated a strong association between symbolic threat and out-group bias in non-racial contexts, with groups defined by sexual orientation (Haddock et al., 1993; Jackson & Esses, 1997; Zanna, 1994), weight (Crandall, 1994), religion, and gender (Jackson & Esses, 1997). The bias is associated with the evaluative nature of attitudes. People who are obese, for example, may be assumed to be lazy or self-indulgent, characteristics that offend Americans who value hard work and discipline (Crandall, 1994). Similarly, homosexuals are deemed ungodly by many with conservative religious values (Haddock et al., 1993; Jackson & Esses, 1997; Zanna, 1994).

Dehumanization. Esses et al. (2008) write that people who are perceived as immoral or unjust are easily dehumanized by the in-group as they are seen to lack pro-social values. These values are "hallmarks of the degree to which people have transcended their pre-human origins and have developed their human . . . and moral sensibilities" (Schwartz et al., 1990, p. 186). Because these immoral and unjust individuals are perceived to be less than human, they are considered to be less deserving of humane treatment and their interests are of less value (Schwartz et al., 1990). Stereotypes with strong evaluative labels (e.g., the obese as lazy or homosexuals as ungodly) play a role in the dehumanization process.

Integrated Threat Theory's Four Threats

Integrated threat theory combines aspects of RGCT and STT, which were long considered rival theories (Riek et al., 2006). It identifies four out-group threats that can lead to prejudice: perceived realistic threat, perceived symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2002). Realistic threats refer to perceived tangible threats, very much like those described in RGCT, such as rising crime or job loss. Again, it is often the perception of threat toward other in-group members rather than oneself that leads to unfavorable attitudes.

Symbolic threats refer to perceived threats against the in-group's culture and values (Riek et al., 2006). Stephan et al. (1999) wrote that the "belief in the moral rightness of the in-group's system values . . . make groups ethnocentric, leading group members to believe that their group is superior to others (p. 2222). Ethnocentrism is defined as "the tendency to form and maintain negative evaluations and hostility toward multiple groups that are not one's own" (Cunningham et al., 2004, p. 1332). The perception of symbolic threat can evoke nationalistic responses (e.g., "they're taking over our country") (Esses et al., 1993; Esses et al., 2003; McLaren, 2003; Vedder et al., 2016).

Intergroup anxiety. Unlike most theories on intergroup conflict, integrated threat theory includes intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping as unique forms of threat (Riek et al., 2006). Intergroup anxiety refers to the discomfort individuals from the in-group feel in the presence of out-group members. The anxiety may stem from uncertainty about how to behave with out-group members, negative expectancies for the outcome of the interaction, or previous unfavorable group contact (Dovidio et al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Stephan and Stephan (2000) wrote that "people feel personally threatened in intergroup

interactions because they are concerned about negative outcomes for the self, such as being embarrassed, rejected, or ridiculed” (p. 27). Several studies have found an association between increased intergroup anxiety and hostility toward out-group members (Brown et al., 2001; Plant & Devine, 2003; Vedder et al., 2016). W. G. Stephan et al. (2002) found that “fear of interaction with members of another group” (p. 1250), was, in fact, a better predictor of “negative outgroup attitudes” (Riek et al., 2006, p. 338) than realistic or symbolic threats.

The anxiety experienced by in-group members commonly leads to avoidance of contact with members of the out-group and in more extreme cases, calls for the removal of out-group members (Dovidio et al., 2002; McLaren, 2003; Plant & Devine, 2003; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Negative stereotype. In integrated threat theory, negative stereotypes are shared perceptions that out-group members possess negative qualities that are a function of their membership in that category (e.g., “mentally ill people are dangerous”) (Alexander et al., 2005; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). It should be noted that any given quality might be perceived as positive or negative depending on the perspective of the evaluator. A thrifty person, for example, might be admired for managing her money well or derided as a skinflint. In this study, a quality is deemed to be negative if the evaluator in question believes it to be so.

Negative stereotypes can play a role in shaping an individual’s expectations for the outcome of the interaction, thereby increasing intergroup anxiety. Because they can influence the perception of a real or symbolic threat as well, it has been suggested that negative stereotypes do not directly lead to negative attitudes (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In a comparative study of Black and White participants, however, W. G. Stephan and his colleagues (2002), found “a significant direct effect between negative stereotypes and negative racial

attitudes . . . in the White sample” (p. 1249). Interestingly, this was not the case in the Black sample, but analysis of the difference is beyond the scope of this inquiry.

Image. The functional theory of out-groups draws on work in the international relations arena of political science (Alexander et al., 1999), recasting stereotypes as *images*. Images are “patterns of . . . coherent beliefs about the character, intentions, motives, and emotions attributed to . . . [an] entire group as a whole” (Alexander et al., 2005, p. 782). They differ from stereotypes, which Alexander et al., (2005) described as “lists of traits” (p. 782), applied to individuals within a social group. As the distinction was not crucial in this work, the terms image and stereotype have been used interchangeably.

One of the first images described by theorists, as well as the most studied, is that of the enemy. Other images have been added as research contexts have required. This inquiry drew from the work of Alexander et al., (1999) who discuss four: the enemy, barbarian, dependent, and ally. While their focus is international relations, the images they describe are useful in the study of social groups with units of analysis that are smaller than nations. Of particular relevance are the enemy and barbarian images.

According to the functional theory of out-groups, enemies are perceived by the in-group to possess roughly equal power and status. Individuals fitting the enemy image are viewed as manipulative, opportunistic, evil, immoral, motivated by self-serving interests, and willing to take advantage of others’ weaknesses (Alexander et al., 1999). Empirical studies in international relations have found this stereotype to be remarkably difficult to change, even in the presence of evidence to the contrary (Stuart & Starr, 1982).

The barbarian image, proposed by Herrmann (1985), is applied by the in-group to those they perceive as lower in status, ruthless, crude, unsophisticated, and willing to cheat. To the in-

group, both unscrupulous groups (enemies and barbarians) lack pro-social values, which, studies have shown, increases the likelihood that they will be dehumanized (Esses et al., 2008; Schwartz & Struch, 1989). Research has found that when members of an out-group are dehumanized, members of the in-group are less concerned about their welfare and are more likely to accept harsh, or even violent behavior toward them (Alexander et al., 1999; Esses et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2002).

Implicit bias. Research indicates that many people are unaware that they hold stereotypic beliefs (Dasgupta, 2004; Dovidio et al., 2002; Dovidio et al., 1997). These unrecognized beliefs are referred to as implicit stereotypic beliefs, as opposed to explicit stereotypic beliefs, of which an individual is fully aware. A person may have conscious egalitarian beliefs, but still harbor non-conscious implicit negative stereotypic beliefs toward members of the out-group (Dasgupta, 2004; Dovidio et al., 1997; Dovidio et al., 2002).

Influenced by work in cognitive psychology, social psychologists and researchers in other fields have used latency response techniques in empirical studies to measure implicit bias and found that participants' self-reported bias and measured levels of implicit bias are not related (Dasgupta, 2004; Dovidio et al., 1997; Dovidio et al., 2002). That is, while participants reported low levels of bias, their spontaneous responses to experimental cues indicated otherwise. Further studies have shown that implicit bias reliably predicts non-conscious behavior, such as increased blinking, eye contact, smiling (or not), distance, and body posture (Dasgupta, 2004; Dovidio et al., 1997; Dovidio et al., 2002).

Interestingly, out-group members, particularly those from lower-status groups, have little trouble determining the attitudes of interaction partners. Research has shown this is especially true when the words and behaviors of the in-group member appear to be contradictory

(Mehrabian, 1972; Shelton, 2000; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). In a study conducted by Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner (2002), in-group members with implicit racial bias were observed in dyadic interaction with out-group members. The members of the in-group felt their interactions had been positive and their expressions of friendliness had been well received. Yet the out-group members, working from a different perspective and processing different cues, did not feel the interactions had been positive and experienced negative attitudes from the in-group participants. A high school student recently provided an example of implicit bias as she described one of her teachers, saying, “I don’t think he means to be racist, but he is” (Evelyn Sandoval, personal communication, April 12, 2018).

Implicit biases are similar to unconsciously held attitudes (Eagly and Chaiken, 2007). Recall that Eagly and Chaiken’s (1993) definition of attitude is “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (p. 1). The attitude is an “inner tendency” while “evaluative responses” express attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007, p. 582). Evaluative responding may be “overt or covert, or cognitive, affective, or behavioral. None of these reactions need be consciously experienced by the holder of an attitude, although they may be conscious” (p. 583).

ITT draws from four significant theories in social psychology. The relationships between them are presented below (see Figure 1).

Summary of Integrated Threat Theory

Integrated threat theory names four threats that lead to negative out-group attitudes and behavior: perceived realistic threat, perceived symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. Perceived realistic threat often leads to stronger intergroup boundaries and distancing of out-groups. The perception of symbolic threat from foreigners is associated with

increased negativity in attitudes toward immigrants, which can evoke nationalistic responses (e.g., “they’re taking over our country”). The belief that out-group members lack pro-social skills, such that they may be viewed as enemies or barbarians, can lead to dehumanization, including an acceptance of violence against them. Intergroup anxiety can lead to avoidance and, combined with negative stereotypes, ostracization, and even calls for removal or deportation of out-group members (see Table 1).

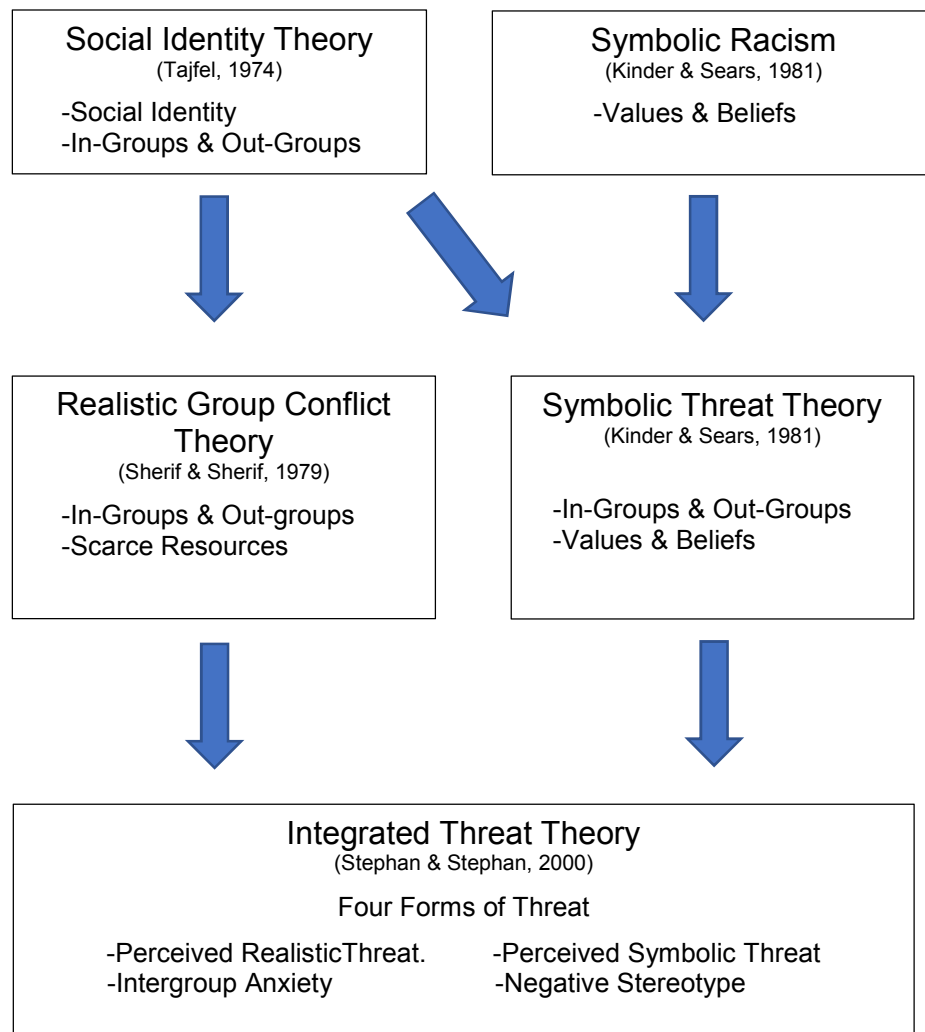


Figure 1. Integrated threat theory’s theoretical construct.

Table 1

Integrated Threat Theory's Four Threats and Common Results

<p>Perceived Realistic Threat -Stronger in-group boundaries -Distancing of out-group members</p> <p>Perceived Symbolic Threat -Displays of nationalism</p> <p>Intergroup Anxiety -Avoidance of Contact -Calls for removal of out-group members</p> <p>Negative Stereotype -Dehumanization</p>

Academic Risk

The following section examines the literature on the academic risks associated with both poverty and immigration and considers the cumulative effect of the two. Next, it reviews the literature on protective factors in the community and the school, particularly high-quality instruction and positive teacher-student interaction.

Risk From Poverty

The academic risk factors associated with poverty are numerous (Broman et al., 1975; Danziger & Danziger 1995; Duncan et al., 1994; Goodman & Conway, 2016; Korenman et al., 1995; Luthar, 1999; McLeod & Shanahan, 1993; Huston et al., 1994; Parker et al., 1988; Werner & Smith, 1977), and their effects are cumulative (Atzaba-Poria et al., 2004; Klebanov & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Liaw & Brooks-Gunn, 1994; Pong & Landale, 2012), increasing with the length of time a child is poor (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Chase- Lansdale & Brooks-Gunn, 1995; Smith et al., 1997). According to the National Education Association (NEA), poverty creates, among other things, “acute and chronic stressors ...and health and safety issues” (Izard, 2016, p.

5), with lifelong consequences. Brooks-Gunn & Duncan (1997) cite “higher incidences of adverse health...developmental, cognitive ability, school achievement, emotional and behavioral outcomes” (p. 57), documented in studies spanning decades (Broman et al., 1975; Danziger & Danziger 1995; Duncan et al., 1994; Goodman & Conway, 2016; Huston et al., 1994; Klebanov & Brooks-Gunn, 2006; Korenman et al., 1995; Luthar, 1999; McLeod & Shanahan, 1993; McLoyd, 1990; Parker et al., 1988; Werner & Smith, 1977). Common school-related problems arising are illustrated below (see Table 2.)

Health and safety. Health and safety issues in impoverished neighborhoods commonly include poor nutrition, environmental toxins, and limited access to health care (Egbonu & Starfield, 1982; Lobach, 1995; Raymond et al., 2014; U.S. Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], 2017; Wolfe, 1995; Zill et al., 1991), resulting in higher rates of low birth weight babies. Brooks-Gunn & Duncan (1997) wrote that infants with a low birth weight are at higher risk for “subsequent physical health and cognitive and emotional problems that can persist through childhood and adolescence. . . [L]earning disabilities are more prevalent as are lower levels of intelligence” (pp. 59-60).

The effects of poor nutrition on growing children vary, depending on the age of the child and the severity of the lack (Shankar et al, 2017). While the length of time a family is food insecure mediates nutritional effects, even intermittent food insecurity is associated with “a higher incidence of behavioral, emotional, and academic problems for children” (Shankar et al., 2017, p. 135).

Substandard housing can be structurally dangerous as well as toxic. Paint from older buildings is a leading cause of lead poisoning (Raymond et al., 2014; U.S. Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], 2017), and “[p]ermanent neurologic damage and behavior disorders

have been associated with lead exposure” (Raymond et al., 2014, introduction), even at minimal levels, manifesting as “IQ deficits, attention-related behaviors, and poor academic achievement” (para. 2), anemia, as well as hearing problems (EPA, 2017; World Health Organization [WHO], 2018).

Table 2
School Issues Associated With Poverty

<u>Learning</u>	<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Social Interaction</u>
Attention problems	Impulse control	Lower levels of sympathy
Memory problems	Anger	Lower levels of empathy
Emotional problems	Aggression	
Learning problems	Poor self-regulation	
Lower IQ		

Infestations of vermin (e.g., cockroaches and rats), which are also common in substandard and poorly maintained buildings, are associated with an elevated risk of asthma and disease (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2010; Perez-Pedilla et al., 2010), including “diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid fever, and cholera” (WHO, 1985, p. 288). In sum, poor nutrition, limited access to health care, and environmental toxins (among other factors) combine to inhibit the physical, emotional, and cognitive development of children.

Acute and chronic stress. Empirical studies indicate that economic hardship raises parental stress levels, which in turn leads to higher levels of harsh and restrictive discipline and insensitive parenting (Conger et al., 2002; Goodman & Conway, 2016; Hashima & Amato, 1994; Liaw & Brooks-Gunn, 1994; McLoyd et al., 1994). Children in homes with low levels of responsiveness, warmth, and support are more likely to suffer from problems with attachment (Laible & Song, 2006; Pianta & Egeland, 1990; Raikes & Thompson, 2006; Vaughn et al.,

1979), affecting cognition (Geronimus et al., 1994), attention and memory (NEA, 2019), as well as impulse-control (Cervantes & Callanan, 1998; Laible & Thompson, 2002; Strayer & Roberts, 2004). They are more likely to demonstrate low levels of empathy and sympathy (Eisenberg & McNally, 1993; Koestner et al., 1990; Strayer & Roberts, 2004) and exhibit behavior problems in school (Evans, 2009; McLoyd et al., 1994; Mistry et al., 2004; Owens & Shaw, 2003; Pianta & Egeland, 1990; Richters & Pelligrini, 1989; Smith & Prior, 1995) including anger, aggression, and difficulty with self-regulation (Gilliom et al., 2002; Owens & Shaw, 2003).

Raised and ongoing levels of family stress contribute to academic risk (Goodman & Conway, 2016). Stress, according to the Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE) Study, “can and does change the structure and processes of the brain. . . (Izard, 2016, p. 16). “Stressors cause the lower brain to focus on survival while slowing down the prefrontal cortex . . . temporarily . . . preventing the brain from learning. When chronic stress is present, *temporarily* becomes most of the time” (p. 18, italics original).

Violence and trauma. An estimated 50-80% of children in poverty have suffered trauma (Izard, 2016). According to the Trauma and Learning Policy Initiative (TLPI) trauma “can undermine the development of language and communication skills . . . interfere with the ability to organize and remember new information and hinder the grasping of cause-and-effect relationships” (n.d., para. 2). It also impacts children’s “ability to . . . manage their behavior, attention [and] emotions . . . and develop positive relationships with adults and peers” (TLPI, n.d., para. 2).

Risk From Immigration

Immigrant children from all socioeconomic levels face another set of academic risk factors, beginning with the challenge of adjusting to a foreign culture and language (McHugh et

al., 2014; Park et al., 2018; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Those from financially secure families often excel, as their parents are more likely to be well educated and have the knowledge and means to assist their children when they struggle (Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Liaw & Brooks-Gunn, 1994; McHugh et al., 2014; Park et al., 2018; Pong & Landale, 2012; Schwartz & Stiefel, 2011; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015; M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Those from poor families, however, generally lack the knowledge and means to help their children succeed (Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Liaw & Brooks-Gunn, 1994; McHugh et al., 2014; Park et al., 2018; Pong & Landale, 2012; Schwartz & Stiefel, 2011; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015; M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Combined Risk

Poor immigrants and refugees are more likely to have limited formal education and therefore arrive with fewer job skills (Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Liaw & Brooks-Gunn, 1994; McHugh et al., 2014; Park et al., 2018; Pong & Landale, 2012; Schwartz & Stiefel, 2011; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015; M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Those who are eligible for social benefits may be unaware of their eligibility and lack the language and knowledge of culture to find out (McHugh et al., 2014; Pong & Landale, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Schwartz & Stiefel, 2011). As of 2016, approximately 58% of immigrants came from Latin America and Asia (Lopez et al., 2018; Zong et al., 2018). As “people of color,” Asian and Latin-American immigrants are met with America’s well-documented racism (McHugh et al., 2014; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015). M. Suarez-Orozco (2001) wrote that, with limited resources, they “tend to settle in areas of deep poverty and racial segregation . . . [and] the outcomes can be devastating” (p. 351). Racist attitudes and perceived racism often make immigrants feel unwelcome in agency offices and schools where beneficial information can be found (Perreira et al., 2012; C.

Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015). Without an advocate, some stay away, while others remain ignorant of aid programs altogether (McHugh et al., 2014; Pong & Landale, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Schwartz & Stiefel, 2011).

Immigrant families in poverty face the same financial constraints as their native-born counterparts, but the stressors they confront are multiplied. Some have fled extreme poverty and violence, and many experience the indefinite separation of family (Olsen, 1997; Park et al., 2018; Ruiz de Velazco & Fix, 2000; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010). Those without documentation live with the constant fear of discovery and deportation (C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015). In addition to the financial and adjustment stressors listed above, poor newcomers are likely to speak little, if any, English, making their efforts to access resources that much more difficult (Duncan & Murnane, 2011; Park et al., 2018; Perreira et al, 2012; C. Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015).

Protective Factors

Community Protective Factors

The cumulative effect of these factors, however, does not ensure failure, and studies in various fields have identified a number of protective factors for immigrant children as well. A child's home, community, and school all have profound effects on his development (Benard, 1991; Bodorova & Leong, 2007; Cleveland, et al., 2010; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Jain & Cohen, 2013; Shields, 1991; Jensen, 2009) and can provide some protection from academic risk.

Family and community support. Community support comes in many forms, including extended family (Bernal et al., 1991; Shields, 1991) for babysitting, neighbors who carpool, and local shops that allow customers to buy on credit. There may be after-school programs designed to keep children supervised and engaged in productive activities or community gardens that provide low-cost nutrition (see Bailey, 2017). Churches, community centers, non-profit

organizations, businesses, and local universities (see Bruno, 2017) may also provide programs designed to help people out of poverty (Benard, 1991; Cleveland et al., 2010; Jain & Cohen, 2013).

School Protective Factors

Studies show that schools can provide two particularly strong protections against academic failure. The first is high-quality instruction (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005; Darling-Hammond et al., 2001; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Gay, 2010; Goe, 2002; Hattie, 2008; Pomerance et al., 2016; Sanders & Horn, 1998; Sanders & Rivers, 1996; Wenglinsky, 2002) and the second is positive interaction with adult staff (Burchinal et al., 2008; Buyse et al., 2009; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Franquiz & Salazar, 2004; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hayes & Salazar, 2001; Hollins, 2011; Howes, 2000; Rey et al., 2007; White, 2013).

High-quality instruction. Research indicates that a teacher’s instructional practices and classroom interactions can have a strong impact on student achievement (Burchinal et al., 2008; Darling-Hammond, 2002; Darling-Hammond et al., 2001; Gandara et al., 2003; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Haycock, 1998; Rockoff, 2003; Sanders & Horn, 1998; Shields, 1991; Wenglinsky, 2002). High-quality instruction has been identified as an important protective factor for children at risk of academic failure (Buyse et al., 2009; Franquiz & Salazar, 2004; Gay, 2010; Goe, 2002; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hayes & Salazar, 2001; Rey et al., 2007; White, 2013). The following section reviews the literature on high-quality instruction, followed by a discussion of recent findings on the importance of classroom interactions.

Drawing largely from the work of Linda Darling-Hammond (2006), Hollins (2011) described five forms of “essential knowledge” (p. 397) required for high-quality instruction: knowledge of learners, learning, pedagogy, subject matter, and assessment. These are discussed

in detail below as each represents an aspect of instruction that may be affected by teachers' attitudes. First, however, some clarification of the term *pedagogy* is required.

Pedagogy. In American educational institutions, *pedagogy* has traditionally been synonymous with *teaching strategies*; indeed, a university library database search for articles on pedagogy returned a list of titles regarding teaching strategies. The definition has expanded, however, since the advancement of critical theory in the 1970s (Freire, 1970/2000; Segall, 2004). At the end of the last century, objections arose against the normative nature of education and the ways power “work[ed] through the structural operations of curriculum” (Joseph, 2012, p. 243). Scholars, particularly those working with critical pedagogy and cultural studies, began to “analyze texts, discourses and practices for how they function to include or exclude certain meanings, produce or prevent, circulate and legitimate particular ways of thinking, being, and imagining” (Segall, 2004, p. 492). These unspoken lessons came to be known as the “hidden curriculum” (Bromley & Smith, 2019).

Any current discussion of pedagogy must ask what knowledge is prioritized, whose history is taught, and whose is not. Whose values and perspectives are assumed to be the norm? Which ways of thinking are employed, and how is knowledge organized? A discussion of pedagogy must also consider the attitudes and beliefs of classroom teachers, as “learners, subject matter and curriculum exist . . . in a *sociocultural context* that influences what is valued and how learning occurs” (Darling-Hammond, 2006, p. 82, italics original).

This conceptualization serves not to replace but to expand the narrower definition of pedagogy as *teaching strategies* by considering what, besides the stated information, is being taught (Freire, 1970/2000; Segall, 2004). For the purposes of this work, “[p]edagogy comprises teachers' ideas, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and understanding about the curriculum, the

teaching and learning process and their students, and which impact on their ‘teaching practices’” (Westbrook et al., 2013, p. 7).

Defined this way, pedagogy is an amorphous concept, but it takes form when mapped onto Hollins’s (2011) construct of high-quality instruction. Together, Hollins’s five forms of knowledge required for high-quality instruction address the elements of pedagogy in the Westbrook definition as well as issues of culture, perspective, and power, which are important aspects of the broader definition of pedagogy. Hollins’s five forms of essential knowledge for high-quality instruction were, therefore, an appropriate guide for the analysis of participants’ responses as they related to pedagogy (broad definition). In this inquiry, teachers’ attitudes toward immigrants were analyzed with respect to their statements regarding elements of pedagogy (broad definition) as well as Hollins’s five forms of essential knowledge for high-quality instruction.

The five forms of knowledge required for high-quality instruction that Hollins lists (knowledge of learners, learning, pedagogy [teaching strategies], subject matter, and assessment) represent the core of a program that is ideally supported by connections to learning across disciplines (Shields, 1991; Werner & Smith, 1977), collaboration between colleagues (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Ooka Pang, 2014; Shields, 1991), ongoing professional development (Anderson & Olsen, 2006; Wenglinsky, 2002), and strong partnerships with students’ families (Darling-Hammond, 2006). The following section reviews the literature on each of the five forms of knowledge Hollins (2011) lists as they combine to form a child-centered, holistic pedagogy (broad definition). Holistic pedagogy here is understood to be an approach to teaching that seeks to promote a child’s overall development and is discussed in more detail below.

Knowledge of learning. Many teacher education programs espouse constructivist notions of learning, based primarily on the theories of Dewey, Piaget, and Vygotsky (Bodrova & Leong, 2007; Dewey, 1938/1997; Edwards, 2007; Feldman, 2012; Goswami, 2014; Ultanir, 2012). John Dewey's progressive movement in education was grounded in the belief that children learn through experience, and that new learning builds on learning acquired from previous experiences. The meaning they make of one experience contributes to their understanding of the next, so that "every experience lives on in further experiences" (Dewey, 1938/1997, p. 27).

Swiss epistemologist Jean Piaget arrived at a similar conclusion from years of close observation of children. He believed children construct knowledge or make meaning of their experiences, as they interact with their environment (Berk, 2008; Feldman, 2012; P. Miller, 2014; Mooney, 2000). Piaget's theory of cognitive development is rooted in biology; as a child's brain develops it is increasingly capable of thinking in qualitatively different ways (Berk, 2008; Feldman, 2012; P. Miller, 2014; Mooney, 2000).

Piaget's model divides the human lifespan into four sequential stages that occur at more or less the same ages for everyone. His critics point to cultural variation in child development and scholars have shown that some cognitive skills emerge earlier than he suggested (Feldman, 2012). Nevertheless, his theory profoundly affected teaching (Feldman, 2012; Goswami, 2014; Hohmann, Banet, & Weikart, 1979), as educators worldwide have built curricula on commonly accepted principles in his model (Hohmann, Banet, & Weikart).

The Russian psychoanalyst Lev Vygotsky also believed children construct knowledge through interaction with the environment, but he placed much greater significance on social interaction than on physical interaction. According to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, learning

is socially mediated and occurs largely through the medium of language. It is through language that a child learns to label, categorize, and to reason according to her culture's norms (Berk, 2008; Doherty & Hilberg, 2007; Feldman, 2012; Mooney, 2000; Vygotsky, 1934/1986)

It is through interaction with others that children learn words, attitudes, rules, and ways of thinking, or their culture's worldview. A worldview, or mindset, is defined here as "a culture's standard way of perceiving reality, of processing information, of approaching problems, and of interacting with others" (Hain-Jamall, 2013, p. 14). Language, with its nuances of meaning and values, "shapes the mind to function in the most efficient way for a particular culture" (Bodorova & Leong, 2007, p. 66).

Where Piaget felt that developmental changes in the brain led to the ability to think in qualitatively different ways, Vygotsky believed the reverse: that "cognitive development proceeds as a result of social interactions" (Feldman, 2012, p. 30). Recent advances in brain research support Vygotsky's theory (Lally, 2013), but a detailed analysis of the literature is beyond the scope of this paper. Regardless of the order in which they occur, constructivists agree that children construct knowledge by processing, or making sense, of new information in light of previous experiences.

Constructivist educators emphasize "[t]he importance of contextualizing instruction -- connecting new information to students' prior knowledge from home, school, and community" (Doherty & Hilberg, 2007, p. 25). Teachers providing high-quality instruction endeavor to know their students (*knowledge of learners*) well enough to be familiar with some of their prior experiences to facilitate learning. It may be all the more important with immigrant children, as research has shown "how essential it is for all students, and especially second language learners,

to build their academic skills on everyday life experiences and family-based knowledge” (Sleeter & Stillman, 2005, p. 30).

Knowledge of pedagogy and learners. The essential skills for teaching listed by Hollins (2011) include knowledge of learners and knowledge of pedagogy (teaching strategies). In a child-centered, holistic educational approach, pedagogy (broad definition) is responsive, to the greatest extent possible, to the skills, abilities, and prior experiences of the learners. The review below illustrates the value of familiarity with students’ lives as part of a holistic pedagogy.

Holistic pedagogy. For culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) populations, many scholars recommend a holistic approach, emphasizing the benefit to all students (Banks & Banks, 1995; Forbes & Martin, 2004; Gay, 2010; McNaughton, 2002; R. Miller, 2000; Mitchell, 2016; Santamaria, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Holistic pedagogy has been defined many ways, but here it is understood to be an approach to teaching that seeks to promote a child’s development cognitively, physically, psychologically, morally, and socially. It “is based on the premise that each person finds identity, meaning, and purpose in life through connections to the community, to the natural world, and to spiritual values such as compassion and peace” (R. Miller, 2000, para. 2). In line with Dewey’s progressive education, Piaget’s cognitive development theory, and Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory, this is accomplished through direct experience with the environment. Designed to be responsive to the needs and abilities of each student, a holistic pedagogy values and makes use of the many perspectives, learning styles (Banks & Banks, 1995; Forbes & Martin, 2004; Gay, 2010; R. Miller, 2000; Mitchell, 2016; Santamaria, 2009), and “linguistic and cultural resources students carry with them into the classroom” (Southerland et al., 2007, p. 56).

Three approaches. The following section describes three approaches to learning that individualize instruction in order to be responsive to students' needs and abilities and demonstrates how they fit into two holistic constructs. The three approaches are multiple intelligence theory (Gardner, 2008), individualized instruction, and learning styles, all of which can be included in the holistic constructs of situated learning theory and culturally responsive teaching.

Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (MI) challenges the traditional notion that there is a single measure of intelligence, as measured by intelligence quotient, or IQ (Gardner, 2008). It proposes instead that human intelligence be divided into eight categories: linguistic; logical-mathematical; spatial; bodily-kinesthetic; musical; interpersonal; intrapersonal; and naturalist intelligence. (Armstrong, 2018; Berk, 2008; Gardner, 2008). Individual strengths vary, and a child may learn more effectively through one intelligence than others. Congruent with a holistic approach to learning, the MI perspective focuses less on the advancement of intelligence and more on "helping students learn how to use their intelligences so that they can carry out the activities that will enable them to be productive members of society" (Hatch & Kornhaber, 2006, p. 38). A teacher using MI theory would include a variety of teaching strategies designed to capitalize on students' abilities in order to facilitate learning.

Individualized, or differentiated, instruction addresses children's individual needs (Wenglinsky, 2002). By teaching concepts at varying levels of difficulty, or with a variety of methods (e.g., in Vietnamese, or Braille), all students learn. Lave's (1988) situated learning theory, representative of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, is a holistic approach to education that works well with differentiated learning. According to Lave's theory, learning occurs gradually, through social interaction. Children learn by solving genuine problems in authentic contexts,

learning critical thinking, and learning problem-solving skills collaboratively (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This is supported by research that shows students are more likely to be engaged when working on genuine problems that are meaningful to them (Blumenfeld et al., 1991). As children work in these *communities of practice*, they acquire beliefs and behaviors along with knowledge and skills (David, 2007). A teacher using situated learning theory has many opportunities to vary the level of difficulty or instructional approach in order to meet the needs of his students (Doherty & Hilberg, 2007).

Also working from a constructivist perspective, Gay (2010) writes that it is not enough for teachers to be aware of the facts and skills their students have accumulated. “They also need to understand how students come to know or to learn so that they can convey new knowledge through students’ own learning systems” (p. 176). These learning systems, also referred to as cognitive styles or learning styles, are largely shaped by the culture in which a child is socialized (Gay, 2010, p. 177; Goddard & Wierzbicka, 1997; Guild, 1994; Oyserman, 2011) and passed on, as Vygotsky believed nearly a century ago, primarily through language (Bodrova & Leong, 2007; Vygotsky, 1934/1986). They are an individual’s manifestation of his culture’s worldview.

Cultural learning styles must be considered with caution, as they can be overgeneralized and become stereotypes. They are a general construct, within which there is much variation (Gay, 2010; Guild, 1994). According to Guild and Garger (1985), an individual’s learning style is demonstrated through his cognition (way of knowing); conceptualizing (formulating ideas and thoughts); affective reacting (feeling and valuing); and acting (exhibiting some kind of behavior). In a holistic classroom, the teacher plans learning experiences that build on his students’ learning styles and also scaffolds learning when other styles are required. For him to do so, he must know his students as individuals.

Culturally responsive teaching is a holistic approach (Bassey, 2016) also known as culturally congruent, culturally sensitive, and culturally relevant teaching (Gay, 2010). The term *culturally responsive teaching* is used here as it reflects the responsive nature of holistic education. Scholars vary on the purpose of culturally responsive teaching (e.g., racial empowerment, restorative justice) and therefore its components (Armento, 2001; Banks & Banks, 1995; Gay, 2010). This inquiry uses Gay's (2010) definition, which described culturally responsive teaching as "using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for [students]" (p. 31).

At its core, culturally responsive teaching is a student-centered approach that builds on children's lived experience, taking into account cultural learning styles as well as cultural values and forms of interaction (Gay, 2010; Hefflin, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2005). With the recognition that non-white cultures, along with their funds of knowledge (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) and languages, are often denigrated in the United States, culturally responsive teaching deliberately brings them into learning experiences not only to make learning more meaningful (Hefflin, 2002; Naidoo, 2011; Ooka Pang, 2014), and to build on students' prior learning (Bodorova & Leong, 2007; Dewey, 1938/1987; Feldman, 2012; Hefflin, 1997; P. Miller, 2014; Naidoo, 2011; Ooka Pang, 2014), but to demonstrate their validity in the academic setting (Banks, 2010; Gay, 2010; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Naidoo, 2011; Olsen, 1997; Ooka Pang, 2014). A number of studies have demonstrated academic improvements, particularly for students of color, resulting from the adoption of culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010; Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2005; Werner & Smith, 1977).

Knowledge of subject matter. Knowledge of subject matter includes knowledge of the methods and processes of the relevant discipline (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Duschl, 2008; Ooka Pang, 2014; Wenglinsky, 2002). In science, for example, the vocabulary and steps of the scientific process are explicitly taught. Similarly, the vocabulary and forms of various types of writing are intentionally presented (e.g., paragraph, essay) in language arts. In other subjects, however, information is organized and conveyed through culturally determined forms of reasoning that are not taught as part of the subject matter (e.g., elementary school geography).

The information as well as the organization are assumed to be neutral and correct (Freire, 1970/2000; Segall, 2004). Extensive knowledge of the subject matter enables a teacher to identify what knowledge is prioritized (e.g., natural resources and agribusiness) or what has been omitted from the text altogether (e.g., the state's waterways or sustainable farming).

Knowledge of subject matter also allows her to identify the perspective from which material is presented, which is important because "education is not apolitical" (Bassey, 2016, introduction). Textbooks nationwide have been criticized for a perspective that represents the general values and beliefs of the majority culture (Darling-Hammond, 2006; "Scholar reviews," 2017; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005). That said, it is unlikely there is any curriculum that represents a variety of worldviews. The knowledgeable teacher, however, is aware that there is a perspective behind the text and can bring it to her students' attention, teaching them to think critically about information that is presented to them authoritatively (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1995). As she does with literature, she can teach her students to identify the viewpoint of the author and guide them through experiences that teach them the value of considering other perspectives (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Gay, 2010; Hefflin, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995 2005).

Trade books (books other than texts) are often used in teaching language arts, to familiarize students with biographies, various forms of fiction, and poetry. Protagonists' perspectives, a story's background, and cultures represented (or not) are all part of how students are "hegemonized" (Osborne, 1996, p. 287). A knowledgeable teacher can guide students to think critically about them as well. A teacher with *knowledge of learning* and *of learners* would be aware of the academic benefits to be derived from the inclusion of "literature that includes characters, settings, and events similar to [students'] lived experiences" (Gay, 2010, p. 159).

Knowledge of assessment. Knowledge of assessment refers to the understanding of the value, variety, and authenticity of assessment, as tests can be biased or even duplicitous (Gipps & Stobart, 2009; Southerland et al., 2007). Asking children to describe a molecule in writing, for example, is appropriate when students are learning to write subject matter prose as well as beginning chemistry. When the topic of study is molecules, it may still be appropriate if the teacher is assessing writing as well as subject matter knowledge. If the goal is to assess subject matter alone, it might be more appropriate to have students build models or draw diagrams, particularly if language or writing difficulties would hinder their ability to demonstrate mastery (Gipps & Stobart, 2009; Southerland et al., 2007).

In a holistic classroom, teachers employ an assortment of authentic assessment tools (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Gipps & Stobart, 2009; R. Miller, 2000; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Wenglinsky, 2002). Student portfolios, for example, allow for a variety of methods with which students may demonstrate mastery of a skill or concept (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; McNaughton, 2002; Wenglinsky, 2002). Not discounting the value of tests, ongoing assessment enables teachers to provide frequent feedback to students, which is crucial (Gipps & Stobart, 2009), as "learning is intensely dependent on continuous feedback" (Darling-

Hammond, 2006, p. 82). In planning further instruction, “ongoing formative assessment is critical for informing teaching” (Darling-Hammond, 2006, p. 82).

Summary of knowledge of high-quality instruction. The five forms of essential knowledge required for high-quality instruction, according to Hollins (2011), are knowledge of learning, learners, pedagogy (teaching strategies), subject matter, and assessment (see Figure 2). These five forms of knowledge address the many aspects of pedagogy as defined by Westbrook et al. (2013) as well as issues of culture, perspective, and power.

Knowledge of learning includes familiarity with the qualitatively different stages of cognitive development in childhood. From the constructivist perspective, learning occurs as children make meaning of their interactions with the environment, both physical and social. Knowledge of learning includes the recognition that learning is an individual event as each child makes sense of experiences and information with thought processes informed by his culture’s worldview as well as his own lived experience.

Because new learning is processed according to existing knowledge, a holistic pedagogy, such as culturally responsive teaching or situated learning theory, provides learning experiences that build on students’ prior knowledge, as much as possible, to facilitate learning. Knowledge of learners includes familiarity with local and cultural knowledge as well as students’ academic knowledge. With sufficient knowledge of pedagogy (teaching strategies), a holistic approach can be individualized to accommodate varying needs as well as to capitalize on children’s abilities. Thus, new information can be presented at a variety of levels with methods that draw on assorted intelligences and learning styles.

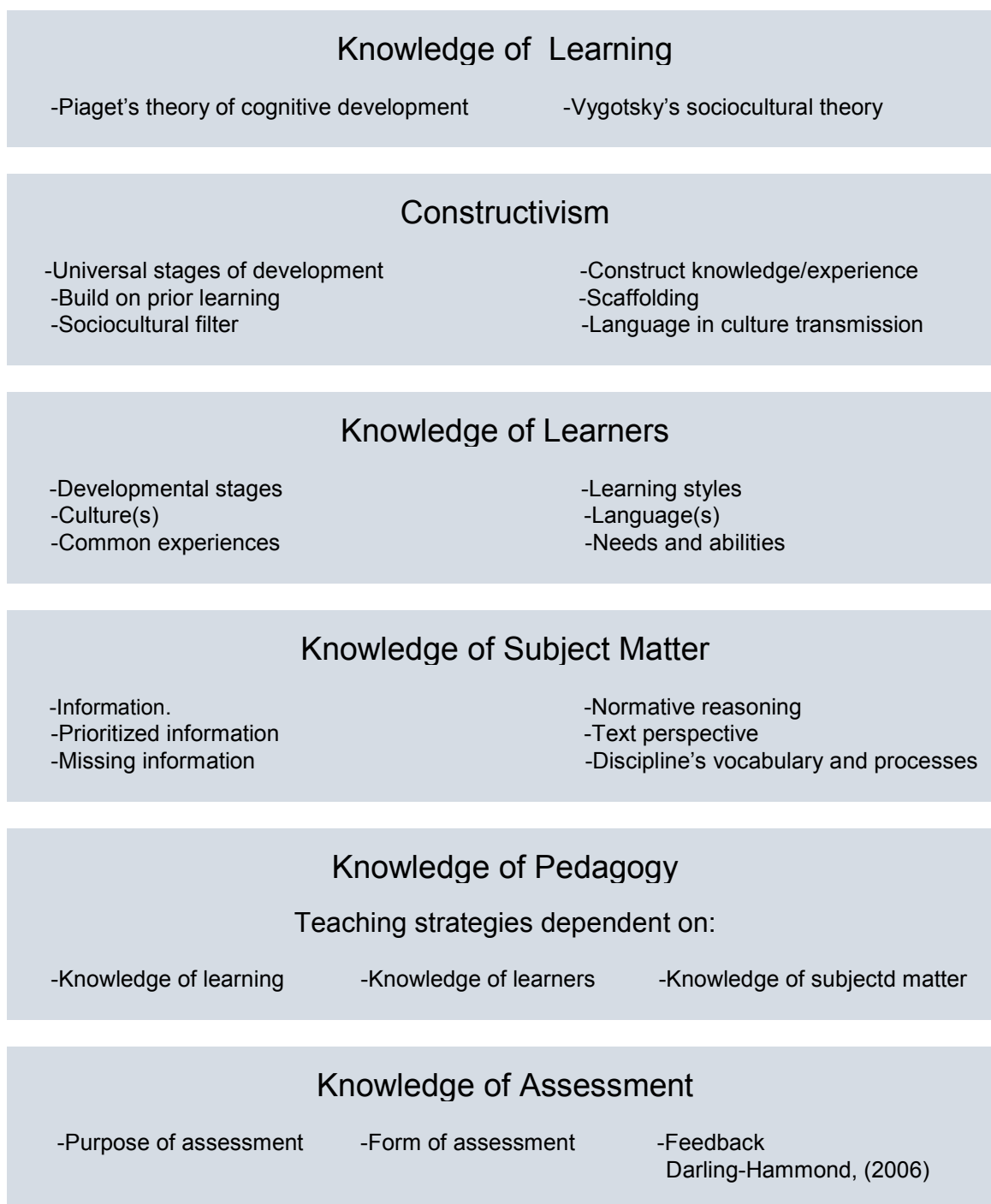


Figure 2. Five forms of essential knowledge for high-quality instruction (Hollins, 2011).

Knowledge of subject matter refers to familiarity with the information as well as the skills and processes of a discipline (e.g., the scientific method). A knowledgeable teacher is aware of the political nature of education and can identify the perspective from which textual information is presented. She is also cognizant of what information is prioritized and what may have been omitted (e.g., Native American history).

Teachers with extensive knowledge of assessment are aware of the various, sometimes unstated purposes of tests. In the classroom, they employ a variety of assessment strategies to gauge student progress so that all children may demonstrate understanding. They also understand the value of ongoing assessment in providing student feedback.

Holistic approaches to education, such as culturally responsive teaching and situated learning theory, emphasize the importance of responding to students' needs and building on lived experience to facilitate learning. They seek to engage students in educational activities that are relevant and meaningful, acknowledging the cultural and social context of learning.

Resting on the foundational constructivist concept that learning builds on prior experience, *knowledge of learners* is central to Hollins's model. It is familiarity with one's students that guides the knowledgeable teacher to gauge the suitability of subject matter, assessment, and pedagogy (teaching strategies). Awareness of students' lives, interests, and experiences enables her to determine what is most appropriate for her class. (See Figure 3).

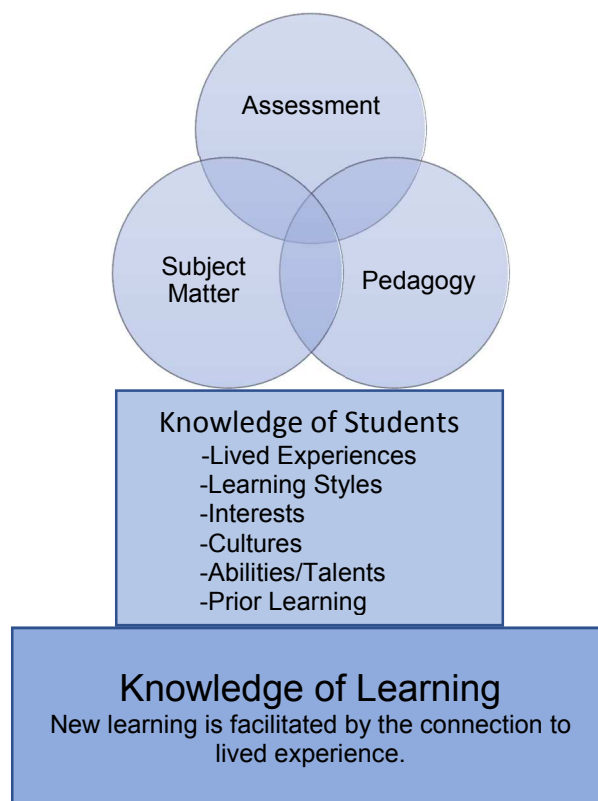


Figure 3. Relationships between Hollins's (2011) five forms of essential knowledge.

Positive interaction. A second form of protection against academic risk is positive interaction with teachers (Burchinal et al., 2008; Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Wentzel, 1998, 2002). Vygotsky's sociocultural theory stipulates that learning occurs primarily through social interaction, and that the acquisition of new concepts and skills can be scaffolded by more knowledgeable peers or adults (Bodrova & Leong, 2007). Numerous studies have demonstrated that when educational interaction with adults is “sensitive and responsive . . . learning is more likely to occur” (Burchinal et al., 2008, p. 141).

Much of the research on classroom interaction is based on social-motivation theories and teacher-student relationships (Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Wentzel, 1998,

2002), which in turn build on the linguistic premise that nearly every communicative event contains both affective and informational components (Gardner & Forrester, 2010; Goldin-Meadow, 2000; Goodwin, 2000; Hutchby & Woofitt, 2008; Jewitt, 2009; Mandal, 2014; Ruusuvuori, 2013; Sacks et al., 1974; Searle, 1969/1996; Streek, 2009). For analytical purposes, interactions between students and teachers can be divided into two types: those that provide (or do not provide) students with either instructional support or emotional support (Hamre & Pianta, 2005).

Instructional support. Research that focuses on intentionality and explicitness in effective teaching suggests teachers who provide instructional support do so through interactions with identifiable characteristics (Dolezal et al., 2003; Juel, 1996; Meyer et al., 1993; Pianta et al., 2002; Matsumura et al., 2002; Torgesen, 2002). Hamre & Pianta (2005) described instructionally supportive conversations as “focused, direct, intentional, and characterized by feedback loops involving student performance” (p. 951).

Emotional support. Emotional support refers to a classroom climate that is warm, child-centered, and welcoming. It is characterized by teachers who are sensitive and responsive to individual students’ needs and abilities, employ proactive behavior management techniques, and enjoy their time with the children, who, in turn, enjoy their time in class (Hamre & Pianta, 2005; National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Early Child Care Research Network [NICHD ECCRN], 2003).

Research in child development has shown that when children are taught and cared for predominantly by responsive adults, their positive experiences enable them to develop emotion regulation and learn the skills required for successful social interaction, including emotional

understanding. These skills are critical if they are to successfully engage in learning activities with teachers and peers (Birch & Ladd, 1998; Burchinal et al., 2008; Eccles, 1983; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Howes, 2000; Howes et al., 1994; Pianta et al., 2002; Skinner et al., 1998; Wentzel, 2002).

Other studies have found that children whose interactions with teachers are largely “sensitive, responsive, and positive” (Hamre & Pianta, 2005, p. 951) perceive their teachers as supportive and are therefore motivated to learn (Crosnoe et al., 2004; Eccles, 1983; Greenberg et al., 2003; Gregory & Weinstein, 2004; Pianta et al., 2002; Roeser & Eccles, 2000; Zins et al., 2004). Teachers’ emotional support has been associated with both increased engagement (Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Pianta et al., 2002) and academic achievement (Crosnoe et al., 2004; Gregory & Weinstein, 2004; Hamre & Pianta, 2005).

Research indicates that children at risk of academic failure tend to benefit more from both emotional and instructional support than their peers with fewer academic risks (Hamre & Pianta, 2005). Interestingly, Hamre & Pianta (2005) found that for 1st graders at “high functional risk (those who displayed some combination of early behavioral, attentional, social, and/or academic problems)” (p. 962), emotional support resulted in higher test scores at the end of the year, whereas instructional support did not. The scores of high functional risk students in emotionally supportive classes were on par with those of children at low functional risk. The scores of high functional risk students in instructionally supportive classes were lower than those of children at low functional risk. Their findings validate “other work indicating that among children who have displayed difficulties adjusting to the classroom environment, having teachers who attend to their social and emotional needs may be as or more important to academic development than

specific instructional practices” (Burchinal et al., 2008; Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Noam & Hermann, 2002; Wentzel, 2002).

Summary of positive interaction. Research in motivation, teacher-student relationships, effective teaching, and child development indicate that both instructionally and emotionally supportive interactions are vitally important in the classroom. This is supported by Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory, which states that all learning is socially mediated, and is congruent with a holistic approach to teaching. Teachers who understand the importance of positive interaction, as well as the elements of both instructionally and emotionally supportive interaction are able to intentionally incorporate them in learning experiences. In doing so, they may moderate the effects of academic risk.

Integrated Threat Theory and Teachers in High-Poverty Schools

The following section begins with a review of the challenges associated with teaching in high-poverty schools, considering possible effects on teachers’ attitudes. Next is a discussion of ITT’s four threats in the context of teaching conditions in low SES schools. To reiterate, ITT posits that prejudice toward immigrants can arise from the perception of realistic threat, the perception of symbolic threat, from intergroup anxiety, and/or negative stereotypes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Challenges for Teachers

Schools in low-income neighborhoods, on average, compare unfavorably with their counterparts in middle- and upper-middle class neighborhoods in terms of supplies, facilities, teacher qualifications, and teacher retention (Darling-Hammond, 2002; Edgert et al., 1998; Oakes & Saunders, 2002). Many researchers cite lack of support and poor working conditions as reasons teachers leave (Boyd et al., 2011; Gandara et al., 2003; Ingersoll,

2001, 2002; Johnson & Birkeland, 2003; Ortiz, 2002). Because it is difficult to attract and retain teachers in high-poverty schools, principals must often settle for less experienced teachers (Carver Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017; Darling-Hammond, 2003) which can exacerbate the problem as they have fewer skills with which to address the challenges (Cochran-Smith, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2003, 2017).

Working conditions. Researchers have found that many teachers who leave are frustrated by the lack of support from administration. Because of the high rate of teacher turnover, they must often manage without a peer support structure as well (Boyd et al., 2011; Cochran-Smith, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2003; Gay, 2010). They are often discouraged by insufficient supplies and outdated materials (Cochran-Smith, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2003), and a campus that is chronically unclean or in a state of disrepair. Given the adverse effects of poverty, low SES schools also have higher rates of students who struggle with socio-emotional, cognitive, and behavior problems (Atzaba-Poria et al., 2004; Evans, 2009; Hart et al., 2013; Pastor et al., 2004; Yoshikawa et al., 2012; Zill et al., 1991).

Language. Language can also be an issue. As mentioned earlier, roughly 20% (126,000) of California's public school students are designated limited English proficient (LEP) (CDE, n.d.). The vast majority of them speak Spanish, but with recent changes in immigration patterns (Zong et al., 2018), many districts face the challenge of teaching students from a range of language backgrounds (CDE, 2018a; Darling-Hammond, 2002; Park et al., 2018). While a district may have policies and programs for educating its English learners (ELs), many teachers have little or no training in teaching LEP students and must manage as best they can (Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Gandara et al., 2003; Rumberger & Gandara, 2004; Wong-Fillmore & Snow, 2002).

Resentment, blame, and stereotypes. Teachers who work in low-income neighborhoods may feel overburdened (California State University, 2003). If on top of the challenges associated with teaching children in poverty, teachers have LEP students from a variety of language backgrounds, they may be overwhelmed (California State University, 2003), particularly if they have not been trained to work with English Learners. They may also harbor some resentment if they believe students who are the children of immigrants should not be in the United States in the first place (Riek et al., 2006). Resentment can lead to blame and the reinforcement of negative stereotypes, as described in ITT (Alexander et al., 1999; Stephan et al., 2002).

Some may view local immigrants with the barbarian image (Alexander et al., 1999): as people here to take advantage of America's largesse at the expense of "real" Americans who work hard to earn them. Latinos, for example, are often assumed to be in the country illegally and are regularly portrayed as criminals (Chavez, 2007; CSHE, 2019; Farris & Mohamed, 2018; Flores & Schachter, 2018). Others may consider local immigrant families as enemies (Alexander et al., 1999), using the naturally open friendliness of the American people to attack from within. Muslims have often been stereotyped this way since the attacks on 9/11 (CSHE, 2019; Lee, 2016; Lopez, 2016; Pew Research Center, 2016; Pickus, 2014; Valverde, 2017).

Integrated Threat Theory and Schools

This inquiry did not assume that teachers of immigrant children in low SES schools harbored any resentment at all. Given the outcry in professional publications against such suggestions, it was clear that many educators staunchly supported the presence of their immigrant students (see California Teachers Association (CTA), 2017; Garcia, 2018; NEA, n.d.). Responding to increases in anti-immigrant political rhetoric, superintendents throughout

California declared “safe haven school districts,” (CDE, n.d.) (see Locke, 2017), and educational organizations and schools at all levels, from preschools to universities, worked to establish guidelines to ensure their students felt welcome and safe (see CSU, n.d.; CTA, 2017; NEA, n.d.; University of California (UC), n.d.). Many educators spoke of doing otherwise as both impractical (e.g., a child in fear isn’t learning math) (see CTA, 2017; Garcia, 2018; NEA, n.d.) and an affront to American values.

Given the ongoing national debate about immigration (CSHE, 2019; Cooper et al., 2016; Flores & Schachter, 2018; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Pettigrew, 2017), however, it was safe to assume that there were teachers on both sides. Those who worked with immigrant children yet harbored anti-immigrant feelings may have been responding to the perception of threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Because people often react strongly to a realistic threat that they believe is directed toward others in the in-group (Esses et al., 1998; Jackson, 1993), it is not a stretch to suggest that some teachers may have believed immigrant children were diverting needed funds or the teacher’s attention from “real” American children. The perception of realistic threat can lead to the strengthening of group boundaries, emphasizing the differences between “us” and “them,” in the classroom (Sherif & Sherif, 1979).

A sense that the country (or neighborhood, or school) is being overrun by immigrants, and “it just isn’t the same anymore” (Jones, 2016; Jones et al., 2016; Lee, 2016; Lopez, 2016) can lead to nationalistic sentiments (Alexander et al., 1999; Major et al., 2016). One might hear of a teacher who perceives symbolic threat espousing assimilation, helping children and their parents learn “how things are done here,” thereby devaluing their home cultures.

Intergroup anxiety can lead to avoidance of contact with the families of immigrant students. It may also be seen in the tacit support of those who call for the removal of students who they feel should not be there. In its extreme form, it can lead to the desire for separation of the out-group altogether (Dovidio et al., 2002; McLaren, 2003; Plant & Devine, 2003; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). At the school or district level, this could result in segregated classes or segregated schools.

Negative stereotypes or images with a strong evaluative element suggest to in-group members that out-group members lack pro-social values (Crandall, 1994; Esses et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 1990). Such an evaluation can result in dehumanization, which often leads to in-group members' acceptance of harsh treatment of out-group members (Alexander et al., 1999; Esses et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2002; Schwartz & Struch, 1989). Implicit bias, though less obvious than consciously held negative stereotypes, can affect interaction with students, as members of lower-status out-groups often notice the hidden bias (Dovidio et al., 2002; Gay, 2010; Mehrabian, 1972; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Shelton, 2000; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001).

All four threats can impact a teacher's general attitude toward immigrant students, which can, in turn, influence her behavior (Fazio, 1990; Fazio & Olson, 2014). Pedagogical decisions can be affected, thereby shaping the quality of instruction (Hollins, 2011). Instructional and emotional interaction can be affected as well, both of which are crucial protective factors against academic risk (Burchinal et al., 2008; Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Wentzel, 1998, 2002).

Summary of Integrated Threat Theory and Teachers

Educators in high poverty schools face significantly more challenges than those in higher-SES areas, and such teachers may feel overburdened. The additional challenge of

working with LEP students may cause them to feel overwhelmed, particularly if they have not been trained to teach English learners. It is possible that the added challenge of teaching LEP children in high-poverty schools could lead them to resent the students themselves.

According to ITT, an attitude of resentment toward the out-group often leads to denigration and the use of negative stereotypes. Negative stereotype is one of four threats named in ITT, accompanying perceived realistic threat, perceived symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety. Any of the four threats can lead to “negative attitudes” (Reik et al., 2006, p. 38) which affect behavior in small, but significant ways. In the classroom, such attitudes may influence a teacher’s pedagogy through the selection of teaching strategies, reading assignments, seating arrangements, or forms of assessment. Non-conscious beliefs, or implicit bias, can affect the learning environment as well. Empirical evidence has demonstrated that implicit bias is often recognized by out-group members, which has a significant impact on social interaction. High-quality instruction and positive interaction with teachers, two key mediators of academic risk, can therefore be affected by negative attitudes stemming from negative stereotypes or the perception of threat.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a review of the literature on integrated threat theory, which names four threats that can lead to prejudice. The threats are perceived realistic threat, perceived symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotype. The perception of realistic and symbolic threat often results in the strengthening of intergroup boundaries and increased negativity toward immigrants, which can lead to nationalistic demonstrations and calls for the expulsion of out-group members. The belief that out-group members lack pro-social skills, such that they can be viewed as enemies or barbarians, can result in dehumanization, including

acceptance of harsh treatment and even violence against them. Many individuals oppose such behavior, yet hold non-conscious negative stereotypes, or implicit bias, which also affect non-conscious judgments and interpersonal interactions.

The second part of this chapter reviewed the literature on academic risk due to poverty and immigration, the effects of which are cumulative. The results of exposure to environmental hazards, poor nutrition, and limited access to health care vary with the length and severity of the exposure, but often manifest as difficulty with emotion regulation, attentional problems, and low IQ. Elevated family stress, such as that caused by economic instability, has a similar impact.

The third section reviewed the literature on protective factors that may be found in the family or community. Extended families and neighbors can provide support ranging from babysitting and carpooling to housing. Organized programs provided by schools, religious organizations, or other institutions can provide services ranging from community gardens to job placement.

The fourth section of the chapter reviewed the literature on high-quality instruction as a protective factor in schools. It focused on the five forms of essential knowledge required for teachers to provide high-quality instruction, as outlined by Hollins (2011): knowledge of learners, learning, pedagogy (teaching strategies), subject matter, and assessment. Together, they comprise a holistic pedagogy. A holistic pedagogy is child-centered and individualized to the greatest extent possible, in order to build on prior experiences and facilitate learning. Situated learning theory and culturally responsive teaching are examples of holistic pedagogies.

Regarding *knowledge of learning*, Hollins (2011) and many schools of education espouse the constructivist model as put forth by theorists such as Piaget and Vygotsky. In this view, an

individual constructs knowledge as he makes meaning of his experiences. New learning occurs as it relates to previously constructed understandings.

Reviewing the literature regarding *knowledge of pedagogy and learners*, the fifth section discussed holistic education, presenting culturally responsive teaching and situated learning theory as examples. Recognizing the individual nature of learning, they emphasize the importance of building on children's experiences and using their individual strengths (e.g., multiple intelligences) to facilitate learning.

Knowledge of subject matter refers to familiarity with the information to be taught as well as discipline-related vocabulary and processes. It includes recognition of the perspective from which the material is presented and awareness of what is not taught. The literature on *knowledge of assessment* acknowledges the value of tests, but emphasizes the importance of ongoing, authentic assessment, particularly in providing feedback to learners and in planning further learning activities.

Following the discussion of Hollins's (2011) five forms of essential knowledge was a synopsis of the literature on positive classroom interaction. Research in a number of fields indicates that both instructionally and emotionally supportive interactions are vitally important to learning, particularly for students at increased risk for academic failure.

The chapter ended with a review of challenges faced by teachers in high-poverty schools and the possible relationships between those challenges, the four threats mentioned in ITT, and attitudes toward students. Many teachers feel overburdened by working conditions in high-poverty schools. Some may resent English learners in their classrooms, particularly if they are not trained to work with LEP students, or if their general views toward immigrants are

unfavorable. Their attitudes, according to integrated threat theory, may be affected by the perception of threat from immigrants, intergroup anxiety, or negative stereotype.

The threats named by ITT can affect the attitudes and behavior of in-group members, sometimes in subtle ways. In the classroom, they may manifest as pedagogical choices or reduced interaction with students, thereby affecting two key mediators of academic risk: high-quality instruction and positive interaction with teachers.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

The purpose of this multiple case study was to gain a better understanding of elementary school teachers' perspectives on immigration and the ways those perspectives may have influenced their attitudes toward students while working in high poverty schools with large immigrant populations. A qualitative research design is appropriate when the purpose of an inquiry is to understand experiences from the perspectives of those involved (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), and to explore "how these perspectives are shaped by, and shape, their physical, social, and cultural contexts" (Maxwell, 2013, p. viii).

Constructivism and Interpretive Research

This inquiry took an "interpretive/constructivist" approach (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. x), as described by Merriam (1998) and supported by the work of Merriam and Tisdell (2016) and Stake (1995, 2006). Constructivists, according to sociocultural theory, believe an individual constructs knowledge by making sense of her experiences as they occur in particular contexts.

New events are experienced in light of the meanings, both cognitive and affective, established in previous experiences. An individual's responses are largely shaped by her culture's values and beliefs, most of which are transmitted through language (Bodorova & Leong, 1997; Vygotsky, 1934/1986). Thus, every experience is interpreted through a sociocultural filter. Similarly, interpretive research "assumes reality is socially constructed; that is, there is no single, observable reality. Rather, there are multiple realities, or interpretations, of a single event" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 9).

This inquiry worked on the premise that as people make sense of a never-ending stream of events, they interpret them contextually to construct reality. An individual's context is

personal, including sociocultural, historical, political, and physical factors. The varied life experiences of the teachers in this study and the realities they constructed combined to influence their perspectives on both teaching and immigration. Similarly, as the researcher, I brought my own “construction of reality to the research situation” (Merriam, 1998, p. 22). The result is an “interpretation by the researcher of others’ views filtered through his or her own” (p. 22).

Research Questions

The overarching question was: How do teachers’ views on immigration influence their attitudes toward students in high poverty schools with large immigrant populations?

Sub-questions were: 1) How are teachers’ perspectives on immigration manifested in their pedagogical orientations? 2) How do teachers’ views on immigration influence their curricular decision making? 3) In what ways do teachers feel their views on immigration influence their relationships and interactions with students?

Research Design: Multiple Case Study

Merriam (1998) defined a case study as “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, ...a person, ...or a social unit” (p. xiii). She elaborated, writing “[b]y concentrating on a single phenomenon or entity (the case), the researcher aims to uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon” (Merriam, 1998, p. 29, parentheses original).

A multiple case study involves the analysis of several individual cases, connected by what Stake (2006) referred to as a “binding concept . . . [which is a] theme, issue, phenomenon, or functional relationship that strings the cases together” (Stake, 2006, p. 39). In this study, where each case consisted of a single person, the binding concept referred to the phenomenon under examination. The effects of teachers’ immigration perspectives on their attitudes as they

worked with immigrant students in high poverty schools at a time of heightened anti-immigrant sentiment. The cases were studied as a group to facilitate the understanding of the “grand sweep” (Stake, 2006, p. ix) of the phenomenon. The individual case studies that form its foundation illustrate the complexity of that phenomenon as it occurs in varying contexts (Stake, 2006).

Case study and multiple case studies are forms of naturalistic inquiry, so named because researchers make no effort to manipulate events. Phenomena are studied as they occur naturally, and results are not predetermined (Alvermann & Mallozzi, 2010; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Data can lead to changes in a study’s design requiring investigators to be somewhat flexible. In qualitative research, where the researcher is the primary research instrument (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995), the human ability to adjust to change is an important asset.

In a multiple case study, data are often acquired through in-depth interviews and document analysis. Data from each case are analyzed in a largely inductive fashion, and findings are described in detail. Data from the individual cases are then analyzed together as the researcher seeks answers to the research questions. As mentioned above, the report is ultimately presented in a descriptive narrative format. These methodological points are discussed below (Merriam, 1998; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 1995, 2006).

Theoretical Framework

Anfara & Mertz (2015) defined a theoretical framework as “any empirical or quasi-empirical theory of social or psychological processes, at a variety of levels (e.g., grand, midrange, explanatory) that can be applied to the understanding of phenomena” (as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 85, parentheses original). The theoretical framework, in concert

with the research questions, guides the collection and analysis of data in a multiple case study. In analysis, data may be used “to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to the data gathering” (Merriam, 1998, p. 38). The theoretical framework for this study was integrated threat theory (ITT). ITT’s theoretical assumption is that increases in immigration often give rise to hostility in the host nation as in-group members perceive realistic threat or symbolic threat. Hostility may also arise as in-group members are affected by negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). As data in this study were analyzed, therefore, the theoretical assumptions of ITT were a significant consideration in the formation of conceptual categories.

This inquiry addresses a gap in the study of integrated threat theory, as, after a lengthy search, I found no research that adopted ITT as a theoretical framework to examine the perspectives of adults who worked with children. There did exist a small body of qualitative research on teachers’ attitudes toward immigration. The studies found all used a social identity framework or a general “intergroup conflict” orientation, but not ITT in particular (see Hosek, 2011; Narvaez, 2012).

Participant Selection

Participants for this inquiry were purposively selected (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2006), with a preference for those who offered the most “potential for learning” about the phenomenon (Stake, 2006, p. 25). I sought teachers who worked in Title I elementary schools with relatively large English learning (EL) student populations. For a school to receive Title I funds, at least 40% of the students must qualify for a free or reduced lunch (Malburg, 2020). Children with limited English would suggest immigrant families and, according to ITT, in-group members who

experience any of the four forms of threat (perceived realistic or symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotype) from immigrants may exhibit prejudicial attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Teachers whose students spoke a variety of languages were preferable to those whose EL students all spoke the same language, as language homogeneity could complicate differentiation between anti-immigrant attitudes and racism.

In low-SES schools, teachers typically contend with poor working conditions (Cochran-Smith, 2006; McKinney et al., 2008; Simon & Johnson, 2015) and higher rates of learning problems and behavior issues (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Danziger & Danziger, 1995; Evans, 2009; Hart et al., 2013; Huston et al., 1994; Luthar, 1999; MacLeod & Shanahan, 1993; McLoyd, 1990; Parker et al., 1988; Pastor et al., 2004; Yoshikawa et al., 2012; Zill et al., 1991). In this context, the need to accommodate children who speak different languages could add to classroom challenges and contribute to the perception of realistic threat (e.g., taking much-needed time and energy from teaching what they consider “real” American children).

While the purpose of this study was not to generalize, a typical example was preferable to a unique sample, as data would be analyzed within an ITT theoretical framework. Using a social psychological theory made it appropriate to study ordinary individuals, acting in their roles as in-group members (Esses et al., 1998; Jackson, 1993). An interpretive multiple case study was compatible with a social psychological theory, since, as a form of naturalistic inquiry, its goal was to observe and understand a phenomenon as it occurred naturally, with no deliberate manipulation by the researcher (Alvermann & Mallozzi, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995).

In order to understand multiple realities (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995), however, some heterogeneity was desired. To that end, I sought elementary school teachers with a range of

experience and professional training, as these are important factors in a teacher's practice (Cochran-Smith, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2003, 2017). Once interest in participation was established, I arranged a meeting with each potential participant to discuss the study and what would be required of them. Keeping Creswell's (2013) recommendation of four or five participants in mind, I enlisted eight teachers, which allowed for some attrition.

With one exception, participants were recruited through "chain sampling . . . [which is] perhaps the most common form of purposeful sampling" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 98), beginning with recommendations from contacts in a nearby school district. Chain sampling is neither targeted nor random; it begins with one or two potential recruits who are asked to suggest others who may be interested in participating in the study. I asked my contacts to request permission for me to send an email to the prospective participants (see Appendix A). Working primarily through the chain process I ultimately recruited eight volunteers and retained five.

One participant was recruited through convenience sampling. She overheard me discussing the study in general terms with a new participant in a restaurant. Curious, she approached me afterward and asked about it. During the conversation it became clear that she fit the criteria for participation, and she was invited to join.

Data Collection

Interviews

The goal of case studies is to describe the multiple realities of individuals in a particular context (Merriam, 1998), and "interview(s) [are] the main road to multiple realities" (Stake, 1995, p. 64). Listening to participants' descriptions in their own words allows the researcher to understand their experiences as well as their interpretation of them, and ultimately "how this perspective informs their actions" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 81). It is this consideration of different

perspectives that enables the investigator to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomenon in its larger context.

Information provided in interviews must be received with caution for two reasons. First, respondents' contributions may be affected by an assortment of factors, ranging from mood to reasons for participating in the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Second, participants may, consciously or unconsciously, provide responses they feel the interviewer wants to hear (Merriam, 1998), as "what the informant says is *always* influenced by the interviewer and the interview situation" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 125, italics original). While every effort should be made to minimize the researcher's influence on participants' responses, "eliminating the *actual* influence of the researcher is impossible and the goal . . . is to understand it and use it properly" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 125, italics original). This is accomplished in part through reflection and explication of the investigator's positionality. Member checking, discussed below, is another method through which conscientious researchers may identify previously unrecognized bias.

In this study, I conducted individual, face-to-face interviews with each participant. Planning to meet with each participant three times, I spoke to one of them four times. The final interview with each occurred over the phone. The fourth participant had to cancel her third interview, and one teacher was available only once. I considered removing her from the study altogether, but the data she provided was too important to omit.

The interview used a semi-structured format with primarily open-ended questions to elicit descriptive responses (Merriam, 1998, Stake, 1995). I used an interview protocol with a list of questions and issues to be discussed (Merriam, 1998) based on the study's research questions (Stake, 1995) (see Appendix B), but often followed interviewees' leads.

With participants' informed consent, I audio-recorded the interviews and took notes. Written notes included follow-up questions, new lines of questioning, observations about participants, and my own responses to their comments (Merriam, 1998). Methodologists Merriam (1998) and Stake (1995) both emphasize the value of writing up interview notes immediately following the interview, and Stake (1995) recommends one "reconstruct the account and submit it to the respondent for accuracy" (p. 66). I did both. This practice of member checking ensures the researcher has accurately interpreted participants' contributions, thereby increasing the study's reliability (Merriam, 1995; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Stake, 1995). Clarification of misinterpretation can also serve to identify previously unrecognized researcher bias (Stake, 1995).

In naturalistic inquiry, investigators cannot know in advance what data they will obtain (Alvermann & Mallozzi, 2020). A semi-structured interview format allows for change should participant responses indicate a different, more useful line of questioning (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). When change is required, it is sometimes possible to simply alter a few questions and continue with the interview, or a follow-up interview may be required with a new interview protocol. This need for flexibility highlights, again, the advantage of the researcher as the primary research instrument.

Participant Protection

Participating teachers were given an informed consent form that described the study in layman's terms. It briefly explained the purpose, the benefits, and the procedures of the research, according to the requirements of the university's internal review board. I signed it as well, agreeing to protect participant confidentiality. It indicated that their names would be

replaced with pseudonyms and the final report would be written in such a way as to maintain their anonymity. It informed them that interview notes and recordings would not be shared with anyone except perhaps my advisor, and they would be stored in a locked safe for a period of three years, then destroyed (see Appendix C). Each of us has retained a copy of the informed consent form.

Documents

Documents are a second form of data in multiple case study research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In this study, I consulted web sites from schools, school districts, and the California Department of Education. I also reviewed documents regarding income levels in the neighborhoods where participants taught. The data allowed me to validate teachers' statements regarding student demographics.

Observations

Observations are a common source of data in case studies (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In this inquiry, there was no need to observe class participants. Observations, therefore, pertain only to descriptions of participants and their schools.

Validity

Internal validity is described as the degree to which "research findings match reality" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 242), a curious concept for a methodology that assumes the existence of multiple realities (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 1995). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) reframe validity in terms of credibility and suggest three methods to strengthen a study's credibility: triangulation, member checking, and sufficient engagement in the collection of data.

They refer to Denzin's (1978) four forms of triangulation, and this inquiry made use of three of them, as the fourth is the triangulation of researchers' perspectives and this study had

only one. I triangulated methods by checking data collected with one method (e.g., an interview) against data collected through another method (e.g., document analysis). I checked participants' statements about their schools' demographics and statistics against school websites and the California Department of Education's School Dashboard (2019).

Second, I triangulated sources by checking data from one source (e.g., an interview) against that of other sources of the same variety (e.g., interviews with other participants). This primarily related to practices in ELD programming and the mainstreaming of special education students. I also compared responses to questions about credentialing requirements.

Denzin's (1978) third suggestion is triangulation of theory (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In analyzing his data, the researcher looks for findings that support the theory he is testing. The data are then examined from other theoretical perspectives, as the exploration of "alternative explanations . . . serve[s] to support or undercut the original interpretation" (Stake, 1995, p. 113). This is congruent with Merriam's (1998) description of interpretive case studies, wherein data can be "used to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to the data gathering" (p. 38).

In addition to triangulation, researchers use member checking, or respondent validation, to strengthen the credibility of a study. Preliminary interview findings were therefore sent to participants to ensure that their words and their meanings were interpreted and represented accurately. This allowed them the opportunity to clarify any misunderstandings (Merriam, 1998), and, as mentioned earlier, could also have shed light on previously unrecognized researcher bias (Stake, 1995).

Many scholars recommend spending sufficient time in the field as a third way to strengthen credibility (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 2013). Merriam and

Tisdell (2016) are more explicit, referring not to time, but to “adequate engagement in data collection” (p. 246). I spent as much time with participants as I felt they would permit, yet still allow us to part on good terms. The result was an average of three interviews per participant, although one participant granted me only one.

In addition to triangulation and adequate engagement in data collection, researcher reflexivity is used to strengthen credibility. The investigator’s notes regarding his affective responses to interviews and documents are an additional means for identifying potential biases (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I have included my affective responses where they seemed relevant.

Data Analysis

A key characteristic of naturalistic qualitative research is inductive data analysis (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995), but this does not preclude some deductive analysis, particularly when working within a theoretical framework (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), as data can “confirm or challenge theoretical assumptions” (Merriam, 1998, p. 38). Analysis in this inquiry progressed in three phases. The primary analysis was conducted in an inductive fashion, supported by two phases of deductive work. The first deductive analysis examined the data for evidence of participants’ levels of educational knowledge.

The purpose of this study was, in part, to explore the ways teachers’ perspectives influenced their attitudes toward students. Attitudes were gauged indirectly, through participants’ words and reported teaching behavior. Because teaching behavior can, at times, be ascribed to ignorance, it was important to first establish participants’ level of educational knowledge in order to rule out ignorance in analysis.

As mentioned above, teachers’ educational knowledge was determined deductively. Each teacher’s transcriptions were typed and reviewed by participants for member checking

(Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 1995). Once approved, they were collated, and segments indicative of participants' knowledge of teaching were highlighted. Highlighted segments were assigned codes derived from the five forms of knowledge Hollins (2011) listed as essential for the provision of high-quality instruction. They were knowledge of learning, learners, subject matter, pedagogy, and assessment.

Coded material was not analyzed for themes, because it was used as participant data. It was compared across cases for summative purposes and presented in narrative format immediately following participant profiles in Chapter Four.

Following the guidelines on multiple case studies provided by Merriam & Tisdell (2016) and Stake (2006), this study's primary analysis was conducted on each case individually and then across cases. Within each case, segments of transcriptions that were "responsive to the research questions" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 203) were highlighted and coded. This stage was purely inductive as categories were not predetermined; they arose from the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Upon completion of the within-case analysis, coded transcriptions were compared across cases (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 1995). Patterns were identified and organized conceptually, leading to the development of themes.

Marking the third phase of analysis, transcriptions were then examined deductively and segments indicative of threat or the perception of threat were highlighted. Highlighted segments were assigned codes derived from integrated threat theory. They were a) perception of realistic threat; b) perception of symbolic threat; c) intergroup anxiety; and d) negative stereotype. The themes developed in the cross-case analysis were then analyzed in a final step, to examine their connections to integrated threat theory.

The themes developed in cross-case analysis are presented in a narrative description of the case. The perception of threat as it relates to each theme is also addressed. Discussion of each theme is supported by respondents' words so that the reader may better understand their perspectives on immigration as well as the various expressions indicative of their attitudes toward students.

Role of the Researcher

In this inquiry, data were collected through in-depth interviews. I was mindful throughout that participants were giving their time and sharing views that might be personal. From initial introductions to thank you notes, I endeavored to convey my respect for the participants and appreciation for their time. Interviews were accordingly restricted to forty-five minutes so as to inconvenience participating teachers as little as possible.

As the interviews proceeded, I was cognizant that in my role as researcher I was an outsider. For many people the subject of immigration is a delicate one, and I was asking participants to share their thoughts and opinions with a stranger. I sought to convey an open, non-judgmental attitude in order to put them at ease.

In my role as a fellow teacher I was an insider, able to empathize with participants as they described their experiences and shared their perspectives on issues related to school. I strove to balance the two roles, shifting topics when it seemed one was beginning to dominate.

As the primary research tool, it was important that I portray teachers' perspectives as accurately as possible. My goal was for readers to hear participants' voices in the text, to understand how they, not I, made meaning of their experiences. I was aware, however, that in spite of efforts to remain objective, my worldview would influence how I interpreted and analyzed data.

Subjectivity is a perennial issue in qualitative inquiry, and researchers explicitly state their biases and perspectives, as I have done below. The transparency allows them to guide readers to the conclusion that the results make sense, given the data collected.

Researcher Bias/Positionality

My worldview has been shaped by personal experience as well as a combination of cultures. I am half Mexican and half White, raised in a well-educated family with a social justice outlook. I grew up watching my parents serve on committees dealing with busing, the treatment of the developmentally disabled, and the role of the church in local communities. We also had a steady stream of long-term houseguests, resulting in two adoptions and two attempts at adoption. The children's races varied.

My mother was a teacher, and I often accompanied her as she visited students, sometimes with bags of groceries. As the adults socialized, we children would play, and I made a number of friends, many of whom were immigrants. I was a teenager before I realized other families did not live this way, and I wondered why they did not.

I spent some time reflecting on my views regarding immigration. I have determined that while I recognize a nation's need for controlled borders, I am generally sympathetic to the circumstances of immigrants, regardless of their legal status.

Early in my career, I married a Pakistani teacher and moved to Pakistan where we opened a private school. I worked and socialized almost exclusively with Pakistanis. My children were born there, and I raised them with my friends from the parent and teaching community, as they raised theirs. We worried about first steps, lunchbox contents, and class bullies together, and I came to appreciate the gentle way adults guided children.

I remained in Pakistan for nearly twenty years, living as an expatriate in a country where the culture was quite different from my own. While I was not an immigrant, my experience was, nevertheless, that of the foreign resident navigating a new place and culture. I lived in a comfortable home, was surrounded by kind people, and had work I loved, yet the adjustment was difficult. I believe it has led to a sense of empathy toward immigrants.

Assumptions

It was assumed that the five forms of knowledge required for high-quality instruction as listed by Hollins (2011), together comprised a sufficiently comprehensive guide with which to assess teachers' educational knowledge. To reiterate, they are knowledge of learning, learners, pedagogy, subject matter, and assessment.

It was also assumed that participating teachers responded to interview questions truthfully. Recognizing that participants sometimes provide responses they believe the interviewer wants to hear (Merriam, 1998), it was assumed, nevertheless, that they did not deliberately set out to mislead or deceive.

Limitations to the Study

There were two important limitations to this study. The first was in sampling. Most of the participants were selected through chain sampling, but one was not. That participant was selected through convenience sampling. "Selection made on this basis alone is not very credible" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 98), and convenience was, in fact, not the reason she was selected. She met the criteria I felt would produce "information-rich" participants (Patton, 1990, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 1996), as she had recently taught in a low-income school where a significant portion of the students were English learners.

The second limitation was in the varying quantity of data elicited from each participant. I interviewed two participants three times as planned, and another four times. There were two teachers who could not meet with me as often as I would have liked. I spoke to one of them twice, and the other only once. I felt their contributions were rich enough to justify retaining them as participants, but the study would likely have benefitted from additional data.

Chapter Summary

This chapter described the constructivist, interpretive approach of the inquiry as it explored teachers' perspectives on immigration and the ways those perspectives may have influenced their attitudes toward their students as they worked with immigrant populations in high poverty schools. It presented the research questions guiding the study and briefly reviewed integrated threat theory, its theoretical framework.

Guided by Merriam & Tisdell's (2016) guidelines for multiple case studies, this inquiry drew from Merriam (1998) and Stake (2006) as well. It sought first to understand the perspectives of individual participants and then compared them for a broader understanding of the phenomenon. Participants were purposively selected through chain sampling, and, with informed consent, data were collected through interviews and document analysis. The validity or credibility was established through triangulation, member checking, and sufficient engagement in data collection.

The primary analysis of data was conducted inductively. Segments related to the research questions were first identified and coded. Then they were compared across cases, and patterns were identified. Patterns were grouped conceptually and were developed into themes. The themes were then reviewed in relation to the secondary analysis regarding integrated threat theory and presented narratively in Chapter Four.

Two secondary analyses were conducted, both of which were deductive. The secondary analysis referred to the above-identified segments of data indicative of the presence or perception of threat from immigrants. Those segments were assigned codes derived from integrated threat theory, which were perceived realistic threat, perceived symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotype.

The second deductive analysis identified segments of data indicative of teachers' educational knowledge and, in similar fashion, were assigned codes derived from Hollins's list of five forms of essential knowledge. They were used as participant data and presented in Chapter Four immediately following participant profiles.

This chapter discussed the role of the researcher, as well as researcher bias and positionality. Researcher assumptions were presented at the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

In naturalistic inquiry unexpected findings or events are inevitable (Alvermann & Mallozzi, 2010; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), making researcher flexibility a necessity. In this study, there were two unexpected changes of significance.

The first involved revision of one of the research questions. As mentioned in Chapter Three, it is not uncommon in qualitative inquiry for data to lead to changes in a study's design, and in this case, the change was relatively minor. The question asked: In what way do teachers feel their views on immigration influence their relationships and interactions with students?

In the interviews, teachers rarely spoke of their students individually, despite attempts to guide conversations in that direction. Most also stated, in one fashion or another, that they treated all of their students the same way. It was clear that evidence about their relationships and interactions would have to be determined indirectly from their words and reported behavior. It could then be analyzed in relation to their views on immigration. The research question was adjusted accordingly to: How do teachers' views on immigration influence their relationships and interactions with students?

The second unexpected event occurred during analysis when I realized my background was coloring my interpretation. One of the participants happened to be Pakistani-American, and I found that much of what "Hania" shared with me carried echoes of a worldview I had grown accustomed to. As it pertained to teaching and parenting, it was a worldview for which I had a great deal of respect. As I wrote, I found myself wanting to explain how things often play out in Pakistani interactions with children. At the same time, I knew I must respect this participant as an individual, with her own thoughts and opinions, not as the representative of an entire culture.

I walked a fine line in my efforts to describe “Hania’s” perspective as an individual, recognizing, at the same time, that some of her views were grounded in a culture with which readers might be unfamiliar.

Participating Teachers and Their Schools

The schools in this study have been given pseudonyms. Three of the five participants taught in a large school district in northern California. It was mostly suburban but had both urban and rural areas. I have called it Pacific Unified School District. While some of the schools were dominated by one ethnic or racial group, it was not unusual to find schools where more than ten languages were spoken by the students. The two teachers from Southern California taught in districts that had both urban and suburban areas. The overwhelming majority of students were Hispanic, but there were occasionally immigrants from other regions, usually the Middle East.

In this work, the term *Middle East* includes Afghanistan and Pakistan. Neither is technically part of the region, but, according to the World Atlas (2019), in the 2000s the United States included them in an area called the “Greater Middle East” (Geoffrey, 2019). It is “a political term which groups all the Arab and Muslim states together, irrespective of their geographical proximity” (Geoffrey, 2019, para. 4). Muslims from India were often included in the description. Teachers in this study had worked with Middle Eastern students from Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Syria.

School Profiles

Cordova Elementary School. Cordova Elementary School was in Pacific Unified School District. It was given a pseudonym, as were the other schools in this study. It served roughly 750 students from kindergarten to 6th grade. Over 40 % of them were designated as

socioeconomically disadvantaged, according to the California Department of Education's School Dashboard (2019). The California Department of Housing and Community Development (CDHCD) also labeled its location as a low-income neighborhood (2019). Located on the edge of a suburban town, its students hailed from farms as well as subdivisions.

Approximately 25% of the students were English learners (CDE, 2019), and they spoke a variety of languages. The teacher who worked there listed seven, though she was certain there were more. All of the teachers at Cordova were fully credentialed (CDE, 2019). Nearly 70% of the students met or exceeded state standards in English language arts, while roughly 60% did so in math (CDE, 2020c). The school's student-teacher ratio was 26:1 (CDE, 2020a), but in kindergarten, there were only 24 children.

Hastings Elementary School. Hastings Elementary, also in Pacific Unified School District, was bigger and newer than Cordova. According to the California School Dashboard, roughly 70% of the children were socioeconomically disadvantaged (CDE, 2019). The school was in a suburban neighborhood that the CDHCD categorized as low-income (CDHCD, 2019).

Roughly one-third of the students were English learners (CDE, 2019), and they spoke as wide a variety of languages as they did at Cordova. Similarly, all of the teachers at Hastings were fully credentialed. Approximately 60% of the students met or exceeded state standards in English language arts, and nearly 50% did so in math (CDE, 2020c). The student-teacher ratio was 25:1 (CDE, 2020a), but the participant who worked there generally had 26 children in her class.

Kennedy Elementary School. Kennedy Elementary was also in Pacific Unified School District. It was newer than Hastings and in a slightly more upscale neighborhood. While the CDHCD categorized the area as a low-income neighborhood (2019), fewer students were poor.

Slightly more than 30% were listed as socioeconomically disadvantaged (CDE, 2019). Only ten percent of the children were English learners, but the variety of languages appeared to be as wide as in the other two schools. Teachers at Kennedy were also fully credentialed. Approximately 65% of the students met or exceeded state standards in English language arts, and roughly 60% did so in math (CDE, 2020c). The student-teacher ratio at Kennedy was 25:1 (CDE, 2020a).

Porter Elementary School. Porter Elementary, in southern California, was located in a very low-income neighborhood (CDHCD, 2019). It was in a suburban pocket in one of the many small cities that make up the greater Los Angeles area. Approximately 85% of the students were socioeconomically disadvantaged. Unlike the diverse schools in Pacific Unified, over 90% of the students were Hispanic (CDE, 2019).

Nearly 30% of the children were English learners (CDE, 2019), almost exclusively from Spanish-speaking families. As in the northern California schools, all of the teachers were fully credentialed. Approximately 50% of the students met or exceeded state standards in English language arts, and roughly 40% did so in math (CDE, 2020c). The school's average student-teacher ratio was 26: 1 (CDE, 2020a), but the participant who taught there generally had 32 children in her class.

Vallejo Elementary School. Vallejo Elementary, in a different southern California district, was in a very low-income neighborhood as well. Also in a suburban area, more than 85% of the student population was socioeconomically disadvantaged, and over 95% were Hispanic (CDE, 2019). Roughly 65% of the children were English learners (CDE, 2019), generally from Spanish speaking families. All of the teachers were fully credentialed. Approximately 45% of the students met or exceeded state standards in English language arts, and roughly 55% did so in math (CDE, 2020c). The school's student-teacher ratio was 24:1 (CDE,

2020a). Characteristics of Vallejo Elementary and the other schools are illustrated below (see Table 3).

Table 3

School Profiles

School	Cordova	Hastings	Kennedy	Porter	Vallejo
Teacher	Cathy	Hania	Karen	Paula	Vera
Neighborhood	Low	Low	Low	Very Low	Very Low
Income Level					
Economically Disadvantaged Students	Appx. 40%	Appx. 70%	Appx. 30%	Appx. 85%	Appx. 85%
English Learners					
Student: Teacher Ratio	Appx. 25%	Appx. 30%	Appx. 10%	Appx. 30%	Appx. 65%
Met/Exceeded ELA Standard	26:1	25:1	25:1	26:1	24:1
Met/Exceeded Math Standard	Appx. 70%	Appx. 60%	Appx. 65%	Appx. 50%	Appx. 45%
	Appx. 60%	Appx. 50%	Appx. 60%	Appx. 40%	Appx. 55%

Participant Profiles

Four primary criteria guided the selection of participants. The study required teachers who worked in elementary schools in low- or very low-income neighborhoods as categorized by the California Department of Housing and Community Development (CDHCD, 2019), with significant immigrant populations. The teachers had to have had English learners in their classes within the last few years. The five teachers who participated met those criteria. All were women. Four were of European descent and one was the daughter of Pakistani immigrants. All had taught for more than fifteen years, and the two in Southern California had recently retired. Their profiles, with pseudonyms, are presented below (see Table 4).

Cathy. Cathy taught kindergarten at Cordova Elementary. She had earned her teaching credential and master's degree in reading from a large public university in California. The state's credentialing programs included training for teaching English learners, and Cathy felt the training was sufficient.

Cathy had been teaching for roughly 18 years. Some of that time was spent teaching 6th grade in a school that served a low-income population with a significant number of immigrants. She had also worked there as an instructional coach, but "pushed her way back into the classroom."

Hania. Hania taught at Hastings Elementary School. She had earned her credential in another state, as well as her master's degree in curriculum and instruction. She had recently completed her California certification, which included the Crosscultural Language and Academic Development Certificate (CLAD). It certified her to teach English learners.

She had taught 6th grade in the South, in a low-income neighborhood that was primarily African American. She had taught a few English learners there, all of whom spoke Spanish. She was currently teaching 6th grade and had recently worked as a long-term substitute in the 5th grade. She had been teaching for 16 years.

Karen. Karen had been teaching for over 20 years. Her credential and master's degree were from a university that combined online and classroom learning. Feeling the CLAD did not adequately prepare teachers to work with English learners, she had attended classes and seminars to improve her practice.

She had taught kindergarten and 5th grade in Pacific Unified as well as in another district in the area. She said she had always worked with low-income, English learning populations. Currently teaching 2nd grade, this was her first year at Kennedy.

Paula. Paula earned her credential from a large public university in California before teachers were required to take courses on working with English learners. Later, she took classes to earn her CLAD certification.

She had spent 35 years teaching in a small southern California district with both urban and suburban areas. The vast majority of English learners she encountered were from Spanish speaking homes. She had mostly taught 4th grade and had recently retired.

Vera. Vera described herself as a military wife and said she had taught in school districts across the country. Her credential was from another state and she had taken courses to meet the California requirements. Recently retired, her final teaching years were in a large southern California district that had both urban and suburban areas.

While she had experience teaching other grades, she had usually taught 4th grade. She had also worked in the credentialing program at a local state university, teaching courses and supervising student teachers.

Participants' Professional Knowledge

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of teachers' perspectives on immigration and to explore the ways those perspectives may have influenced their attitudes toward students. Because attitudes cannot be measured directly, participants' attitudes were ascertained through analysis of their words and reported teaching behavior.

Teaching behavior is influenced in part by an individual's education and training. It was important to establish when (and whether) particular teaching behaviors stemmed from ignorance of educational knowledge before considering affective factors as potential causes. To gauge participants' professional knowledge, individual case data were analyzed. Using Hollins's

five forms of essential knowledge (2011) as an organizational framework, the results are presented below.

Table 4

Participant Profiles

Teacher	Cathy	Hania	Karen	Paula	Vera
School	Cordova	Hastings	Kennedy	Porter	Vallejo
Credential	Clear	Clear	Clear	Clear	Clear
University	Large, Public	Large, Public (not CA)	Small, Private	Large, Public	Unknown (not CA)
CLAD	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adv. Deg.	MA	MA	MA		
Other	Instructional Coach		ESL Courses		University Instructor
Experience	18 years	16 years	20 years	35 years	30 years
Appx. Age	30s	30s	50s	60s	60s
Race/Eth.	White	Pak/American	White	White	White

The descriptions of teachers below include evidence of that knowledge as well as evidence of their pedagogical orientation and their interactions with students. Recall that interaction is central to constructivist teaching and positive interaction is necessary for high-quality instruction.

Cathy at Cordova. Cathy taught kindergarten at Cordova Elementary School, generally referring to her grade level as “kinder.” Outgoing and upbeat, she appeared to be in her thirties. She was White, of medium height, and wore her long hair fashionably straight.

Interviews were conducted in her classroom at Cordova. It was an older school that had traditionally served a rural population, but the suburbs were beginning to encroach. It was in a beautiful location, just beyond new subdivisions, and surrounded by fields. Cathy’s classroom was in a large portable, with windows on two sides, and a door leading to the kindergarten playground. There were a bathroom and a sink in the back of the room. There was an ABC

carpet on the floor, with small tables spaced around it for group work. The furniture and materials all looked new, and supplies were plentiful.

Knowledge of learning. Cathy was familiar with constructivist notions of education. She had recently moved from the 6th grade to kindergarten and was keenly aware of the developmental differences between the age groups. She knew her students were at Piaget's pre-operational stage of development, a time when children learn largely by manipulating physical objects. She explained that independent work in her new grade was sometimes Legos "because they need that too."

Another key component of constructivism is the connection between new learning and children's lived experience. Cathy brought it up as she discussed national standards. She wondered if it was appropriate to use the same curriculum for "kids in Massachusetts, you know, who have a very different lifestyle and background and culture as those in California."

Knowledge of learners. While there was no evidence that Cathy knew her students personally, she knew a great deal about their ability levels in language arts and math. Just as important, she was aware of their developmental levels, as it directly affected what and how she taught. A review of the data revealed only one example of more personal knowledge of the children. At carpet time, she said, she seated English learners with English-speakers who were "comfortable leading a conversation to some degree." The idea was to facilitate naturally occurring conversations in English.

Knowledge of subject matter. Cathy had worked as an instructional coach in her former school before "pushing her way back into the classroom." She was comfortable with the subject matter she taught and understood how it fit into the broader curriculum. She felt the reading programs used in both her former and her current school were far too difficult for the English

learners. They were beyond some of the EOs as well, she said, so she often created her own materials. She mentioned a number of activities for teaching letter recognition, letter sounds, and counting.

She did not discuss the perspective of textbook authors but spoke of bias in standardized tests. She said that some of the online tests her former 6th graders had taken were not appropriate for the school population. “We did try and preview questions,” she said, so they could explain them to the children who were mostly from Baltic backgrounds. She noted that it would be more difficult to anticipate cultural mismatches on tests at Cordova, “with such varied cultures, looking at the questions, and trying to anticipate, ‘Well, this is going to cause a problem here, and this is going to cause a problem there.’”

Knowledge of assessment. Cathy had strong opinions about language proficiency tests. When she taught 6th grade, she had been involved in testing students’ English language proficiency with the California English Language Development Test (CELDT), which had recently been replaced by the ELPAC. Speaking of the CELDT, she said, “The test isn’t appropriate, in my opinion.” Having looked over the ELPAC, she did not think it was much of an improvement. She explained, “the test has them, ‘Ok, read this word.’ Or ‘Read this little sentence. What does it say?’” She made a face. “This is *kinder*. We’re still learning letters. They can’t do this!”

Knowledge of pedagogy. In Pacific Unified, teachers were required to accommodate the needs of students with IEPs and 504 plans as well as differentiate by ability. Cathy discussed differentiated instruction as a normal part of teaching, not as an imposition, suggesting she was comfortable with the approach. She had a fair amount of freedom in the selection of teaching strategies and had her kindergarteners working at developmentally appropriate tasks such as

forming letters with dough and name-writing practice. She also used games whenever possible to practice skills in math and language arts. Many of them were games she created herself.

Pedagogical orientation. Data were analyzed for evidence of a holistic teaching approach. As with the other participants, there was nothing to indicate the consideration of multiple intelligences in Cathy's teaching.

Looking for signs of culturally responsive teaching, I asked Cathy how her school day would look without English learners. She said, "It would be pretty similar because of the different ability levels. Maybe less focus on the cultures I know are in my class. Maybe a broader focus." Curiously, when specifically asked, in the third interview, how she focused on the cultures in her class, her response contradicted her first statement. She said a great many of her kindergarteners were unfamiliar with stories that Americans considered classics, so she went out of her way to read them in class. She wanted her children to hear them because, she said, later it would be assumed they knew them.

Interaction with students. Cathy gave no indication of the kind of interaction she had with her students. Consideration of their feelings came up a few times, mostly in her repeated statement that she did not like having to separate the ELs for ELD time, particularly in the primary grades. Besides wanting to mix them by ability with the EOs, she wanted to ensure "the ELs don't feel like they're always the ones pulled out." She also talked about caring for children. She said, "If you can't say you love the kids – I know that's kind of touchy-feely for me to say, but if you don't have that for your kids, you shouldn't be there."

Hania at Hastings. Hania taught 6th grade at Hastings Elementary School. Like Cathy, she appeared to be in her thirties. On the shorter side, she was Pakistani-American, and wore a hijab, indicative of her Islamic faith. She was outgoing, and while she appeared to have strong

opinions, was understated in her expression. Often it was her facial expression that conveyed her meaning, generally with a hint of humor.

We met twice at Hastings, and the campus was clean, with wide strips of well-tended lawn between buildings. I visited her classroom while the students were off track and the furniture had been moved to the side for carpet cleaning. We also met in another 6th grade room, and in both cases, the furniture and supplies appeared new.

Knowledge of learning. Hania put a great deal of effort into connecting new learning to her students' prior experiences, which is fundamental in constructivist views of learning. In class discussions, she said that "letting them share, if they have personal experiences . . ." helped children connect to the new information. She also mentioned the importance of "giving them personal experiences," and "as much hands-on as I can, so they can actually relate to it, or picture it ...to help them with whatever we're learning."

She assigned group projects through which students could learn from more able peers. She organized the groups so they would "have all different learning ability levels in that group." She knew her students well enough to factor in personalities, so that they could "have that one leader who is going to help lead the group and keep them focused."

Discussing teachers' guides, she told me they provided questions that took Bloom's taxonomy into account. She said there were questions at different levels, as well as some for English learners. It seemed "like common sense" to her, but she thought the questions would be helpful for inexperienced teachers.

Knowledge of learners. Hania seemed to know her students fairly well. She shared anecdotes about students and their families, referring to informal conversations with parents as well as children. Asked how her 6th graders maneuvered the exceptional range of diversity at

school, she said they did not segregate themselves culturally. “They just have regular social cliques?” I asked. “Yeah,” she replied, and sounded surprised by her observations. “Because I think they’ve been together so long. So, their cliques from throughout the years. . .” She paused and held up a finger for emphasis. “Because I was looking; I was paying attention to them, and it’s like, ‘No, I don’t see it (segregation).’”

Knowledge of subject matter. Hania was familiar with the subject matter she taught and took issue with some of it. She had enough experience teaching 6th grade that she could compare her school’s current textbooks with others she had used. Hastings Elementary had adopted a new social studies program, and Hania thought it was much too difficult for students to understand. The science materials were challenging as well. “I mean, it’s very overwhelming,” she said, “even for the regular ed kids who don’t have an English language barrier.”

She observed that many books at school were geared toward White middle-class students. In 6th grade, for example, students studied ancient civilizations. Describing the new social studies book, she said, “It’s like they want us to focus on the history of where the Caucasians are, or where they came from.” She explained that the old book presented the civilizations chronologically. The initial chapters in the new book did as well, then presented three chapters on Greece and Rome, and then went back, chronologically, to ancient China and ancient India.

Since we were in California where more than half of public school students were Hispanic (CDE, 2019), I asked how much of the text was spent on the Inca or the Maya civilizations. “I’ve thought about that too,” she said. “We don’t touch South America at all.”

She did say that the social studies book and the reading anthology from the same publisher were nicely aligned. While they studied a particular civilization, they read historical fiction from that civilization. She also appreciated the multicultural names in the math book. “I

have never in my life seen a math textbook that has so many word problems with, would you say, foreigner names?” she laughed. “Not typical White people names.” Despite her difficulty pronouncing one or two of them (to her students’ amusement), she was pleased, because “they’ll have names that the kids have in the classroom.”

Knowledge of assessment. Assessment in Hania’s class was often scripted, and in some subjects, tests were taken online. It was frustrating, she said, because she was not allowed to scaffold the ELs’ work in order to test for content knowledge alone. She tracked some skills less formally, pointing out that test scores did not tell the whole story, as with her low-performing English-speakers. She said, “Those lows are still so different from EL lows. You know?” Both sub-groups struggled, but in different ways, so she approached them differently.

Knowledge of pedagogy. Hania’s knowledge of teaching strategies was noted above. To reiterate, she would relate new learning to personal experience when she could and provide hands-on experience whenever possible. She assigned group work with varying ability levels and translated or read assignments to children when needed. Despite their age, she also felt it was important to read to her 6th graders and to have guided reading groups.

She used technology as well. One year she had a particularly motivated student who had recently arrived from Saudi Arabia. Hania could not translate for her, but “she *wanted* to know” what the teacher was saying. Hania said,

And so, you know, we have Chrome Books in the classroom, so somebody had told her that you can go to Google and put in words, and that it translates it from Arabic to English for you. I’m telling you, it was very impressive.

She had recently begun using an app with her English learners to help with written assignments. They would speak the first part of their stories into the Chrome Book, which would convert it to text. “So, they just need to be close enough to their Chrome Book and they can speak their story

and they'll write it out from that." She also used the short videos provided by textbook companies because the children often found them more engaging than the text.

There was evidence that she supplemented the curriculum as well. In social studies, for example, she said, "we focus so much on ancient civilizations, so I'm always pulling in all these immigration things, and the non-fiction, and what current events are going on. I'm the one who pulls in all that stuff."

As Cathy had, Hania spoke of differentiation for ability as an expected part of teaching. She approached EL accommodations the same way, saying, "[E]veryone has their needs."

Pedagogical orientation. While Hania did not use the term, there was evidence that her teaching was culturally responsive in some ways. She made it a point to look for novels that reflected her students' backgrounds and said she could often find them on the order forms children used to buy inexpensive books at school. She would bring a few in and read the back covers to the class; then they would vote to select one for her to read aloud. The books were not restricted to the cultures represented in her class, and she looked forward to reading a new story about a girl who was half Asian Indian and half Jewish.

She also brought in a calendar that included holidays and significant dates from all over the world. She said that when she was a child, she "used to feel like, 'Ok, they have Christmas up there.' Easter would be up on the calendar. And no – you know, nobody else's holidays would be up there on the calendar." She described how she introduced an international calendar to her students, saying, "Guys, if there's something I don't know about, and it's missing from that calendar, you tell me, so I can put it up there." Her tone was gentle, and ever-so-slightly conspiratorial, and made me want to get in on the calendar upgrade.

She laughed as she discussed a child who asked what Yom Kippur was. She said, “Honey, you know what? I don’t exactly know, but I know it’s on that day. Let’s look it up.” “And we *will* [look it up],” she continued. “Even though I might not have any Jewish children in my classroom, I want them to know. I want them to be informed. Because that’s the way you’re accepting other people.”

Interaction with students. Hania did not discuss her interactions with students directly. From her conversations, however, I picked up hints of fun, even in censure. Chatting with one of the parents, for example, she learned that a student’s older sister had come to the United States a few years after the rest of the family. She could read and write well enough but struggled with spoken English. It seems the younger siblings teased her, which did not help her confidence.

Hania said,

I told her, I told the one in my class, I said, “You can’t do that (laughing, as she would have with the child). You’re supposed to help her and correct her, so she won’t do it outside.” She said, (imitating the child, with a cartoonish voice) “Oh, ok. . . But it’s funny!”

She laughed along with the child’s comment, acknowledging the humor while getting her point across.

I cannot put my finger on what it was, but something about this exchange was very Pakistani. It was gentle censure, and somehow *lateral*. I did not witness the conversation, but it felt like Hania was next to the girl, rather than facing her or directionally opposed to her. In essence, they were on the same side.

Karen at Kennedy. Karen taught 2nd grade at Kennedy, also in Pacific Unified School District. She was on the small side but not tiny, with curly gray hair worn in a bob. I thought she looked rather like a political activist who might drive a Volvo. A green one, maybe with just one or two carefully chosen bumper stickers.

We met in her classroom at Kennedy Elementary, which was, like Cordova and Hastings, built in typical California style. There were several separate buildings and walking from one room to another meant going outside. The buildings were well maintained, and most were in a row, with wide strips of grass between them. Karen's classroom was similar to the rooms at Hastings. It had windows along one side, with a bank of shelves underneath. Her desk was in a corner, slanted to face the room, and the children worked at small tables that had been pushed together for group work.

Knowledge of learning. Karen's descriptions of learning activities indicated familiarity with constructivist theories of learning. She felt many students struggled with the demands of the Common Core. She said that "some of them rise to the occasion, but those are the ones who are being read to every single day," highlighting the importance of literacy reinforcement at home. She also mentioned the value of lived experience in learning, bemoaning the smartphone and tablet culture of modern children. She said,

These kids might have iPads and smartphones and all that stuff, but they – they've never watched a butterfly. They've never had experiences of building something. . . they might not have been exposed to going to a farmer's market, or certain . . . experiences.

Knowledge of learners. Like the other participants, Karen was keenly aware of the various ability levels in class. Everything she planned was geared to a particular ability group, and children were also paired for partner work by ability level. There was, however, no discussion of the children individually, nor anecdotes about them, causing me to wonder how well she knew them.

Knowledge of subject matter. Karen's discussion of subject matter focused on language skills and social studies. Her conversation was peppered with comments about things her 2nd graders were working on. She worried about her ELs' skills with letters, sounds, and

vocabulary. She said she spent quite a bit of time making language frames because “that’s one way to get the speaking piece in, and the sentence structure and grammar” for everyone.

She felt the district’s textbooks were “absolutely” geared toward White, middle-class students. She explained, “the textbooks are all sort of assuming a level of experience also, and I see that, although we’ve become very affluent, what I see is a kind of cultural poverty.” She also thought the “new social studies books are *way* over their heads. Oh my gosh. And I taught upper grades for a while. This is 5th grade level. This is not 2nd grade. It’s sad, because they’re beautiful.” The new books were a bit controversial. While they were commended for their cultural inclusivity, some objected to the inclusion of families with same-sex parents.

Knowledge of assessment. Karen was grateful that 2nd grade students did not take standardized tests, and she took full advantage of her position in the primary grades. She would read tests to some of the children, and scaffold their written responses because “on tests, I want to know what they know, not how well they’re reading, unless I’m giving them a reading test, of course.” She continued, “Also, my assessments are informal; just observations. And listening – how are they speaking? To one another. Are they able to speak in a complete sentence? It’s informal.”

Knowledge of pedagogy. Karen had a great deal of freedom in her selection of instructional strategies and was grateful for her principal’s support. She had gone to see him at the beginning of the year and told him, “Just so you know, my classroom’s going to look really different than my colleagues, because I have 13 English language learners, and I have six students who are not reading at grade level.” Saying, “We’ve got our work cut out for us,” she told him, “I’m not going to have a lot of frill. Not going to have fluff.” His response, she told

me, was, “Go for it. Do what you have to do.” She nodded, remembering. “Yeah,” she said. “Total support.”

She believed her job was “to help [the children] be really good readers, writers, and mathematical thinkers. And, you know, I’m kind of old school in that way, and so, however I have to do it, that’s what I do.” She put particular emphasis on the value of interaction and conversation in the learning experience. She said, “[M]y English language learners need to speak. And they need to have proper English modeled for them. So, there is a lot of conversation, which is the new model of education, so it fits in perfectly, actually.” In her class, there was “lots of group interaction” and “[a] lot of partner work.” She continued, describing how she had them “reading with a partner, who’s similar to their reading level.”

Karen’s 2nd graders had recently interviewed a family member, which involved listening to and remembering what someone else said, a skill they practiced weekly in class. The children wrote reports, she said, “[a]nd that’s where my ELs need the most help, is with writing.” They also presented the reports in class. Many of the parents came, strengthening the home-school connection.

Pedagogical orientation. Differentiated instruction was required at Kennedy, and Karen did not appear to disagree with the premise. Discussing pedagogy conceptually, I asked if she was familiar with Gardner’s multiple intelligences. She said, “Yeah. I know everybody learns differently. Absolutely.” She frowned, saying,

Common Core doesn’t leave a whole lot of room for that because it’s all very academic and the rigor in which we’re required to get these kids up and running is, it’s ah, you know, it can’t really accommodate all the multiple intelligences.

Sighing, she continued, “You know, I believe in rigor. I believe children can learn a lot. But there’s a point where, you know, some children are just falling through the cracks with that.”

Analyzing the data from Karen's interviews, there was no evidence of culturally responsive teaching. Twice I had tried to lead her into a conversation about selecting activities or materials that were responsive to the cultures of her students, but each time her response went in another direction.

Interaction with students. Analyzing the data from Karen's interviews, there was no hint as to the affective nature of her relationships with the children. She was not unaware of the value of interaction, as indicated by her description of conversation as the "new model of education." She told me her "English language learners need to speak. And they need to have proper English modeled for them." She continued, "[My] English Only speakers, they're still working on grammar. Because they don't, you know, they don't speak properly."

Paula at Porter. The initial interview with Paula was in the open quad of a hotel where her husband was attending a conference. The hotel served snacks and light meals, and she enjoyed a glass of wine as we talked. She appeared to be in her fifties and did not look like a retiree. She was slim, with streaked hair worn in a bob, with very straight bangs. The style was neat, but not obsessively so.

I had the opportunity to visit Porter Elementary School when I went to southern California to interview her. The neighborhood was story-book neat, with mostly small, single-story houses. The school buildings did not look new, but they were neatly painted, and the grounds were well maintained. I did not go inside; I parked across the street in the morning and watched students arrive. Most children arrived by car, and school drop-off was a family affair. Grandparents seemed unwilling to wait in the car, and often both parents walked a single child to the entrance.

Knowledge of learning. Paula had been allowed very little freedom in the selection of learning activities, and she was frustrated by the “academic” focus of her school’s curriculum. She did not discuss constructivist learning theories per se but indicated familiarity with children’s developmental levels. “I didn’t think the children had the maturity for some of the things that were expected,” she said, referring specifically to “the high-level comprehension.”

Knowledge of learners. While Paula did not mention any students individually, she seemed to know something about their personal lives. As she spoke of them, her tone was tinged with affection. She told me that “some of them have tough situations, and you’re trying to help them deal with it,” though she did not elaborate. Telling me about the way immigrant children blended in, she said, “Kids are pretty great in that way. They help each other. We can learn from them.”

She also took the children into consideration as people, not students, when she complained about ELD programming. She explained that they had language arts in the morning, and then, while the English learners had English language development in the afternoon, the English speakers had supplemental language arts activities. “They get tired at school when they start doing more of the same in the afternoon,” she said. “We weren’t allowed to do art or music or anything like that with the kids.” She continued, sighing, “That might be an ideal time, [but]. . .”

Knowledge of subject matter. Paula said very little that indicated the extent of her knowledge of subject matter. She did take issue with the math curriculum though. She said, “The level was so high that sometimes, you know, I would have parents tell me, ‘I didn’t do that in high school,’ you know?”

When asked about the perspective of students' books, she said it tended to be generalized and non-specific to any culture. The closest they came to the inclusion of student culture was in writing, when "[t]he topics could be personalized." Students might be asked to "write about a personal experience or write about a time you had to explain something to someone." They did not mention specific cultures; rather, she said, "the assignments could have been geared – I mean they were pretty much for every child. You know what I mean?"

Knowledge of assessment. Paula strongly disagreed with the system of assessment in her district. She complained that her students were not developmentally ready for some of the concepts she was required to teach. She continued, "I think you can expose them to it, but they're *testing* them on some of this." She said that "basically, we were teaching them to take the test[s]." She recalled they were "[a]lways practicing for tests, tests, tests. That's what it was all about."

Knowledge of pedagogy. Paula's district was significantly more regimented than either of the other districts. It was difficult to discuss pedagogy, because, she said, "It's become a much more regulated profession in that way. I begin to think you could have little robots up there, you know. 'Say this. Say that.'"

The district hired instructional coaches that would "come in with a way that they wanted you to do it [a teaching strategy], and then you had to prepare a lesson along those lines." As an experienced teacher, she resented it, saying, "[S]ometimes you learned things, but. . ." She broke off, sighing. She also thought some of the coaches were out of touch with the realities of the classroom. One in particular, she recalled, "wanted us to sit with one child for, like the whole writing period." It was a nice idea, but "when you have 30-plus kids, that'll take you two months to get through the class."

Pedagogical orientation. The restrictions were a source of severe frustration. “The creativity is gone, except for where you can stick it in.” Sounding bitter she added, “Some of them (instructional coaches) had not even been in the classroom that long.” Asked if the class population sometimes guided the selection of materials, she said it did not, “because there isn’t a great deal of choice. You have to use the materials [they give you].”

Interaction with students. Paula did not discuss her interaction with students except to complain that it had been curtailed. She felt they had so much to accomplish in the school day that there was no longer time for informal conversation. With a wistful tone she said the only time she could chat with them was at recess when most preferred to play with their friends.

Vera at Vallejo. I met Vera at the same convention where I interviewed Paula. She, too, enjoyed the hotel’s wine, perhaps a little more than Paula had. She appeared to be in her fifties, with dark shoulder-length hair. She wore a black jumpsuit with a light jacket; stylish, but not in an attention-seeking way.

I went to Vallejo Elementary the same day I went to Porter, timing my arrival for dismissal at 2:20. I noticed that many of the nearby houses needed paint and more than one had sheets on the windows instead of curtains. On the main streets, there were an inordinate number of clinics, many with signs in Spanish. In front of a dollar store near the school was a bus stop with an overflowing trash can.

The school was beige, built in an art deco style, with the founding year imprinted above the front door, and a huge wheelchair access ramp across the front. The building and its grounds were neat, and there were cement benches in front of the school as well as to the side. Shortly before dismissal, they filled with families, most of whom had walked to pick up their students.

Knowledge of learning. Vera had taught preservice teachers and supervised student teachers, so she was likely familiar with constructivist learning theories. There were only two occasions, however, when her conversation touched on her knowledge of learning. Both times it was in reference to her students' lack of support at home. The first was a statement about the lack of English reinforcement in the homes of English learners. The second time, she said, "I think the intent is there, but I don't think they're getting as much parental support."

Knowledge of learners. Vera did not discuss her students directly, but she did express her opinion of them in general. Speaking of Hispanics, broadly, Vera told me about a group of "four Hispanic ladies going through the credential program to become teachers." They told her "that in their culture, their neighborhood and stuff, a lot of the older people wouldn't even talk to them anymore." They were essentially "ostracized because they were learning English, assimilating into the culture. And I remember them distinctly saying that." Applying the information to her younger Hispanic students, she said that "in some cultures, there's [sic] no precedent to do well. So-" Her gesture suggested failure was to be expected.

Knowledge of subject matter. Vera said even less to indicate the extent of her knowledge about the subject matter. Because she had taught in the credentialing program at a nearby state university, however, it is reasonable to assume that her knowledge about the subject matter, in terms of skills and concepts, was not limited.

Knowledge of pedagogy. Vera did not complain about curricular restrictions, and there were indications that she had some leeway. Discussing her struggling learners, she said, "I would go to the lower grade teachers and get some materials from them so I could meet those students' needs." For students with special needs, she said, "I would meet collaboratively with the learning disability specialist" for suggestions. For her English learners, she met with "the

ESL teachers.” Together, they planned “the vocabulary, and the homework, and how we would present materials to them, to get the content. It may not have been at the 5th or 6th grade level, but definitely introducing the vocabulary.”

Pedagogical orientation. Vera discussed differentiated instruction quite a bit. She described how she “clustered” her children because “you can’t keep up with 36 different [levels].” As mentioned earlier, she met with other teachers to discuss teaching strategies for differentiation.

Interaction with students. In the data from Vera’s interview there was no discussion of interaction with children. There were, however, two instances when she indicated she was pleased with her students. The first was a general comment about English learners in the class. She said, “The good thing about it is the kids are pretty much receptive to the new language.” She followed it up with an example about a child from Iraq who was new to the country. He worked hard to master English. She said, “He took the spelling test with the rest of the kids. ‘I just want to try it.’ I just loved him, because he really made the effort.”

Summary of participants and professional knowledge. All five of the participants were experienced teachers. Three had advanced degrees, and a fourth had taught pre-service teachers. They all evinced some familiarity with constructivist learning theory, correlating to Hollins’s *knowledge of learning*. They also demonstrated *knowledge of subject matter*, *assessment*, and *pedagogy*. While none of them evinced a particular pedagogical approach, their districts required them to differentiate instruction, which is part of a holistic orientation. There were issues regarding logistics, but no complaints about the concept.

Teaching with multiple intelligences and culturally responsive teaching are also holistic approaches, and neither was suggested in the data. While none of the participants used a

thoroughly holistic approach, one teacher did demonstrate a holistic orientation. Hania made it a point to include students' cultures in her teaching.

The Teaching Context

A key component of any experience is the context in which it occurs. Two contextual aspects were of particular importance to teachers' experiences in this study. The first was the school environment. The second was the requirement that they individualize or differentiate instruction.

All five teachers taught in low-income neighborhoods. As discussed in Chapter Two, high poverty schools are often associated with issues that make it difficult to retain teachers. Few of those issues were found in the data on the schools involved. Participants described clean, well-maintained buildings as well as sufficient up-to-date supplies and materials. The teachers in northern California reported both administrative and peer support, and they collaborated with grade-level colleagues in planning sessions. They also had relatively few severe behavior problems. The teachers in southern California, however, complained about severe behavior problems and experienced little administrative support.

The second contextual issue was the requirement to individualize or differentiate instruction. Using the terms interchangeably, all of the participants said they were required to meet the individual needs of each student. That included children with special needs, children with learning plans and/or behavior issues, and English learners.

Students with special needs had individualized education programs (IEPs). An IEP “[p]rovides individualized special education and related services to meet the unique needs of the child” (Understood for All, 2020, p. 1). IEPs are created, in conjunction with the teacher and a parent, through a district's special education department, as stipulated by the Individuals with

Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Some special education students remained in class all day while others spent part of the day in a resource room.

There were also students without disabilities who needed special accommodations in the classroom, sometimes for behavior. Karen said that while she had not heard of any severe behavior problems on her new campus, she felt that the number of students “on 504 plans” was increasing districtwide. She thought it was because “more kids [were] being diagnosed with ADD and that sort of thing.”

A 504 plan “[p]rovides services and changes to the learning environment to meet the needs of the child as adequately as other students” (Understood for All, 2020, p. 1). Such plans range from providing audio texts for the visually impaired to allowing students with ADHD the freedom and space to move. The plans are named for Section 504 of the federal Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

Participants were required to differentiate instruction for English learners as well. For most of the school day, teachers provided *integrated English language development*. In essence, they taught English learners with their English-speaking classmates, adjusting instruction and assignments as necessary. They were also required to teach English language development (ELD) every day. The *English Language Arts/English Language Development Framework for Public Schools* states, “Designated ELD is provided by skilled teachers during a protected time during the regular school day” (CDE, 2015, p. 31). In kindergarten, designated ELD time was fifteen minutes, and in the elementary grades, thirty.

Participants explained that the classroom teacher was required to teach ELD herself because in the past many teachers had left ELD instruction to an assistant or neglected it altogether. A related problem was that, all too often, English learners had missed out on core

instruction during ELD time. To avoid that problem, English-speaking students were no longer to receive core instruction during designated ELD time; they were allowed only supplemental instruction.

At ELD time, English learners were also to be grouped by language proficiency level as determined by the English Language Proficiency Assessment for California (ELPAC). Numbers varied, so children from different classes were combined in proficiency-level groups at their grade's designated ELD time. It involved shifting rooms, but the system ensured the children were taught by a credentialed teacher for the length of time required. Depending on the circumstances, a few children at a given grade level might move, or all of them. The participants in this inquiry said that, at their schools, the English-speaking children generally spent that time working on supplemental English language arts.

Findings From Analysis

Themes

Five themes emerged through inductive analysis of the data. Once identified, they were reviewed in relation to integrated threat theory. There is evidence that some participants perceived elements within the themes as threats to the in-group.

In presenting the themes it was not possible to balance the quantity of each participant's contributions. Generally, the issue was variation in the quantity of data. One teacher, for example, participated in four interviews, while another granted only one. The participants themselves also affected the size of each data file, as some responded to questions with brief, to-the-point answers while others took advantage of the opportunity to share their views.

Unrealistic expectations. All of the participants in this study were required to differentiate instruction to meet the individual academic needs of their students. When

necessary, they had to adjust instruction for students with special needs as well as students on “504 plans.” They were also required to address the academic needs of their English learners. The teachers felt that if the varied needs of their students were to be met effectively, more professionals were required.

English language development. English language development programs were of particular concern. Participants understood recent programming changes had been implemented because many teachers had not been teaching ELD at all. They agreed that the new system, while well-intentioned, cost them valuable teaching time and significantly increased their workload. Most felt it was detrimental to the English speakers, and the teachers in northern California questioned its benefit to English learners as well. Both the loss of instruction time and the increased workload represent realistic threats, and the evidence indicates some of the participants perceived them as such.

Cathy was unhappy about lost teaching time. In her lengthy description of the problems associated with the ELD program, it was a central issue. Telling her some teachers believed the program was detrimental to English speaking students, I asked if she felt her English Only students were losing out. She replied, “I try not to think of it *that way*, just because I try not to think of things that way. I try to be positive.” But realistically, she said, “In France, you can do more in one language, French. Yeah, they do [cover more material].”

In kindergarten, she said, it was to no one’s benefit to separate English learners for ELD. At that age, all of the children were still learning *language*. They were often working on the same skills. She said, “I’m supposed to take my group of ten [ELs] and then not do it (the lesson) with my other 14 [students] ever. . . My other kids need to know sentence structure too! Well, how. . . ?!” She held up her hands, baffled. “So, it’s just - I don’t know.”

Hania said, “[W]hen we’re doing [designated ELD] in the classroom, to me that’s workshop (instruction) time that I would have been doing with my students in my classroom.”

Before the room switching system began, she had guided reading groups. She [t]ested the children in each group level, she said,

and *met* with them. . . . That way I really got to see each kid and see what they really needed help on and was able to accommodate those needs. So last year (when room switching began) I felt like I wasn’t able to do that.

Karen, like Cathy, felt English learners and English speakers should not be separated in the primary grades because all of the children were learning *language*. She said,

[I]n the primary grades . . . we are always doing language instruction. Yeah, and certainly when I taught kindergarten, ‘cause I taught kindergarten for five years, it’s like, “Why do I need to – (separate the ELs)? This is what we do!” We’re working on sounds, we’re working on decoding, you know, yeah-so it’s like “What do I need to differentiate?” Because it’s all – this is how you learn language.

Returning to her current situation, she added, “So, you know, one could argue, you know, certainly through 2nd grade, that we’re still doing language.”

Asked directly if she thought the ELD program was detrimental to the English-speaking students, she said it was not a problem in her own class. She had established a workaround solution and was confident in her own abilities. Considering other classes, she replied, “I think, potentially, they (EOs) can, absolutely suffer.”

While she never said so, the workaround appears to have been to ignore students’ English language proficiency levels. More than once she said she did not “fudge” and place students in groups she felt were more appropriate. When I asked about the degree of administrative oversight at Kennedy, however, she allowed that sometimes the rule was not rigorously enforced, which gave teachers a little leeway, particularly in the lower grades. She laughed, saying,

That's why I'm really happy to be in the primary grades, because I still have that luxury where I can say, "They're not reading at grade level." I get to do whatever I have to do to get them there.

Asked if ELD time helped with that, she replied, "It does. It gives teachers permission to teach language. Just straight language." The implication, both in her statement and in the conversation, was that she and other teachers were, in fact, "fudging," and grouping students by ability in English language arts, not by English proficiency level, when they could.

At Paula's school, the children switched rooms for ELD time. She was quite upset about the effect on English-speaking students, saying that "it was tragic to see how much time it (ELD instruction) took away from everyone else." Asked how students at her school compared to other schools in the district, she replied, "You know, they might do very well . . . in 4th grade, we might have only four or five ELs, but the whole class of 32 has to go off and do something, with restrictions, during that time period. . ." Her tone was resentful, and I pressed a little, asking if that ELD time prevented the rest of the class from doing better. Her reply was an emphatic, "Oh yeah!" She nodded vigorously. "Mm hmm!"

It was interesting that she was upset on behalf of "the rest of the population," at her school, which was overwhelmingly Hispanic. While she may have resented the inconvenience of educating immigrant children, racism was clearly not the issue.

Complications stemming from ELD programming were, like lost instruction time, related to the presence of English learners at school, and therefore represented a realistic threat. In northern California, the teachers felt their district's ELD program was a poor use of everyone's time. They said children were routinely misclassified, logistics were complicated, and they were not meeting the needs of the English learners.

Kindergarten was particularly messy. The problem, Cathy said, was the mandated grouping for English language development. She explained that in a district with a high percentage of immigrant children, a vaguely worded question on the registration form often determined a student's designation. It was not at all unusual for an *English Only* (EO) child to be dominant in the home language, or for an *English Learner* to be fluent in English. "Some ELs in the last two years have been my highest achieving students," she said. "Reading higher than most EOs but still considered EL and needing extra language."

During the designated ELD time, English speaking children worked on "supplemental" English language arts skills. She was unable to mix her high achieving ELs with the English speakers because of the district's preference for classes to group ELs together. In kindergarten, that meant combining classes.

She explained that because so many children rode the bus, classes began and ended at nearly the same time as the older grades. Morning and afternoon classes shared rooms, and to accommodate the bus schedules, they overlapped by roughly half an hour. That was the only time both teachers were there, and they could combine their EL students in language proficiency-level groups, so they used that period for ELD. With the combined classes, there were nearly 50 five-year-olds and two adults in one room.

There was no support staff, so when Cathy worked with a small group, the other teacher had a group of roughly 40 kindergarteners – or vice versa. In nice weather, they could work outside, but at the time of the first interview, it was too hot. They could have switched rooms the way older children did, so that morning teachers worked together, and afternoon teachers did the same. They had, in fact, tried it the previous year. It was ugly. They didn't like to talk about it.

Hania also took issue with the arbitrary nature of the EL designation. At the beginning of the year, she used the assessment program from the English language arts program adopted by her district. “I tested all my students in the ...assessment program,” she said. “It was an online assessment, and according to that data, we grouped the students. Okay? The EL kids are automatically pulled out. Doesn’t matter how they perform. They’re in an EL group.”

More than once she thought children’s classifications were clerical errors. She had to check the files to see if they were actually designated ELs. She said she had emailed the EL specialist at the beginning of the current year about one of her African American students. She said,

I had no idea (she was an EL). I thought maybe it was a typo that she had EL written next to her name, and, um, it was not. I emailed her [the EL specialist]. I was like, “Is this a typo?” because she spoke perfectly fine when I met her. And she said, “No, she’s an EL student.” I was like, “Oh my goodness!”

At Hastings, the children switched rooms for designated ELD time. It took “45 minutes, but like, with the switching classes, 50 [minutes]. Right? Almost an hour.” The room-switching system was complicated because Hastings was a year-round school with four tracks. Every four weeks or so one track (and its teachers) would “track off” and another would “track on.” ELD groups would change, instructional settings would change, and teachers would change. Hania said that at her school the teacher change was the biggest hurdle.

[T]his year we did have one team player who didn’t – wasn’t being a team player on our team, and didn’t want to switch, and was always causing conflicts. When it was time to switch, she was sending children back to us, and stuff like that.

Karen was the only teacher whose students did not move rooms at designated ELD time. Because of a change in demographics, the school had more primary classes than the previous year, and there was not enough space to house them all in the same building. As the “new girl,” her class was moved to a building some distance from the other 2nd grade classes, which

complicated room-switching. She was relieved. Students had moved rooms in her former school. “In a year-round setting,” she said, “it’s particularly hard to do every day. It becomes kind of a management, scheduling nightmare.”

She was delighted with the current arrangement because it allowed her to teach ELD in her own room. Her administrators did not check to see how she grouped students for instruction, and she was clearly grouping them as she saw fit. She explained, “[S]ome of my English language learners are really high kids. I mean they’re high readers. They’re not having problems. So, I’m not going to switch them just because they’re English language learners.”

While all of the participants described ELD programming as a nuisance, the teachers in Pacific Unified School District also felt it was ineffective. They were particularly sympathetic to students in higher grades who were new to the country.

Discussing her former 6th graders, Cathy explained that part of the problem with local ELD programming was insufficient staff. Schools needed specialists to work with English learners and provide intensive English language development. Instead, it was falling to classroom teachers to do what they could. She said, “They’re learning the language, but . . . we were trying to teach them math at the same time . . . and try[ing] to catch them up with all of this (gesturing to indicate other subjects) – it becomes very complex very quickly.” She thought it was impractical for “one teacher to have to do all of that. . . And you know, they say up to seven years. How are they going to start in 6th grade, take seven years to get the language. . .” She paused. “What grade are they going to be in then? That doesn’t really work.”

Considering alternatives, she thought “that’s where the pull-out has to happen because they need a year or two of just intensive language.” She continued,

At kinder, I think [a] push-in program is better, just because I hate for the kids to be removed from the community. I mean, I hate that at any grade, really. But when you get to upper, I mean, it's a different beast. Because it's much harder for them.

As another option, she said a longer school day “might be part of the solution . . . [e]specially here in California with all the ELs. They need more language time.”

Like Cathy, Hania thought it was impractical to expect classroom teachers to provide the intensive ELD their students needed. It was not a question of ability; they needed dedicated staff for the job. “I feel like I am prepared to teach them,” she said, “but that’s if that were the only thing I was teaching.” At Hastings, she told me, “We don’t even have a full-time EL person. [With the] number of EL students that we have at our school, and like I said, I’ve been on the committee where we’ve been talking about that. . .” As if she were addressing her administrators, she continued, “You’re telling me we’re a Title I school. You say we have all this money, but yet the money is not being spent on a full-time EL person.”

She did not disagree with the premise that English learners should have at least have thirty minutes of dedicated English language development every day, provided by a qualified teacher. “But is that always enough?” she asked. “I don’t think it’s ever enough.” Knowing she had to work with the policy as it was, she said, “It’s just always going to be one of those. . .” She laughed ruefully. “We can only do our best.”

Karen did not feel classroom teachers were adequately prepared to teach English learners. “Many of them are afraid to handle English language learners,” she said. “Many teachers are really worried about it. They don’t always really know ‘am I really helping them?’” She continued, “[T]here is a portion of the credentialing program that requires you to take some (classes on teaching ELs) but it’s still - until you really get in here and start doing it, you don’t realize how much you need that [staff] support.” She went on,

And then of course, the pressure in the upper grades, and I used to teach upper grades also, is, if you get somebody who's a newcomer, and they're in 5th, 6th grade, it's like, "Oh my!" So, there's that pressure. Like we have to make it all right.

She knew the children could not learn English fast enough to compete academically with their English-speaking peers. Gesturing with frustration, she added, "And the reality of language acquisition is that it doesn't happen in a year. It happens in three to seven years, is what the statistics say."

Unrealistic demands. All of the participants indicated in some way that a single person could not meet the disparity of needs present in a class that included English learners and children with IEPs and 504 plans. Paula and Vera, in southern California, were particularly vocal about their districts' unreasonable demands, possibly because they also had more students with discipline issues.

In Pacific Unified, severe behavior problems were less of an issue, but teachers' job descriptions seemed to be similarly unrealistic. Listening to Cathy describe some of her daily class activities, I asked how she fit everything into one day. "It's not easy," she said. "You have to really prioritize." As she explained how she and her colleagues decided which standards were *essential*, her frustration was clear. She said that in "talking to people who do standards, every standard is important. And you're like, 'Ok, I understand that. But you understand I have a limited amount of time. And I have kids with different abilities.'" Exasperated, she added, "So, I can't teach every standard to mastery."

When she taught 6th grade in another district, funds had been earmarked for teaching assistants to work with English-speaking students while teachers taught English language development. She probably did not realize how wistful she sounded when she said, "I think that was really helpful, having that extra body."

Hania agreed that it was important to meet children's individual needs but, like the other participants, felt it was unrealistic to expect one person to do it effectively. She suggested, in fact, that the extended differentiation requirements were affecting instruction. She said that 6th grade classes had more students, and while "it's just two more [and] it seems like it's not a lot," it added to the workload. She listed how she was differentiating for special needs students as well as the "regular ed . . . low [students]," in addition to "doing small groups, and mak[ing] sure that I'm meeting all of their needs, in all of the subject areas." She admitted that "it is tough," and said she did not feel everyone's needs were actually being met.

Although Karen was allowed to teach English language development in her own room, she agreed that teachers were asked to do too much. While she never actually complained about the extra work involved, it slipped into her conversation 22 times. A large component of ELD time at Kennedy was the provision of independent work for students while the teacher worked with small groups. In addition to differentiating instruction, she had to teach her 2nd graders to work independently or with a partner for half an hour at a time. She also had to prepare various levels of materials for independent and partner work.

Whole class activities also required accommodations for ELs and students with special needs. There were, for example, "students that I have to read the test for. . . [and] they'll point to the answer." At other times, for "a written response, then I would have to scaffold that, and support it, quite heavily, for some of my students." At the time of her first interview, at the beginning of the year, she had 13 English learners and six EOs who could not read at grade level. She was doing quite a bit of scaffolding.

Paula, in southern California, felt that behavior problems were a growing issue. She stated emphatically, "It's a bigger problem than almost anything." She continued, saying, "We

had severe discipline problems . . .” and the district hired support staff to stay with some of them all day. Unsure of their job title, Paula referred to them as “minders.” She described a few of the behaviors she’d encountered saying, “Oh, they’re on the floor having a tantrum, or . . . we had runners who would run and leave the classroom and this person had to run and chase.”

One, in particular, stood out. He was a 4th grader, “big for his age,” who, she said several times, was dangerous. “Somebody would make him mad, and he’d be throwing furniture. The police came in my room one day . . . just because of him and made him stand on a chair and apologize to the class, which made no difference. . .” She continued, “[L]iterally, I would have to remove my entire class while he was in the room having a tantrum.” Frustrated by the impact on instruction time, she said, in the end, “you lose the whole period.”

Paula did not speak of the children themselves as problems. Even the student who threw furniture was described as a child whose needs were not being met. She felt he needed a different learning environment and “they don’t want to pay for it.” She did not object to the accommodation of children’s needs; she objected to assigning one person to do it all. “It’s impossible to meet everybody’s needs,” she said. “They expect the impossible.”

Unrealistic expectations were also prominent in Vera’s conversations about teaching. She said teachers at her school had the training they needed to work with ELs, and they had plenty of materials, “but you’re pretty much on your own [in class]. That’s the drawback.” She felt there were not enough adults to address the behavior issues, special needs, and English proficiency levels – and teach a whole class. Later, she added, “This is one of those things that’s wrong with mainstreaming all the students. It’s a huge problem.”

Immigration. Immigration was a politically charged issue at the time of this study. Talk of undocumented immigrants, border control, and immigration reform were expected. What was

unexpected was participants' strong opinions about the media and the politics behind the newsfeed. Distrust of the politicians and the media does not represent any of the threats outlined in integrated threat theory. Participants did, however, get much of their information about immigration from the media. The information, in turn, appears to have affected their perspectives.

Politics and media. Cathy was fed up with the current rhetoric. She was fed up with her colleagues, fed up with politicians, and fed up with the media. She thought immigration had become an all-or-nothing topic, saying, "Some say keep them all out. Some say let them all in. Both are ridiculous." She avoided talking about immigration with her colleagues altogether because so many refused to acknowledge concerns voiced by people in other political camps. She said, "There's so much left-leaning rhetoric at school. I'm like, 'But what about this part of the issue?'" It seemed to her they thought "anybody who's for having a regimented process . . . is obviously racist . . . [and] doesn't like immigrants."

Describing herself as "a middle of the road person," she felt it was important for people with differing opinions to discuss issues respectfully to understand the concerns of the other. She brought it up many times because she believed immigration was a serious issue that should be addressed in a thoughtful manner. For that to happen, Americans had to "have conversations about these people (immigrants) without hitting each other." Political rhetoric, she said, only exacerbated the problem, "pushing sides against sides."

Related to the topic of extreme views was her distrust of the media's coverage of immigration issues. She said, "[I]t seems like it's all skewed politically by people who are removed from it." Even ostensibly objective polls were questionable, because "[p]ollsters are

testing for things they want to highlight.” She dismissed them out of hand, saying, “I don’t trust any numbers.”

She also believed the media went overboard in its positive portrayal of immigrants. Muslims, for example, were “treated with really careful gloves,” because, she speculated, sometimes “they’re scared to say anything. Scared, kind of like sometimes when there’s a crime, they’re scared to say someone’s African American. [So, when there is a crime or a problem], [t]hey’re scared to say they’re Muslim, because there might be a backlash.”

Cathy objected to the media’s portrayal of migrants at the border as well. She had quite a few friends from Iran, Pakistan, and Mexico. She said they were from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds, and none of them had “escaped” anything. “It was a choice,” she said. The people she knew “were like, ‘No, we just decided to come here because we could get better jobs.’” Because she knew so many immigrants with similar trauma-free experiences, she was skeptical about what she saw on television. “I think they try and sell a sob story,” she said. “It’s real, a lot of the time, but when you say that (sigh) - I don’t know - you’ve got to be so careful the way you say things.” Reminded that the interview was confidential, she said, “I know, but for myself I need to be careful, because I don’t want to, I don’t want to . . . I feel bad.” She laughed a little. “I have my own guilt issues.”

Speaking with Hania, I told her some of the other participants had said they did not trust the media. I was referring to the political slant mentioned by other teachers, as well as biased polls. She agreed the media tended to exaggerate. It was interesting, however, that her response focused not on the producers, but on media consumers. She said she thought many people did not want to “face the reality” of inhumane treatment that was reported in the news. She seemed to feel people were using their distrust of the media as a way to suggest the dehumanizing

treatment of migrants was greatly exaggerated. It bothered her to think that people might take “people being caged at the border, with children” as fake news. “That was real,” she said, with feeling. “That was happening.”

The conversation turned to the detention of asylum seekers and attitudes in the public that allowed such policies to be enacted. She believed there had always been an anti-immigrant attitude in the country. “I think, actually, sad to say . . . it was there, but it was just always covered up. You know, just like putting a Band-Aid on it.” It was partly this widespread, hidden attitude, she felt, that elected President Trump, and “now the inhibition [is gone, and] voices are being heard,” on tv and in social media, with tragic consequences.

Karen thought the media had always hawked sensationalism. She felt the political slant was a ploy, selling drama rather than news in an effort to draw viewers. Speaking specifically about immigration, she said,

I haven't found the general media - tv - incredibly helpful. I might read magazines that have a good history of being a little more even keel, and not politically based. . . I don't watch tv, actually. And I do read periodicals, some of which now are online, that I can access, and I can take a little bit, so I can actually get through them.

Paula did the same. She said that when she was teaching, she had not been able to keep up with the news. She felt only half of it was accurate, and she did not have the time to access different sources. Now that she was retired, she could, and did. She said that if she wanted to get a feel for what was really happening, she would read about it on both liberal and conservative websites.

Cost, refugees, and the undocumented. All of the participants mentioned the cost to support undocumented immigrants, which is a clear example of realistic threat. Financial concern was often accompanied by the observation that entering the country illegally was unfair.

The view that undocumented immigrants had cheated corresponds to the stereotype, or image, of them as barbarians.

Cathy objected to having to support undocumented immigrants. “As a taxpayer, as a single person who pays a lot of taxes, it’s very frustrating.” She sighed. “I’m definitely a person who wants to help people, but at the same time, it’s hard to listen to people (elected officials) just throwing money around.” She thought about it for a minute, then said, “I would cut other things before I cut that (assistance to undocumented immigrants).”

I pressed a little, asking if she thought people were coming to take advantage of American assistance programs. She said, “I think most of them are coming here to work. I don’t think many of them are coming here just to live off welfare.” She did, however, feel that entering the United States illegally was unfair. She said, “It’s hard to look at people who jump through all these hoops legally and then look at people who didn’t and still want the same rights.”

People coming in migrant caravans seemed to fall into a similar category. Many people in the caravans would cross the border illegally and promptly turn themselves in to American officials. Once they did, they could apply for asylum (BBC News, November 26, 2018). Cathy was of the opinion that the first caravan in 2018 had received so much public support that it motivated more migrants to make the trip. Her feeling was, “they’re like, ‘Hey, they’re lettin’ everybody in. Let’s do another one!’”

Hania, on the other hand, believed that as a nation, the United States had begun as a vision. As the land of the free, it drew people from all over the world, and she saw no reason for that to change. She said, “I just don’t understand if the reason our country, and the way it was formed . . . [as] the land of freedom – how do you all of a sudden stop, saying, ‘No, you can’t

come in anymore?” She believed most people still came to this country looking for a better life for their families. Usually that meant opportunities to work or go to school. “Someone who’s willing to work,” she said, “they’re not coming and being a burden on our society, so why not give them that opportunity?”

When pressed, she said that if she had to deny entry to someone, it would be to someone who could obtain work or education in her home country. She felt that “wherever [they] are, . . . if [they]’re still able to get that, then I think it’s ok if they say no to somebody like that.” But if they were coming “for a legit reason, whether it’s for a job, or they want a better education for their children, why not?” She paused a moment, then added, “That’s what our country’s about.”

Karen was concerned about the number of refugees worldwide, saying there were “certainly more than I’ve ever seen in my lifetime. And they’re escaping areas where we have instigated problems.” She brought up American culpability many times, often accompanied by the phrase, “Nobody’s talking about that.”

She found it difficult to discuss immigration with friends or colleagues, because people would not address the source of the problems. “[N]obody seems to be getting to the heart of the matter,” she said. “You know – why are people leaving their countries?” She pointed out that leaving one’s country was no small matter, that “people don’t leave their homeland lightly.” She said, “I have known many, many immigrants. They come here at great emotional cost.”

She had worked with many Latin American immigrants over the years and believed most came to the United States because they could not find employment at home. She felt American business practices were largely to blame. “I’ve been involved with politics for a while,” she said. “Especially in Latin America. I mean, it was the fruit companies [that caused economic problems].”

She spoke of hard-working people she knew who were unable to find work in their home countries. Neighboring countries had similar problems, so they came here. Asked if she thought immigrants were taking jobs from Americans, she replied, “Yeah, I mean, that’s a good argument. But why is that?” At the professional level, she felt they outperformed many locals and deserved the jobs they landed. Speaking of her brother, a university professor, she said, “[H]e has graduate students from all over the world, and he says they outrank our Americans. They’re top-notch. They work hard.” At the other end of the spectrum, “in the lower end jobs, they’re more willing to do the work that many Americans aren’t willing to do.”

In addition to Latinos, Karen had worked with immigrants from the Middle East, though not as many. As mentioned earlier, the term *Middle East* in this work includes Afghanistan and Pakistan as part of the “greater Middle East area.” Her views on emigration from the region were similar to those on Latin America. She said, “[O]ur country – I’ve watched for the last 20 years – has done everything to destabilize the Middle East . . .” She also expressed frustration at the national debate about the problem, because “[a]s long as people aren’t really talking about the heart of the matter, the root of the problems, it (the conversation) doesn’t make sense.” To her, it was simple cause and effect. She said, “[W]e’ve destabilized the Middle East, so look what we’ve got to deal with!”

She acknowledged the cost and complications of accepting large numbers of refugees. She felt strongly, however, that the government, over many decades, had brought the immigration crisis on itself. “[I]s there a cost?” she asked. “Yeah! You know . . . are we willing to pay as a country? Well, why is it a question now?”

Paula was concerned about people entering the country without proper documentation. Discussing polls with her, I mentioned one that said more Americans were concerned about the

legality of immigration than crime or job loss. Her response appeared to validate the claim. She said, “I am concerned about all of it. All of it. Because I think it’s unfair to have waited in line and gone through the proper process.” Crime and job loss did not come up again unless she was specifically asked about them.

While her views on illegal entry were quite strong, they paled in comparison to her opinion on the expense of supporting undocumented immigrants. She brought it up 18 times on its own and alluded to it another 12 times as she discussed related issues. One aspect was the cost of medical care. She said hospitals “are jacking up our costs because they have to cover the expenses of the (undocumented) people who come in. They can’t pay.” She was certain she had been charged more than necessary a few times, saying, “I know it was because of that. They have to, you know, balance their budget.”

While not overly concerned about crime per se, she was concerned about the cost of incarcerating undocumented immigrants. She told me that “my feeling is that if they commit a crime, they should be deported, definitely. I just don’t think we should be paying for [it].”

She was also upset about the cost to public school districts. She felt schools were already “not well funded.” Later, she repeated the thought, saying, “We have a lot of problems in education today, and I just don’t know how we can sustain it all.” Asked what she thought about teaching the children of undocumented immigrants, she said,

I have very mixed feelings about that, because it’s taking away from other children. It’s increasing class size and I have mixed feelings about that. It’s certainly not the fault of the children. It’s hard to be specific about that. It *is*, because you care about - because children are children, and you care about them.

Vera expressed her views on illegal immigration forcefully. One of her first statements was, “There is a law!” There was no question in her mind that it was illegal and, evidently, immoral as well. Without elaborating, she compared illegal entrants to immigrants who came

through legal channels, saying, “There is a total difference.” She immediately turned to the cost of supporting them. Her tone, as she discussed it, was condemning. The implication was that they were cheating and receiving benefits that were meant for someone else. Hospital emergency rooms were a prime example. She eyed me over her wine glass, looking for the world like a sitcom gossip, and said, “[T]here’s *one group* of people (meaning Hispanics) who are there *all the time*.” She nodded knowingly, seeing I had taken her meaning.

She had similar feelings about the cost of educating the children of undocumented immigrants. She felt it was very expensive, and “[c]lassrooms are full of them.” I mentioned recent rhetoric that called for the U.S. to accept only immigrants who would not be a public charge. Vera agreed. “Absolutely,” she said. “That’s the way our immigration system was for years.”

She was not without compassion, though. She felt that refugees were a “whole different ball of wax” because “they needed us.” She felt genuine sympathy for their circumstances, but as the interview progressed and her wine glass emptied, she indicated that she did not necessarily want them moving into her neighborhood.

Immigration reform. Most of the participants felt the immigration system needed an overhaul. The primary concern was keeping people from entering the country illegally. Any one of ITT’s four forms of threat can lead to the desire to prevent the entry of out-group members.

Cathy felt the first step in reforming the immigration system should be acknowledgment of the undocumented. Criminals, she said, should be deported, but for everyone else, there should be a pathway to citizenship. In order to prevent the pathway to citizenship from encouraging further illegal entry, however, it would have to be accompanied by a border that was genuinely closed. She cited with concern a CNN report claiming that in remote areas, there were

“[t]housands of people just walking across. Daily!” The chaos seemed to bother her as much as the numbers, and she spoke of an orderly, legal process as a way to “keep track of everything.” She was skeptical about the border wall, though, saying she thought it was more of a political stunt than a practical measure, and practical measures would need to be taken. “I think we *have* to do something unless we say we’re going to have open borders,” she said. Recognizing an open border was not a likely option, she added, “If we’re saying we’re not having open borders, you have to spend a little money to make sure it’s not open.”

Hania’s criticism of the country’s immigration system had a different focus. She felt the government’s response to immigration problems was shameful, saying that “punishing people, and especially innocent children who didn’t make that choice – I don’t think that’s fair or right.” She spoke of the detention of asylum-seekers who had been “caged at the border” as “unacceptable.” There was no other word for it. “That’s just – you don’t do that with another human,” she said. Emphasizing the degrading way migrants had been treated recently, she said, “We are such a power, and we treat other humans. . .” She broke off, shaking her head sadly.

Karen was torn on the subject of immigration reform. On one hand, she felt perhaps it would be wise to lower immigration rates. “I wouldn’t mind a push to slow immigration,” she said, “if people were facing the reality that we caused the problem. . .” On the other hand, she thought the government had a responsibility to accept refugees from areas where the U.S. “contributed to the problem.” Knowing the president planned to reduce the number of refugees accepted annually, she said, “On the surface, it seems appropriate, but it’s so narrow; there’s no depth to the understanding of the problem.”

She also acknowledged he had inherited “a big problem that wasn’t created by him. I mean, what does he do?” She continued:

I don't like what he's doing. I don't like his rhetoric, but I can understand, "Oh my gosh; we've got all these thousands of people coming in, and they all want to come here, and they're all hungry, and they're all need, need, need, and what are we going to do?"

Refusing them entry, however, was not an option for her. She said, "I don't want people to suffer because we, as a government, have messed up their country and caused the unrest." Since the United States was to blame, she said, "We'd better damn well open our doors."

Paula's primary concern with reform was the cost of educating the children of the undocumented. As mentioned earlier, she was also unhappy about financing medical care or incarceration for illegal immigrants. She thought it might be more effective to help people in their own countries and prevent immigration problems at the source. She said, "I would like to see us do more for people in their country – you know, help them there, and not drain our systems here."

Culture clash. As participants spoke about immigrants in the United States, they discussed difficulties with adjustment on both sides. Opinions ranged from "It's just differences," to "Ugh!" Analysis revealed stereotypic beliefs as well as some mixed feelings about immigrants.

Stereotypes. Only two teachers spoke of immigrants in explicitly stereotypical terms. There were, however, hints of stereotypical thinking in most participants' data. As mentioned earlier, Cathy was horrified by the report she watched on the news that said thousands of people crossed the Mexican border in remote areas every day. Taking a two-pronged approach, she wanted to close the border and document new arrivals as they came in. She also suggested a pathway to citizenship for those already here. Initially, her ideas sounded like practical measures, but upon further analysis, her concern appeared to be driven by the desire for officials to keep track of just who was in the country. At one point she said, as if speaking to an

undocumented immigrant, “Ok. You’re here. Let’s get you actually here with all the right papers so you’re not worried and so that we can keep track of everything.” I wondered if the idea was that if “we” kept track of “them,” then “we” could deport any of “them” who committed a crime.

Karen, as mentioned above, felt the United States had a responsibility to accept refugees since it was the American government that caused most of the problems in their home countries. While she believed most came for work or to escape danger, she acknowledged the existence of bad actors. As she discussed groups of immigrants, two negative stereotypes sneaked in. On their own, they did not sound like stereotypes, but when considered together, against the backdrop of current political rhetoric, they were significant.

The first was in her discussion of immigrants from Latin America. She said, “Some of them come and break laws, and I’m all for sending them the heck back.” Hispanic immigrants had been publicly portrayed as criminals in recent years (Flores & Schachter, 2018; Jones et al., 2016; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017), and it was interesting that she brought up crime in her conversation about them.

Discussing Muslim refugees from the Middle East, she spoke of the planning involved in resettling them. She mentioned organizations that were working to arrange things like housing, job training, and medical insurance. She felt it was vitally important work “[b]ecause the reality is, otherwise we’re going to have these people wandering around . . . not knowing, . . . and they’re going to get frustrated. And they’re going to get desperate. They’re already desperate.” As I understood her, she was implying that desperation could lead to unpredictable behavior, perhaps violence.

Maybe my interpretation was colored by the label, “these people,” which I found derogatory, as was the phrase “wandering around.” People only wander when they are incapable of finding their own way. It speaks to a lack of ability, not ignorance. Likely, the two derogatory terms in the same sentence with “desperate” added to my perception that she was hinting at the potential for violence. Muslims had been portrayed as terrorists in recent years, and it was interesting that she hinted at violence (e.g., terrorism), but not ordinary crime (e.g., robbery), as she talked about them.

Discussing Muslim refugees, Karen said she thought they had a difficult time integrating, “because many of the families have been through trauma because they’ve been in refugee camps.” While it would be naïve to ignore the gravity of war zones or their effects, I noticed trauma did not come up in the discussion of Latin American immigrants. Many Hispanics flee violence in their home countries, and the trip north is often treacherous (Amnesty International, 2020). My impression was that she brought up trauma as an excuse for odd behavior. At one point she said that Muslim refugees “just don’t know how to interact,” but did not elaborate.

In the second interview, Karen told me how difficult it was for people to find work in Latin American countries. In Guatemala, she said, there was a new law that required manual laborers to acquire some sort of certification to work. Aside from the prohibitive expense, she thought the concept was ridiculous, saying:

[A] lot of people who work with their hands think differently. They don’t need to be sitting in a classroom. They need to be working. Because they can solve all of those problems with their hands. And the way their minds work. But they’re not going to sit in the classroom and learn all of the, you know, finer points of geometry.

She spoke of Chinese immigrants in a very different light. She discussed Chinese doctors who had to go through the process of earning their American licensing. It involved “[l]ots of

time, lots of work, lots of money.” In the classroom, she felt that “you know, Chinese students are *so* smart.”

Paula was open about her discomfort with Muslim immigrants, speculating that it was probably because she had had very little contact with them. She acknowledged some fear, saying many Americans became aware of “that culture” through terrorism and stories of war.

Vera spoke of “some cultures (meaning Hispanic, whose students might be at a disadvantage because there was “no precedent to do well.” She indicated that parents from some other cultures were unable to help their children, saying, “. . . and refugees come from someplace (gesturing to indicate she thought the place was worthless), so . . .” Hoping she would elaborate, I prompted her, “Meaning they don’t really know what’s going on?” She replied, “Oh, absolutely.” She paused a moment. “Well, they *don’t*.”

She continued the conversation about Muslim families, but never actually named them. She said *some* immigrant families “were not even receptive to female teachers that much, because in their culture, in their country, the woman’s not revered in any way, so they really didn’t take an American English teacher as seriously.” She was comfortable with me by this time, and had also begun a second glass of wine, and she made no attempt to hide her scorn.

Her opinion of most Asians was markedly different. At one point she said, “Asian parents are like, 150% behind their students, wanting to help.”

Mixed feelings. In discussions with the teachers, I sensed some mixed feelings about the meeting of cultures. Aware of the interview context of our conversations, I also felt some of them were reluctant to say anything they thought would put them in a bad light. Karen’s interviews produced rich examples of what I only sensed with others.

Over the course of two interviews, she mentioned 18 times, in different ways, that “I personally love cultural diversity. It makes me happy.” She described her neighborhood in glowing terms, talking about the variety of ethnicities. She said she enjoyed seeing temples come up, watching Russian and East Indian dances, and attending local festivals. She said she had learned Spanish; in fact, her bilingual status came up 10 times. She said she loved Middle Eastern food and appreciated the fact that local restaurants served cuisine from so many different countries. She valued difference, she said, “because it makes me get out of my little world.”

She laughed as she discussed four years she had spent in the Midwest, saying she “. . . found it really boring.” She described it as a “flat kind of monoculture.” She continued, saying, “I was thinking, you know, in California we have to deal with a lot of issues around all the different kinds of people, and cultures, but it’s worth it.” In the Midwest,

[t]hey just think, “Well, all we hear about is all these *problems* you’re having in California. All this racial strife, and . . . this and that, . . . and costing you all this money. You got all these people leeching off the system.” You know, so they get one perspective of it, but they don’t get all the good stuff.

Karen said she made a conscious effort to remove cultural barriers. “Like when I do see these women (in hijab) at the gym, I make a point of chatting with them, because I don’t want there to be a barrier just because they look different than me.” As she spoke of “religious garb” as a barrier, I understood her to mean the Muslim hijab (head scarf) and abaya, the long, loose coat some women wear over their clothes, as well as the shalwar kameez, often worn by people from the Indian subcontinent. The shalwar kameez is worn in the region regardless of religion, but in the school district where Karen lived and worked, it was often associated with Muslims. (It was commonly worn by Sikhs as well, and there had been a number of hate crimes against Sikhs committed by perpetrators who thought, from their clothing and turbans, their victims were Muslim, indicating that Americans do not always make the distinction.)

It seemed she had put some thought into the question of why people might respond with hostility to the sight of others in “Islamic” clothes. There were, she said, always some who would object to anyone who was noticeably different. In addition, there were those who associated Islam with terrorism. Discussing the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, she said “it blew us into awareness that we have enemies. And so, we assume that they’re our enemies.” She thought that many Americans “are still stuck on this idea that they’re all coming to ruin our country. You know, kill people...”.

Considering the entire political spectrum, she mentioned both right-wing Christians and “the liberal contingent” as groups that would take issue with Islamic attire. She said, “I think folks who were raised in Christianity, which certainly puts a bad slant on Islam, take offense.” Liberals, she told me, objected specifically to the hijab and abaya because “they believe this garb is somehow taking away their (Muslims’) rights as women, and their ability to participate fully.”

She thought it might be easier for younger generations to adjust to such social changes, saying, “I think for them, it’s easier for them to kind of just accept that these people are, you know, they look a little bit different, and they might have some religious beliefs, but it’s just not that important to them.” She laughed a little, and in spite of all of her talk about embracing diversity, was able to admit, “I know, for me, I’m still getting used to it.”

Ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is defined as “the tendency to form and maintain negative evaluations and hostility toward multiple groups that are not one’s own.” (Cunningham et al., 2004, p. 1332). In layman’s terms, it is “the attitude that one’s own group, ethnicity, or nationality is superior to others” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). ITT scholars describe it as an extension of the perception of symbolic threat. Analysis of the data revealed most of the participants had an ethnocentric outlook.

In the data from Cathy's interviews, there were two excerpts that demonstrated her ethnocentrism as well as my reaction to it. My reaction is relevant because, in my role as her conversation partner, I experienced implicit bias. As discussed in Chapter Two, in-group members are often unaware they have demonstrated bias in conversation with out-group members. Out-group members, picking up on different cues, have no difficulty noticing it.

Both conversations involved Hispanic immigrants, and racially, I straddle the in-group/out-group divide. I concede the possibility that her views were not at all racial, but as a sometimes outgroup member, I picked up on cues indicative of bias.

At the end of the second interview, the conversation turned to recent changes in deportation policies and raids by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers. I knew parents in local districts were concerned and asked if any of them had said anything to her about it. She said, "No. Not at this level (kindergarten). And I don't know that I – I mean, I try to be friendly, but I'm not sure if I'd try to foster that kind of relationship. That sounds horrible, but I'm just like . . . (indicated a bent arm's distance)."

We were wrapping up, so that was as far as the ICE conversation went. Reading the transcription later, my Mexican half reacted emotionally. I understood her to be telling me (parents) that I was welcome to come in and do school things, but that I (they) should not presume the relationship was anything more than professional. My White half thought that was perfectly reasonable; as a parent, I would be there to discuss my child's progress and work with her to help that progress along. My Mexican half recognized the snub and would not have gone to see her – let alone ask for help – unless I had no other choice.

In the second excerpt, I told her of a classroom volunteer whose granddaughter had been in my preschool class. The grandmother had come in crying one day because her son, the child's

father, was going to be deported, most likely the next day. Cathy's response was not sympathy for the grandmother nor concern for the child; it was to ask if he had committed a crime. It was not an unreasonable question, and I did not know the answer, but her tone became more reserved, almost clinical. She was discussing it as a problem, not as an anecdote about a child. She said, "Deportation's messy. It's not pleasant. That doesn't mean it's not necessary in some situations. But we have to look carefully at what we're doing."

As with the first excerpt, we appear to have experienced the conversation differently. Where I was speaking of people, she was speaking of a problem. I was offended that she took a step back from *them*. The experience suggested that in interaction with parents she was probably cheerful and friendly, but not warm. It was a difference that outgroup members would almost certainly recognize.

In Karen's interviews, most examples of ethnocentrism were nuanced, so that as practical issues, one might agree with her. For example, she said she "enjoy[ed] other cultures as long as whatever they're doing isn't. . ." She broke off, leaving unspoken whatever unspecified bad thing she meant. She seemed to be suggesting that people from other cultures could be expected to do unspecified bad things, but it was subtle.

When she said we had a responsibility to take in refugees, she thought about it and added that we should be cautious about it. That also made sense. The way she paused, however, then made the statement slowly, clearly thinking through the risks of letting everyone in, said much more than her words.

There was also a patronizing tone to her conversations. It was evident in her unspoken suggestions that the U.S. was a better place to live, compared to immigrants' homelands, as well as in her numerous references to the gratitude expressed by immigrants she had known. Some of

her students had recently interviewed relatives and learned that their grandparents “worked in the fields. They never went to school. They didn’t have toys. They didn’t have all *the things*. . . [T]hey had no idea life was so challenging for their grandparents.” Had she mentioned classroom conversations that included more appealing aspects of students’ home countries, her words would not have sounded patronizing, but there was no evidence of them.

Addressing the issue of immigrants taking American jobs, Karen brought up Latino laborers who take jobs that Americans do not want, such as fieldwork. In California, particularly near the state’s agricultural Central Valley, it was common knowledge that fieldwork was backbreaking labor generally eschewed by American workers. It was also well known that undocumented workers often received very low wages for the work. Speaking of the new arrivals, she said, “And they’ll do it happily. And they’ll receive the pay they get, and they’ll be happy.”

Paula and Vera had less to say than Cathy and Karen, but they both evinced ethnocentric outlooks. Paula saw the influx of Muslim immigrants as evidence of changing times. While she felt that people should adjust as times changed, she believed adjustment was a two-way street. She said, “I think we need to respect them, but they have to respect us as well. There are certain things that, if you want the privilege of coming here, I think you should accept.” She did not criticize other cultures or countries, but by describing “coming here” as a “privilege,” the implication was that in her view, their home countries were a step down.

Vera did not need many words to convey her disdain of other cultures. She spoke of some (probably Asian) parents “that revere their son as a prince, and whatever the son wants to do . . .” she trailed off, shaking her head. Telling me about one who watched tv all afternoon, she said, “Oh, my gosh. Have you ever thought of unplugging the tv?”

More than once, she discussed the inability of immigrant parents to help their children academically because they did not speak English, and as she did so, her tone became noticeably judgmental. She said, “Then you’d have ones that you really couldn’t communicate with because they didn’t speak the language. And when the student goes home, they go back to the native tongue. So, there’s no reinforcement of the English language.” Her tone said much more than her words.

Assimilation. All of the participants in this study felt assimilation was important, and some were bothered by things that could be perceived as resistance to assimilation. The use of languages other than English came up often, as did the wearing of “Islamic garb.” Both represent the perception of symbolic threat. Because of the association of Islam with violence, “religious” clothing also represents the perception of realistic threat. In the classroom, two of the teachers appeared to be working to help children assimilate by promoting American literature and values.

Cathy mentioned a number of times how important it was for children’s parents to learn English. She phrased it as a practical issue, but said many teachers felt strongly about it. As an instructional coach, she had spent a few years in other people’s classrooms. Discussing her colleagues’ attitudes toward ELs, she said that “some teachers would get frustrated, angry, because some parents weren’t learning English. Or weren’t taking the time to.” She explained that she had heard teachers saying, essentially, “You’re an adult. You chose to come here. . . . Even if you have come from an emergency . . . you need to learn the language.” Although she was talking about other teachers, the phrasing was similar enough to words describing her own opinions to suggest some agreement.

She was fairly certain her coworkers were irritated only by the parents. Their attitude, she said, was directed “[n]ot towards kids. But towards, more, the adults.” She said she had never noticed any teachers displaying hostility toward EL students – not “even their actions.”

Karen discussed experiences she had had in public places where everyone spoke a foreign language. She said, “I’m not put off by it, but I know that there are people that are.” She may have genuinely not been bothered, but language learning came up several times. Early in the first interview, she rattled off a few things she thought were most important for immigrants, and the first was, “We want them to speak English.” In the second interview, she said, “I should hope that they would want to speak English.” She paused. “Because it would certainly make their lives easier.”

In the first interview, it was interesting that she said, “We want them to *speak* English,” rather than *learn* English. It appears she said exactly what she meant. Weeks later, in the second interview, she said she hoped immigrants would want to “speak English,” not *learn English*, or *learn the language*. Then she paused a moment before adding that it “would make their lives easier.” Again, that may have been her only concern, but her statement came in the context of a conversation about conforming to American social norms, suggesting that she initially said exactly what she meant (“I should hope they would want to speak English”), and then added the more immigrant-friendly statement about making their lives easier as an afterthought.

Neither Paula nor Hania expressed any objection to hearing other languages, but Vera found it offensive when people did not speak English. She angrily described a time when she felt she was outnumbered by Hispanics. At a large discount store in another neighborhood, she said everything “was all in Spanish.” She mimed checking a map app on her phone, and said, “I’m like, ‘Where am I?’”

Participants also mentioned discomfort with Muslims who wore clothing that identified them as such. It was frequently referred to as “Muslim garb” or “religious garb.” Cathy felt that wearing “religious garb” might hinder the social acceptance of Muslims. “Assimilation is important when you come into the United States,” she said. She paused before adding, “also retaining the things you want from your culture.” As a cultural concept, “religious garb” may not have bothered her, but at an emotional level, it appears to have triggered a reaction.

Karen evinced a similar response to clothing that identified individuals as Muslim. At one point, I had told her about another teacher’s discomfort when she went to a large discount store and it seemed like everyone was speaking another language. That teacher believed that if people were going to come to this country, they ought to make an effort to conform. I spoke of language, specifically, and while I did not specify, the other teacher had been referring to Spanish. As I paused, searching for a word, Karen finished my sentence, saying, “Right. That they should be speaking English and dressing like everybody else.” As mentioned earlier, Karen tried to be open to people who were different but was “still getting used to” Islamic attire.

Paula said she was uncomfortable with Muslims in hijab, partly because of the association with terrorism. She thought many people felt the same way and felt Muslim immigrants might be better accepted without Islamic clothing. She had not worked with children (or colleagues) from Islamic countries and speculated that she did not have any positive experiences to balance out her negative impressions. She said, “I think we’re always challenged, in life, to, you know, accept new things, . . . and it is a changing world. And I think as you get older, it’s even harder.”

Vera was more caustic. She spoke of “a whole shopping center where on Friday nights they come in in full garb and you would even think you’re in a whole different country.” She

continued the description, relating how she'd been taken aback by a (she mimed a woman's hijab) "hajeeb" on a mannequin. "You see that," she said, "and people kind of go, 'Ugh!'"

Promotion of Americanism. There were indications that two teachers had taken their views on assimilation a step further and were promoting "Americanism" in the classroom. The term is used here to refer both to values and affection for things considered typically American (e.g., baseball, Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer*, and New Orleans jazz). I do not in any way suggest that promoting "Americanism" is wrong. The following examples are presented because they appear to have been part of a broader effort to push immigrant children to assimilate.

The first was Cathy's deliberate selection of American classics and commonly read fairy tales to read to her kindergarteners. On its own, the choice was not significant. In the context of a multicultural classroom, however, it was, as there was no mention of culturally relevant stories for balance. Thus, while students' cultures received no criticism, they also received no acknowledgment.

The second was Karen's grandparent interviews. She spoke of the discussion about all of "the things" the children had in the United States that their grandparents (or other relatives) had not had in their home countries. The focus on the gadgets and conveniences of American life was similar to Cathy's book selection in that it highlighted things the children were likely to appreciate about the United States, what they would consider the "good stuff."

She said the children learned life had been "challenging" for many of their relatives. They talked about how some had worked in the fields and were unable to attend school. There was no mention of conversations about home countries' more appealing attributes. They discussed "good" things (e.g., electronics and fast food) in America and "bad" things from home countries (e.g., hard work, no school). Again, neither the "good" nor the "bad" were truly one or

the other, but they were discussed in terms of what would or would not appeal to the children. For this analysis, it comes to the same thing.

Summary of themes. Five themes emerged from analysis of the data. The first, *unrealistic expectations*, reflected the participants' view that districts demanded more than could be effectively accomplished by one person. English language development programming was particularly problematic. The second theme, *immigration*, presented teachers' concerns regarding the cost to support refugees and undocumented immigrants. It included their thoughts on immigration reform and the influence of the media on the national debate.

The third theme, *culture clash*, discussed participants' stereotypes and the subtle ways they affected thought and speech. It also presented excerpts from one participant's interviews as examples of the mixed feelings detected in conversations with some of the other teachers. The fourth theme, *ethnocentrism*, presented teachers' words and actions that illustrated "negative evaluations and hostility" (Cunningham et al., 2004, p. 1332) toward immigrants.

Finally, the fifth theme, *assimilation*, described participants' desire for immigrants to assimilate into the local culture. Most were concerned that newcomers speak English and wear Western clothing. Two participants appeared to be promoting "Americanism" in class as part of an effort to push children to assimilate.

Synthesis of Findings

Cross-case analysis revealed themes that were common to most, but not necessarily all, of the participants. They were, however, unanimous in their view that teachers were expected to perform the work of multiple professionals. Describing the situation as unrealistic, Vera said, "One person, [though] highly educated . . . can't meet the needs of each student at their own level."

They were frustrated by the *unrealistic demands* of their school districts. In addition to the requirement to individualize instruction, teachers were required to accommodate children with IEPs and 504 plans. Teachers with English learners also had to incorporate English language development into the school day. The presence of English learners affected instruction time as well as teachers' workloads. All of the participants mentioned lost instruction time as a problem. Paula, who had relatively few English learners, was particularly upset that thirty of her students lost valuable learning time so that five could receive ELD instruction. She described the loss as "tragic." The increased workload was also a common issue, one that Karen brought up 22 times.

Those who perceived the loss of instruction time as a realistic threat would have considered the threat to be directed toward American students, not themselves. Those who perceived the increased workload as a realistic threat would have felt it directed toward themselves. Regardless of the target, the fact was, had there been no English learners in the class, they would have had more time for both instruction and planning.

The second theme was *immigration*, which included the political nature of the media. None of the participants believed media reports were neutral, but their affective responses varied. While distrust of the media does not represent any of the threats listed in integrated threat theory, it colored participants' views on immigration issues.

All of the participants mentioned the cost to provide social services to refugees and undocumented immigrants. Hania did not believe it was a problem, saying, "We can afford it." Karen felt the United States had a responsibility to support them, since the American government had created so many of the problems that caused people to emigrate.

The other three participants, however, objected to the expense, demonstrating the perception of realistic threat. While public assistance and medical care were concerns, the larger issue was the financial drain on schools that Paula felt were “already not well funded.” Vera complained about immigrant children without documentation. The cost to taxpayers was exorbitant, she felt, because schools were “full of them.”

Accompanying financial resentment was the sentiment that undocumented immigrants had cheated to get into the country. The feeling was that it was not fair for them to receive benefits earmarked for those who had gone through legal channels. Cathy said, “It’s hard to look at people who jump through all these hoops legally and then look at people who didn’t and still want the same rights.”

The suggestion was that they had come to take advantage of American largesse. Again, Cathy spoke plainly, saying that after the first migrant caravan of 2018, others “[were] like, ‘Hey, they’re lettin’ everybody in. Let’s do another one!’” Their opinion that a group of immigrants was both cheating and taking advantage of American goodwill indicates participants viewed them with the barbarian image, or negative stereotype.

Not surprisingly, discussions about immigration reform focused on the importance of preventing illegal entry. The desire to strengthen group boundaries, in this case physically, often stems from the perception of realistic threat, such as the financial burden mentioned above. Negative stereotypes can also influence the perception of realistic threat. To reiterate, in this work a stereotype is considered negative if the evaluator believes it to be so. Thus, a person who stereotypes Muslims as terrorists would be more likely to perceive their presence as a realistic threat.

The third theme, *culture clash*, reflected participants' recognition that the meeting of cultures was fraught with difficulty. Negative stereotypes, ITT's third threat, were revealed in the analysis of the data. Some were blatant, such as Vera's remark that "in their [Hispanic] culture, there's no precedent to do well." Others were more subtle. Speaking of Latino laborers, for example, Karen thought they would not "sit in the classroom and learn all of the, you know, finer points of geometry," because of "the way their minds work." Muslim Refugees were also stereotyped as incapable, but in a different way. Vera felt they "absolutely" did not know what was going on around them. Echoing the sentiment, Karen felt they did "not know how to interact" with the local population and needed guidance to keep them from simply "wandering around."

Indicative of further negative stereotypic beliefs, three participants made connections between Hispanic immigrants and crime, as well as Muslim immigrants and violence. While negative stereotypes can lead to bias on their own, they can, as discussed above, also influence the perception of realistic threat. Evidence of the Hispanic stereotype was subtle, simply the consideration of crime as participants discussed Hispanic immigrants. Crime did not come up in discussions of other groups.

Participants were more open about their negative stereotypes of Muslim immigrants. Karen thought many Americans were "still stuck on this idea that they're all coming to ruin our country. You know, kill people. . . ." Similarly, Paula explained that Americans were first introduced to "that culture" through war and still thought of Muslims as enemies.

Ethnocentrism, as discussed earlier, stems from the perception of symbolic threat. Most of the participants in this study demonstrated a sense of cultural superiority. Cathy preferred to minimize contact with parents, Paula spoke of the "privilege of coming here," and Vera

dismissed some students' home countries with a gesture to indicate she thought they were worthless. Karen had mixed feelings about immigrants and their cultures, but the patronization revealed in analysis reflected an ethnocentric attitude.

Many believe it is important for immigrants to assimilate to the local culture, and participants in this study displayed emotional reactions to what could be perceived as resistance to assimilation. Three reacted to the use of languages other than English, and four to the wearing of "Islamic garb." Both represent the perception of symbolic threat. Two teachers appear to have gone a step further, pushing children to assimilate by highlighting appealing aspects of American life.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with profiles of the five participants and their schools. More detailed descriptions of each participant highlighted evidence of their teaching knowledge. This was followed by a discussion of school characteristics and ELD programming as important aspects of the teaching context. Next came the presentation of five themes that emerged in data analysis, with supporting evidence from participant interviews and connections to integrated threat theory. The themes were *unrealistic demands*, *immigration*, *culture clash*, *ethnocentrism*, and *assimilation*. Finally, the synthesis of findings elaborated on the ways ITT's four forms of threat were reflected in the themes. The following chapter discusses the findings presented here and presents the study's conclusions. It makes recommendations for practice as well as policy and suggests further avenues of research.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of teachers' perspectives on immigration and to explore the ways those perspectives may have influenced their attitudes toward students. Taking words and reported behavior as representative of participants' attitudes, this chapter discusses the findings in relation to integrated threat theory. It presents conclusions, responds to the research questions, and makes recommendations for practice, policy, and further research.

Discussion

The following discussion presents the analysis of combined data as it relates to the research questions and the literature on integrated threat theory. The overarching question guiding this study was: How do teachers' views on immigration influence their attitudes toward students in high poverty schools with large immigrant populations? Sub-questions addressed three aspects of the issue, providing substance for discussion of the overarching question, and are therefore discussed first. They were: 1) How are teachers' perspectives on immigration manifested in their pedagogical orientations? 2) How do teachers' views on immigration influence their curriculum decision making? 3) In what ways do teachers' views on immigration influence their relationships and interactions with students?

Addressing the first question: How are teachers' perspectives on immigration manifested in their pedagogical orientations? As mentioned earlier, holistic teaching approaches are an important aspect of high-quality instruction, as they are child-centered and responsive to individual student's skills and abilities (Banks & Banks, 1995; Forbes & Martin, 2004; Gay, 2010; R Miller, 2000; Mitchell, 2016; Santamaria, 2009). Teachers using holistic approaches

employ constructivist concepts of learning. Building on existing knowledge, or children's previous experiences, they take into account, among other things, students' individual interests, abilities, and learning styles.

The participants in this study were familiar with constructivist concepts of learning but did not appear to embrace a holistic approach to learning in general. There was no evidence, for example, of teaching with multiple intelligences in mind. They did differentiate instruction by ability, which is one aspect of a holistic pedagogical orientation (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenglinsky, 2002), but they were required to do so.

As with multiple intelligences, participants did not implement a culturally responsive teaching approach. Hania, however, made an effort to include students' cultures in learning activities. While the inclusion of culture does not in itself represent a holistic pedagogical approach, it does, like differentiated instruction, address the individuality of learners. The inclusion of culture also makes it possible for immigrant children (and others) to bring their personal experiences to learning events. The connection of new learning to students' experiences is fundamental to constructivist teaching and therefore an element of holistic pedagogy.

One of the core goals of culturally responsive teaching is validation of students' cultures, and by extension, the children themselves (Banks, 2010; Gay, 2010; Moll & Greenberg, 1990; Naidoo, 2011; Olsen, 1997; Ooka Pang, 2014). Hania made it a point to bring in multicultural fiction and other materials that were relevant to the cultures represented in her class. The unspoken message was that their stories were worth reading and that events in their lives were important. One might suggest that she did so to highlight her own cultural background, but the argument is not supported by the data, as there were very few children from Pakistan at Hastings.

She did share a language with many families from India, but those families were generally from other religious backgrounds. While many elements of Indian and Pakistani culture are the same, the religious divide on the Indian Subcontinent is enormous. It would be an over-simplification to say they shared a culture. The same could be said about similarities between Pakistan and countries with large Islamic populations. Hania shared a religion with some of her students but their languages and cultures were quite different.

As discussed above, she evinced neither stereotypic beliefs nor the perception of threat from immigrants. Perceiving no threat from the acceptance of other cultures, she was able to address the individuality of her students and help them bring their personal experiences to learning activities. Both suggest a holistic orientation.

Analysis revealed the other four teachers had ethnocentric viewpoints. Ethnocentrism, which stems from the perception of symbolic threat, is defined as “negative evaluations and hostility” (Cunningham et al., 2004, p. 1332) toward other cultures. The belief that other cultures are inferior to one’s own would make it difficult to perceive their value in learning. Of the four ethnocentric teachers, one was open in her disdain of Hispanic and Muslim immigrants, and two appeared to promote “Americanism” in class. Their pedagogical orientation seems to have favored hegemony over holism.

In summary, four of the teachers evinced the perception of threat, including ethnocentrism. They appeared to have a hegemonic pedagogical orientation. One teacher did not demonstrate the perception of threat and, while she did not implement a fully holistic teaching approach, appeared to have a holistic pedagogical orientation.

The second research question was: How do teachers’ views on immigration influence their curricular decision making? The data indicated that most of the teachers were free to make

some curricular decisions. Paula, however, had very little curricular freedom, and attempts to discuss the issue were met with expressions of frustration and anger. Vera did not discuss curricular choices in her single interview. The following discussion begins with Hania, as her views on immigration and her curricular decisions were markedly different from those of Cathy and Karen.

Hania, as mentioned above, did not appear to hold negative stereotypic beliefs or perceive any threat from immigrants. Her outlook seems to have affected her choice of materials as well as the selection of teaching strategies. She described reading aloud to the class from books that represented students' cultures. There was no indication of patronization, as she never suggested that reading might have been difficult for the English learners. She also brought in information on current events that were relevant to her students, such as immigration news or local festivals. In addition, she used technology for video presentation of material, translation, and to help struggling writers. Again, minimizing the representation of limited English as a problem, she discussed such actions as beneficial to English speakers as well as English learners.

Cathy demonstrated the perception of both realistic and symbolic threat, including ethnocentrism. Her deliberate selection of American classics for story time exemplifies the connection between her immigration perspective and curricular decisions. As part of the hidden hegemonic curriculum found in many schools (Joseph, 2012; Segall, 2004), the selection sends the message that only American stories are of value at school.

Karen's immigration perspective was similar to Cathy's, though its connection to her curricular decisions less clear. Her class discussion about immigrant children's home countries was certainly planned. It is possible, however, that she was unaware she was portraying American culture as superior. If that was indeed the case, she would also have been unaware of

the implied inferiority of their families' home countries. Children who were aware of the implication would have experienced implicit bias in the discussion.

Karen's primary focus was on English language arts. She mentioned several times that children must be able to read by the time they left 3rd grade or they would be "screwed for the rest of their education." She had worked with English learners for years and had attended numerous courses and seminars on teaching English to ELs. Many of those courses would have emphasized the importance of active involvement in skits, drama, and projects as well as the extensive use of visual aids (CDE, 2009). Interestingly, she did the reverse. Telling her principal that her classroom would not look like other classrooms; it would not have "a lot of fluff," she spent a great deal of time on various forms of a drill. As if to justify her decision to focus on English language arts rather than English language acquisition, she said, "I don't care what language they speak. They've got to read on grade level."

To summarize, three of the teachers discussed their curricular decisions. One gave no indication of ethnocentrism. She deliberately included students' cultures in her selection of materials and learning activities, thereby demonstrating the value of their cultures in the school setting. The other two teachers demonstrated multiple forms of threat and had ethnocentric perspectives. The learning activities they planned promoted a hegemonic perspective.

The third question was: In what way do teachers' views on immigration influence their relationships and interactions with students? Participants in this inquiry said little about their interaction with students. It was interesting to note that they rarely spoke of the children as individuals at all. They discussed groups, such as *English learners*, or *children with 504 plans*, but rarely individuals. Because patterns of speech generally reflect an individual's worldview

(Vygotsky, 1934/1986), the implication was that they thought of the children less as individuals and more as parts of identifiable groups.

Participating teachers could be divided by their attitudes toward, and apparent interaction with students. Hania indicated a fondness for the children and spoke of them as individuals often. Cathy, Karen and Vera rarely mentioned them and appeared to maintain some distance. Paula's attitude toward and interaction with her students seems to have been somewhere between the two camps.

Hania spoke of her students with affection, sharing anecdotes about individual students she had taught. She brought them up to illustrate points in her conversation and laughed about things the children said. Her descriptions also suggested the students were comfortable with her. They were willing to share their families' immigration stories, and one student was sassy enough to slip in a last laughing word when Hania chastised her for teasing her sister.

By chance, when we met for an interview at a park, some of her former students spotted her and ran up to say hello. After introductions, she asked how they were and what middle schools they attended. She also asked about their parents and their siblings, remembering names and situations (e.g., employment).

Cathy exhibited mixed signals. On one hand, she believed that as a teacher, "if you don't have that (love) for your kids, you shouldn't be there." She was also considerate of her students' feelings, saying part of the reason she did not like to separate English learners for ELD small groups was that she did not want them to feel like "they're always the ones being pulled (aside)."

On the other hand, she did not discuss children anecdotally, which suggests she viewed them less as individuals and more as groups with identifiable traits. It is possible that her desire to maintain a social distance with parents carried over to the children as well. After my

experience of implicit bias with her (and with many others), I suspect she was friendly but not necessarily warm. Because implicit bias is, by definition, not consciously held, she may have been unaware of any emotional distance from the children.

Like Cathy, Karen did not discuss her students individually. She spoke of them as groups as she described her efforts to bring their reading up to grade level. Saying they “really had their work cut out for them,” she focused on interactive activities in language arts. Two important aspects of her interactive approach were for ELs to speak English, and to hear others model “proper English.” Because her EOs were “still working on grammar” and did not “speak properly,” it appeared she was the only one who could model grammatically correct English in class. There was no mention, however, of her participation in interactive learning activities.

Vera brought up an individual student only once. She recalled an Iraqi boy who worked especially hard to learn English. “I just loved him,” she said, “because he really made the effort.”

As mentioned above, the data indicated Paula’s interaction with students was somewhere between Hania’s and that of the other three teachers. She brought up only one student individually, as an example of a serious behavior problem. The children were generally discussed as groups, but her tone was affectionate when she spoke of them. There was evidence that she knew some of them well, as she mentioned helping children when they had “tough situations.” It also bothered her that there was no time in the school day for casual conversation, “except maybe at recess.”

To summarize, Hania, who did not evince the perception of threat from immigrants, appeared to know her students well. She spoke of them often, sharing anecdotes about

individual children, often to boast about their ideas or accomplishments. She spent time chatting informally with them, as well as their families, and her tone suggested she enjoyed doing so.

Cathy, Karen, and Vera demonstrated the perception of both realistic and symbolic threat from immigrants. The data showed they held negative stereotypes about Hispanic and Muslim immigrants as well. Cathy had shown implicit bias, Karen a patronizing attitude, and Vera outright hostility. They did not mention interaction with the children or discuss them as individuals. Rather, they spoke of them as groups (e.g., children with IEPs).

Paula's views on immigration fell somewhere between Hania's and those of the other three participants. Her students were almost exclusively Hispanic and analysis revealed that she perceived realistic threat from undocumented Hispanic immigrants. She did not, however, demonstrate the perception of symbolic threat from Hispanic immigrants, as she did from Muslims. She held negative stereotypic beliefs about Muslims but bristled when I hinted at stereotypes about Hispanic students.

The overarching question guiding this inquiry was: How do teachers' views on immigration influence their attitudes toward students in high poverty schools with large immigrant populations? Because attitudes cannot be measured directly, this inquiry used a combination of participants' words and reported behavior as an indirect gauge.

Two of the *high threat* teachers indicated that they had low expectations of some groups of students, suggesting an attitude of bias. One believed there was "no precedent to do well" in Hispanic cultures and the other felt her students lived in "a kind of cultural poverty." She was understandably frustrated; to her mind, she could not connect new learning to children's experiences if those experiences did not exist – and to her, they did not. Given that experiential "poverty," they could not be expected to do as well as students who had more experiences.

The *low threat* teacher, in contrast, appeared to have higher expectations. The use of video clips in instruction demonstrates her assumption that the children could learn curricular content if it were presented in an understandable format. She also expected them to write; again, she used technology so they could speak their stories. She required them to create stories whether their formal writing skills were well developed or not.

The data also indicated the *high threat* teachers spent less time interacting informally with their students than did the *low threat* teacher, with the *medium threat* teacher somewhere in between. The *high threat* teachers spoke of the children as members of identifiable groups while the *low threat* teacher spoke of them, with affection, as individuals. She shared anecdotes that indicated she spent time in casual conversation with them. As a result, she appeared to know her students well.

It must be noted that the prejudicial attitudes associated with the perception of threat, described above, may not have reflected consciously held beliefs. Some of the teaching behaviors described by *high threat* teachers may have been examples of implicit bias. Karen, for example, may have been unaware that her discussion of grandparent interviews could be construed as derogatory. Cathy may not have realized that children sometimes wonder why they do not see people like themselves in storybooks.

To summarize, the perception of threat affected teachers' attitudes toward students in two identifiable ways. The first was student expectations; as a group, *high threat* teachers appeared to have lower expectations of their students than the *low threat* teacher. The second was interaction with students. The *high threat* teachers seemed to spend less time in casual interaction with their students than the *low threat* teacher. It must be acknowledged, however,

that people are not always aware of their prejudicial attitudes, and some of the indications discussed here may have been demonstrations of implicit bias.

Conclusions

The relationships between ITT's four forms of threat regarding immigrants and prejudicial attitudes are often unclear. The perception of threat is influenced by an individual's personal experiences and filtered through her cultural worldview. The development of negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety are similarly unique to the individual. Furthermore, the presence of threat does not always lead to prejudicial attitudes. When an individual with conscious egalitarian beliefs develops bias, she may not be aware of it, further blurring the correlation between threat and prejudice.

ITT scholars have discussed extreme behaviors that commonly reflect the presence of each threat, such as dehumanizing actions or calling for the expulsion of entire groups of immigrants. The participants in this inquiry either held less extreme views or were reluctant to share them. The behavior they reported that was indicative of prejudice was subtle.

The five themes revealed in data analysis illustrated those subtle clues. As the teachers discussed *unrealistic expectations*, they brought up concerns with ELD programming. Both the loss of instruction time and their increased workload were issues. Because neither would have occurred in the absence of ELs, they represented realistic threats. The expense to support refugees and undocumented immigrants also represented a realistic threat. In conversations about *immigration*, perspectives varied as to financial responsibility, culpability, and solutions, but most discussed cost as a serious immigration problem. Immigration reform was also a concern for most of the participants, and they felt it was important for illegal entry to be stopped.

The desire for out-group separation can be developed from any one of ITT's four threats individually, or in concert.

Negative stereotypes appear to have played a role in the desire for controlled borders. The four participants who indicated a preference for monitored border crossing also held stereotypical beliefs. Again, each perspective varied, but there were some commonalities. They all associated Islam with violence (e.g., terrorism), and most associated Hispanics with crime (e.g., robbery). Two suggested Muslim refugees were incapable of managing on their own, and Hispanics had difficulty learning.

Participants indicated the belief that some *culture clash* was to be expected when groups met in large numbers. While perspectives varied from one individual to the next, four of them displayed signs of ethnocentrism, which, according to ITT, stems from the perception of symbolic threat. Paula, for example, spoke of the "privilege of coming here," and Vera was openly disdainful of other cultures. Cathy and Karen were either unaware of their ethnocentrism or chose not to disparage other cultures openly. Interestingly, they were the only two whose teaching appeared to be actively pushing *assimilation*.

Integrated threat theory states that the presence or perception of threat can lead to prejudicial attitudes. Stephan and Stephan (2000) have defined prejudice as "negative affect associated with outgroups." Attitudes are defined as people's "tendencies to evaluate an entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, (1993, p. 1). Four of the participants in this study demonstrated both the perception of threat and unfavorable evaluations of immigrants.

The prejudicial attitudes of the high threat teachers appear to have worked as instructional obstacles. While they did not prevent experienced, well-trained teachers from

providing high-quality instruction, they were a hindrance. They affected important components, such as interaction with students, knowledge of learners, the connection of new learning to students' experiences, and possibly the development of holistic pedagogical orientation (Banks & Banks, 1995; Burchinal et al., 2008; Forbes & Martin, 2004; Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Gay, 2010; Hamre & Pianta, 2005; Hollins, 2011; McNaughton, 2002; R. Miller, 2000; Mitchell, 2016; Santamaria, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Wentzel, 1998, 2002), which is an important protective factor for children at risk of academic failure (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005; Darling-Hammond et al., 2001; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Gay, 2010; Goe, 2002; Hattie, 2008; Pomerance et al., 2016; Sanders & Horn, 1998; Sanders & Rivers, 1996; Wenglinsky, 2002).

The results of this inquiry indicate that the presence of threat correlated to prejudicial attitudes, which manifested as teaching behavior. The attitudes served not to prevent, but certainly to hinder, the provision of high-quality instruction.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Practice

It is possible that some of the participants in this study were unaware of their stereotypic beliefs, and may, indeed, have been unaware of their bias altogether. If so, they were likely unaware of their corresponding teaching behavior. Because many who hold conscious egalitarian beliefs are similarly unaware (Dasgupta, 2004; Dovidio et al., 1997; Dovidio et al., 2002), it would be wise for teachers with immigrant students to consciously include students' cultures in their planning rather than risk overlooking them inadvertently.

Teachers who plan collaboratively can hold each other accountable for cultural inclusion. Collaborative planning is also a useful starting point for teachers unfamiliar with their students'

cultures. Recently, at one such meeting in a nearby district, a teacher who was new to the area said, “Wait – what?! There’s a separate Hmong New Year? Back up. When is it, and how do they celebrate?” The other teachers laughed and told her what they knew and how they celebrated in class. They also told her she could learn more from a staff member who hosted a large celebration every year. The meeting got back on track, and the veteran teachers shared their ideas for including the holiday in their lesson plans.

Many teachers also engage in reflective practice. It may take some time to adjust to the consideration of culture in reflection. It may take longer to prioritize it. Because reflection is private, however, colleagues need not know about false starts and painful discoveries.

Recommendations for Policy

The results of this inquiry exposed three issues that must be addressed. First, cultural bias, recognized or not, affects instruction. Second, classroom teachers are expected to teach their general education students as well as meet the needs of three groups of students who require special consideration and, often, specialized forms of accommodation. No matter how experienced or how well trained, it is unrealistic to expect one person to meet so many needs effectively. Third, English learners are often misclassified and therefore denied optimum English language development instruction.

Addressing cultural bias. Cultural bias can be addressed in teacher education courses as well as in professional development programs. Coursework that includes exploration of one’s own culture and values would be of particular value. It would help teachers understand that much of what they believe to be normal and “right” is actually part of a culturally shaped perspective.

Teacher education programs vary, and every university has its own priorities. Some have emphasized the sociocultural nature of education, guiding preservice teachers through coursework and experiences that prepare them to work in urban areas and/or neighborhoods of color. UCLA and UC Berkeley, for example, prepare students to work in nearby urban neighborhoods. Given California's large number of English learners, similar coursework addressing cultural bias should be compulsory. It could be included in the CLAD requirements.

Teacher bias can also be addressed through professional development programs. Again, it would be important to include careful guidance through the process of examining one's values and cultural assumptions. This, too, can be tied to credentialing, as teachers attend classes or professional development seminars to renew their licenses.

Overburdened teachers. Teaching is a full-time job. Teachers have been asked to continue to do that job as well as address the individual needs of students who need specialized instruction. Federal legislation stipulates that children with IEPs and 504 plans be provided an appropriate education. That legislation must be adjusted to include funding to provide the specialists qualified to effectively provide the services they need. It may be necessary to fund states so that they can partner with teacher education programs and school districts to train larger numbers of specialists and offer financial incentives to attract qualified candidates.

English language development programs are the province of the state and its districts. The ELD programming described in this study reflected suggestions, not mandates, from the California Department of Education. Like students with IEPs and 504 plans, however, English learners have educational needs that should be addressed by specialists in the field, and state funds must be set aside for the appropriate provision of ELD.

Given the need to learn English as well as curricular content, it is all the more important that ELD be provided by those whose training focuses on their specific learning needs. That is not to say they should not be in mainstream classrooms, but even well-qualified teachers are overburdened by requirements to address too many specific needs. As Hania said, “I feel like I am prepared to teach them, but that’s if that were the only thing I was teaching.”

Classification of English learners. The third problem was the misclassification of English learners. The Home Language Survey, provided by the California Department of Education, is used to determine whether a student is given the English Language Proficiency Assessment for California. I suggest the CDE create a screening tool to be administered to all students upon enrollment. Children scoring below a certain level would then be given the ELPAC. I further suggest ELD specialists work with classroom teachers and parents to confirm the accuracy of placement when ELs are grouped for English language development instruction.

Recommendations for Research

This multiple case study emphasized the relevance of context in its examination of teachers’ attitudes. It was context broadly conceived, however, involving schools in low-income neighborhoods at a time of heightened anti-immigrant sentiment. It did not consider the narrower context; that of the professional culture at each school. The local social context may have played a role in teachers’ attitudes toward students. Three of the teachers, for example, participated in weekly grade-level planning sessions. The dynamics of those meetings are worth exploring, as the results directly affect instruction. A phenomenological study might begin with the question: In what ways are decisions made in grade-level planning sessions?

Teachers would, of course, have differing perspectives regarding the social dynamics inherent in collective decision-making. Race, ethnicity, and immigrant status could be factors,

particularly if teachers feel they are contending with implicit bias. A case study might ask: In an elementary school with large numbers of immigrants, how do teachers who are immigrants experience the collaborative decision-making process as it pertains to English learners?

While it is important to understand the experiences and perspectives of teachers as they work with immigrant children, it is also necessary to understand the perspectives of the children. It would be helpful for educators to understand their perspectives on bias in the classroom, including what sorts of words and behaviors are perceived as bias. A multiple case study would address the following question: In what ways do English learners experience bias from adults at school? In a similar vein, a narrative study might ask: In what ways did adults who immigrated to the United States as school-aged children experience bias from adults at school?

A related issue is students' perspectives on the inclusion (or exclusion) of their cultures in learning experiences. Teachers making curricular decisions and publishers designing curricula could make more informed decisions if they understood how topics and text were received. Quantitative surveys could isolate for demographics, grade level, and lexile level. Multiple case studies could address the following question: In what ways do students experience the inclusion of culture (their own and others) in classroom learning experiences? A separate but similar study might ask: In what ways does the inclusion of culture (their own and others) impact students' learning experiences?

Finally, this inquiry revealed subtle expressions of bias that suggested the presence of threat. It did not, however, explore in detail the connections between particular forms of threat and their expression as bias. A mixed method inquiry could address the issue by first conducting a case study. The guiding question might be: In what ways does the presence of threat manifest

as teaching behavior? A quantitative approach would enable the researcher to disaggregate behaviors by threat.

Chapter Summary

This chapter addressed the research questions guiding the study, illustrating ways in which teachers' views on immigration influenced their attitudes toward students. It illustrated how prejudicial attitudes stemming from the perception of threat and/or negative stereotypes manifested in subtle ways.

Curricular decisions were affected, as teachers who demonstrated bias tended to disregard students' cultures as relevant educational factors even as they differentiated instruction. They also did not appear to know their students very well, suggesting limited interaction with them. It is significant that experienced, well-trained teachers overlooked these important aspects of constructivist learning. It is significant as well that the single teacher who gave no indication of bias was the only one to exhibit a holistic pedagogical orientation. Knowledge of learning, knowledge of learners, positive interaction with students, and holistic pedagogy have been shown to be central to the provision of high-quality instruction.

The chapter next presented conclusions about the findings as they related to integrated threat theory. This inquiry demonstrated that the path from threat perception to prejudicial attitude to behavior was not clear. Most of the behaviors described could have been the result, according to ITT, of more than one threat. Further research is necessary first to determine whether, and in what circumstances, threats exist individually, and second, whether each one can predict particular types of behavior. The study also showed how the behavior resulting from the perception of threat impeded, but did not prevent, the provision of high-quality instruction.

Conclusions were followed by recommendations for practice, policy, and further research. For practice I suggested teachers deliberately include students' cultures as they plan learning activities. Many teachers may not consciously hold prejudicial attitudes, but unconsciously held implicit bias can also affect teaching behavior. Deliberate cultural inclusion would serve to ensure a valuable aspect of constructivist teaching is not overlooked.

I recommended that state policy be adjusted to address cultural bias in pre-service course requirements as well as through in-service training. I also suggested the federal government increase funding to enable school districts to adhere to its mandates in the service of children with IEPs and 504 plans. Rather than adding to the workload of classroom teachers, districts would be able to hire the specialists required to meet the special needs of their students.

Similarly, I recommended the state allocate additional resources to meet the varied needs of its English learning students. Again, rather than asking classroom teachers to teach curricular content as well as English to new arrivals while meeting the needs of their other students, funds must be allocated for specialists who are trained in the field. I further suggested that English language development specialists oversee the classification of English learners and their placement in learning groups.

For research I suggested the examination of social dynamics in collaborative planning sessions. I also recommended the study of English learning students' perception of bias from adults at school and the perspectives of those students on the inclusion (or exclusion) of their cultures in learning experiences. The final recommendation was for a mixed methods study to examine the relationships between the perception of particular forms of threat and their expression as bias.

It is worth noting that there are many teachers who work tirelessly to meet the needs of their immigrant students. I would remind those who do not see the need for it that the children are not going away. They will grow up and become part of California's economy, legal system, and voting population. It is up to us to ensure that they are educated well enough to contribute to the overall wellbeing of the state.

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APPENDIX A: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

My name is Doe Hain-Jamall, and I was given your name by _____ . I hope that's ok. I am a doctoral student at the University of the Pacific's Benerd School of Education. As part of my degree requirements, I am conducting a multiple case study on the experiences of teachers with students whose families are new to the U.S., in the context of the national debate on immigration. The purpose of the study is to gain a better understanding of daily life in elementary school classrooms at different grade levels where there are children from other countries who speak a variety of languages.

I invite you to participate in this research project. If you do, I would interview you three times at times and locations of your convenience, for 45 minutes to an hour. Your privacy is very important, and everything you say will remain confidential.

I will ask a few general questions about your thoughts on current events related to immigration, and on how the presence of students from other countries, who speak different languages, affects what you do in the classroom. I'd like to hear about the benefits and challenges, what sort of support the district provides, and how you think things might be improved. You will have the opportunity to share your opinions, your experiences, and your suggestions.

In order to be sure my data are accurate, I would like to both audio-record the interview and take notes. To maintain confidentiality, I will use pseudonyms for you and anyone you refer to. At no point in my dissertation will the district or school site be identifiable.

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. You will not receive any compensation, but I don't mind bringing a snack or taking you to a coffee shop for the interview.

I hope you will choose to participate and help me understand what it is like to have students from different countries in your classroom.

If you have any questions, please contact me at d_hain@xxx or (555) 123-4567. You may also contact my dissertation advisor, Dr. _____, at xxxxx@pacific.edu.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Doe Hain-Jamall

Email address:

Phone:

Academic Advisor:

Advisor's email address:

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Location _____ . Time _____ . Duration _____ Date _____

Interviewee _____

Position/Grade Level _____

Introduction Script

Hello, I'm Doe. Thank you very much for agreeing to talk to me. I believe you already know that this is a research project for my doctorate in Education at the University of the Pacific. I'm interested in hearing your views on two things. First, I'd like to know what you think of all of the talk about immigration in the news lately, and second, I'd like to know what it's like to have students from immigrant families in the classroom.

I want to emphasize that everything you say is confidential. Your administrators will not see or hear anything you say. My dissertation will not mention your name, your school, or even your district. I would like to record our conversation, just to be sure that what I think you said is what you actually said, and again, no one will hear the recording but me.

I have a copy of the informed consent form that I emailed you. The most important parts are my guarantee of your privacy and your freedom to withdraw from the study at any time. Do you have any questions for me before we start?

I think we're all set. I'm going to begin with a few general questions about what we see in the news. Is that all right?

Interview Questions

Question 1: There has been a lot of debate lately over immigration. It covers everything from illegal entry and jobs to Islamic terrorism and whether all of these newcomers will change the culture of our country. There are so many parts to it. What do you feel are some of the more important issues?

Question 2: What are your thoughts on the president's efforts to slow immigration?

Question 3: You work in a school with a fair number of English learners, which suggests they are new to the country. Can you tell me how the presence of English learners impacts what you do in the classroom?

Question 4: Tell me how the district provides support.

Question 5: I'd like to know more about your class. Can you describe your students to me? As a group – their ages, behaviors, abilities, languages, and so on.

Question 6: How do you feel your students compare with kids in other areas of the district?
Possible Response: Academically?

Question 7: Yes, academically, but also in terms of ability, behavior, attitudes about school, so overall, really.

Question 8: What kind of family support do your students have? Meaning both English learners and native speakers.

Question 9: There is a lot of talk about differentiated instruction. What does that look like at your school?
Possible Response: What do you mean?

Question 10: Well, tell me about district (and school) expectations for differentiation. I believe it varies from district to district. Sometimes teachers have to document how they go about it, sometimes the district will bring people in for support, and sometimes there's just lip service. How do things work at your school?

Closing Script

Well, you have certainly given me a lot to think about. You've shared your thoughts on immigration, and you've given me an idea of what it's like to teach in a classroom with a variety of languages and cultures. I'm sure there is quite a bit more I can learn from you, and I look forward to our next interview. Are there any questions you have for me?

If it's ok, I'd like to write up my notes and send them to you. That way you can correct me if I've misunderstood anything.

Thank you again for your time. It was kind of you to meet with me

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form

Thank you for your interest in participation. This Informed Consent Form has two parts. The first is information about the study, and the second is a Certificate of Consent for both of us to sign. Should you choose to participate, you will be given a copy of the signed form.

The study is described below, but if you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at d_hain@_____. You may also contact my research advisor, Dr. _____, at xxxxx@pacific.edu.

The Study

Introduction

My name is Doe Hain-Jamall, and I am a doctoral student at the University of the Pacific in Stockton. I am conducting a multiple case study in order to understand what day-to-day life is like in classrooms with children from other countries. My research is not a statistical analysis; it is a collection of case studies – more like “a day in the life” descriptions of elementary school classrooms with a variety of cultures and languages.

Purpose

Colleagues have asked if my purpose is really to demonstrate that immigrants are a strain on the school system. It is not. Others have asked if my purpose is really to expose racism in schools. It is not. My goal is to understand what actually happens in classrooms and how teachers feel about the circumstances. If my descriptions are accurate, they can add a dose of reality to the current debate on immigration, which is marked by speculation and accusations (e.g., *the kids are a strain*, or *the teachers are racist*). I hope to help readers understand and respect the perspectives of others so that such conversations may become more constructive.

Brief Description of Procedures

I have designed the study to be minimally intrusive. I plan to interview participating teachers three times, for 45 minutes to an hour. I would also like to see relevant documents (e.g., teachers’ guides, student work), when possible. This will be described in detail below in the section on procedures.

Confidentiality

Should you choose to participate, your privacy will be respected at all stages of the study. Everything you say will be confidential. Your name will not be used, and nothing in the final paper will suggest the identity of your school or even your district. Notes and audio-recordings will be seen or heard only by me, with the possible exception of my academic advisor, who will not know your names. I may ask your permission to take photos of documents or student work.

All notes and recordings will be kept in a locked safe for three years and then destroyed. Real names will not be used in drafts on my computer to avoid any problems with data breaches

While I would like to hear your thoughts and opinions, I do not wish to make you uncomfortable in any way. You are under no obligation to answer every question. I am grateful that you are taking the time to answer any of them.

You will not be compensated financially, but I am more than happy to provide a snack or take you to a coffee shop for interviews.

You are also free to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason.

Results

In a case study, it is important that I convey your perspective accurately. When I write up your interview, I will send you a copy. We can clarify any misunderstandings the next time we meet, or via email.

Participant Selection

I am looking for approximately 7 volunteers who are classroom teachers in grades K through 6. The study will benefit from the inclusion of a variety of perspectives, so I would like to hear from experienced teachers, new hires, men, women, conservatives, liberals, and teachers who are immigrants themselves. **The only requirement is that participating teachers have English learning students in their classes, either now or in the past two school years.**

Interviews

I plan to interview each participant 3 times, for about an hour. You will not be compensated financially, but I am happy to take you out for coffee. Interviews will be audio-recorded and remain confidential.

During the interview I will ask questions about your opinions on current events regarding immigration and how multiple languages and cultures affect what you do in the classroom. I'd like to know how you plan and implement lessons that include limited English speakers, what the district expects of teachers, and the kind of support you are provided. I'm also curious as to how the children (American and foreign-born) feel about the mix of cultures and languages, and how those feelings might affect classroom life. Please let me know if you feel there are issues that should be addressed that I may have overlooked.

If there are any questions you would rather not answer, we will skip them and move on.

Documents

I would like to review any documents that might be relevant, such as teachers' guides, student work, or district policy papers. Photos of documents and student work will be taken only with permission from the teacher.

Certificate of Consent

In signing below, I acknowledge the following:

My participation in this research study is voluntary, and I may withdraw at any time with no fear of reprisal.

I have been informed about the nature and procedures of the study. I will not be compensated financially for participating in the study.

I understand that my contributions are confidential, and Ms. Hain will maintain my anonymity.

I understand that there is little, if any, professional, physical, or financial risk from participation.

I will receive a copy of this form.

Participant's Full Name _____

Participant's Signature

Date Signed

Researcher:

Advisor:

Internal Review Board Representative: