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Preparedness and Experiences of Novice Teachers in the Sociopolitical Context of Heightened
Immigration Enforcement: Evidence from a Survey of California Teachers¹

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Author Biography

J. Jacob Kirksey is an assistant professor in the College of Education at Texas Tech University. His research is broadly focused on issues at the nexus of education and other areas of public policy, which includes student absenteeism and truancy, inclusion and special education, the ripple effects of immigration enforcement, and the teacher workforce.

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Abstract

For teachers of immigrant-origin students and their peers, emerging research notes the challenge of facilitating a high-quality education for students subject to traumatic events related to harsh immigration enforcement policies. This study examines whether new teachers from seven teacher preparation programs experienced the impacts of immigration enforcement and felt prepared to support students who were impacted. I surveyed new teachers in preservice and after one year of teaching (n=473) using survey instruments developed by Cohen and colleagues (2020) along with additional constructs developed via pilot testing. New teachers reported that immigration enforcement negatively impacted their students and their job satisfaction. Teachers exposed to discussion of immigration policy and teachers who reported engaging with immigrant families in preservice were more likely to view themselves as prepared to support students. I discuss differences for teachers in urban, Title I, and elementary settings.

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Beyond the typical challenges with adjusting to full-time teaching and managing their own classrooms, new teachers must confront contemporary challenges that they may or may not have expected or been prepared to address, such as outbreaks of communicable illnesses that prevent students from coming to school (Johnson & McDaniel, 2020), natural disasters that destroy parts of the surrounding community (Hamm, 2017), or sudden immigration raids that occur shortly following a change in presidential administrations (Lind, 2017). Over 80,000 first-time teachers enter the U.S. teaching workforce every year, approximately 2-3% of the total teaching population (Warner-Griffin et al., 2016). In California, one of the most racially/ethnically diverse state in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Education, 2018), over 16,000 first-time teachers enter the teaching workforce each year, which is 5-6% of the California teaching workforce (Suckow & Lau, 2018).

In the current sociopolitical context and considering the consistent increases in immigration enforcement over the last two decades, supporting immigrant-origin students in the face of potential trauma related to immigration enforcement has been a reality for many teachers. Nearly 2,000 school districts served communities within 25 miles of where deportations occurred between 2009-2016 (Kirksey et al., 2020). Researchers estimate that around 5 million children, 7% of all school-going children in the U.S., live with at least one undocumented parent (Passel & Cohen, 2018), a majority of whom are Latinx—the racial/ethnic group that has been the primary target of immigration arrests and removals (Chaudry et al., 2010; Dreby, 2015). Thus, many schools and their teachers will inevitably be affected by immigration enforcement, as the fear of

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experiencing the negative consequences from immigration enforcement actions, such as deportation, rises in the homes and communities of the students they serve.

In fact, a small but growing body of research has emerged linking immigration enforcement to declines in educational outcomes for students in schools, including associations between deportations and student absenteeism and math achievement (Kirksey, 2020, 2021; Kirksey et al., 2020; Sattin-Bajaj & Kirksey, 2019), associations between deportations and social-emotional skills (Kirksey & Sattin-Bajaj, 2021), the effects of the rollout of policies that increase local cooperation with immigration officials on Latinx-White racial/ethnic achievement gaps (Bellows, 2019), and Latinx student mobility following ICE raids (Dee & Murphy, 2020). Less is known about how the consequences of immigration enforcement may be experienced by students' teachers, let alone whether teachers feel prepared to support students subject to traumatic events related to harsh actions carried out through immigration policies. This knowledge gap is troubling given that schools struggling the most with making improvements for lower performing groups of students are the same schools that are more likely to enroll immigrant-origin students (Kirby et al., 2002; U.S. Department of Education, n.d.).

As schools and educators are held accountable for the progress of all students, researchers, policymakers, and practitioners each have a vested interest in understanding the extent to which novice teachers experience the impacts of immigration enforcement, whether they feel prepared to support immigrant-origin students, and how elements of teacher preparation and other background characteristics may shape these perceptions. With a focus on the experiences and preparedness of novice teachers in California, I sought to understand how novice teachers experience the impacts of immigration enforcement and identify what

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components of teacher preparation were viewed as most helpful to support students in the context of rising immigration enforcement. I was guided by the following research questions:

- Do novice teachers perceive that immigration enforcement has impacted their students and their own job satisfaction?
- Do novice teachers perceive that they are prepared to meet the needs of students' experiencing the effects of immigration enforcement?
- Do preservice training characteristics associate with these perceptions?
- Do these perceptions vary based on school or teacher characteristics?

Answers to these research questions can shed light on the ways in which novice teachers (and their programs) can expect to encounter additional challenges related to supporting their students in times of heightened immigration enforcement, how these impacts are likely to be felt differently in various contexts, and how components of teacher preparation could be enhanced to support the well-being and effectiveness of novice teachers serving a growing population of immigrant-origin students. Additionally, findings can inform modifications to malleable components of teacher preparation programs (TPPs) and practices by teacher educators to include training relevant for supporting novice teachers and immigrant-origin students.

Theoretical Framework

This study considers schools as open social systems where multiple actors work together to achieve common goals (Norlin, 2009). Schools consist of multiple interdependent actors, including principals, teachers, and students, and schools receive “inputs” from external contexts. As a result, their “outputs” are a result of the interaction between external and internal environmental conditions (Bertalanffy, 1981; Scott & Davis, 2015). Undeniably, one of the major goals for educators is to narrow educational gaps and support vulnerable populations in

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schools. Yet, this is challenging for schools and their teachers serving high-proportions of immigrant-origin students who face unique challenges based on their home and community environments, such as fear of losing family members to deportation and threats of homelessness and food insecurity (Yoshikawa et al., 2017).

The adoption of an open systems framework is key to understanding teachers and their preservice and in-service experiences in an environment that experiences shocks due to heightened immigration enforcement. In preservice, teachers are enrolled in teacher preparation programs (TPPs) within universities that are often oriented toward serving and maintaining connections with local communities (Bloomgarden & O'Meara, 2007; Percy et al., 2006; Peters et al., 2005; Rutheiser, 2011). Thus, not only do TPPs operate within communities that are subject to impacts from aggressive immigration enforcement policies, but the TPPs and cooperating school systems are extensively intertwined. Considering both TPPs and schools as open systems allows for an assessment of how teachers make sense of their professional capacities and future roles as educators (Coburn, 2001; Spillane, 1999).

Literature Review

The literature is sparse with studies that have examined the ways immigration enforcement has impacted teachers. To my knowledge, only two empirical studies have examined this issue. Sanchez, Freeman, and Martin (2018) explored the ways in which some teachers have been impacted by harsh enforcement policies. Surveying 38 educators who responded to an initial survey from The Civil Rights Project at UCLA, the authors asked teachers, staff, and administrators about their experiences working with immigrant-origin students and their families. Findings indicated that educators experienced symptoms consistent with Secondary Traumatic Stress, feeling overworked from supporting students being targeted by

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immigration officials, feeling a sense of deterioration in the trust among other educators in their schools (Sanchez et al., 2018). This was the first evidence about the potential impacts educators are experiencing from heightened immigration enforcement policies.

Next, Ee and Gándara (2019) examined the extent to which the general teaching population felt that they and/or their students were affected by immigration enforcement. The authors distributed a survey to over 3,600 educators across the U.S. and report several key findings. They found that the teachers in their sample reported witnessing impacts of immigration enforcement on all students, not only those from immigrant backgrounds. Moreover, this relationship was particularly pronounced in Title I schools and in schools with higher proportions of White students.

Other ongoing works have examined teachers' responses to Trump-era enforcement policies and rhetoric. Focusing on bilingual elementary schools in Oregon, Gayet (2020) noted the ways in which teachers and schools showed support for their immigrant-origin students and families. Examining responses to a survey distributed to teachers in world-language and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classrooms, Madison-Schenck (2020) showed teachers took greater actions to support potentially impacted students in their classrooms if the teachers held positive beliefs about social justice pedagogy and had experienced sociopolitical hostility in their schools. Given the unique contexts explored in these ongoing works, they underscore the importance of examining experiences and perceptions of immigration enforcement for the general teaching population.

Knowing that immigration enforcement can indeed impact educators, this study addresses two gaps in the current literature on teacher education. This is the first study to take an in-depth look at how the effects of immigration enforcement are manifesting in a critical portion of the

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teaching workforce, those who are new to the profession. By focusing on novice teachers, this study also connects these experiences to current efforts to improve teacher preparation, where TPPs are commonly seen as a critical policy lever (Hutt et al., 2020). This focus on new teachers is also important given that new teachers are more susceptible to stressors associated with increases in job dissatisfaction compared to teachers with greater experience (Zhang & Zeller, 2016), ultimately leading to burnout and turnover.

Secondly, this is the first study to pair teachers' experiences with immigration enforcement with their preparation in their universities' teacher preparation programs (TPPs). Given this study's focus relates to the experiences and preparedness of novice teachers to address challenges related to immigration enforcement, I consider the structural elements embedded in preservice training that may shape novice teachers experiences and preparedness to address the challenges of immigration enforcement.

Teacher Education and Supporting Immigrant-Origin Students and Their Teachers

Traditional teacher preparation programs (TPPs)² are expected to balance a variety of goals— such as developing pedagogical skills and a sense of professionalism, fulfilling state coursework and accreditation requirements, and preparing preservice teachers to meet state licensure requirements usually involving standardized assessments and minimum student teaching thresholds (Zeichner, 2016)— in addition to equipping teachers with the knowledge and skills needed to support their immigrant-origin students (Goodwin, 2002). TPPs have historically addressed these goals through a combination of coursework, field experiences, and summative

² This study focuses on the preparation of teachers who fulfill requirements for licensure through traditional preparation programs, which make up the majority of TPPs. It does not consider components of preparation offered by alternative TPPs, as they differ substantially from traditional TPPs.

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assessments, such as teacher licensure exams. While the preparation of social justice-oriented teachers is an increasingly prevalent aim articulated in the missions across teacher preparation programs (Agarwal et al., 2010; Dover, 2015; Kapustka, et al., 2009; McDonald & Zeichner, 2009; Whipp, 2013), there is surprisingly little research in the field of teacher education with respect to how TPPs embed preparation for novice teachers to educate and support immigrant-origin students (Goodwin, 2002, 2017).

Among the research that exists, the predominant focus has been on the training for new teachers to support students with English language acquisition (Hillburn, 2014), but there are other needs beyond language acquisition that scholars have long-argued should be explicit aspects of the preparation of novice teachers to support immigrant-origin students. Namely, researchers have called on teacher preparation programs (TPPs) to equip new teachers with knowledge and skills needed to bridge connections between school and students' cultural and family ties, which can be achieved via the recognition of contemporary challenges associated with legal status (Hillburn, 2014), socialization (Cummins, 1986), and potential for interruptions of learning due to immigration enforcement (Kirksey, 2020). Specific to this study, scholars and teacher educators should also recognize these varying learning needs prove to be more difficult for novice teachers to address when immigrant-origin students are subject to traumatic incidents such as family deportations, legal disputes, and anti-immigrant rhetoric spurring from harsh immigration policies (Yoshikawa et al., 2017).

Given the limited body of research in the field, there is no systematic understanding for the best way TPPs can provide a preservice experience that promotes best practices for supporting immigrant-origin students, particularly when these students and their families are exposed to immigration enforcement. However, Goodwin (2017) argues that TPPs can better

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prepare a teaching workforce to support immigrant-origin students by expanding their curriculum and definitions beyond general elements of diversity, equity, and social justice to explicitly address immigrant-origin students, their families, and schooling in the curriculum. The end goal is for preservice teachers to recognize the significant differences among students—racial, cultural, socioeconomic, and linguistic—and how these differences impact experiences of immigrant-origin students in school, let alone everyday life (Goodwin, 2017). Following suit, I consider a few different ways TPPs have or may consider meeting the expectations outlined by Goodwin (2017) and incorporate these experiences into my survey of novice teachers in California.

Coursework. Prior research supports the notion that coursework can influence novice teachers' perceptions of preparedness, such as supporting cultural and linguistic diversity (Whitaker & Valtierra, 2018), subject-matter efficacy (King & Wiseman, 2001), and knowledge of classroom management strategies (O'Neill & Stephenson, 2012). The issue of acknowledging backgrounds and learning needs of immigrant students or, relatedly, how to best support these students in times of heightened enforcement could permeate much of TPPs' coursework, and some scholars have argued for the inclusion of this content in TPPs' curricula (Goodwin, 2017). For example, exposure to the historical and present immigration policies and laws, particularly the last two decades of increasingly harsh federal immigration policy, could shape beliefs or knowledge about the possible experiences that students could bring into the classroom (Rodriguez et al., 2018; Rodriguez & McCorkle, 2020). Relatedly, the extent to which instructors embed strategies or discussion in courses about ways to support immigrant-origin students or the implications of out-of-school factors unique to this population, like immigration enforcement, could conceivably impact whether teachers feel prepared to address it.

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Field Work. Preservice teachers apply the knowledge received in their coursework to field-based experiences, which could include the exposure to immigration laws and policies as well as pedagogical strategies from methods instructors. In addition to applying this knowledge obtained in coursework, field work is the first opportunity in preservice training for teachers to potentially engage directly with immigrant-origin students and their families. This may be an important aspect of preservice training when considering the development of a teacher's perceptions of immigration enforcement and preparedness to support immigrant-origin students once in-service. Researchers have argued that engagement with immigrant families and their backgrounds is an important part of developing culturally responsive teaching practices in the classroom (Goodwin, 2002; Hillburn, 2017), and this could in turn lead to perceptions of greater preparedness or shape novice teachers' experiences with immigration enforcement once in-service.

Licensure Examinations. Performance assessments have garnered significant support and traction nationwide. In California, the TPAs- edTPA, PACT, and CalTPA- act as licensure examinations, and therefore, they exert direct curricular and programmatic pressure on TPPs (Cohen et al., 2020), which is explicitly by design. TPAs were designed to provide an authentic assessment of preservice teachers, a common language for TPPs, and a way for TPPs to be held accountable by accreditors and state officials (Darling-Hammond & Hyler, 2013). While the TPAs in California do not include rubrics that ask teachers to reflect specifically on their training to support students affected by immigration enforcement, teachers are expected to demonstrate throughout the assessment how their teaching is or is not addressing needs of diverse student populations.

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As TPAs are a requirement for licensure, these assessments are thoroughly integrated into TPPs, and by their nature of being a summative assessment of preservice training, they incorporate aspects of both coursework and field experiences. This means TPAs could relate directly to the preparation of new teachers to support students affected by immigration enforcement. As TPPs face external accountability pressures, understanding whether new teachers feel TPAs, a high-stakes tools for teacher learning, prepared them to address impacts related to immigration enforcement is a relevant issue for policymakers, especially as these assessments purport to “measure and support the skills and knowledge that all teachers need from Day 1 in the classroom” (Pearson Education Inc., n.d.).

Method

Data for this study came from graduated preservice teachers from seven of the University of California’s (UC) teacher preparation programs (TPPs) after they completed their first year of full-time teaching.

The seven TPPs included in this study share many similarities. The UC TPPs share a joint mission in preparing teachers whose teaching is oriented around social justice. Structurally, all are postgraduate programs that require a minimum of a 3.0 undergraduate GPA for admission, with few exceptions granted by university-based administrators. All programs engage preservice teachers in coursework prior to placing them in cooperating schools. Other program requirements include three additional quarters of coursework (totaling 13 months of full-time course requirements for graduation), at least two semesters of student teaching, and writing a reflection-based thesis. Following completion of program requirements, preservice teachers receive a teaching credential and either a Master of Education (M.Ed) or a Master of Arts (M.A.) degree.

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Data

This study used data collected from the 2017-18 graduating cohort at two periods in time. In preservice, teachers were distributed a survey at the end of their TPPs. Then once in-service, teachers were distributed a survey at the end of the 2018-19 school year, which was after they completed one year of teaching. Each survey was approximately 15-20 minutes in length. Survey incentives were offered in each wave of data collection.

Preservice Survey

In the initial survey, 554 graduating preservice teachers from the elementary and secondary credential programs completed the survey, constituting a response rate of 69% to the initial survey. Preservice teachers were given the option to indicate whether they were willing to participate in follow-up surveys, and those that agreed provided their personal email addresses in the initial survey. This preservice survey asked teachers to report their demographic information as well as their perceptions of various components of their preparation in their program. Prior to data collection, cognitive interviews were conducted with a convenience sample of practicing teachers who are alumni of the UC TPPs to verify items were consistently understood, questions were perceived as fair and accurate, and the survey was generally comprehensive as it relates to the experience of preservice teachers (Desimone & Le Floch, 2004).

Background Characteristics. Background information on preservice teachers was solicited at the end of the survey, and included questions on gender, race/ethnicity, undergraduate GPA, type of school attended in K-12, parent education, and type of credential. Table 1 lists the descriptive statistics of these characteristics.

<Insert Table 1 about here>

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Preservice Training Characteristics. Items soliciting perceptions of preservice training characteristics were reported on 5-point Likert scales, where preservice teachers could strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree or disagree, agree, or strongly agree to each question. These questions were derived from surveys used by Cohen and colleagues (2020)³ surveying programs in a mid-Atlantic state and a pilot study at one of the TPPs in the UC-system (Gottfried et al., 2019). As such, scales of preservice training used in these prior studies were constructed for the present study using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) as described below.

Items about preservice training were focused on three particular components of teacher preparation in TPPs: coursework, field placement, and the TPA. Based on the results from the CFA, five scales were constructed. The first factor measured views of whether the TPA, a major licensure requirement that is integrated across instruction and practices in TPPs, was useful in their preparation for becoming a teacher (Helpfulness; $\alpha=.96$). The second measured views on whether the TPA aligned with the other parts of the preparation program (Alignment; $\alpha=.90$). The third scale from the survey measured perceived support from university supervisors (University Supervisor; $\alpha=.86$). The fourth measure of perceptions of preservice preparation was whether placement experiences aligned with preservice teachers' expectations and desires for future classroom placements (Placement Experience; $\alpha=.85$). Finally, the last scale measured perceptions of program cohesion in terms of goals, mission, and expectations (Program Coherence; $\alpha=.73$).

Exposure to training to support immigrant-origin students. Items unique to this study, the last portion of the survey consisted of 14 questions about preservice training characteristics

³ Cohen et al. (2020) engaged preservice teachers in cognitive interviews during pilot testing to verify consistent understanding of survey questions, accuracy of questions in capturing perceptions of preparation, and comprehensiveness of the survey as it relates to their experience in their programs.

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that are specific to supporting immigrant-origin students. Similar to above, these questions concerned teacher preparation via coursework, field placement, and the TPA in TPPs. Unlike previous survey items, these questions were asked on a Likert scale where options referred to frequency as opposed to agreement with statements. This scale was determined based on feedback from the cognitive interviews, where pilot survey participants felt questions related to training to support immigrant-origin students would be best answered using measures that refer to exposure as opposed to agreeance. Thus, teachers were asked to respond to how frequently they witnessed impacts from immigration on students with the options of Never, Infrequently, Occasionally, Frequently, and Very Frequently. Given the items were developed for this study, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was used to condense items into the appropriate number of scales to avoid issues with multicollinearity. Prior to the EFA, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) statistic was generated to ensure the survey questions were factorable based on the sample size. The KMO statistic derived from the responses was 0.78, which exceeds the threshold of 0.60 recommended by Mulaik (2009).

Based on the results from the EFA, three scales were constructed. The first scale measured preservice teachers' exposure to teaching and learning to support immigrant-origin students academically (Academic Support; $\alpha=.92$; *I discussed informal or formal assessments of learning for immigrant-origin students in my coursework*). The second scale measured preservice teachers' exposure to backgrounds and engagement with immigrant families (Engagement; $\alpha=.93$; *I discussed backgrounds of immigrant families in my field placement*). The third scale measured preservice teachers' exposure to immigration policy (Policy; $\alpha=.91$; *In my field placement, I discussed my school's policies and procedures for communicating with a federal immigration agent if approached during school hours*).

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Follow-Up Survey

Immigration Enforcement Outcomes. In the first follow-up survey, 473 teachers responded- 85% of the total number of teachers who responded to the preservice survey. The survey asked 26 questions about teachers' perceptions of immigration enforcement. These questions focused on three topics that are the key outcomes of this study. The first scale measures teachers' preparedness to support immigrant-origin students (Preparedness; $\alpha=.95$; *I feel prepared to identify signs of distress from students who may be affected by immigration enforcement*). Consistent with the measures from Cohen and colleagues (2010), these items were asked on a 5-point Likert scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. The items of this scale were constructed using EFA with the same procedures as described above.

The second set of questions explored perceptions of the impact of immigration enforcement on teachers' job satisfaction. These questions were modified from work from Sanchez and colleagues (2018) to match the Strongly Disagree-Strongly Agree Likert scale format. Sanchez and colleagues (2018) descriptively explored questions separately, and responses to the questions regarding teachers' job satisfaction were highly correlated. Thus, this study used CFA to construct a scale measuring the impact of immigration enforcement on teachers' job satisfaction (Job Dissatisfaction; $\alpha=.91$; *The reactions of some of my students to stepped-up immigration enforcement has had an effect on my level of stress or anxiety*).

The third set of questions related to teachers' perceived impact of immigration enforcement on students in their schools (Impact on Students; $\alpha=.91$; *I have noticed a decline in student academic performance that may be related to concerns about immigration issues*). Questions regarding the impact of immigration enforcement on students were derived from previous work by Ee and Gándara (2019), who constructed this scale using EFA with data from

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over 3,500 educators across the U.S. Consistent with previous items measuring teachers' level of exposure, these questions were asked on a Likert scale where options referred to frequency.

Teachers were asked to respond to how frequently they witnessed impacts from immigration on students with the options of Never, Infrequently, Occasionally, Frequently, and Very Frequently. Then, the CFA was used to construct this same scale used by Ee and Gándara (2019).

School Characteristics. Finally, teachers were asked to report an estimated proportion of students in their school who come from immigrant homes, the number of students in their class(es), and the grade level(s) they taught. Teachers were also asked to indicate whether their school was in an urban, suburban, or rural community as well as whether their in-service school was a Title I school.

Analysis

To answer the research questions, I employed both descriptive and predictive analytic approaches. To determine if novice teachers perceived that immigration enforcement impacted their students and job dissatisfaction as well as whether they perceived themselves as prepared to support immigrant-origin students (RQs 1-2), I examined the individual survey items comprise the immigration enforcement outcomes as binary. To determine how preservice training and school or teacher characteristics predict these perceptions, I examined the immigration enforcement outcomes as standardized scales, which in turn allows for a calculation of effect sizes to describe these associations (Cohen, 1992).

Descriptive Analysis

The individual survey items related to perceived effects of immigration enforcement and preparedness to support immigrant-origin students are listed in Table 2. Following the coding procedures of Ee and Gándara (2019), these items were coded as binary indicators for whether a

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teacher witnessed any instance of each student impact or any instance of job dissatisfaction. In the case of the items for the Preparedness scale, this coding procedure categorized the preservice teachers as either in agreement that they are prepared or otherwise. For the items developed by Ee and Gándara (2019), the authors note the importance of the binary coding procedure to account for the subjectivity in frequency of impacts of immigration enforcement and limits the descriptive comparisons to whether such impacts occurred at all. Following coding procedures, differences were examined using proportions test for each of the survey items for the overall sample as well as for each relevant school characteristic (Ryan, 1960)⁴.

Predictive Model

To examine the third research question, an OLS regression model was employed. This model is expressed as follows:

$$Y_{ip} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 B_{ip} + \beta_2 T_{ip} + \beta_3 I_{ip} + \varepsilon_{ip},$$

where Y represents the immigration enforcement outcomes for teacher i from teacher preparation program p . The other terms in the model represent the independent variables as written above, including background characteristics of candidates (B), qualities of preparation (Q), and qualities of preparation specific to supporting immigrant-origin students (I). Note ε_{ip} is the error term containing unobserved residuals from the regression. The error term in every model is clustered at the program-level, as it cannot be assumed that the unobserved residuals among teachers who graduated from the same program are uncorrelated.

Program Fixed Effects

⁴ To test the sensitivity of the binary coding procedure, I also tested mean differences between item responses with the outcomes left as continuous (1-5) using a one-tailed t-test. The results between the t-test and the proportions test were consistent, suggesting findings were not sensitive to coding procedure.

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While the programs surveyed were fairly similar in their structure and requirements for graduation, there are still many observed as well as unobserved differences between the programs that might confound the associations being examined for the final research question. Fixed effects modeling is one way to deal with this omitted variable bias due to nested structures in survey data. This modeling approach is expressed by the following:

$$Y_{ip} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 B_{ip} + \beta_2 T_{ip} + \beta_3 I_{ip} + \delta_p + \varepsilon_{ip},$$

where δ_p represents a series of binary indicators for whether a preservice teacher attended each of the surveyed programs (1=yes attended program p ; 0=no did not attend program p), with one program left out as the reference group. These program fixed effects remove all program-level variation from the rest of the associations estimated in the models, such as instructor quality, program resources, program leadership, geography, and all other factors that are shared between preservice in the same program. This restricts models to exploit differences between teachers who graduated from the same program.

Important variables that are accounted for through program fixed effects are reasons why teachers selected to attend a certain university's teacher education program, such as their geographic preferences in where they teach/live during the program or their perceived prestige of the program.

Heterogeneity

Differences in results were examined based on three key characteristics: urban vs. non-urban schools, Title I vs. non-Title I schools, and elementary vs. secondary teachers. Fully interacted regressions with program fixed effects were employed using each of the characteristics.

Results

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Descriptive Findings

Table 2 presents the breakdown percentages of responses to each survey item. The first column illustrates overall percentages from those who responded to both the preservice and in-service surveys (n=473). As seen in column 1, responses varied significantly across each of the domains. For items related to student impacts, over 70% of the sample reported that immigration enforcement was connected to increases in emotional and behavioral problems, lower academic performance, student expressions of fear at school, and indirect effects on classroom climate. Approximately 66% of teachers reported students were increasingly absent due to immigration enforcement, and just over half of the sample reported increases in parent concerns at school, decreases in parental involvement, and increases in bullying.

<Insert Table 2 about here>

For items related to job dissatisfaction, responses were similarly varied. Well over half of teachers reported that immigration enforcement had impacted their stress/anxiety, abilities to do their jobs, affected their job satisfaction, made their jobs harder, and impacted their working conditions. Under 50% of teachers reported that students' reactions to immigration enforcement affected their desire to continue their jobs and affected how they felt about their jobs.

Responses were much less varied on items that pertained to whether teachers felt they were prepared to support students who may be impacted by immigration enforcement. Over 64% of teachers believed they were prepared to support immigrant-origin students academically in their classrooms, while approximately half felt prepared to engage immigrant families, support immigrant-origin students non-academically, meet the needs of students directly impacted, meet the needs of all students, and identify signs of distress of students impacted.

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Illustrating differences based on teacher and school characteristics, the next three columns in Table 2 show percentage breakdowns for teachers who are teaching in urban schools, in Title I schools, and elementary grades. Stars denote whether the proportion of affirmative responses were statistically different when comparing teachers who were teaching in urban versus non-urban schools, Title I versus non-Title I schools, and elementary versus secondary grades.

Several themes emerge when examining the second set of percentage breakdowns. As seen in the second column of Table 2, teachers teaching in urban schools tended to report immigration enforcement was more impactful on their stress/anxiety (~73% of teachers in urban schools reported experiencing increased stress/anxiety versus the overall sample mean of ~68%). Additionally, teachers teaching in urban schools overall reported that they were less prepared to support students who may be impacted by immigration enforcement based on four different survey items. Specifically compared to the overall sample, urban teachers reported feeling less prepared to support immigrant-origin students academically (~61% urban versus ~65% overall), engage immigrant families and their children (~46% urban versus ~51% overall), to meet the needs of students directly impacted (~41% urban versus ~47% overall), and to meet the needs of all students (~46% urban versus ~51% overall).

In column 3, differences also emerged for teachers teaching in Title I schools. Looking across the items, teachers in Title I schools tended to report that immigration enforcement had more of an impact on their stress/anxiety (~73% Title I versus 68% overall) as well as made their job harder (~59% Title I versus 56% overall). They also reported that they were less prepared to support students on four of the six items regarding preparedness. Specifically compared to the overall sample, teachers in Title I schools reported feeling less prepared to support immigrant-

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origin students academically (~61% Title I versus ~65% overall), engage immigrant families and their children (~44% Title I versus ~51% overall), to meet the needs of students directly impacted (~39% Title I versus ~47% overall), and to meet the needs of all students (~42% Title I versus ~51% overall).

The last column shows results for elementary teachers. Across each domain, elementary teachers' perceptions tended to differ when compared to responses from secondary teachers. Looking at responses to the survey items related to witnessing student impacts, elementary teachers reported experiencing fewer increases in emotional or behavioral problems (~75% elementary versus 86% overall sample), impacts on academic performance (~67% elementary versus 80% overall sample), students expressing fear at school (~69% elementary versus 81% overall sample), indirect effects on classroom climate (~61% elementary versus 77% overall sample), indirect effects on students due to concerns for peers (~62% elementary versus 71% overall sample), parents expressing concerns at school (~51% elementary versus 54% overall sample), decreased parental involvement (~49% elementary versus 56% overall sample), increased bullying (~34% elementary versus 52% overall sample), and increased absenteeism (~45% elementary versus 66% overall sample).

Elementary teachers also tended to report less of an impact of immigration enforcement on their job dissatisfaction. They reported less impacts on stress/anxiety (~63% elementary versus 68% overall), ability to do their job (~57% elementary versus 62% overall), effect on how they feel about their job (32% elementary versus 39% overall), making their job harder (44% elementary versus 56% overall), job satisfaction (52% elementary versus 58% overall), and working conditions (46% elementary versus 54% overall). With regard to preparedness, elementary teachers tended to report feeling better prepared to support immigrant-origin students

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academically (68% elementary versus 64% overall), engage immigrant families and their children (55% elementary versus 51% overall), and support immigrant-origin students non-academically (57% elementary versus 53% overall).

Predictive Models

Tables 3 and 4 show results from the regression analyses. Below each outcome, Table 3 shows results from the baseline OLS regression in the first columns and results from the OLS regression supplemented with program fixed effects in the second columns. Recall that the latter model controls for all observed or unobserved variation related to TPPs. Table 4 shows results only from the program fixed effects. All coefficients are presented as standardized-beta coefficients, which is one measure of effect size similar to Cohen's d (Cohen, 1992). In discussion of the results, effect sizes listed below represent those from the preferred fixed effects model.

<Insert Table 3 about here>

With regard to student impacts, three statistically significant associations emerged. First, elementary teachers were less likely to report that immigration enforcement had impacted their students, holding all else constant ($\sigma = 0.70$). Second, teachers who felt that they had a greater exposure to immigration policy and procedures were more likely to report that their students were being negatively impacted by immigration enforcement ($\sigma = 0.23$). Finally, teachers who reported having a greater proportion of students in their school who were immigrant-origin were more likely to report that their students had been impacted by immigration enforcement ($\sigma = 0.82$).

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No statistically significant associations emerged with respect to teachers' job dissatisfaction. That is, no variables included in the regressions had any predictive relationship to teachers' job dissatisfaction.

The third set of columns illustrate two statistically significant associations related to teachers' preparedness to support students who may be impacted by immigration enforcement. First, teachers who reported a greater exposure of engagement with immigrant families in preservice tended to report being better prepared to support students affected by immigration enforcement ($\sigma = 0.17$). Second, teachers who reported having greater exposure to immigration policies and procedures in preservice tended to report being better prepared to support students who may be impacted by immigration enforcement ($\sigma = 0.27$).

Differences

To address the last research question, Table 4 presents the fully interacted regression model results for each of three domains of teachers' perceptions of immigration enforcement by urban schools, schools with Title I status, and elementary vs. secondary teachers.

<Insert Table 4 about here>

Several differences emerged compared to the baseline findings for the overall sample. First, teachers in in urban and Title I schools and elementary teachers who perceived the TPA as helpful in preservice tended to report witnessing greater student impacts of immigration enforcement once in-service ($\sigma = 0.27$ for teachers in urban schools; $\sigma = 0.25$ for teachers in Title I schools). Additionally, secondary teachers who perceived themselves as having greater support from their university supervisor while in preservice tended to report feeling better prepared to support students impacted by immigration enforcement ($\sigma = 0.42$). Comparing the associations between the exposure to engagement with immigrant families in preservice and preparedness to

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support immigrant-origin students, these associations were larger for teachers in urban and Title I schools and secondary teachers compared to teachers in non-urban and non-Title I schools and elementary teachers (e.g., $\sigma = 0.33$ for secondary teachers compared to $\sigma = 0.20$ for elementary teachers). Lastly, exposure to immigration policy was related to each of the three outcomes for urban and Title I teachers, including relating to a decrease in job dissatisfaction ($\sigma = -0.37$ for teachers in urban schools; $\sigma = -0.36$ for teachers in Title I schools). Contrary to findings for the overall sample, there was no statistically significant association between exposure to immigration policy and job dissatisfaction and preparedness for teachers teaching in non-urban and non-Title I schools, and there was no association between exposure to immigration policy and experiencing student impacts for non-urban teachers.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand how novice teachers experience the impacts of immigration enforcement and identify what components of teacher preparation were viewed as most helpful to support students in the context of rising immigration enforcement. Analyzing data collected from novice teachers in California, I present evidence suggesting that novice teachers witnessed negative impacts from immigration enforcement on their students as well as their own job dissatisfaction. Approximately half of the novice teachers in this study perceived themselves as prepared to support students impacted by immigration enforcement. Additionally, results suggest that preservice training characteristics shaped the perceptions of immigration enforcement. Novice teachers were more likely to perceive themselves as being prepared to support students impacted by immigration enforcement if they had exposure to immigration policy and experiences engaging with immigrant families in their preparation programs. Novice teachers were more likely to report witnessing the impacts of immigration enforcement on their

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students if they had exposure to immigration policy in preservice. Lastly, findings suggest that perceptions of immigration enforcement varied based on school and teacher characteristics.

Overall, preservice training characteristics shaped perceptions of immigration enforcement to a greater extent for novice teachers in urban and Title I schools and to a lesser extent for novice elementary teachers.

For the greater part of the last two decades, teacher preparation programs (TPPs) and schools have operated in a sociopolitical context where immigration enforcement actions and policies have increased in frequency and intensity. Within this context, teachers play an important role in shaping immigrant-origin students' and their peers' learning given the myriad of conditions with which they are presented (Cummins, 1986), as schools operate as open social systems receiving expected and unexpected "inputs" from external contexts that affect the eventual "outputs" for their students (Bertalanffy, 1981; Scott & Davis, 2015). Given the growing body of research highlighting how immigration enforcement links to physical health, mental health, and educational impacts for immigrants, children of immigrants, and their peers, results from this study are in line with what researchers, teacher educators, and teachers might expect when considering schools as open social systems (Norlin, 2009).

Knowing that immigration enforcement actions can lead to cascading effects throughout a community and its schools, this study has several takeaways for scholars and teacher educators involved with preparing novice teachers for the challenges that spillover from harsh enforcement actions in their community to their classroom. First, researchers and teacher educators ought to consider the preservice characteristics that appeared to shape novice teachers' perceptions of immigration enforcement impacts and their preparedness to support students impacted. Teachers who reported having greater exposure to and discussion of immigration policy in coursework and

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fieldwork in their TPPs as well as teachers with a greater proportion of immigrant students in-service were more likely to report that they witnessed negative impacts of immigration enforcement on their students. This was the strongest and most consistent relationship found in the data. Teachers who reported having more exposure immigration policy and backgrounds and engagement with immigrant families in their TPPs also tended to report they were better prepared to support students affected by immigration enforcement. These findings are new to the literature but correspond to prior works suggesting a strong relationship between teachers' knowledge, dispositions, and empathy about immigration policy's impact on students and better practices aimed at supporting these students' success (Rodriguez, 2021; Rodriguez et al., 2018; Rodriguez & McCorkle, 2020; Rodriguez & Monreal, 2017). These findings also directly support calls from prior research to incorporate more explicit discussion of the backgrounds and experiences of immigrant-origin students and their families in the curricula of TPPs (Goodwin, 2017; Hillburn, 2014).

Additionally, this study draws attention to how novice teachers' perceptions of immigration enforcement may vary based on their schools' context. This study illustrated a few differences based on whether teachers were teaching in urban schools and/or Title I schools. These teachers were more likely to witness immigration enforcement impacts on their students, reported greater stress/anxiety, reported they were less prepared to support students impacted, and tended to report stronger links between elements of their preservice training and their experiences with immigration enforcement in-service. Considering possible explanations for this finding, it is important to note that, in this study's sample, teachers in urban and Title I schools reported having a greater proportion of immigrant-origin students in their in-service classrooms. Having a greater number of immigrant-origin students indeed was tied to the greater witnessing

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of impacts of immigration enforcement on these students, as seen in Table 3. Moreover, if indeed these teachers had more immigrant-origin students in their field placements— which is likely based on the fact teachers tend to teach in schools similar to their preservice field placements—they may have been more likely to view various qualities of their preservice training as helpful for supporting these students compared to teachers who did not work with immigrant-origin students in preservice.

Lastly, researchers and teacher educators should consider the stark differences in perceptions of immigration enforcement between elementary and secondary teachers. Indeed, this comparison yielded to the greatest number of differences among teachers in the sample. Elementary teachers tended to report witnessing less impacts on their students, feeling less job dissatisfaction, feeling better prepared to support their students, and had different and weaker associations between various elements of their preservice training and their experiences with immigration enforcement in-service. One possible explanation for this finding is that younger immigrant-origin students, particularly second-generation immigrant children, have less direct exposure to direct or indirect issues related to the backgrounds of their own families. This is particularly true for second-generation children, whom immigrant parents are less likely to discuss issues related to authorized status or the family's immigration background, and as such, elementary students are less likely to discuss their backgrounds as immigrants at school (Dreby, 2012). In contrast, older students may be more vocal about their experiences with immigration enforcement. As a result, it is understandable that novice elementary teachers witness less impacts on their students if these younger children have less exposure and are less likely to discuss issues of immigration and enforcement.

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Relatedly, this difference in witnessing impacts on students may also be tied to whether elementary teachers expect to see these impacts in their classrooms. This could explain the link between the helpfulness of the TPA and witnessing of impacts for elementary teachers, as this TPA is designed to reinforce that students' diverse backgrounds, such as culturally and linguistically diverse students as directly emphasized in the California Teacher Performance Expectations (TPEs), deserve particular attention from teachers with respect to their education and out-of-school experiences. As secondary teachers tend to have a greater number of students, it also makes sense that the support of the university supervisor is particularly helpful for these teachers, as the role of the university supervisor is to provide feedback to novice teachers related to incorporating concepts learned in coursework into practice. With a greater number of students, secondary teachers may have more opportunity to engage with those impacted by enforcement, and thus elements of their field placement are more directly tied to their perceptions of their abilities to support students. This aligns with prior research that has shown secondary teachers place a greater importance on the role of their supervisors with respect to preparedness to educate and support their students once in-service (Gottfried et al., 2019, 2020).

Conclusion

Teachers have always and will continue to be expected to support students whose educational outcomes are affected by out-of-school experiences that accompany them into the classroom. This study demonstrated that new teachers reported that immigration enforcement negatively impacted their students and contributed to greater job dissatisfaction, which is consistent with studies from Ee & Gándara (2019) and Sanchez et al. (2018). As the first study to connect preservice training and experiences with immigration enforcement in-service, the results from this study suggest that greater attention is needed to the role of teacher preparation

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programs (TPPs) in preparing novice teachers for the experiences with immigration enforcement they will likely encounter once in-service. This study was the first to illustrate how malleable components of teacher preparation, which have been long suggested by prior research (Goodwin, 2012, 2017; Hillburn, 2014), could in fact mitigate the harms of immigration enforcement on students and teachers. As immigration enforcement has consistently increased in both intensity and frequency over the last two decades, researchers, policymakers, and teacher educators must consider the ways in which they can bolster support for teachers and students in times of upheaval.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations in this study, all of which can be used to guide future research. For example, the data collected for this study were based on teachers' experiences in well-established, ongoing curriculum at TPPs. Consequently, this study did not collect data on teacher-level interventions for professional development for supporting students affected by immigration enforcement. Future research might consider how a random set of preservice teachers could receive professional development at TPP sites. The results from a randomized intervention could provide additional strong evidence for the development the rising teacher workforce.

A second limitation, the findings represent how perceptions of various components of preservice relate to perceptions of experiences of immigration enforcement, but the findings cannot illustrate recorded preservice or in-service practices or measures of teaching effectiveness. This study has provided a baseline for future research, especially research explicitly connecting preservice preparation to in-service practices or student outcomes, to build upon. For instance, this study did not involve data collection from instructors or supervisors.

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Future research ought to consider gather information more directly from TPPs to tease out the mechanisms regarding what exposure to preparation to support immigrant-origin students looks like, and what specific features of programs might be areas for intervention.

Third, this study relied on a unique sample of new teachers in California- teachers graduating from the University of California TPPs. These TPPs prepare a small portion of the California teaching labor force, and the structure of their programs are different compared to TPPs at other institutions of higher education. Future research should consider replicating the analyses from this study in different contexts and using different samples of new teachers.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of 2017-18 of Teacher Respondents to Preservice and Follow-Up Surveys

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
<i>Pre-service teacher characteristics</i>		
Male	0.24	0.43
Asian	0.16	0.37
Latinx	0.22	0.42
Other race	0.14	0.35
Undergraduate GPA	3.46	0.32
Attended public high school	0.95	0.23
Parent completed high school	0.10	0.31
Parent completed some college	0.15	0.36
Parent completed Bachelor's degree or higher	0.64	0.48
Elementary credential	0.53	0.50
Observations	473	

Note the reference groups are female (gender), white (race/ethnicity), attended private high school (high school), parent did not complete high school (parent education), and secondary credential (credential type).

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Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of the Impact of Immigration Enforcement

	All (n=473), %	Urban (n=393), %	Title I (n=373), %	Elementary (n=248), %
<i>Student impacts</i>				
Increased emotional or behavioral problems	85.96	89.71	87.19	75.31***
Impact on academic performance	79.90	82.46	78.42	67.14***
Students expressing fear at school	80.59	83.53	80.18	69.18**
Indirect effects on classroom climate	77.31	76.67	78.42	61.02***
Indirect effects on students due to concerns for peers	71.17	72.32	67.89	61.61***
Parents expressing concerns at school	54.12	57.06	54.64	50.82***
Decreased parental involvement	55.63	59.28	53.86	48.78***
Increased bullying	52.31	50.58	52.11	34.49***
Increased absenteeism	66.31	66.52	62.63	45.08***

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<i>Teachers' job dissatisfaction</i>				
Increased my stress/anxiety	68.47	72.66**	72.81**	63.22***
Impacted my ability to do my job	62.28	62.50	59.43	57.47***
Effect on how I feel about my job	39.43	37.50	39.08	32.08***
Made my job harder	56.29	53.75	58.68**	43.68***
Affected my job satisfaction	58.29	58.59	56.60	51.72***
Impacted my working conditions	53.71	50.78	51.43	46.23***
Affected my desire to continue my job	32.57	33.78	31.70	32.18
<i>Preparedness</i>				
Support immigrant-origin students academically	64.52	60.87**	61.40**	68.35**
Engage immigrant families and their children	51.02	46.38***	43.86****	55.10***
Support immigrant-origin students non-academically	52.88	52.17	50.88	57.14***
Prepared to meet the needs of students directly impacted	47.12	40.58***	38.60***	46.94
Prepared to meet the needs of all students	50.96	46.38**	42.11***	48.98
Prepared to identify signs of distress of students impacted	52.43	53.62	50.88	54.17

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Proportions test used to compare urban vs. non-urban schools, Title I vs. non-Title I schools, and elementary vs. secondary teachers

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 3

Teacher Perceptions of Preservice Training and Impacts of Immigration Enforcement

		<u>Job</u>					
		<u>Student Impacts</u>		<u>Dissatisfaction</u>		<u>Preparedness</u>	
<i>Background characteristics</i>							
Male		-0.44	-0.64	0.10	0.12	-0.18	-0.20
		(0.36)	(0.50)	(0.29)	(0.43)	(0.28)	(0.41)
Asian		0.22	0.31	-0.40	-0.40	0.08	0.12
		(0.39)	(0.43)	(0.31)	(0.38)	(0.29)	(0.35)
Latinx		-0.38	-0.37	0.08	0.32	-0.15	-0.32

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	(0.36)	(0.52)	(0.30)	(0.39)	(0.30)	(0.39)
Other race	-0.65	-0.89	-0.01	0.07	0.45	0.29
	(0.53)	(0.61)	(0.43)	(0.50)	(0.41)	(0.47)
Highest parent education: High school diploma	0.54	0.80	-0.74	-0.65	-0.04	-0.07
	(0.47)	(0.53)	(0.39)	(0.45)	(0.38)	(0.45)
Highest parent education: Some college	0.26	0.22	0.13	0.13	-0.10	-0.11
	(0.31)	(0.41)	(0.26)	(0.37)	(0.24)	(0.33)
Highest parent education: College degree or more	-0.14	-0.15	0.17	0.25	-0.07	-0.10
	(0.32)	(0.38)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.25)	(0.32)
Attended public K-12 school	1.44	2.40	-0.83	-0.84	0.36	0.51
	(0.89)	(1.21)	(0.72)	(1.01)	(0.71)	(0.99)
Elementary credential	-0.71*	-0.70*	-0.09	-0.08	-0.03	-0.03
	(0.41)	(0.50)	(0.34)	(0.47)	(0.33)	(0.46)
<i>Preservice training</i>						
Helpfulness of TPA	-0.01	-0.08	-0.14	-0.13	-0.42	-0.40
	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.20)	(0.24)

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Alignment between TPA and program	-0.44	-0.20	0.25	0.46	0.13	0.06
	(0.33)	(0.51)	(0.27)	(0.41)	(0.26)	(0.39)
University supervisor support	0.16	0.16	0.08	-0.03	-0.22	-0.10
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.19)	(0.25)
Program coherence	0.32	0.19	0.12	0.05	0.18	0.16
	(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.19)	(0.27)	(0.18)	(0.23)
Placement expectations	-0.16	-0.15	0.15	0.04	0.09	0.18
	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.17)	(0.21)
<i>Exposure to training to support immigrant-origin students</i>						
Academic support	-0.21	-0.19	0.08	-0.01	-0.21	-0.06
	(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.26)
Engagement	0.01	-0.09	-0.04	0.02	0.19*	0.17*
	(0.26)	(0.29)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.24)	(0.18)
Policy	0.22*	0.23*	0.05	0.09	0.34***	0.27*
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.17)	(0.22)

School characteristics

NOVICE TEACHERS AND IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT

Class enrollment	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Estimated proportion of immigrant-origin students	0.82***	0.82**	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Urban	0.24	0.25	0.37	0.28	0.36	0.35
	(0.43)	(0.49)	(0.32)	(0.39)	(0.33)	(0.41)
Title I	-0.25	-0.34	-0.00	-0.04	-0.22	-0.24
	(0.26)	(0.32)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.28)
Observations	473	473	473	473	473	473
Program FE	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

NOVICE TEACHERS AND IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT

Table 4

Differences by School and Teacher Characteristics

	Student Impacts						Job Dissatisfaction						Preparedness					
	Not			Not			Not			Not			Not			Not		
	Urban	Urban	Title I	Title I	Secondary	Elementary	Urban	Urban	I	Title I	Secondary	Elementary	Urban	Urban	I	Title I	Secondary	Elementary
<i>Preservice training</i>																		
Helpfulness of TPA	-1.78	0.27*	0.37	0.25**	0.17	0.32***	-0.30	-0.08	-0.29	-0.03	0.09	-0.35	-0.44	0.05	-0.18	0.02	0.21	0.00
	(1.91)	(0.13)	(0.23)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.98)	(0.10)	(0.40)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(1.20)	(0.10)	(0.33)	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.13)
Alignment between TPA and program	-1.92	-0.25	-0.30	-0.26	-0.26	-0.42	-1.81	0.21	0.68	0.13	0.14	0.25	0.13	0.06	-0.24	0.13	0.09	0.01
	(1.31)	(0.20)	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.36)	(1.98)	(0.15)	(0.37)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.27)	(0.82)	(0.15)	(0.52)	(0.10)	(0.28)	(0.18)
University supervisor support	1.01	0.28	0.12	0.32	0.13	0.39	1.22	0.00	-0.68	0.05	-0.05	-0.03	-0.94	-0.35	-0.72	-0.23	0.42*	-0.28
	(0.71)	(0.24)	(0.14)	(0.29)	(0.08)	(0.32)	(0.99)	(0.10)	(0.45)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.44)	(0.20)	(0.54)	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.24)
Program coherence	1.47	0.16	-0.11	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.93	0.20	0.09	0.26	0.22	0.30	-0.22	0.01	0.02	-0.00	-0.32	0.17
	(1.51)	(0.09)	(0.24)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(1.02)	(0.12)	(0.43)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.94)	(0.14)	(0.45)	(0.10)	(0.22)	(0.18)
Placement expectations	0.98	-0.06	0.03	-0.07	0.05	-0.07	0.23	-0.05	0.56	-0.09	-0.18	0.17	0.29	0.29	0.35	0.07	0.53	0.13

NOVICE TEACHERS AND IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT

	(0.72)	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.34)	(0.11)	(0.29)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.45)	(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.08)	(0.36)	(0.14)
<i>Exposure to training to support</i>																		
<i>immigrant-origin students</i>																		
Academic support	-0.47	-0.09	0.07	0.24	-0.07	-0.13	-0.38	-0.03	-0.43	-0.06	-0.16	-0.04	0.15	0.55	0.03	-0.26	0.06	0.04
	(0.39)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.16)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.21)	(0.11)	(0.27)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.36)	(0.06)	(0.16)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Engagement	0.39	-0.16	0.21	0.02	-0.21	-0.13	0.28	-0.36	0.51	-0.38	-0.22	-0.27	0.48	0.33*	0.33*	0.63***	0.33***	0.20**
	(0.67)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.05)	(0.25)	(0.10)	(0.19)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.24)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.42)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Policy	0.70	0.41**	0.48***	0.39**	0.42***	0.45***	0.66	-0.37*	0.33	-0.36**	-0.36*	0.19	0.21	0.45***	0.26	0.50***	0.35***	0.49***
	(0.39)	(0.16)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.45)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Controls for background																		
characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Program FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05