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An integrated theory of prejudice reduction through service learning: college students' interactions with immigrant children

Carolyn Elizabeth Dallinger
Iowa State University

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An integrated theory of prejudice reduction through service learning:

College students' interactions with immigrant children

by

Carolyn Elizabeth Dallinger

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Sociology

Program of Study Committee:

Terry Besser, Major Professor

Betty Dobratz

Abdi Kusow

Marta Maldonado

Anastasia Prokos

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study developed theory while investigating the meaning college students' attributed to interaction with young immigrant children through a service learning program and how the interaction reduced their prejudice. Based on the grounded theory methodology, thirty-one in-depth interviews of college graduates who had been involved in the program were coded and analyzed to develop four significant themes resulting in theory development. Participants demonstrated fear of differences with their immigrant partners upon starting the interactions, they worked to develop relationships which resulted in gaining new perspectives and reducing reported prejudice. This integrated theory of prejudice reduction through service learning concurs with contact theory but additionally extends it by exploring the specific one-on-one relationship building indicated as important in the outcomes. The resulting themes were triangulated through content analysis of journal entries, inter-rater coding of journal entries and interview transcripts, and a survey measuring prejudiced opinion levels compared to a control group. Recommendations are directed to colleges and universities, college students, and community agencies as result of the developed theory.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

“Before this course, I thought that the majority of immigrants were troubled and needed lots of help ... After working with my partner, I realize that this is not ... true. They are all people just like us.” -Anonymous college student, 2013

Not only did the student who made the above comment demonstrate prejudice toward immigrants, she also showed signs of hope. She was enrolled in a college course I taught. Immigration is a charged issue in the United States with people expressing polarized opinions. Many believe immigration is good for the country, with this opinion rising from 29% in 1993 to a peak of 66% in 2001, to a recent 2014 rate of 59% (Fussell, 2014, p. 481, Pew Research Center, June 26, 2014). Various groups disagree that immigration is favorable; 81% of the Republican Steadfast Conservatives group, as well as 72% of the Democratic-leaning Hard-Pressed Skeptics group, view immigration as a threat to traditional U.S. values and customs (Pew Research Center, June 26, 2014).

Regardless of the various viewpoints, the U.S. has experienced increases in the immigrant population in both large and small communities (O'Grady, 2000, p. ii). Several Midwest states have experienced tremendous growth of immigrant residents from 2000 to 2010; for example during that time the immigrant population grew in Wisconsin by 72%, Iowa by 47%, and Minnesota by 54% (Migration Policy Institute, 2013; Minneapolis Foundation, 2010; Partnership For a New American Economy, 2012). In total, immigrants comprise 13% of the U.S. population. Of this total immigrant population, 46% are Latino, 8% black, 26.3% Asian, and 19.2% white (Costa, Cooper, & Shierholz, 2014).

Despite being 13% of the total population, U.S. immigrants comprise 16% of the labor force and the total economic output of the immigrant labor force equals 14.7%. Immigrants hold jobs within all occupational levels, however they are overrepresented in the

lowest wage occupations (Costa et al., 2014). Many find it surprising that 46% of the jobs immigrants hold are white-collar, that is, jobs that are non-manual and generally salaried. However, as Costa et al. point out, not all white-collar jobs pay well and the majority of that category is still white employees (2014). The Economic Policy Institute explains that immigrants create jobs, increase economic activity, supply labor and consume goods and services, and further, if unauthorized immigrants were all deported, our economy would suffer (Costa, Cooper, & Shierholz, 2014).

Although immigration is a very important issue, and this country has always been made up of immigrants from around the world, many misperceptions and myths persist about the issues of immigration and the people who immigrate. It is common to see immigration issues in the news. Recent headlines center on President Obama's executive orders concerning immigration. The most recent Executive Order allows undocumented immigrants to stay in the U.S. for three years without fear of deportation by registering, passing background checks, and paying taxes (Bajaj, 2014). An earlier Presidential Directive, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), halted deportation and provided work permits for immigrant youth who had entered the U.S. without documentation prior to their sixteenth birthday (Schmidt, 2013). U.S. public opinion is divided about these presidential actions with 50% registering disapproval and 46% approval in recent opinion polls (Pew Research Center, December 11, 2014).

Some members of Congress have responded to these presidential actions with anger and vitriol. In sponsoring legislation to block President Obama's recent Executive Order, Representative Palmer stated that the Administration's action was an "unconstitutional attempt to grant amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants by illegal fiat" (Chambers, 2015).

Community tensions and violence can feed off of leaders' dissent and disdain. Although not the majority of the country's population, some people respond by committing hate crimes targeting immigrant people. When seven young teens drove around Long Island, New York in 2008 to "go find some Mexicans to f – up," then surrounded, beat and fatally stabbed Marcelo Lucero, a 37-year-old Ecuadorian professional (CNN, 2008), their actions demonstrated the presence of immigrant and racial prejudice and hatred. Although the FBI does not keep hate crime statistics against immigrants per se, the next best indicators are hate crimes based on victims' racial and ethnic identities. The FBI reported 5,922 single bias hate crime incidents in 2013 against 7,230 victims; 60.8% of these were racially or ethnically biased. Anti-Hispanic or Latino incidents made up 52.6% of these ethnically biased incidents (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). The previous year's report showed 5,796 single bias hate crimes against 7,164 total victims with 3,464 based on racial and ethnicity bias (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2012). Clearly, these reports demonstrate that bias and prejudice are active in our communities.

Most people do not go as far as personally committing hate crimes against other people or property. However, they may exhibit prejudice or hold bias against immigrants and other ethnic minorities. Incidents of prejudice still exist in the workplace, communities, and schools (Jackson, 2011). The psychological violence and prejudice that many immigrants might endure could negatively impact both their mental health and their success in this country (Chin, Robinson, & De La Cancela, 2004). Prejudice and bias can impact all individuals including children. Anxiety, depression, feelings of worthlessness and helplessness can all be experienced by immigrants facing issues of bias, prejudice and discrimination (Chin et al, 2004). When prejudice impacts a particular group, such as

immigrants in our country, our whole society suffers as a result. Sarena¹, a participant in this study, stated it best in explaining her view when immigrants suffer due to prejudice and discrimination, “Well that’s a lot of potential that your society is missing out on. I mean there is no telling how smart those [immigrant] kids are, or could be, given certain opportunities, what they would be able to do and accomplish.”

In my work with college students, future leaders of our society, I see an opportunity to address prejudice and bias targeted towards immigrants. It is precisely because of issues of prejudice against racial and ethnic minorities in general, and against immigrants in particular, that I endeavored to create a service learning course at the predominantly white college in a small mid-west community where I teach. Service learning is a teaching method in which both students and community recipients receive benefit from mutual engagement. Students should be required to reflect on their community engagement in service learning and how they have learned from that interaction. Service learning is intended to provide mutual benefits to the students’ learning and to the community. The goal in the service learning course I created is specifically directed to providing avenues for interaction between college students and immigrant children which could potentially lessen attitudes of bias and prejudice. This is different from community service programs which provide tangible benefits for the community recipient such as serving meals to the homeless or weatherizing homes for the elderly (Rosner-Salazar, 2003). In the Introduction to Sociology course, in which I developed the service learning program, often the entire section is comprised of all white college students from small to medium sized rural mid-west towns. The service learning component of this course is an attempt to address the twin goals of getting my

¹ Pseudonyms are assigned to all participants in the study.

students out of the classroom to engage with the community, and furnishing them the opportunity to get to know someone from a different racial and ethnic background.

I have a strong desire to increase college students' skills in interacting in multicultural communities and workplaces. I'm not alone. Colleges and universities have expressed their desires for graduates to have the skills to work and live within a multicultural and diverse community (O'Grady, 2000, p. xv). One way to try to accomplish this goal, especially when there are few minorities in a college, is to reach out to the larger ethnically and racially diverse community beyond the walls of the college classroom. Service learning programs have served as one avenue to provide college students with an opportunity to start lessening bias and prejudice and learning about communities different than the ones in which they grew up. Many colleges see it as an important part of their mission to offer interactive and engaged learning for college students (American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U), 2013). In fact, the AAC&U developed a Liberal Education & America's Promise (LEAP) program to which many colleges and universities aspire. The LEAP program provides guidance on high-impact educational practices for students including recommendations for first-year students: Learning Communities and Service Learning; and recommendations for senior-year students: Study Abroad, Student-Faculty Research, Service Learning, and Senior Culminating Experience (Kuh, 2008). Professors have created interactive service learning programs where college students engage with someone of a different ethnic, socioeconomic or immigrant background (O'Grady, 2000, p. ii; Pew Research Center, 2013).

Colleges and universities have increased their focus on service learning to immigrant and other minority communities, or communities with lower socioeconomic standing

(Calderon et al., 2007; O'Grady, 2000). In general, the growth of service learning has exploded from the 1990's forward (Bringle & Hatcher, 2000, p. 68). In 2005, nearly 1000 colleges or universities were members of the Campus Compact, a coalition of higher education presidents committed to the mission of civic engagement through service learning (Butin, 2005). More than 65% of U.S. college students characterized their institution as offering service learning according to the Higher Education Research Institute's (HERI) survey (Novick et al., 2011). More than 630 colleges and universities conduct service learning programs compiling more than 22 million hours of service each year (Cress et al., 2011, p. 3).

Providing multicultural service learning programs, particularly with immigrant children, could potentially help college students develop critical thinking skills and an ability to negotiate a complex and diverse society. The programs strive to reach the end goal of working to eradicate inequalities and injustices (Cipolle, 2010, p. ix). Service learning may provide meaningful knowledge for both college students and immigrant children by applying structured learning through developing personal connections.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the impact of the service learning program on the college students who had been engaged in the program. This study looked specifically at the meaning participants developed from their experience. A social constructionist framework was used to examine the meanings 'constructed' by participants through their interactions with their partners and to develop an understanding of what impact the service learning had on their prejudicial levels. A full discussion of the social constructionist methodology is found in Chapter 3. The meaning participants assign to these

experiences is an important indicator of the impact of the program and whether or not this service learning program is successful. The themes identified from the research were used to develop a theory explaining the association of service learning and prejudice reduction in this situation. The developed theory is discussed fully in Chapter 5. This theory expands and supports the extant sociological contact theory. A literature review of contact theory is discussed in Chapter 2.

Research Questions

The questions I explored in this study were:

- 1) What were the meanings participants formulated in partnering with young immigrant children through their college service learning course and how did those meanings impact their level of prejudice?
- 2) How did the college students' backgrounds influence the meanings of their relationships with young children from different ethnic, racial and immigrant backgrounds?
- 3) How have participants' meanings about the service learning interaction with young immigrant children shifted over time and been integrated into their lives?
- 4) What theoretical themes and linkages can be developed to explain the impact of service learning on students' attitudes, opinions and prejudice levels?

Context of the Service Learning Program

I developed the service learning program by attaching it to an Introduction to Sociology course which I've taught fourteen times in the past ten years. As part of the required service learning component, the college students interact with young immigrant third to fifth grade children. Encouraging college students to reduce negative prejudice and stereotypes in working with someone from an immigrant background is one program

objective. Another objective is for students to develop a social justice understanding of inequalities by teaching about differences in power and privilege between dominant and immigrant groups. Social justice in this context means working to eliminate oppression, not only at an individual level, but by understanding how power and privilege reinforce inequalities through institutions and institutional processes. Social justice also requires students to challenge those inequalities through critical analysis and political and civic action (Cipolle, 2010, p. 3; O'Grady, 2000, p. 14). I hope college students learn to actively engage in furthering social justice through their service learning experiences (Rosenberger, 2000, p.42).

The course is clearly identified in the college catalog as containing a service learning component. Even so, many students either do not notice the service learning aspect of the course or do not know what it means. A few students specifically select the course because of the component; either a faculty advisor has told them about it or they have heard from a friend that it was a good course to take. Once the enrollment period closes, I send an email to all the enrolled students with information about the service learning component of the course to make sure they still want to be involved. Remaining students are sorted into groups to accommodate their schedules and the college's transportation situation.

Once the course begins, I use one or two class periods to explain the service learning program. Students are each assigned a partner who is involved in the English Language Learner program at an elementary school in a nearby metropolitan area. Either the young elementary partners are immigrants with their families, or are children born in the U.S. to an immigrant family. Generally, the language spoken at home is not English. The college students are instructed that board games, crayons, coloring books, and other games are

available to use with their partners. They can select the activity for the day with their partner. Additionally, the college students are given specific topics or questions, written in their online journal, to ask or try to find out from their partners each week. I encourage them to read those questions prior to going on their service learning trips to engage their young partners in conversation about the topic. I explain that if they are unable to get that information, then the college student is to use their 'sociological imagination' about the circumstances to try to step into the shoes of their young partners in answering the questions. The journal questions revolve around topics of Sociology that the students are studying, e.g. socialization, group dynamics, or gender. The college students are graded on the journal entries for completeness of answering all parts of the question and digging deeper for sociological understanding. Some students are thorough in writing their journal entries, but as in all college courses, some students write superficial responses. Their use of critical thinking often coincides with their academic level in college. Enrollment is allowed for first-year to senior-year students; however, the majority has been first and second-year students.

I explain to the college students that good service learning is a win/win for all parties involved. They are to 'mentor' their young partners with experiences as college students, they are to learn from their young immigrant partners about their lived experiences and family situations and apply new sociological concepts to what they learned. The elementary school 'wins' by having more college students influence their young students, hopefully by encouraging good studying goals. I try to make it clear to the college students that they are not there to 'fix' their young partners. On a rare occasion, I have received a journal entry stating that the college student doesn't see anything 'wrong' with the elementary partner; he or she doesn't know what they are doing at the school. I raise these topics in class when they

arise to remind the college students of their role in the service learning to produce a win/win learning situation.

Generally, the college-elementary partners get to meet for 30 to 35 minutes approximately eleven to twelve times during the semester. The college students are charged with learning to word their conversations to artfully engage the topic of discussion for that week. This is more of a challenge to some college students than others depending on their level of ability and experience. College students are asked at least three times during the semester to provide critiques about the program: at the mid-point and final journal entries, and the final course evaluation. Each college student also debriefs in class about the meetings approximately three times during the semester: shortly after the beginning partner meeting, mid-way through the semester, and then each college student gives an oral report about their own learning regarding the service learning project during the final week of the course.

Application of Contact Theory

This study utilized the grounded theory methodology which developed themes and ultimately culminated into an integrated theory of service learning and prejudice reduction. After reviewing extant literature, the intergroup contact theory most closely aligned with the study's integrated theory. Through my initial coding and analyzing the data, contact theory arose as a guiding framework for understanding and interpretation. Intergroup contact theory (contact theory), first proposed by Gordon Allport in 1954, explains how people's prejudice can be reduced when they interact with someone from an identity different than their own (Allport, 1954). The contact theory proposes four factors for prejudice to be reduced: the participants in the contact situation must have equal status, they must pursue common goals,

there must be cooperation between the two involved in the contact and support from authorities, the law or custom must be present (Allport, 1954). This theory fit well with the students' reported lessened prejudice after interacting with their young immigrant partners through the service learning program. A thorough examination of the contact theory follows in Chapter 2.

Researcher Positionality

It is important for researchers to examine their own positionalities and reflect critically on their own engagement in the research process. Through a reflexive stance, researchers should scrutinize how and to what extent their own interests and assumptions influence the research process (Charmaz, 2012, p. 188). It is clear from the previous discussion that I have developed and implemented the very program that was at the heart of this research. I am employed at the college where the service learning program takes place. I knew the participants of this research both as my past students and some as my previous advisees. They have all graduated or left the college, but I still know them and have been in a significant role as an “evaluator” of their academic skills and abilities. A few still keep in touch since leaving college to obtain recommendations for graduate schools or jobs but by and large, I have not had much contact with the study participants since they left or graduated from college. Although our roles had shifted, there is still a significant bond with these research participants. Several steps, elaborated below, were taken to safeguard the credibility of this study in light of my position in relation to the participants.

Other areas of my positionality to this study were examined. I have a strong commitment to reducing prejudices and stereotypes as I am a member of a biracial marriage and family. Additionally, I am a graduate from the college where I implemented the service

learning program in this study. It was at this college where I met my husband (as young 18-year-olds) and we both felt the liberal arts education we received at this college provided a basis for our continued human rights work. I received a Masters in Social Work degree and served in human service roles in racially diverse settings. My husband and I received Juris Doctorate degrees and ran an employment discrimination legal practice prior to coming back to our alma mater to work in higher education. I have also held employment positions at several human rights agencies. Clearly, I have a strong investment in the institution, the educational process, and the students involved. I have a strong belief that through one-on-one interactions and relationships, people break down barriers between different groups. I remember distinctly an exercise in one college course as a student at this institution, when my professor gave us extra credit points to sit ‘interracially’ in the classroom. In that exercise, sitting by someone of a different racial background than myself, I became friends with people that I would never have found the courage to engage in conversation. This experience and my belief about the benefits of interaction spurred me to design this, along with other, service learning courses. I continuously try to bring my experiences with the ‘outside world’ to academia or to take college students into the ‘outside world’ not only so they see the practical applications of their learning, but they develop skills in engaging with the larger community.

A researcher should acknowledge these experiences and positionality that provide insight to the subject. Additionally, the researcher should examine any liability or bias in the researcher’s work, including the design and interpretation of findings (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Thus, I have explained in detail my connection to this research, but also have taken steps to safeguard the credibility of this work. The grounded theory method used in this

study lends itself to developing those safeguards. Through this methodology, data speaks for itself in many ways. The reader ‘hears’ the actual voice of the participant through his or her own words. Additionally, triangulation of the research methods has been employed by using interviews, journal entry coding, and a quantitative survey with a control group. I’ve used inter-rater reliability checks on both qualitative methods of coding journal entries and interviews. Lastly, I’ve utilized journaling and dialog with other professionals to provide critical reflection. It is important to note that the trust-level of participants with me as the researcher was very valuable to this process of qualitative methodology. Participants exposed that high trust level with me as the interviewer by providing deep levels of personal sharing. I was also able to use my insight as an ‘insider’ to this process (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Additional discussion of possible bias and implemented safeguards will be examined further in the Methodology Section in Chapter 3.

Definitions of Key Terminology Used in this Study

Service learning. Service learning is a teaching approach that allows for enrichment of study while teaching about civic responsibility by strengthening communities through service projects. It is a method to provide mutual benefits of learning for the student as well as benefit for the community recipient (Boyle-Baise & Efiom, 2000, Ethridge & Branscomb, 2009, Levine, 2011, Novick et al., 2011, Rosner-Salazar, 2003, Sleeter, 2000).

Intergroup contact. Intergroup contact is actual face-to-face interaction between members of clearly defined differing groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Prejudice. Prejudice means a disrespectful attitude toward or negative evaluative response to a group as a whole or toward individuals on the basis of their group membership (Jackson, 2011, p. 20; Nelson, 2006).

Summary

This study sought to explore the meaning college students developed from interacting through a service learning program with young immigrant elementary students. It developed a theory that elaborates how the service learning experience integrates with prejudice reduction. The insights gained from this study provide new perspectives of engagement between people of different ethnicities, races and immigrant status. This research is valuable in shaping and informing future college teaching and advancing sociological understandings of the dissolution of prejudicial attitudes.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study the thematic concepts that arose through the grounded theory analysis closely aligned with contact theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This chapter outlines the prejudice reduction properties of contact theory and it further explains the rich and voluminous following of contact theory formulated by Gordon Allport in 1954. This literature review will examine each of the four prongs of Allport's theory, including 1) equal status of the participants, 2) working towards a common goal, 3) cooperative attitude required in the contact situation and 4) the need for authority or institutional support. Additionally, meta-analysis research of contact theory will be reviewed, and various studies examining the three mediating factors of post contact prejudice reduction will be explored. The three include 1) general knowledge about the other group, 2) reduced anxiety and 3) building empathy about the other group.

Several extensions of contact theory will be examined in this chapter, including, how the lessened prejudice in a contact situation may extend to other outgroups, how imagined contact can work to reduce prejudice, how indirect contact can lead to lessened prejudice and also how contact theory has been applied to community-based research. Allport's original examination of various educational programs that could potentially help to reduce prejudice will be reviewed along with newer service learning programs that have discussed application of contact theory. The chapter will conclude with criticisms in the literature about this theory. This literature review attempts to cover the 'highlights' of contact theory recognized by the substantial body of research that has occurred since Allport's original writing which supports and extends his ideas.

In studies using deductive methodologies, the literature review precedes the actual formulation of the methodology and subsequent research implementation. Grounded theory provides a different methodology, which encourages the development of the theoretical themes from combing and classifying the data, prior to locating the new theoretical themes within the relevant literature (Charmaz, 2012). Although grounded theorists are never a blank slate, and they are familiar enough with their topic to know what questions to ask and be able to identify gaps in the knowledge base, they are encouraged to let the gathered literature and suggested theoretical direction lay fallow until after the development of analytical categories and relationships through data coding. At that point grounded theorists go back to the literature to see whether extant theory concurs with the newly developed themes and whether the new theoretical themes extend or clarify existing theory. That is exactly the method used in this study. As theoretical themes were developed and fine-tuned, it was clear that a new look at extant literature was necessary. Contact theory emerged as the closest fit to the themes inferred from the data in this study. Later chapters show how this study refines and extends Allport's contact theory (Allport, 1954). First, in an attempt to comply with the organizational style common in deductive research studies, I present the general concepts of contact theory and how it has developed over the most recent years.

Intergroup Contact Theory

Allport's original work discussed the combination of four factors associated with the reduction of prejudice between members of different ethnic and racial group. Those factors include: 1) equal status in the contact situation, 2) pursuit of common goals, 3) intergroup cooperation, and 4) institutional support provided by law or custom (Allport, 1954, p. 281).

To understand the basis of Allport's theory, each prong will be examined providing examples from his writings and more recent literature.

Equal Status

Allport asserted that equal status helps reduce prejudice in intergroup contact (Allport, 1954). He provided examples of Van Til and Raths' research with high school students from different racial backgrounds traveling and living together in equal situations in Chicago for a week (Van Til & Raths, 1944). Not all students lessened their prejudice through this contact, but only seven out of 27 high school students failed to lessen their prejudice. Allport also asserted that F.T. Smith's study with white graduate students spending two consecutive week-ends in Harlem, staying together in homes and meeting prominent African American leaders, provided strength for the equal status prong of intergroup contact. In Smith's study, 38 of 46 students lessened their prejudice (Smith, 1943). From these and other studies, Allport concluded that equal status in intergroup contact is an important factor in lessening prejudice. Equal status can be obtained during the contact situation itself even if the larger society does not see the groups as having equal status. Possible equal status can be obtained by providing equal chance to participants in activities, decision making, or resource allocation (Allport, 1954). A later study showed equal status was attained in contact between students of different races in a summer school program, when the low-status student carried out a task and taught that task to someone else of a higher status (Cohen, 1982). Another example was a study in which African American junior high boys were taught how to build transistor radios and then in turn taught white boys how to build them (Riordan & Ruggiero, 1980). These studies explain that equal status cannot just be assumed to happen since that status may not be present in the larger society. Careful structuring is needed to provide equal

status for the contact to be productive when the intergroup contact occurs with people of different racial backgrounds (Cohen, 1982; Riordan & Ruggiero, 1980). Even if groups differ in status in the larger community, the program itself can work to establish equal status and result in lessened prejudice (Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer, 2001).

Some researchers have opined that equal status is hard to accomplish in contact situations within service learning settings because the programs are set up to allow the 'privileged' to serve the 'underprivileged' and the attitude of superiority can continue to pervade the contact between the two parties (Boyle-Baise & Langford, 2004; Sperling, R., 2007). However, other service learning researchers have discussed how the context and structure of the contact situation, if carefully created, can lead the two parties to have equal status (Erickson & O'Connor, 2000, p. 64). Extant literature concurs with this second notion that careful structuring can be used, and likely is necessary, to alter the privileged-underprivileged dynamic.

Common Goals

Striving for common goals is the second factor of Allport's contact theory. One study examined participants from different backgrounds striving for a common objective such as winning for an athletic team (Allport, 1954, p. 276). Merely coming into contact with each other, such as in a business setting, may not be enough to lessen prejudice. When those involved in the intergroup contact are doing things together, with a common goal, they build solidarity and reduce negative thoughts and stereotypes about the 'other' (Allport, 1954). Allport provided a study example of white and black soldiers serving in combat together. White soldiers, who were closely associated with black soldiers, developed more favorable dispositions of the black soldiers than those soldiers who did not have experiences towards a

common goal (Allport, 1954). Johnson and Johnson (1981) studied 40 third-grade students including both students who did and did not require special education services. Both groups of students worked together in classrooms for 25 minutes a day for 16 instructional days. The intergroup contact resulted in more positive perception of the other when cooperative goals were infused in the classroom, such as working together on projects, in comparison to the classroom where the members of different groups were instructed to work independently (Johnson & Johnson, 1981). Sports teams often provide interracial interactions with a common goal. In one study, reduced stereotyping occurred when team members worked and socialized across racial boundaries and associated their positive interactions to the ultimate common goal of winning (Hirko, 2009).

Intergroup Cooperation

Intergroup cooperation serves as the third prong of Allport's contact theory and can be exhibited through positive relationships without anxiety, mistrust, or competition (Allport, 1954). This prong was demonstrated in the jigsaw group research by Aronson and Bridgeman (1979). To test this prong of the contact theory, they set out to cause students to spend part of their time mastering material through interdependent structures. The teacher separated the students into groups and taught the task to a 'mastery' group. Then the groups were put into new combinations of students, or 'jigsaw' groups, and the master students taught the others in the new group. When jigsaw groups were put together, they included a diversity of students and required that they all worked cooperatively and interdependently to learn the course material. Students in the jigsaw classrooms developed increased empathy and positive attitudes across racial groups in comparison to the traditional classroom methods of

teaching without cooperation (Aronson & Bridgeman, 1979). The need for structure and institutional support in the intergroup contact is examined next.

Authority and Institutional Support

Prejudice is reduced by the enhancement of institutional support through “law, custom or local atmosphere” (Allport, 1954, p. 281). This serves as the fourth factor. Allport explained that through laws that eliminate discrimination, prejudice tends to lessen and the vicious cycle starts to reverse itself. He felt the fourth factor was important to create a structure where the other factors could prevail (Allport 1954). Authorities often establish guidelines and norms for how different group members should interact in various situations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Some of these authorities are found in school programs where teachers and administrators are in favor of actually developing programs to reduce prejudice (Aronson et al., 1979). Literature provides examples of how the military has instituted programs of contact between different racial groups strengthened by institutional support and command support (Landis, Hope & Day, 1984). The military has developed various race relations programs and cross cultural training programs from the top commander level down to the enlisted level (Landis et al., 1984). Another example of structural support has been developing behavioral change in private industry with goals to increase diversity and lessen prejudice (Kalev, Kelly, & Dobbin, 2006).

Meta-Analysis of Contact Theory Studies

In 2006, Pettigrew and Tropp, in a meta-analysis of the extant literature, found that 94% of the 515 sample contact theory studies showed an inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). They only reviewed studies where the intergroup contact was the independent variable and direct contact in some form

was involved. They included studies that involved clearly defined groups but the outcomes of the contact were assessed on an individual level (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Included in the 515 studies were 250,000 participants in 38 different countries conducted from 1940 through 2000. Through this meta-analysis, contact theory was confirmed on a large basis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) conducted further meta-analysis to determine how intergroup contact led to positive outcomes in lessening prejudice. In this meta-analysis, they marked yes or no if the study included each of Allport's four factors. Due to the nature of the structured programs being researched, all programs included the fourth factor of institutional support. Thus they analyzed only the other three Allport factors. After studying the effect of the first three prongs of Allport's contact theory (equal status, common goals, cooperation), they found the three were highly correlated with each other; 72% of all samples had all three factors (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). However, none of the three conditions were found to be independent predictors of lessened prejudice. Pettigrew and Tropp (2008, p. 70) concluded that all four factors functioned together to reduce prejudice. Additional research has been conducted to test whether all four factors are stronger when combined in one program. Green et al. (1988) developed a racial climate scale (which included all four Allport factors) and then administered it to 3300 American middle-school students. They determined that the four factors had high internal consistency and that they worked in concert to reduce prejudice (Green, et al., 1988). Molina and Wittig (2006) came to a different conclusion after adapting the Green et al. scale and administered it to middle and high school students. They found that there was a positive correlation between the factors but that equal status and institutional support showed the strongest association with each other (Molina & Wittig, 2006).

Proposed Fifth Factor: Length of Time in Relationship

A fifth factor for contact theory has been proposed by Erickson (2009). Erickson asserts that the length of time in contact between intergroup members is important in the process of reducing prejudice. Although Erickson did not discuss any research he conducted, he opined that the ability to develop a positive relationship may need additional time, as opposed to a short duration of contact, to accomplish reduced prejudice (Erickson, 2009, p.112). Other studies have confirmed this assertion. Binder, et al. (2009) conducted longitudinal studies of 3,667 students from 33 secondary schools from Germany, Belgium and England. After a six-month period elapsed after contact, they measured quality of friendships on a 5-point rating scale. Binder et al. (2009) found that greater quantity of contact with friends led to reduced prejudice however the other factors needed to be present. Their final conclusion was that quality of contact was still more important than quantity of contact. Allport (1954) did not speak specifically to the length of time as an important factor in the intergroup contact. He did explain that the prong of equal status is important, rather than the amount of time, and provided examples of the “superordinate-subordinate relationship.” When this later type of contact occurs, prejudice will not be reduced no matter how much time elapses in the contact. He provided examples of people meeting on the subway or in a small business transaction. Both of these contact situations may work to confirm the prejudice instead of reducing it if the same unequal status is affirmed (Allport, 1954). Although length of time in contact has been asserted, it seems important to keep the other Allport factors involved. More longitudinal studies and research could be important in this area. The next section will examine some of the types of mediating factors of contact theory that have been researched.

Mediating Contact Factors

Although researchers have studied many extensions of intergroup contact after Allport published *The Nature of Prejudice* in 1954, three factors have gained significant attention in the extant literature and will be reviewed here. Those three factors, entitled mediating factors were analyzed by Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) in their meta-analysis. The three factors include the cognitive factor of gaining general knowledge about the other group, and the affective factors of reducing anxiety through contact and increasing empathy about the other group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). They define the mediation effect as follows: when a person has a successful intergroup contact, they will come away with additional knowledge about the group, lessened anxiety, and more empathy. Those three mediators will in turn reduce prejudice towards that other group. They used path analysis to compare the contact directly with prejudice reduction and then with each mediator in turn. They further explain that the mediating factors work to diminish the strength of the contact-prejudice association and work to explain how the prejudice is reduced after intergroup contact happens (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, p. 78). Each of these three will be examined in turn.

General Intergroup Knowledge

Education programs have been developed to lessen prejudice by educating about another group, such as educational programs about minority groups. Often, the educator targets one group (usually the dominant group) to learn about the other group (usually minority group). But does that work to reduce prejudice about that outgroup? Allport called upon researchers to evaluate educational programs to see whether prejudice is reduced through various programs: lectures, textbooks, movies, fiction writings, field trips, community programs, festivals, small group discussions, interviewing and counseling. He

asserted that intercultural education might change incorrect information, but may do nothing to change prejudicial attitudes (Allport, 1954, p. 484). Other researchers have continued to examine whether education alone results in lessened prejudice (Stephan et al., 1984). Rothbart et al. asserts it is difficult to change a person's 'supposed' knowledge about another group especially when it goes against a normal stereotype associated with that group (Rothbart & John, 1985). Yiu et al. (2010) put this idea to a test. A comparison of two educational programs on AIDS and HIV included assignments to two different groups: 1) a 50-minute knowledge session group and 2) a knowledge-session with follow-up contact with someone who had contracted HIV (Yiu, et al., 2010). The knowledge plus contact with the HIV positive person was significantly more effective than the knowledge-only program. However, Yiu et al. (2010) conducted follow-up testing six weeks later and no significant difference was found indicating that it was only a short-term effect. Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) in their meta-analysis research found most studies showed that obtaining knowledge about the other group produced less prejudice, but it only had a limited impact. They averaged 17 independent study results and found that the contact to prejudice coefficient only reduced from .30 to .28 when knowledge about the other group was added as a mediator (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, p. 80). Thus obtaining knowledge about another group may help reduce prejudice slightly, but I will next examine the two other mediating factors to see if they work any better.

Reduced Intergroup Anxiety

The affective factor, of reducing anxiety experienced in an intergroup contact situation, surfaced as a more effective mediating factor in producing lower prejudice. Where does the anxiety come from? Researchers speculate that anxiety comes from the anticipation

of rejection by the outgroup member, the possibility of embarrassment during the contact, or misunderstandings that might occur between the contact parties (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Anxiety may also stem from prior intergroup threat, whether real or imagined, through large differences in the status of the two groups, or the numerical size difference (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Lower levels of anxiety are associated with positive contact both in the quality and amount of contact. In Islam & Hewstone's (1993) field study, the added time in the intergroup contact between the Muslim majority group and Hindu minority group, was associated with decreased anxiety and understanding unique differences in the other group. In Pettigrew and Tropp's (2011) meta-analysis, reducing anxiety as a factor was more powerful than the cognitive mediator of gaining general knowledge about the other group. They found strong impact in reducing anxiety through the intergroup contact and in turn, the lower anxiety resulted in lower levels of prejudice. Pettigrew et al. (2011) estimated that this mediator accounted for nearly one-third of the contact's impact on prejudice reduction (-.20 to -.29) (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, p. 82) Despite legislative and institutional changes, which have transpired since Allport's earliest publishing about prejudice reduction, people still become anxious about intergroup contact (Butz & Plant, 2011). People tend to avoid the contact due to the anxiety they experience. This is not necessarily due to aversion or hatred of the other, but rather concern that the interaction could go badly. Plant and Butz (2006) had non-black participants complete a computer program assessing their prejudice against black people. They then provided negative, positive, or neutral feedback on how they thought that participant would respond in an upcoming interaction with a black person. Those who received the negative feedback became much more anxious and tried to avoid the contact (Plant & Butz, 2006). The participants were concerned about how others would respond to

them in the intergroup interaction. In another study however, even though anxiety might have produced avoidance responses, some participants didn't necessarily refuse to have the contact. Motivation was found to be an important factor to overcome the anxiety and avoidance of intergroup contact (Plant & Devine, 1998). In Plant et al.'s study, they developed a scale to measure the participants' motivation to continue with the contact. The scale measured external and internal motivation levels of the participants. They found some people were internally motivated and others responded to external motivation. Internally motivated individuals didn't want to appear prejudiced and thus would continue with the contact despite experiencing anxiety (Plant & Devine, 1998).

Empathy as Mediator

The final major mediator discussed in Pettigrew and Tropp's (2011, p. 83) meta-analysis was their finding that empathy was an important mediator in the contact-prejudice association. Similar to the reduced anxiety mediator, the empathy mediator resulted in a change of $-.26$ to $-.37$. Vescio et al. (2003) tested the application of empathy in intergroup contact with 66 college students. After randomly assigning the students to groups, the groups listened to a tape recording made by an African American male student explaining difficulties he had with other people from his same racial group. The participants were told that the recorded statement was going to be aired on a radio program. One group was asked to remain open and 'unattached' while listening, and the other group was asked to 'imagine' how the person felt. The researchers assessed the students' stereotypes and attitudes through a 45-minute questionnaire after listening to the taped statement. The group who had been asked to imagine the storyteller's feelings experienced more empathy and exhibited more favorable attitudes towards African Americans (Vescio, et al., 2003). Other studies have

shown participants gaining empathy with a person with AIDS (outgroup member), when they had been encouraged to do so (Baston, et al. 1997). Empathy involves taking the perspective of the other group when interacting. It causes positive intergroup relations if the person imagines how the other perceived a situation or how they felt because of that situation (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Allport described this as putting yourself in someone else's shoes, or emerging with an attempt to understand someone else's point of view (Allport, 1954). Empathy towards others encourages transferring positive self-descriptors on to the other with an increased ability to use concepts attributed to themselves as opposed to stereotypes that has formerly been used on the other (Baston et al., 1997). Beyond the three mediating factors, researchers have extended the application of contact theory in several ways. They will be reviewed next.

Extension of Contact Theory

For more than 60 years researchers have tested and extended contact theory. This section will examine a few areas of extension including how intergroup contact may generalize to other outgroup members, how imagined contact may work to reduce prejudice, how indirect contact may work, the importance of studying the space and context in which intergroup contact takes place and community-based contact research.

The benefit of intergroup contact has been found to generalize to other outgroups. Approximately two thousand college roommates were studied to see if living with racially diverse roommates would reduce prejudice (Van Laar, et al., 2005). The first year students were randomly assigned to a roommate, then the researchers studied the voluntary selections of roommates during the second and third year to measure the level of prejudice in their fourth year. Both the students who were randomly assigned, and the ones who voluntarily

choose other roommates, reported lower levels of prejudice. Additionally, the decreased prejudice generalized from having one racial background of roommate to other racial background friends. For example, those having a black roommate became friends with Latinos even though they never had a Latino roommate (Van Laar, et al., 2005).

Another extension to contact theory is the impact of intergroup contact for people who are the most prejudiced at the start. Two hundred fifty-five psychology college students in a Northeast U.S. university were asked about the involvement they had with members of an outgroup. Then the college students were also asked a series of questions about their beliefs and questions measuring prejudice (Adesokan et al., 2011, p. 273). What were the results? Those who held the stronger prejudicial beliefs at the beginning of contact made the most positive changes in reducing prejudice (Adesokan, et al., 2011). The most prejudiced at the beginning also saw the contact as more important in the end. Adesokan, et al. (2011) concluded that those who are the most opposed to having an ethnically diverse society would benefit the most from intergroup contact (Adesokan et al., 2011).

Another extension of contact theory ventured into imagined contact with another group. Positive outgroup attitudes improved, and stereotypes were reduced, merely by having the participants in three different experiments simulate positive encounters (Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007). Twenty-eight college men and women were randomly assigned to a control group, who was asked to imagine an outdoor scene, or a treatment group which was told to imagine a positive interaction with an elderly stranger. (Experiment 1). After the experiment, the participants were asked to measure their intergroup bias. The treatment group was found to have more positive outcomes about the elderly. In Experiment 2, again the treatment group was asked to imagine a positive interaction with an elderly stranger and the control group

was asked to spend a minute thinking about the elderly. Again, the most positive outcome occurred for the treatment group. In Experiment 3, twenty-seven heterosexual male college students were asked in the treatment group to imagine talking with a gay man on a train and the control group was asked to imagine a scene on a hiking trip. As expected, the treatment group resulted in more positive outcomes (Turner, et al., 2007). Studies with other age groups have resulted in similar findings (Cameron et al., 2006). A study of 159 five to eleven-year-old British children were told fictional stories about refugee children to measure whether negative attitudes towards the refugee children were reduced (Cameron et al., 2006). The stories that involved close friendships between the groups were more effective than three other types of intervention. Less effective than the close friendship stories were stories where children 1) learned a few characteristics about the refugee children, 2) learned that the refugee children attended the same school, and 3) talked about the similarities and differences between the two groups (Cameron, et al., 2006, p. 1212).

Closely related to imagined contact is extended contact. Extended contact is defined as when friends have other friends from the outgroup. Wright et al. (1997) conducted a multi-part study on extended contact with four research arms including three distinct methods: two questionnaire studies, a laboratory experiment with intergroup conflict and another minimal group experiment. Through analysis of all the research method outcomes, Wright, et al. (1997) observed that all forms of contact between people like oneself with outgroup friends, diminished prejudice to some extent towards the outgroup friends. However, researchers have found that the reduced prejudice from either imagined contact or extended contact may not endure as long as direct contact. Christ et al. (2010), found that direct contact was necessary for enduring prejudice reduction and imagined or 'friends of friends' may have a

limited or even no impact on lasting attitude. They surveyed 2,722 German adults on how many had direct and extended cross-group friendships (friends of friends) with foreigners living in Germany. Face-to face interviews, in a two-wave process with more than a year in-between, were conducted. Christ et al. (2010) found that both direct contact and extended contact impacted the participants' prejudice reduction in the long term. However, direct contact had much greater and longer-term impact of reduced prejudice than when participants' imagined contact through friends of friends. Knowing that direct intergroup contact has greater long-term impact does not diminish the positive aspect of extended or imagined contact when the direct contact is not easily attained or even possible. Extended contact can be useful when people live in segregated areas, have very little opportunity to have direct intergroup contact due to threat or violence, or the logistics may be fraught with difficulties in getting the two groups together (Christ et al., 2010, p. 1670) Both direct and indirect contact could be helpful in different types of situations.

Another indirect method of intergroup contact has been termed vicarious intergroup contact through televised images of contact. Television has presented a wide variety of contact situations from positive to negative. Joyce and Harwood (2014) conducted an experiment at a large Arizona university by utilizing media portrayals of intergroup contact between a U.S. citizen and an undocumented immigrant. They excluded participants who were non-U.S. citizens and ended up with 147 male and female participants; their racial makeup was 85% white and 15% minority. The students were randomly assigned to four experimental groups watching ten-minute videos from various documentaries. Three of the groups were shown either positive, negative or mixed scenarios about immigrant families and the control group watched footage from *Planet Earth*. Joyce and Harwood (2014) found that

intergroup attitudes increased favorably when positive images were shown of outgroup members. They did not find a difference in outcomes between the control group and negative images. They opined that this later lack of distinction might have occurred because extensive media coverage in the State of Arizona aired during the period of the experiment. One practical application suggested by Joyce and Harwood was that positive exposure to intergroup narratives could work as a strategy to reduce prejudice (2014, p. 640.) Harwood explained that other forms of contact, such as computer assisted communication, e.g. skype, may be a beneficial form of contact when volatile situations exist (Harwood, 2010, p. 171). Harwood's suggestion about understanding the context of the interaction is important to note. Other researchers have also examined community interactions and tensions between new immigrant groups and existing minority groups.

In community-based research, intergroup relations of African Americans and Latinos ("black-brown" relations) in South Los Angeles was studied to look into how negative intergroup contact might occur (Broad, Gonzalez and Ball-Rokeach, 2014). Over 800 residents of Los Angeles and adjacent communities were surveyed. Findings supported the influence of interpersonal contact on intergroup perceptions; both the African American and Latino groups showed that with higher frequency of contact with the other group, higher quality of interpersonal perceptions resulted about the other group (Broad et al., 2014). This community-based research demonstrates the larger implication of intergroup contact in existing communities. Another study looked at the concerns of whether immigrant communities faced xenophobic attitudes in France (Jolly & DiGiusto, 2014). The survey of 4,107 voters showed that the larger the immigrant population, the more it actually dampened anti-immigrant attitudes. The increased contact with immigrants decreased prejudice when

researchers examined opinion information (Jolly & DiGiusto, 2014). Rocha & Espino's (2009) study concurred. They found that whites, who lived in counties with 1) high percentage of immigrant Latinos who speak Spanish, and 2) low levels of segregation, were less likely to agree with laws supporting English as the official language. These whites were also less likely to believe that too many immigrants were in the U.S. (Rocha & Espino, 2009). On the contrary, voters' desire for less immigration and more enforcement policies coincided with higher prejudice levels. Those who wanted to restrict immigration held more prejudice against Hispanics and Asians (Fussell, 2014, p. 486). However, in examining contact theories in relation to immigrants, a feeling of being threatened by immigrants was weakened by intergroup contact, especially if it was in the form of face-to-face contact (Fussell, 2014). Fussell (2014) called for more research to find deeper understandings of how prejudice and stereotypes lead to attitudes against immigration. Another area to be examined in extant literature is how specific educational programs on prejudice reduction might work.

Prejudice Reduction Educational Programs

Allport, so many years ago, described six areas that should be called upon to improve ethnic relations and prejudicial attitudes: education, acquaintance programs, group retraining, mass media, exhortation, and individual therapy (Allport, 1954, p. 480). I will briefly discuss the first three areas which most closely connect to the present research. Allport thought formal education could be used to help reduce prejudice; some of the programs he suggested included textbooks, fieldtrips, festivals, and small group discussions. Secondly, Allport believed acquaintance programs, such as neighborhood festivals, would bring various ethnic groups together to enhance friendliness and mutual respect (Allport, 1954). Allport asserted a

third area, group retraining, is where citizens would be willing to band together and engage in role playing and other techniques to create new methods for understanding what it is like to be in another's shoes. He provided another example of group training where volunteers banded together to study race relations in their city or region (Allport, 1954, p. 492). Fifty years later, Stephan and Stephan (2005) continued the discussion about intergroup contact programs. They explained that current multicultural education programs have similar goals as Allport's, such as learning about other cultures to reduce prejudice (Stephan et al., 2005, p. 433). They included examples such as diversity training, intergroup dialogues, multicultural education, and cooperative learning groups. However, Stephan and Stephan (2005) pointed out that no meta-analysis had been conducted on the effectiveness of these types of educational programs. Stephan et al. (2005) disagreed with Allport's assertion that intergroup contact programs could not address structural issues underlying institutional prejudice and discrimination. They provided two examples: conflict resolution programs and moral education programs. Conflict resolution programs are designed to solve problems both on an individual level and at the larger institutional level with the possible use of third-party consultants. Moral education programs are infused in schools that emphasize moral discourse, reasoning, justice and egalitarianism resulting in the creation of caring communities (Stephan et al, 2005, p. 441). Neither Allport nor Stephan et al. made any reference to service learning programs with intergroup contact.

Extant literature mentions only a few service learning programs which discuss contact theory in some manner. Rosner-Salazar (2003) utilized the framework of Allport's intergroup contact theory to develop two service learning courses. One utilized research projects formed with a community after-school program focused on youth empowerment and

violence prevention. Another course used a service learning assignment where the students would go into community settings and be in contact with a minority group. These students entered inner-city schools, hospitals, nonprofit programs, or homeless shelters. The students examined the realities that many people of color face in this country. The service learning provided a means of addressing community problems while engaged in equal group status. The program developed a collaborative approach between community partners and students. Community partners were expected to educate the students about the strengths of the community and the target populations' struggles. Rosner-Salazar (2003) explained that the collaboration was bidirectional and that providing and receiving of services occurred in a reciprocal manner to meet the 'equal status' prong. The programs also incorporated the other Allport factors of common goals, intergroup cooperation to reduce prejudice and facilitation of social justice through the structured program (Rosner-Salazar, 2003). Despite writing about the assessment through the use of pre- and post-multicultural attitude and awareness surveys, self-reported data by students, content analysis conducted on journals and activities, no actual findings were reported in the article.

Murphy and Rasch (2008) suggest the use of contact theory in service learning. They opined that a potential service learning program established entirely in the black community through the use of an Historically Black College and University (HBCU) could benefit the community if created utilizing contact theory (Murphy & Rasch, 2008, p. 69). Working within the HBCU, a service learning program could potentially include Allport's factors to rebuild black communities and restore a sense of solidarity (Murphy & Rasch, 2008, p. 71). The suggested program would collaborate with the college students volunteering as true partners with low income community groups. Equal status levels could be achieved with

incorporating common concerns to better the black community. The identified contact would occur between lower and middle or upper income African Americans. The authors assert that all four contact theory factors would be met if collaboration was attained in this service learning program (Murphy & Rasch, 2008, p. 70). They assert that student preparation and reflection would be necessary to interrupt existing stereotypes held by students about the visible lower status and lower economic instability of the surrounding community (Murphy & Rasch, 2008, p. 71). Although this program was only proposed in the article, it suggested the contact factors would be important in working to reduce prejudice held by the college students about low-income community members (Murphy & Rasch, 2008). Criticisms of contact theory will be discussed next.

Criticisms of Contact Theory

It is important to note that criticisms have been lodged against the contact theory. The lack of transference of individual prejudice reduction to larger societal policy implementation is one criticism. Most of the programs that have incorporated intergroup contact focus on reducing prejudice in individual interactions. As mentioned earlier, Allport discussed his belief that educational programs would not be able to make systemic or institutional change (Allport, 1954). Others have written that the target on individual prejudice takes the focus away from larger systemic and institutional sustaining inequalities (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, p. 205). Another criticism centers on the lack of research focused on understanding minority perspectives in intergroup contact. Most of extant research is focused on the impact on majority groups. A few researchers have begun to point out that majority and minority members have different reactions or perspectives when involved in the contact situation (Shelton, 2003). The primary criticism that is raised is that not all intergroup contact results

in prejudice reduction and that in some cases prejudice might be bolstered. Seefeldt (1987) found that children held more negative attitudes toward the elderly when they visited a nursing home setting once a week for one year, when compared to a control group who didn't visit. Although instances of increased prejudice are far less frequent than positive results according to the meta-analysis of Pettigrew and Tropp (2011, p. 19), examples still exist. These limitations provide room for additional research to understand more about the particular context of successful intergroup contact situations.

Summary

This chapter discussed how contact theory has been shown to have an impact on reducing prejudice between different groups of people. Specifically, the theory requires four elements: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and institutional support (Allport, 1954). A multitude of studies along with meta-analyses have confirmed the success of contact theory in explaining reduction of prejudice. Knowledge, reduction of anxiety and empathy have surfaced as mediators in inter-group contact. Several extensions of the contact theory were examined including how benefits of intergroup contact may expand to other outgroups. Studies now show how imagined contact can work to reduce prejudice and how it can be applied through community-based research. Only a few service learning programs have discussed contact theory despite Allport's original call for researchers to analyze educational programs for methods of reducing prejudice. Lastly, the chapter examined some of the criticisms of contact theory.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the methodology used in the study of college students engaged in a service learning program with young elementary-aged immigrant children. The theoretical perspectives used to develop the grounded theory methodology, sampling, data collection methods, and analysis procedures will be explained. Issues of validity and trustworthiness of grounded theory, as well as limitations and delimitations, will also be examined.

This study used the perspective of a social constructivist theoretical stance in its philosophical development. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) explain that social experiences can be studied through a qualitative approach from a constructivist perspective. First, social constructivism is an appropriate framework to examine the experiences of college students in interacting across ethnic, racial and immigrant status to make connections with young children. A constructivist stance holds that humans construct meaning through experiences rather than find meaning inherently present in an interaction. This position advocates the examination of the feelings, interpretations, and viewpoints of the participants in a social topic of interest (Neuman, 2011, p. 102). The qualitative research methodology of grounded theory was used to determine how college students perceived the service learning experience and how they assigned meaning to it. In addition, using the constructivist viewpoint, the actual research process itself contributed to the constructed meaning they assigned to the experience. By asking questions and encouraging deep thinking about this past experience, participants recalled and further defined their understanding of what the interaction with their young partners meant (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Lincoln & Guba (1985) indicate that this

process is value-bound rather than value-free. This process added significant value to the development of theory through this study.

The constructivist approach, as a theoretical framework, has been used before by researchers examining service learning programs. Boyle-Baise and colleagues primarily used social construction theory to search for meaning in service learning participants' perspectives (Boyle-Baise & Efiom, 2000; Boyle-Baise & Langford, 2004). By utilizing constant comparative analysis, Boyle-Baise and Sleeter (2000) showed that through the service learning interactions, students developed perspectives providing culturally responsive service. College students constructed meaning in their hands-on service learning work by uncovering and challenging their own biases around social class, race and gender (Ethridge & Branscomb, 2009). Existing scholarship also shows that the meaning counseling trainees constructed, through service learning activities with refugees and immigrants, included the difficulties in adjusting to the new society (Nilsson, Schale, Khamphakdy-Brown, 2011). Several other researchers used a constructivist theoretical framework to identify areas of transformation through the participants' meaning-making process (Bamber & Hankin, 2011, Einfeld & Collins, 2008, Everett, 1998, Shumer, 2009). It was apparent that a social constructivist theoretical stance fit well with researching the meaning participants developed while engaging in the service learning program. It also fit with understanding how they integrated that meaning through life experiences subsequent to their involvement in the program.

Social constructivists' search for participants' understanding of action and meaning (Berger & Luckman, 1966) is consistent with the grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2012). Grounded theory uses the inductive method; the researcher obtains qualitative data

and uses the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of analyzing data, categories, and themes at each level of the research work. As the data were collected in this study, I used a set of procedures to generate theoretical categories and themes. I analyzed the data as it was being obtained and reshaped that data collection as new questions and categories emerged. Grounded theory methodology involves inductive coding, analyzing, synthesizing, and reformulating of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The in-depth interviewing method is particularly appropriate for the grounded theory methodology. This type of interviewing allows for exploring particular topics and the meanings a participant formulates about those topics. I listened, encouraged, probed and observed the participants as they were responding to questions. This methodology allowed me to ask about the participant's feelings, actions, and thoughts, and I was able to restate the points to obtain accuracy, request more details, check for understanding, and gain a deeper sense of the participant's understanding from his or her point of view. Interviews were not used to interrogate a participant but rather to develop a responsive conversation about the meaning a participant had assigned to her or his involvement in the service learning program (Charmaz, 2012, p. 29).

The grounded theory methodology of constant comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was also used while reviewing the journal entries college students wrote contemporaneously during the service learning program. Within the grounded theory methodology, concurrent data collection and analysis occurs so it can guide subsequent data collection (Charmaz, 2012). In this study the journal entry analysis was used initially for coding prior to beginning interviews (Appendix D). This initial analysis helped validate the questions to be asked in the interviews and to begin the data analysis in general. The journal

entry analysis was also used for subsequent triangulation of the categories and themes gained through analyzing in-depth interview transcripts. The NVIVO Version 10 software program was used to assist in coding and organizing the data from the journals and interviews.

Additionally, the findings were described to two study participants to obtain feedback on the accuracy of my interpretation, which Bloomberg & Volpe entitle ‘member checking’ (2012).

As an additional validity check, I used an online survey to ask interviewees about their beliefs, opinions and attitudes about why and how social inequalities exist. Specifically, the responses were judged for levels of prejudice towards immigrants and other marginalized groups which were triangulated with participants’ interview responses about their prejudice level. Those survey results on participants’ perceptions were then compared to a similar class of Introduction to Sociology students without the service learning component to determine whether any statistically significant differences existed.

Interview Method

The use of multiple research methods was critical to understand the meaning college students formulated which developed into themes and theory. First, I field tested the interview schedule by interviewing two current college students who had taken the service learning course two and three years prior but were not in the interview sample. I recorded their interviews, transcribed them, looked at key categories and themes and also asked them for input into question wording and completeness. I adapted the interview schedule accordingly. Then I began the work to establish the parameters of an interview sample. The entire population of college students who had been enrolled in the Introduction to Sociology with service learning course at my college from 2004 to 2012 totaled approximately 176 students. In consultation with my dissertation committee, a sample was developed containing

four course sections (2008 to 2011) which limited the sample to eighty-two college students. One reason for this decision was that journal entries for college students prior to 2008 were not available due to the college changing computerized interactive systems (from WebCT to a Moodle program). Thus it was decided to limit the interview sample to those whose journal entries were still accessible for comparison to the interview data and for triangulation purposes. Additionally, it was believed that it would be harder for the interviewees to remember details the further away from their enrollment in the service learning program. A third reason to limit to these years was that all members of these course sections had either graduated or left the college; no active or potential professor-student relationship existed within the sample.

Next I obtained last known mail addresses, emails and phone numbers from the college's database. I cross-checked these with the phone numbers I had collected from college students while they were in the course. During the course, it was important to have a quick contact method for members of the separate van groups going to and from the school. Amazingly, most of those cell phone numbers were the same ones listed from the college's database. My next step was to divide the sample by regions of their physical addresses; for example, I divided by northwest, west, southeast, and east sections of Iowa. I divided the out-of-state sample by similar regions of the country. I did not try to contact the two out-of-country students in the sample. At this point participants were contacted through three mediums: email, text messages, and/or Facebook messages. Through trial and error, it was determined that the Facebook contact attempts were the quickest, most non-intrusive, and responsive. I started inquiries with one region at a time and began with email contacts. I did not receive much response. Then I texted a few students who I knew rather well, but did not

receive very many responses. I finally went to Facebook and learned that you can message a person without being a ‘friend’ on Facebook. This seemed to work the best to contact sample members. Facebook indicates whether a person has read the message. That way I could see if sample members had read the message and if so, but hadn’t responded to me, then I knew not to contact them further. I assumed that they did not want to be involved in the study.

Thirty-one participants agreed to meet for an interview. The total sample contacted for interviews and the results of the contact are listed in Table 3.1. Those participating in the interviews equaled 38% of the sample; those not responding after contact equaled 39%.

Table 3.1

Outcome of Interview Sample Contacts

Type of Contact	N	%
Contacted and interviewed	31	38%
Contacted but did not respond	32	39%
Contacted, wanted to help, but circumstances prevented	5	6%
Not able to contact, bad address, not found on Facebook, etc.	11	13%
Out of the country	2	2%
Total Sample Size	82	100%

I gave each participant an option of where they felt comfortable in meeting for the interview. Various locations were selected which included educational institutions, public restaurants, public libraries, their homes, churches or other places comfortable to each of them. I drove to their local community of residence or a nearby community of their choice. Some of their home towns were so small they preferred to meet in a larger nearby community

which actually had a restaurant. I traveled in succession to each part of the state, setting up interviews prior to the next trip. I even travelled on two larger trips around the U.S. to conduct face-to-face interviews with participants. Only one interview was conducted by phone. Originally this interview had been set up for the interviewee's city approximately 1000 miles away. When I was ready to travel to that city, in the middle of a larger trip of interviews, the participant actually had to travel out-of-state. Thus we set up a phone interview instead.

Each interview was audio recorded with permission of the interviewee. I became quite familiar with the data through this method as I conducted the interviews, personally transcribed all the interviews, and then coded the data several times over. I utilized the process outlined by Corbin and Strauss (1990). Initially I coded the transcripts line by line. In the initial coding phase, I was looking for events, relationships, beliefs, attitudes, emotions and intensity levels, actions, gaps in the data, processes, consequences, descriptors, inconsistencies, questions left unanswered and any other gleanings that could be gathered from the data. Corbin and Strauss (1990) call this phase open coding. The next step I took with the data is what Corbin and Strauss (1990) call axial coding. In this phase, I looked for how codes could fit together into categories and looked for relationships between the codes and categories. My major professor coded one-quarter of the interview transcripts both at the open and axial coding levels. We reached agreement at these two levels of abstraction by comparing our coding, discussing our reasoning, and adapting any discrepancies. From that point, I began to engage in selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) by identifying the most frequent categories and setting aside codes that appeared to be less frequent and not central to the data analysis. I compared the most frequent categories within the interview data and the

journal data. This was done simultaneously with gathering additional data through more interviews. Grounded theory uses data collection, coding and categorizing in an iterative process (Charmaz, 2012). Using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I added questions and probed new areas as I coded previous interview transcripts. Through this inductive method, I looked for emerging categories in the data rather than starting with a pre-existing list of concepts (Charmaz, 2012, p. 47). I compared codes and categories each time new data was obtained until four core themes emerged. Continual work with the themes culminated into theory which will be explained in Chapter 5.

Theoretical sampling is employed in grounded theory to maximize the similarities and differences of the data (Charmaz, 2012, p. 99). Going over the data “systematically, meticulously and repeatedly” (Besser, 1996, p. 32), allows the researcher to obtain theoretical sensitivity. The idea is not to sample for a particular number of interviews but to continue obtaining data to develop the categories and themes. From collecting and analyzing initial data, I gained insight into areas of additional questioning to flesh out developed categories. Corbin and Strauss (1990, p. 12) explain that once a category is identified, then based on theoretical grounds, additional questioning (sampling) should focus on that category. Let’s look at an example from the current study. One common term that kept arising during early interviews was that interviewees wanted to get their partners to ‘open up.’ No initial questions specifically focused on opening up the partner or the act of building relationships per se. As the interviews and coding continued, it became clear that this was a very important aspect of the service learning interactions and thus I focused on this category with additional questions. If this topic did not arise on its own in subsequent interviews, I specifically added questions to understand the full extent of this category which ultimately

developed into a major theme. Theoretical sampling is used to help build density, that is, to make clear categories with rich dimensions and develop tightly linked themes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Theoretical sampling is also used to look at the theme from different viewpoints and experiences. Through constant comparative analysis, the accuracy of the categories and themes can be checked and verified (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Journal content analysis

Each college student has to write approximately twelve journal entries during the Introduction to Sociology course, one for each actual meeting time with their young partners. The journal entries require students to answer open-ended questions about their experiences interacting with their young immigrant partners and tying those experiences to various concepts learned in the course. I selected four out of the twelve journal entries per participant for content analysis: the initial entry, the third entry discussing an exercise on social privilege, the mid-term assessment entry, i.e. *how are things going?*, and the project ending final entry. I utilized open, axial and focused coding, as explained previously, to analyze the journal entries. For inter-rater reliability, my major professor coded one-quarter of all of the sample participants' entries, both at the open and axial coding levels. We reached agreement at two levels of abstraction. We determined that continuing to code the entire sample of four journal entries for the entire sample of eighty-two participants was not necessary due to theoretical saturation (to be explained later in this chapter) of the categories gained from these short journal entries. The journal entries did not contain a deep level of constructed meaning, however they were helpful in triangulating the first two themes that will be discussed in Chapter Four. Since the interview participants gave permission to compare their journal entries to their interviews, I conducted content analysis and comparison of journal

entries for all thirty-one interviewees (Appendix D). In total, forty-one participants' four journal entries were coded and analyzed. This constituted 50% of the total sample of journal entries.

Online Survey

All thirty-one interviewees gave consent to take an online survey. An email link to the survey on SurveyMonkey was provided to them. They could fill this out right after the interview or at a later time. I received twenty-five responses to the online survey. This survey included twenty-two statements, nineteen of which the participants ranked, on a five-part likert scale, whether they strongly agreed, agreed, were neutral, disagreed, or strongly disagreed. These nineteen statements were intended to measure participants' prejudice towards immigrants, ethnic minorities, and poor people. (See Appendix B for the survey questions.) The other three questions asked demographic information. The statements rating prejudicial levels were developed from questions found in the literature. Eyler, Giles and Braxton (1997) conducted some of the most comprehensive surveying of service learning programs by gathering data from over 1500 students at twenty colleges and universities. Marullo (1998) adapted Eyler et al.'s survey to construct a 400-question survey of attitude and behavioral questions and then applied it to his service learning programs. Questions from these tools, along with five questions from a racism intensity index (Elliot et al., 2009) were adapted to make up the nineteen statements (Appendix B). For comparison purposes, this same survey was administered to students in an existing Introduction to Sociology course which did not have a service learning component (control group). For the control group, twenty-seven individuals signed releases (Appendix F) and took part in the online survey.

Validity and Trustworthiness of the Research

Corbin and Strauss (1990) provide evaluative criteria for assuring the trustworthiness of grounded theory qualitative work. Those criteria include the method of generating concepts, systematic relatedness of concepts, theoretical linkages, density, sensitivity, specificity and variations within the generated theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 18). Validity, the “degree to which something measures what it purports to measure” (Bloomberg, et al., 2012, p. 125) is somewhat different under grounded theory methodology. Here validity has no relation to the size of the sample but instead on the credibility of the informant (Besser, 1996). An analysis, between the type of information sought and who is in the best position to know that information, should be conducted. Here the information being sought is what meaning did the service learning program have for the participants and what theoretical themes are developed from those meanings. Quite logically the participants are the ones to answer this. If there is a question about whether one participant’s information is truthful, then the researcher checks it against other credible participants’ explanations (Besser, 1996). Another check on validity is theoretical saturation. When “no new properties of the category emerge during data collection” (Charmaz, 2012, p. 12), theoretical saturation has said to have occurred. This validates the developed themes by showing that the parameters and the depth of the themes have been established. Through constant checking and verifying, the researcher understands the theoretical concepts and themes are valid. An additional check on the validity of the research includes examining the research design to see if it would logically produce the types of data that would answer the research questions. I developed a pilot study by interviewing two students to check exactly that. I obtained both data from asking them the proposed questions, but also obtained feedback on whether the

information answered the research questions; then I adjusted the questions accordingly. Inclusion of participant descriptions in the reporting of themes and developed theory also helps to avoid distortion and establish validity. Triangulation of themes also helps validity; several methods to triangulate developed categories and themes included comparing interview and journal coding and survey data outcomes. Recruiting another data coder to check the veracity of the analyses of journals and interviews helped establish validity. During the process of data coding and interpretation, I wrote journal entries as to why and how I was making coding decisions and interpretations. This was done through the NVIVO Version 10 data processing package, which provided a transparent audit trail of when and how codes and categories were developed. A reflexive examination of my relationship to the research project, in particular because of my past role in the college students' academic careers, was established up front during the design of the study. This reflexive examination continued through the proposal discussion, during the research process itself, and during final analysis of theoretical outcomes. I reviewed and discussed categories, themes and theory development with other professional colleagues and incorporated their valuable and relevant suggestions. Through these various methods, I hoped to provide a rich picture of what meaning the interaction had and how this developed into the resulting theory.

Statistical generalization cannot be applied to qualitative research in the same way we apply it to quantitative research. Instead, Yin (2014) explains that theoretical generalization is appropriate and important for qualitative research. Theoretical generalization helps to corroborate, modify or reject the advancement of theoretical concepts. In this way, the logic used in developing grounded theory can extend outside of the original situation when similar theoretical concepts and themes are present in a new situation (Yin, 2014). Yin explains that

this type of generalization is not extended to populations or universes, as in statistical generalizations, but instead it extends to theoretical propositions. In the present research, the themes and developed theory do not extend to the larger general population but instead are connected to the grounded theory that is developed and presented in further detail in Chapter 5.

Delimitations and Limitations

Delimitations are intentional limits on the scope of the study implemented by the researcher (Bloomberg et al., 2012). One delimitation of this study was that the whole group of students who had taken the service learning course over the eleven-year period was not included in the sample. It was decided that participants involved in the service learning program beyond the five preceding years may not be easily accessible or remember as much detail about the service learning program. Additionally, it was decided to exclude service learning participants still enrolled in the college. The appearance of influence, for example the ability to interfere with graduation or the possibility of more courses taken under me, was eliminated with this decision. Another delimitation of the sample arose when the journal entries for college students prior to 2008 were not available due to the college changing computerized interactive systems (from WebCT to a Moodle program). Thus it was decided to limit the interview sample to those whose journal entries were still accessible for triangulation purposes. These decisions produced a sample which included four course sections from 2008 through 2011.

This study also included limitations, some of which were due to the general nature of qualitative research. Limitations are external restrictions that constrict the scope of the study and have the potential to impact the outcome (Bloomberg et al., 2012). One limitation in any

qualitative research is the researcher's own subjectivity and bias. In the current study, it was clear that I had created the particular service learning program of study. I also had graded the research participants in this course and in other college courses as well. I still have a relationship with the participants as a prior professor, although this relationship has changed significantly from when they were enrolled students. Additionally, participants may have wanted to look favorable in the eyes of a former professor. Recognizing these limitations, several safeguards were used including specifically addressing this concern with the interviewees and explaining that my goal was to find out both positive and negative aspects of the service learning program they experienced. I attempted to develop an environment for open and honest input. Participants seemed to take this request seriously; one participant admitted that she probably wrote in her journals that she gained more benefit from the service learning than was true at that time. Although my relationship with the participants may have offered bias, it also provided a conduit. Participants generally felt a connection with me and a sense of trustworthiness from our prior connection as professor and student. On several occasions, participants opened up about their past family or community situations exposing prejudice and negative aspects in their upbringings as well as within themselves. This level of trustworthiness and self-exposure may not have happened with an unknown interviewer.

Summary

This chapter reviewed the rationale for using the grounded theory approach. It examined the use of qualitative methods of in-depth interviews and content analysis of journal entries. The study used the method of analyzing data through open, axial and focused coding. The development of themes and theory was explained along with triangulation

methods of those themes. It discussed how a quantitative survey of interviewees and control group was utilized for triangulation of themes. Lastly this chapter reviewed the development of validity and trustworthiness along with delimitations and limitations of the research. The next chapter will examine the development of themes through data analysis.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS AND THEMES

This chapter begins by describing the key characteristics of the interview participants and a few characteristics of their young immigrant partners. It continues by providing a portrait of three typical student interviewees. Next, I present the four central themes obtained from thirty-one in-depth interviews. These four themes include 1) when participants began their service learning interactions, they feared differences with their immigrant partners, 2) participants strived to build relationships with their partners, 3) they reported obtaining new perspectives, and 4) participants lessened their prejudice as result. Additionally, triangulation of those key themes was developed through content analysis of journal entries and a survey of the interview participants compared to a control group. The demographic findings, the developed themes, and the triangulation data will be discussed in detail.

Descriptive Findings

Among the interview participants, 58% were first year students and 26% second-year when they were enrolled in the service learning course (Figure 4.1). Combined, these two equaled 84% of all participants who were interviewed. This is not uncharacteristic of the larger population of students taking the Introduction to Sociology course.

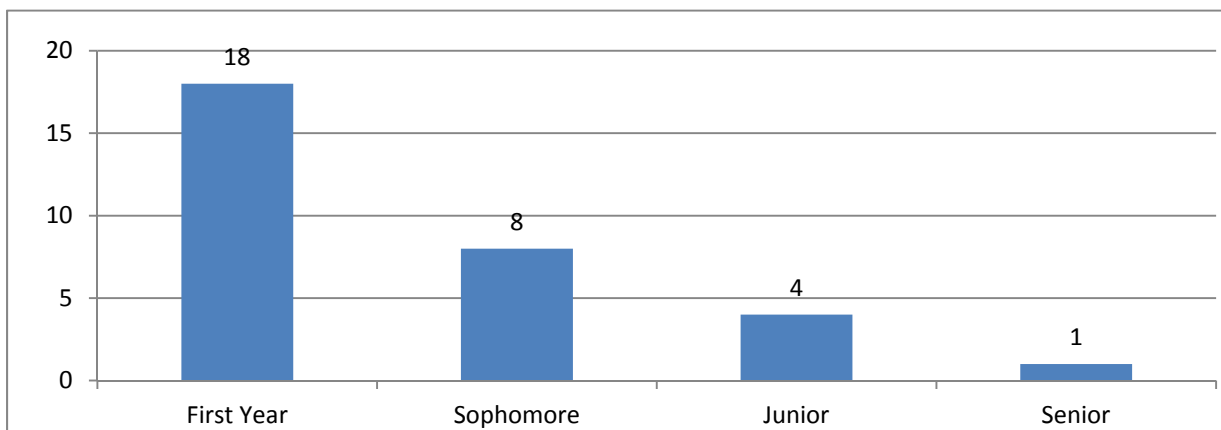


Figure 4.1 Participant's Year in College

Twenty-three women (74%) and eight men (26%) agreed to be interviewed. Interviewees had a wide variety of majors (many with more than one) which included sociology (10), psychology (8), criminal justice (5), biology (4), religion and history (3 each), education (2), and art, business management, computer science, math, sports administration, marketing, Spanish, graphic design, political science, and philosophy (1 each). At the time of the interview, they also held a variety of jobs with the majority being in non-profit social service (10), business (4), teacher (3), brain injury rehabilitation, librarian, computer programmer, research lab assistant, police officer, and in the military (1 each). Four interviewees currently attend graduate or law school and another six indicated they were starting graduate or law school in fall 2014. The interview participants ranged from lower socioeconomic class to upper class with five distinctions in-between when they responded to questions about the class level of their family when they were growing up. Several questions were asked to help participants locate which socioeconomic class they believed their family fit under, including: *What types of work did your parents or guardians do? Did you have access to summer camps? Activities after school? Vacations? Lessons (music, sports, ballet, etc.?) Describe your family's approximate income level while growing up. What socioeconomic level do you think your family was in?* Figure 4.2 depicts the range of participants' self reports of family socioeconomic class. Participants primarily grew up in small towns (defined as 1 – 5000 residents) and medium sized towns (defined as 5001 – 25,000). Only two participants grew up in large cities (defined as over 500,000). Large towns were defined as 25,001 – 100,000 and cities were defined as 100,001 – 500,000. See Figure 4.3 for the spread of what participants indicated was the size of town they grew up in.

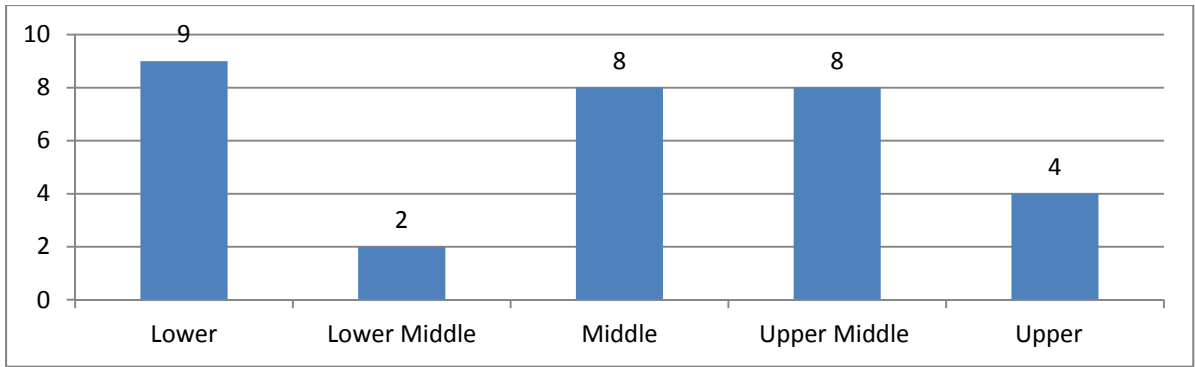


Figure 4.2 Socioeconomic Class of Participant When Growing Up

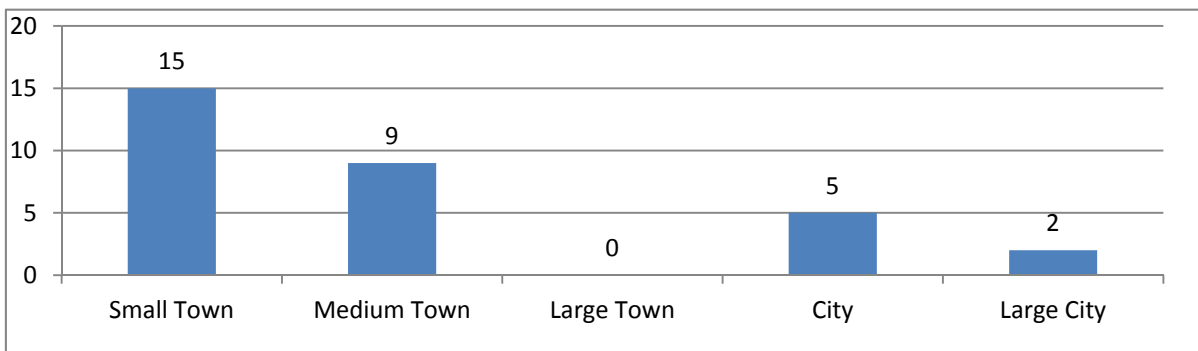


Figure 4.3 Participants' Home Town Sizes

Additionally, participants were asked to identify their racial backgrounds. Only four (13%) were non-white. The normal service learning class had only one or no minority students enrolled. In the chart providing demographic information on each interviewee (see Appendix H), I only marked white or non-white to keep them from possibly being personally identified.

Participants were asked to rate an intensity level of prejudice for their hometown, extended family, and nuclear family at the time they were growing up, and for themselves upon entering college. They were asked to rate the prejudice level on a scale of one to ten, with ten being the most prejudiced. If they gave more than one prejudice level in a group, the highest level mentioned was noted. For example, if the participant stated that he believed his extended family, at the time he grew up, included a very racist grandpa at level nine, but moderate aunts and uncles at level 5, the higher number of nine was indicated. Figure 4.4

shows the prejudice level of the home town of the participant; participant's extended family (Figure 4.5), participant's own nuclear family (Figure 4.6), and finally participant's own level of prejudice upon entering college (Figure 4.7). Participants ranked their hometowns generally at a high level of prejudice indicated by 48% in the highest prejudice level (7 – 10) and another 39% in the medium level of prejudice (4 – 6). The levels of prejudice for the extended family are even higher when combining the highest prejudice level (45%) and medium level of prejudice (48%) for a combined total of 93%. The levels of prejudice indicated for participants' own nuclear families were lower with 36% in the lowest category and 52% indicated they had low prejudice upon entering college. Each specific number level is noted in Appendix H while figures 4.4 – 4.7 show groups by low, medium and high level of prejudice. These ratings were asked to have participants begin to think about the prejudice that may have been influential in their upbringing and also to register their beliefs about their own prejudice level prior to entering the service leaning program. These figures indicated that the closer the social distance to themselves, the lower the level of prejudice. Many times participants would indicate that their extended families, such as grandparents, grew up at a different time period and were more prejudiced as result. However, participants also indicated that their hometowns generally were more prejudiced than their own nuclear families and certainly than themselves upon entering college. This might be an indication of social desirability to put themselves in the best light possible or deniability of actually having higher prejudice levels.

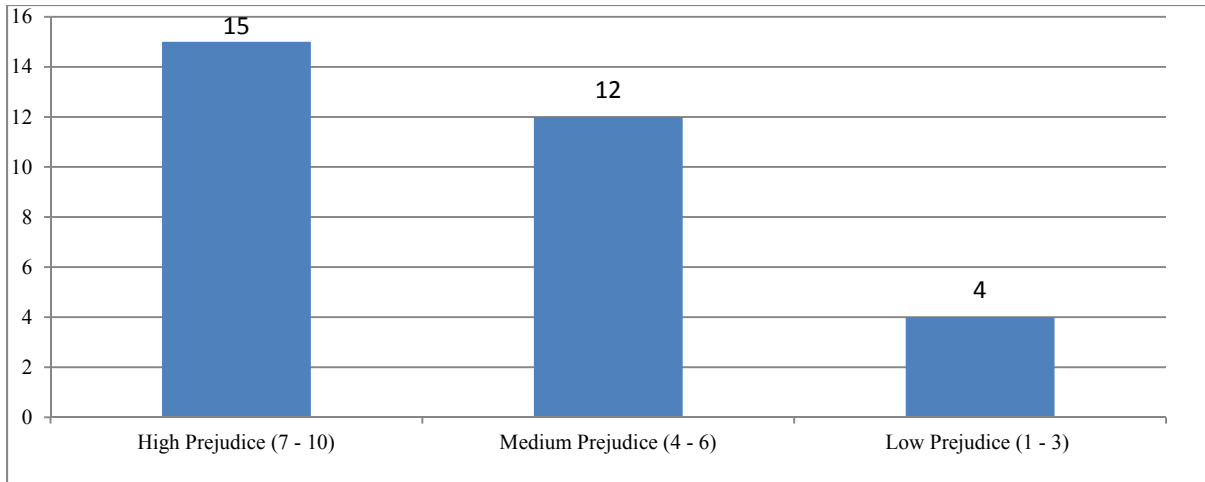


Figure 4.4 Prejudice Level of Home Town

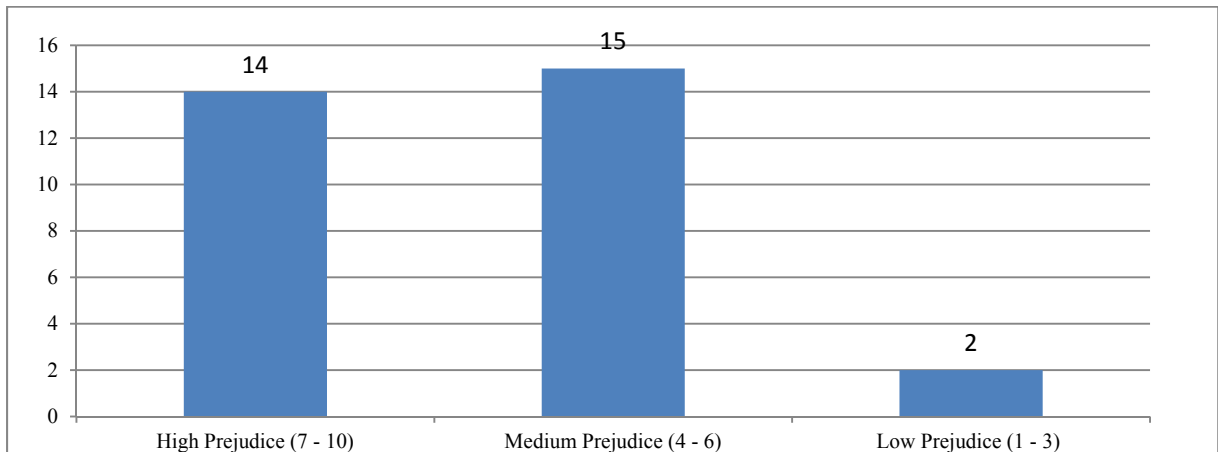


Figure 4.5 Prejudice Level of Extended Family

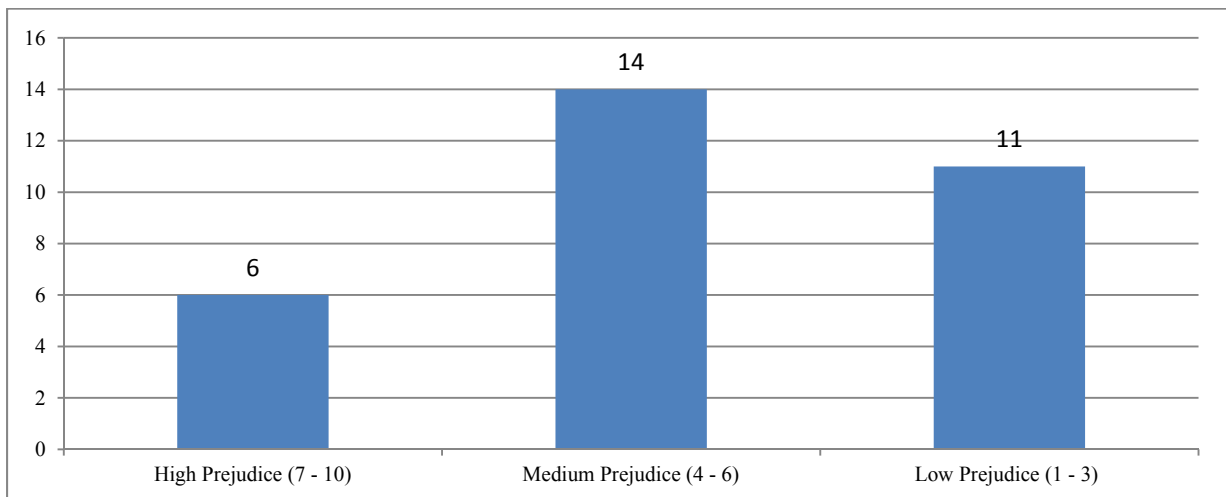


Figure 4.6 Prejudice Level of Own Nuclear Family

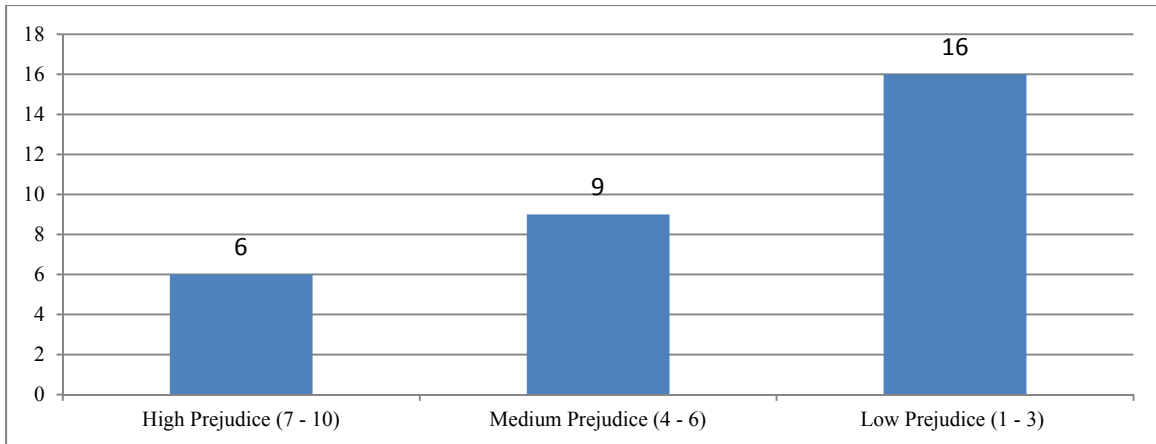


Figure 4.7 Prejudice Level of Participant Upon Entering College

In order to get a better picture of the interview participants, a description of three of the typical participants follows. Let me introduce Cindy. She was a first-year college student coming from a small town of less than 1000 people. She graduated from high school with 51 classmates and she said, “We were the big class!” She didn’t know there was service learning in the course when she signed up. Her partner was a young third-grade boy and his family was from Mexico. She said he was funny and liked to get in trouble. They colored a lot and she remembers one time, all of a sudden he asked, “Are you married?” That was really funny to Cindy as it just came out of the blue. His family spoke Spanish at home, but he didn’t talk much about them. He liked to wrestle. Cindy’s boyfriend was a wrestler and she tried to learn some things about wrestling to make connections with her partner. She rated her hometown, extended family, own family and herself at the prejudice level of eight. While growing up, Cindy heard the stereotypes that immigrants were lazy, didn’t want to work or help themselves. She rated herself at a high prejudice level of eight because she said she never thought about it; she just accepted what others said. Her dad was a farmer and her mom had her own hair dresser business. Her dad obtained a high school diploma and her mom graduated from cosmetology school. Cindy had one brother and she rated her family in the

lower socioeconomic class. She classified herself as white, coming from German, English, Irish and Scottish backgrounds. Cindy reported she wants to be a psychologist in the future. At the time of the interview, Cindy had already been involved as an AmeriCorps volunteer for two years after graduating from college.

Another participant is Peter. He was a first-year college student when enrolled in service learning, coming from a town of 6000 people; “a good sized community” according to Peter. Peter’s young partner’s family was from Mexico and he was a 4th grader. They played board games a lot and really liked soccer. Peter came from a town with all “white Americans.” He rated his home town at a level of five on the prejudice scale. His extended family was at a level ten, but he rated his own immediate family and himself upon starting college at a level five. Peter graduated from college four years ago with degrees in criminal justice and sociology and currently works as a police officer.

The last participant we will meet is Sally. Sally also was a white, first-year college student and she was excited prior to entering the course because it had service learning. Sally grew up in a town of 7000 and her mom had her own daycare, so Sally was around children a lot. Her dad worked as a metal manufacturer. Sally felt that her family’s socioeconomic class was lower middle. She felt that her home town was at a level of five and her extended family at a level of six on the prejudice scale. Her own family was at a level seven, primarily because of her dad. She rated herself at a level of four when she started at college. Sally didn’t have a lot of experience with diverse populations. Her service learning partner was from Viet Nam and was a 4th grade girl. Sally said she wants to work with kids and she graduated with a Psychology degree.

Immigrant children partner demographics

It is helpful to understand the context of the participants' engagement by also examining the demographics of the children with whom they were partnered. The children were from Latino, African, and Asian ethnic backgrounds. This information was gathered from the interviewees as they recalled it and cross-referenced with their journal entries. The specific ethnicity and country of origin can be found in Table 4.1. The children all came from third through fifth grades, with the largest group from third grade. See Table 4.2 for the grade level demographics of the children.

Table 4.1

Children's Ethnic Background and Country of Origin

Ethnic Background	Country of Origin (N)	N	%
African	Liberia (1) Unknown (2)	3	10%
Asian	Cambodia (1) Laos (1) Nepal (1) Vietnam (1)	4	13%
Latino	Columbia (1) El Salvador (2) Guatemala (1) Honduras (1) Mexico (11) Unknown (8)	24	77%
Total		31	100%

Table 4.2

Children Partner Grade Levels

Children's Grade Level	N	%
3 rd Grade	13	42%
4 th Grade	9	29%
5 th Grade	9	29%

The findings from grounded theory research are the major themes and their definitions, supporting evidence (quotes, frequencies), dimensions and subcategories. Following is a detailed discussion of the data that supported and explained each theme. Detailed descriptions from the participants' own words are one form of data documenting each theme. This allows the reader to understand the data from the participants' point of view and lets them 'speak for themselves.' Using multiple quotes allowed the complexity of the theme and unique aspects of the participants' perspectives to be examined. It also provides a way for the reader to assess the validity of the evidence (quotes) that define and elaborate each theme. Some data, taken from the journal entries, were used to triangulate the interview data. Finally, the quantitative data outcomes are discussed.

Fearing Differences: Theme One

Participants feared starting their interactive relationships with their young immigrant partners. This was the first notable theme verbalized by the participants in their interviews. What were they afraid of? Participants verbalized their fear or reticence in various ways and they are categorized into three main areas. The first dimension of this theme was the racial and ethnic differences between themselves and their young partners. The second dimension was on the possibility that their partners may not speak English and they may be unable to communicate. Concern about a difference in cultural backgrounds including norms and common activities within the children's cultures surfaced as the third dimension. Each one of the three dimensions of fearing differences will be addressed in detail, providing examples and explanations. But first, let's look at a definition of fearing differences.

Definition

'Fearing differences' in this study is defined as *a negative emotion aroused by real or imagined impending danger, dread or apprehension about someone with a distinguishing characteristic or feature*. In this case, the distinguishing characteristics or features were immigrant status, racial or ethnic background, and cultural differences. Appendix H provides a chart of each interviewee and whether they expressed some form of fearing differences. Various descriptive terms were used by participants in explaining this emotion. The various modifiers associated with the terms also showed the intensity level of that emotion for the participant, for example, participants used the term "nervous." However, other variations of that feeling were: "a little nervous," "pretty nervous," to "really nervous." In addition to the intensity of the emotion, it may have also indicated the expressive capability of the participant as much as a different level of emotion. I did not apply any specific test to

measure the intensity level other than the words spoken by participants. Other words used by participants to explain fearing differences included: “scared,” “afraid,” “worried,” “uncomfortability,” “anxiety,” “apprehensive,” “wasn’t super comfortable,” “nerve-racking,” “not comfortable,” “biggest worry,” “hesitant,” “concern,” “little bit anxious,” “skeptical,” and “out of my comfort zone.” These terms run the gamut but clearly show the depth of fearing differences voiced by participants. Twenty-nine of the thirty-one participants expressed some form of fearing differences. This was the largest collective ranking of participants for any theme of the study and clearly registers as an important theme. Now we will turn our attention to each of the three dimensions in turn.

Fearing Different Races and Ethnicities

One common fear that arose was facing the possibility of being partnered with a young child from a different ethnic or racial background. Students were assigned partners and given information that they were all immigrant children or children of immigrants, but no racial information was provided. Students did not seem to know that immigrants could be from their same racial or ethnic background, but instead assumed all immigrants were racially and ethnically different than themselves. Interviewees were asked to think back to their thoughts or feelings on that first trip to meet their partners. Time may have altered some of their memories, but the verbalization of their thoughts and feelings were strongly etched and clearly explained. The fear of someone being ‘non-white’ surfaced for Anya. She explained her fear of that difference in this way:

I was probably nervous about it. I have a lot of experience with kids, but not with people who aren’t white. (Interviewer: This was the new piece to it?)
Yeah. I grew up in a really racist family, so I really didn’t have... Yeah. I think I wasn’t comfortable with it.

Anya registered her extended family as a level five on the prejudice scale, her own nuclear family as a level ten, and herself at level eight upon entering college, with ten being the most prejudice. Anya was a sophomore when she took the service learning course. When Anya was being assigned an immigrant child, she translated that into someone who wasn't white and therefore became uncomfortable even though she had worked with other children in the past. It seemed important for her to explain that she came from a racist family and was grappling with those early messages about other racial groups thus she had an emotional response of fear when faced with meeting and working with a child that she assumed was from a different racial or ethnic group.

Another participant, Shirley, focused on her belief that the partners were 'kids of color.' Her only prior experience with children was with the 'white population.' She explained it this way:

I guess I was probably a little nervous, I mean where I worked at the time it was 100% white population. I never had worked with, you know, immigrant kids or kids of color, or anything. So it was like, I didn't know if I was going to be able to communicate very well, or whatever.

Shirley grew up in a small town of less than 5000 people. She rated her extended family as being a level eight on the prejudice scale, her own nuclear family at a level five and herself upon entering college at a level five. She was in her sophomore year when she took the service learning course. Shirley focused on the fact that she grew up in a small town as important in her lack of experience with those of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Shirley feared differences of children from different racial backgrounds and thus entered the interaction with those fears.

Other participants expressed nervousness and reluctance to start their service learning interaction due to the different perceived ethnicity as result of their knowledge that they

would be interacting with an immigrant child. Madison, who came from a small town, explained that, “The fact that it [assignment of a child in service learning] was a different ethnicity from me, I kind of got nervous.” Some participants were reluctant to state their concerns about racial and ethnic differences directly, but stated it in a masked way. An example of this was Brenda, who was concerned about “who” would be assigned to her in the program. Feeling uncomfortable stating it directly, other participants used coded terminology for race, such as their lack of work with ‘inner-city’ kids versus ‘suburb.’ Amy, who also was from a small town, and rated her immediate family and herself at a level of three on the prejudice scale, talked about her lack of experience working with someone from a different racial background by stating, “I’ve never really interacted, had that kind of inner-city experience, so that was an interesting thing too.” Another participant, Jocelyn, referred to the difference as a “demographic change.” She explained that she only had experience working in the suburbs. Here is how Jocelyn explained it:

I had worked with a lot of kids, so I wasn’t necessarily nervous for that part. I had done a lot of stuff like in some suburban areas, so I guess I was a little bit nervous for the demographic change... (Interviewer: So in particular because you knew this was, at least an immigrant, and probably a different ethnic background ... was the part that was kind of unknown?) Yeah, I just hadn’t worked with kids from different backgrounds. I mean I had worked out in [a suburb], you know, where you have mostly white, suburban families.

‘Suburban’ children translated to ‘white’ children and was the only experience that Jocelyn had at the time she entered the service learning program. Jocelyn came from a medium-sized town, 5001 – 25,000, and was in her junior year at college when she entered the service learning program. She was careful not to label the children as non-white or as minority children, but the fact that they were not suburban children made her nervous to start the interaction. Next I will describe the dimension of participants expressing fear due to possible language barriers.

Fearing Language Barriers

Participants feared the possibility that their assigned young immigrant partners would not be able to speak English. When starting the service learning program, college students were told that all the children were attending a public school, however one of the most frequent fears voiced was whether their new partners would speak English. The amount of concern about whether the children would speak English predominated in participants' thoughts. Bridget was from a small town and ranked her extended family and her own nuclear family as very prejudiced at a level nine, and ranked herself as being prejudiced at a level of seven when she started college. Bridget was in her first year at college and stated that she came from an upper middle class background. She explained her thoughts about working with an immigrant child before starting the program.

I just remember, like beforehand, I didn't know how well my person was going to speak English, whatever. You know, I'm from a small town. Well I didn't go to school with anybody that wasn't Caucasian. So, yeah, it was weird.

She explains that it was 'weird' to begin the interactions with someone who might speak another language. Often participants voiced concerns and fears on whether the other partner could speak their language, English, masking their concern to work with someone from a different immigrant status. Participants were told this service learning program had been in existence for many years and prior college students had been successful in the program, but the fear of immigrant status and possible different spoken languages dominated their thoughts and resulted in fear at being unable to communicate. Being told they could play games, read books, and other activities did not break through the fear of the immigrant status and communication barriers prior to meeting their partners. Brian stated, "I guess my biggest worry was that we were dealing with immigrant children, is there going to be a language

barrier? Am I going to be able to communicate with this kid?” Unlike Bridget, Brian rated himself and his immediate family at the level of zero on the prejudice scale. He also came from a small town and said he grew up in the lower class. Despite his zero level of prejudice, he still was quite concerned about the possible language barrier with an immigrant child.

Coming from a small town often was verbalized as a justification of being concerned about a possible language barrier. Amy, who came from a small town and identified with being from upper middle class background, expressed it this way:

I think I felt a little nervous and a little apprehensive... some of them might not speak English very well, so that might be a barrier... I've never, you know I was from a small town, but I've never really interacted, had that kind of inner-city experience.

However, this fear of being unable to communicate because of different languages was not just limited to participants coming from small towns. Steve came from a medium-sized town, defined as 5001 – 25,000 people, and he expressed concerns about being able to understand his partner. Steve explained, “First a little nervous ... an immigrant, you don't know if he will speak clear English, or understand his wants and needs.” Even those coming from cities were nervous about the possible language barrier with an immigrant child.

Christy, a first-year student who came from a city (100,001 – 500,000) and indicated she came from the upper middle class, was worried about partnering with an immigrant child who might not be able to speak English. She explained it this way:

Yeah, I was definitely worried that the kid I was partnered with wouldn't know very much English, and I don't know Spanish. I only know a little bit of French, so I was like, if I can't really communicate with this kid, how is that going to go?

Jared, also from a city, indicated he was from a middle class background and rated himself at a low level of prejudice at level one upon entering college, voiced concerns about the

language barrier. Jared said, “Part of me was actually a little concerned about any language barrier that might be there. But that was the only real concern I had with it.”

When participants found out that their young immigrant partners did not have any problems speaking English, the relief they expressed was palpable. It was as if they had been holding their breath and loudly exhaled. Julie explained it this way,

When I first met her... I didn't know how far advanced her English might be. So I was a little apprehensive... She was kind of shy and soft spoken, so the first meeting was a little awkward, but it ended up fine. She spoke English just fine (with emphasis).

Julie was from a city and indicated she had an upper class background. She rated herself at a level six on the prejudice scale upon entering college, however, she was a senior by the time she took the service learning course. Again, size of hometown didn't seem to make a significant difference on whether a participant had fear of a communication barrier. Addy indicated she was from a lower class background and grew up in a medium-sized town. She rated herself at a level of five on the prejudice scale. Addy also expressed relief upon learning her partner could speak English and even stated that she was “thankful that he could speak English really well.”

Fearing Cultural Differences

Participants feared that they might offend their young partners because of cultural differences. Participants felt their young partners might be offended because they might feel like they were being judged, being singled out, that the college partners might say something they shouldn't have, or word something incorrectly. Kara was nervous about offending her partner. She explained it this way,

I was nervous that I would say something that would offend them or make them feel like I was judging them ... But I was trying to be very on guard about what I was saying... I think mainly just because it was an immigrant

with a different background and I feel like I don't know how much they knew about why we were coming. But I feel like they would have felt like singled out, because I'm different, they are coming to deal with me... I didn't know how that would go... Like I was so nervous about offending him, or saying something that would sound not correct to him.

Prior to meeting his partner, Steve expressed concern over offending his partner's culture and religion. He stated that he was "a little nervous... because looking, thinking like the challenge that he had to overcome [as an immigrant]. Yet, that was kind of the biggest thing. You don't want to offend someone's other religion." Some expressed the real or imagined cultural difference just made them uncomfortable. Some voiced concerns about whether they would be able to navigate the possible differences effectively. Marshall, who is non-white, came from a big city and grew up in the lower class, explained it like this:

It is difficult because it's not comfortable. It's not something you do regularly, so doing it makes you almost question what you're doing because you don't know, (pause) you are just going with it. When you are put in an uncomfortable situation, people tend to try to go away from them. But, so, facing a cultural difference, trying to compare to some[one] else's culture, you have to be uncomfortable.

Brenda explained that she did go on to work for eight months in Trinidad after her one year at college. She had always had a desire to work with other cultures and this class provided her with a good opportunity. Despite her interest, she still was anxious and uncomfortable to get started in the relationship because of the 'unknowns.'

It was exciting because I like service and I like different cultures and stuff. So that was exciting. It was a little anxious and nerve-racking because you don't know who you will be with, or what they will act like, or really what you are doing. And of the unknowns.

Others, similar to Brenda, didn't like the uneasiness of a new experience or what it would be like to interact with an immigrant child. Brian explained that, "So I just didn't know kind of what was going, like what I was walking into. I didn't know. Like it wasn't that I was

uncomfortable, it was just a question mark, I just didn't know." Other participants expressed hesitancy to ask their partners about their cultural background. They knew they would be assigned journal questions to answer about their partners and the interactions. Cindy, came from a small town and rated her hometown, her extended and nuclear family and herself all at a high level of eight on the prejudice scale. She was from a lower class background and was still just a first-year student when she entered the service learning class. Cindy explained her nervousness about the need to find out about her partner's cultural background:

I remember being nervous a little bit about it. Because I didn't really know what we were doing or how to start talking to this child or learn about them. So I remember being nervous. (Interviewer: Was that a piece of that nervousness, not actually knowing?) I think so, I think so. And then like just trying, I think we were supposed to learn a little bit about their background or where they came from or stuff like that. That was definitely something that I hadn't had experience with growing up or before college.

Some participants focused more on the 'immigrant' status than the 'child' status of their young partner. They had concerns that the possible cultural differences might cause their partner to act differently and not partake in the activities they knew children usually engaged in. One clear example is from Sarena. Sarena indicated that she came from an upper middle class background from a small town of less than 5000 people. She rated herself at a level two on the prejudice scale. Sarena was a first-year student in the class and she was concerned about how the cultural background would influence what activities she could do with her partner.

I was nervous about how much English they were going to speak or what we actually [were] going to do with them.... Umm.. or what that 45 minutes was going to look like. ... So yeah, I was nervous. ... I didn't really know.. um.. yeah I didn't really know what stuff would be ok to do with them or not. Or if, you know, they come from a culture where they play games with people or if, you know, you would sit and talk or what we would want to do. ... I'd never played with or really met any like immigrant child before at that time. That was totally new.

Kara indicated that she didn't know if she could control the behavior of a child from a different background even when she knew how to control the behavior of kids she was familiar with or in her own family. She stated it this way,

Some are like super good and well behaved, and the other ones aren't. I know how I can control it with my family or kids I knew, but I don't know, especially when they come from different backgrounds. A lot of families are a lot more abrupt and rash and I just don't know.

Two individuals did not express any statements categorized as fearing differences. To understand the complexity of the dimensions of fearing differences, the next section will examine where participants did not experience that fear.

Contrasting Experiences to Fearing Differences

Two participants did not voice any fear of differences and are examined here. They expressed excitement for beginning the work with their partners and did not feel any anxiety or fearing differences as I have defined it for this study. Chelsea grew up in a small town and in the lower class. She indicated that her ethnic background was non-white, in fact she had an interracial ethnic background. Chelsea was a first year student in the program and reported her prejudice level at a rate of two. She had never really worked with immigrant children before and expressed excitement in getting to do so in the service learning program.

That was kind of new to me. I mean, where I grew up was small town Iowa. There wasn't a whole lot [of] diversity and you knew pretty much all the kids, so I would say no, I hadn't had experience with that before. . . . I was kind of excited to learn about the different cultures and like what kind of people they were and stuff. It didn't really affect me, it just made me more excited to see what other people were like and interact with the kids.

Another participant who did not express any fear or nervousness was Sophia. Sophia came from a large city and reported growing up in the middle class. She rated her prejudice at a level one and was also a first year student when entering the service learning class. Sophia explained that she had mentored an immigrant child in the past.

I was pretty excited about it [service learning] because I had, when I was in high school, I had worked with a child that was from ... trying to remember. I want to say he was from Dubai, but he didn't have the strong English skills, so even though he was in 6th grade, he was functioning at a 3rd grade level. So I worked with him on reading, so it was like nice with the different cultures and everything.

Although only two participants did not express some type of fearing differences, we notice that they had either prior experience in working with an immigrant child or identified with multi-racial background. It is clear that the other non-white participants did express some type of fearing differences so that alone did not take away fearing differences. Although many of the other participants explained that they had experience working or interacting with children, only Sophia explained that she had prior experience working with an immigrant child and thus she didn't express any fear.

Antecedents to Fearing Differences

Additional comparisons were made between the theme of fearing differences and various antecedent demographic information on the participants. Some of the most interesting and significant comparisons will be pointed out here. Refer to Table 4.3 and 4.4 for the listings of the various comparisons with this theme. The majority of the participants came from small or medium towns: 24 in total out of 31 (77%). Only one of those 24 did not respond with any statement categorized as fearing differences. This might cause us to conclude that participants from small towns feared differences when faced with interacting with immigrant children. However, the comparisons show that all the various home town sizes had a high number that made statements about fearing differences.

The self-reported socioeconomic levels of participants during childhood were pretty evenly distributed. It is interesting to note that 100% of the upper class and upper middle class reported some form of fearing differences. Additionally, the lower middle class

registered 100% giving statements coded as fearing differences. Only the lower class and middle class had one participant each who did not express any statements as fearing differences. Participants were also asked what year they were in college when they took the service learning course. The majority of the participants were first or second-year. Only participants who were first-year students had anyone who did not express fearing differences (two participants). All sophomore, junior and senior students expressed some type of fearing differences.

Three of the four non-white participants gave statements that were coded as fearing differences. Also, only one of the 27 white participants did not provide statements that exposed fearing differences. Lastly, the comparisons of prejudice levels of hometown, extended family, nuclear family and self upon entering college were compared to fearing differences. Importantly, all the high and medium levels of prejudice of participants upon entering college exposed fearing differences. Most of the low level of prejudice (rated from 0 – 3) also exposed fearing differences except for two participants.

Overall, what these comparisons show is that with so many of the participants (29 of 31) expressing statements of fearing differences, whether in racial or ethnic backgrounds, language barriers, or cultural differences, we don't see large variations between various antecedent demographics. Quite frankly, most all participants experienced the fear of differences when faced with interacting with young immigrant children in the service learning program.

Triangulation of Fearing Differences

The theme of fearing differences was triangulated by the coding of the journal entries which college students wrote while contemporaneously involved in the service learning

program. They wrote these journal entries at the very beginning, three weeks into the semester, at mid-term of the semester, and at the very end of the service learning program, one week before the end of the semester. (Appendix G lists those four journal questions.) The journal entries contained mostly surface level commentaries rather than conceptually deep writings, as might be expected for an introductory course. However, it is still clear that many students commented on fearing differences during the program (Appendix D). Out of 41 students' four journal entries that were coded, 21 students (51%) wrote about fearing differences in some manner. Twenty-eight separate passages were coded as fearing differences in the journal entries. During the service learning course, students knew they were being graded and may have been somewhat reluctant to open up about their fearing differences. However, with such a large number reporting their acknowledgement of fearing differences, it clearly provided strength for the theme of fearing differences. During the interviews, participants were asked to be open and honest to help improve the program. They were no longer in the relationship with me as a professor grading their work and felt more comfortable to give a larger account of the fear and reticence they experienced. Also, additional time had transpired and they had greater ability to verbalize their thoughts and feelings and more awareness of how it integrated into their larger life experiences and perspectives.

Table 4.3

Possible Antecedents to Fearing Differences

FEARING DIFFERENCES			
	YES (29/94%)	NO (2/6%)	
Size of Home Town			
Small Town	14	1	15 (49%)
Medium Town	9	0	9 (29%)
Large Town	0	0	0 (0%)
City	5	0	5 (16%)
Large City	1	1	2 (6%)
Socioeconomic Class			
Lower	8	1	9 (29%)
Lower Middle	2	0	2 (6%)
Middle	7	1	8 (26%)
Upper Middle	8	0	8 (26%)
Upper	1	0	4 (13%)
Year in College			
First Year	16	2	18 (58%)
Sophomore	8	0	8 (26%)
Junior	4	0	4 (13%)
Senior	1	0	1 (3%)
Race			
White	26	1	27 (87%)
Non-White	3	1	4 (13%)

Note: Sm. Town = ≤ 5000 , Med. Town = 5001 – 25,000, Lg. Town = 25,001 – 100,000, City = 100,001 – 500,000, Lg. City = $\geq 500,001$;

Table 4.4

Possible Antecedents of Prejudice Level to Fearing Differences

FEARING DIFFERENCES			
	YES (29/94%)	NO (2/6%)	
Home Town Prejudice Level			Total (%)
7 - 10	14	1	15 (49%)
4 - 6	11	1	12 (38%)
0 - 3	4	0	4 (13%)
Extended Family Prejudice Level			
7 - 10	14	0	14 (45%)
4 - 6	13	2	15 (49%)
0 - 3	2	0	2 (6%)
Nuclear Family Prejudice Level			
7 - 10	6	0	6 (19%)
4 - 6	14	0	14 (45%)
0 - 3	9	2	11 (36%)
Self Prejudice Level Upon Entering College			
7 - 10	6	0	6 (19%)
4 - 6	9	0	9 (29%)
0 - 3	14	2	16 (52%)

Note: Prejudice is measured on a scale of 1 – 10, with 10 being the most prejudiced

Building Relationships: Theme Two

Participants strived to build relationships with their young immigrant partners in the service learning course. This was the second notable theme verbalized by the participants in their interviews. Appendix H shows whether an individual participant explained some aspect of building relationships. The theme of building relationships had three dimensions. The first dimension of building relationships centers on the importance of the relationships that participants developed with their young service learning partners. The second dimension focuses on how relationships were built including participants' actions and best found methods. The third dimension of building relationships is how relationships can bridge differences. The definition of building relationships will be examined first.

Definition

'Building relationships' is defined in this study as: *an effort to mold or create a connection or bond between two persons*. Steve embodied this relationship building process in his statement: "Take my time and get to know the person first... the enjoyment to see that he had fun and how we had grown together over that time period... I guess to just see how we could progress from week one to the last week." Twenty-six of the thirty-one participants expressed some form of building relationships. Each of the three dimensions of this theme will now be examined.

Importance of Relationship

Participants expressed the importance of the relationship with their young partners by describing it as a bond or as special. Often times the descriptions included references to the intensity or depth of the developed relationship. The relationships often included emotional ties between college and elementary student and the intensity of the developed relationship

even surprised some of the college students. Sally explained how she opened up to her young partner at a deep level to make a connection. She described it like this:

Open yourself up. Don't allow yourself to be reserved or you're not going to get anything from it. Really take the experience and take it wholeheartedly... So, just really allow yourself to be open to the entire thing. And connect to that ... I don't know, just value that relationship ... Yeah, I think I learned the importance of just those simple interactions with somebody... and what that can mean.

Sophia explained that an emotional relationship was developed which helped her general understanding and learning as opposed to just sitting in the classroom. She commented that she had to build the trust with her young partner and then she developed an "emotional tie." This relationship then helped Sophia better understand her partner's situation. Marshall explained that it was important that he worked to make his young partner feel "special" because they were assigned together. Marshall explained it this way:

On the playground, I remember us playing tag... at that point more students and their kids came and played. Eventually, it was the whole third grade, fourth grade class, that were coming to play tag, so it was... Then [Marshall's partner] didn't feel as special, so I had to stop and make sure that he felt special.

Marshall saw it was important to make a special connection with his own partner beyond just having fun with the group of kids at the school. Other students didn't always recognize the depth of the partnership connection unless something happened to point it out. Macey seemed somewhat surprised to find out the special bond of friendship was being created.

I guess she thought of me as a special friend... she just wanted me for herself instead of having to share me. I guess you just have to be patient with her, waiting for her to open up. I guess you need to form the bond first before you can start talking about the deeper stuff.

Sometimes participants did not find out the depth of the bond they had made with their partner until the end of the program. Many times, the young partners or the college students did not attempt, did not know how, or just chose not to vocalize their special friendship that

had been building through the semester. Madison provided a good example of this lack of expression about the meaning of the relationship until the end:

She didn't talk hardly at all...but she was really so very, very quiet. So I didn't know if we were really connecting until the very end. She would draw a card and wrote how much it had meant to her, and she was going to miss me. But the entire time, it was, 'am I really making a difference here?' because she was so quiet. But, I mean, I'm quiet too.

Others voiced the importance of having a one-on-one relationship in helping to build a connection with their young partners. Some participants expressed that they had prior experience with kids, but the one-on-one relationship was new and provided for a level of friendship or equal partnership. Jasmine explained how she tried to develop a more equal relationship with her young partner. Even though Jasmine was the older one in the relationship, she steered away from dictating the activities they would do or how the relationship would develop. Jasmine explained that this relationship was different than a working relationship she previously held when being in charge of children at a YMCA.

But I kind of like, tried to like let him make decisions, even though, safe decisions (laughing). I remember like trying to treat [him] more as an equal, even though he was younger, but just to give him that confidence. It was different than like if I was working... like at the YMCA. Then like, 'Ok now, we are going to go outside now for 20 minutes.' We didn't like have that, it was more like, let's talk, let's just see how it goes, let's just see whatever...I remember one day, we just sat and watched other people play tag and he just wanted to sit and talk.

Some participants wanted to make sure that their relationship had made a good impact on their young partner. Partly this was due to the relationship, but it also resulted due to the participants' desire to be the adult or 'person in charge.' They felt a need to go beyond the friendship nature of the relationship. Brandon was one of those who wanted to make sure that the interaction was positive and that he had made a good impact.

I remember going back and forth in my head about, was the idea of this relationship that goes on for a semester or a good chunk of the semester, where it is introduction to the kid, you kind of grow closer and closer... So towards the end, it is kind of, for me it was trying to measure the amount of impact that that time had on him ... I think at the end result, I think it did have a positive impact on him.

Peter also had the need to make an impact on his young partner. He explained:

I do remember that there was other students that last day [that] were saying goodbye for the last time. I remember L. coming up and giving me a hug before we left. That right there was enough to know that I did make some sort of impact on him. He did enjoy having me come once a week and meeting with him. So that part, that was my most dynamic thing that I took from it at the end there. That was actually very cool.

Two other significant actions were verbalized in the interviews that showed the importance and depth of the relationships that had been created. The first was the frequent description about how hard it was for the participants to say goodbye to their young partners, or vice versa, how hard it was for the young partner to say goodbye to the college student.

Christy explained her surprise at her own sadness at the end of the program:

I remember like the last day, I was actually surprised how much... like I was sad that I wasn't going to get to hang out with her anymore. I guess that I was surprised that we had developed such a nice little relationship over how many weeks.

Madison expressed how hard it was to say goodbye:

So, I mean it was kind of hard at the end to say bye. Because you do make that connection, you don't realize it at first, but as you go on, you do. So it was kind of hard to say goodbye.

Children also showed their sadness at the end of the program exposing the depth of the relationship that had developed. Some children were verbal in expressing their sadness, but Kara's partner showed her by his drawing. Kara explained, "He was sad when we gave each other our cards. I mean, I think he drew a crying face on his card."

The second frequent description that exposed the depth of relationship that had been developed was the frequency in which different participants talked about keeping the card that was made or other gifts that were given to them by their young partners on the last day. For each service learning class, I took pictures of the two partners and pasted them on hand-made cards on which the partners could write something or draw pictures and exchange them. These hand-made cards were useful in the program to clearly designate the ending of the program for the children as well as for the college students. Thirteen participants (42%) of those interviewed commented on still having the card or saving it for quite a length of time after the program ended. Saving this card served as a memento of the relationship participants felt they had developed with their young partners. Janie explained the importance of the card at the ending of the program:

But he had made me, we had those cards with the pictures. He had cut out a green heart and put our picture on it and said, I will always remember all the time we spend together, love, J. It was so cute, I kept it at home. Every summer at home, I kept it in my room. It was so cute (high voice), it made me cry. But I'm glad that I had that time. I mean he was a 4th grader and a boy for him to put that together, I'm like, 'Oh, that's so cute' (high voice). And he gave me a hug before we left. Because usually I said, I'll see you tomorrow, but the last day, he gave me a hug.

Nancy not only explained the importance when she received the card, but also how she still reads the card every once in a while.

I still have the card that we made with the pictures, so I do read it once in a while. And the things that she said and wrote about me and the impact that I had on her, so those are the things that I will never forget you know. She was like 'you were an amazing role model, someone I will look up to.' For a child that was 10 years old, possibly 11 years old, so that is amazing. (excited voice) And that is a good thing that I will never forget.

The card signified the importance Nancy felt in the relationship she developed with her young partner. This relationship was so important that Nancy pulls out the reminder 'once in a while' to reminisce about the impact of that relationship.

How Relationships Were Built

Participants explained the importance of building relationships but also went a step further and explained how they developed the relationships. They provide examples of the best techniques and important factors to foster the relationship. The most important was building trust with their young partner. This seemed important particularly because of the differences in backgrounds, whether that be ethnic differences or age differences. Various techniques were useful in building that trust which in turn helped strengthen the relationship. Participants explained that to build a bond with their partners, it was important to take it slowly and not force the relationship in an unnatural way. They found that it might take some time to develop the relationship as well. Josh explained the importance of giving it time:

I didn't want to sort of just fabricate that [relationship], if that makes sense. I didn't want to just force it. I mean, for me personally, I wouldn't want to have someone to do that either. I mean getting comfortable with someone is, I think, the best way to make that happen potentially. And it may not for some people, depending on how much time you are able to spend with them.

In addition to giving it time, it also took patience to let the relationship blossom. Again, participants expressed the importance of letting a bond develop and that often took additional time. Addy did not want to force the relationship but just wanted to 'relax' about the relationship. Christy agreed with the notion that relationships should not be forced and should come naturally. Christy explained how it was important to be 'natural' in the relationship, which meant not forcing conversation for Christy and her partner. She elaborated on this concept:

... I feel like as time went on, she talked a little bit more, like we became more comfortable with each other. And I also feel as I became more comfortable, it became easier to ask her questions and not feel awkward about it...If we wanted to talk, then we could talk a little bit. We kept it really simple and easy, instead of forcing conversation and forcing this friendship to

develop if it wasn't supposed to develop. I think that helped develop trust and our relationship. Just that we could be as we normally are with one another.

This type of relationship did not just happen automatically for most participants. They had to work at it each week in a slow, easy manner. Madison explained that it took time and it was a constant effort. In regards to this slow development, Madison said,

I think you kind of really had to work at it each time, so if you found something out one time, ok I know this about them now. They told me enough for this time, next time we can talk about something else. So I think just growing at each encounter was the best.

Here it is clear that it was an ongoing process to build a relationship with her young partner. The importance of the relationship was evident in that she just kept at it each week, making small gains each time.

Participants learned that it was important at times to share about themselves or open up to their partners before they would see progress in their partners also opening up. Chelsea explained, "So you had to warm up to them and let them kind of know who you are." Sally explained that it was important to "open yourself up." Richard found a unique way to get his partner to 'open up.' He summed it up like this:

I remember... it was just hard to get past like a yes or no sort of thing... What it actually ended up being was like do something besides talk. And that helped yeah, oh ok, let's go play on the playground, ... anything. Coloring, he would open up at coloring, as long as we did anything besides just talk, he would open up a little bit...He was a little slow to open up and once he did, he just kept going.

Another method of building relationships was to find out more things about the young partner. Jessie spent a lot of effort to get to know her partner. She felt it was important in building the relationship. Jessie explained it like this:

It was just learning how to connect with her...just get to know her and ask her questions...you want to kind of get to know her. You want to know [what] they like, or what they dislike, things like that. So you don't sign up for it to not get to know them. I didn't just want to sit there and not get to know her at

all. I guess that was why to put in some effort to kind of understand what she was like or what her life was like at home.

Nancy explained that they each found out the likes of the other person. In doing so, they would engage in that activity and that would help develop the relationship. Nancy explained the methods that she used:

She was really quiet, really smart but very quiet. She didn't really talk much. She liked art and so I was drawing a lot. I tried to communicate with her through that. So we would draw and go out and play. So I like soccer and so we would go out and play soccer too outside. So that actually got her a little bit out of her shell.

The most common verbalization regarding techniques to build relationships centered on the notion of finding out what interests or activities the partners held in common. This took a fair amount of work and building trust within the relationship. Chelsea found out that they had 'brothers' in common:

So you had to warm up to them and let them kind of know who you are...But I think it was definitely helpful that I at least learned a little bit more about her. She was open to talk about like her brothers which was fun to talk about because I have a brother myself. So we could talk about that and what she liked to do.

Madison found that they could try to speak Spanish to each other. Janie tried to find things in common and then work with that topic for a while. She explained this method as follows:

Um... well he was tall at a young age, so we both had tall going on...Or as soon as we say something in common, then I can start to go on about it. But at first, I'm really shy. But then yeah, if we could find something in common then, and he liked basketball mostly.

After finding both the attribute "tall" and that they both liked "basketball," Janie could work with those commonalities to help develop the relationship further. Jasmine also explained the effort she expended to find something in common:

I definitely tried to find something in common that we could talk about, which is what I think is one of the easiest ways to open up. So the little boy that I was with, he liked soccer and like I used to play soccer...like we talked about

that and like I think opened up. But we had to find that one little thing and then we would talk for hours.

Participants learned that they were able to build relationships and friendships despite differences they had with their partners. This last dimension of building relationships will be examined in the next section.

Relationships Bridging Differences

Participants found that friendships could be developed between themselves and their partners despite their differences. After working to build the relationships, participants verbalized their surprise that it really worked. Many seemed surprised that the vast differences that they noticed did not interfere in developing friendships.

Peter expressed this surprise in the following way:

So it wasn't so much that I was hoping to inspire him or motivate him or anything, but just give him the mindset that, that this complete stranger, doesn't look like me, doesn't talk like me, doesn't have the same upbringing as me, but I'm still able to connect. I'm still able to make this friendship.

Peter came from a small town under 5000 people. He rated his extended family at the highest level of ten on the prejudice scale; but he rated both his family and himself at a level of five. Peter reported coming from a middle class background and was a first year student when involved in the service learning program. It was important to him that his partner understand that their racial and ethnic backgrounds, along with their difference in immigrant backgrounds, not hinder their ability to develop friendship. It was as if Peter was working to convince himself as well. He focused on the fact that they were "complete strangers" emphasizing the differences between them. In the end, Peter seemed pleased that the differences did not prohibit their friendship as he may have heard from the larger society, or more likely his extended family. Cindy also came from a small town with a high level of eight on the prejudice scale. She also rated eight on the prejudice scale for her extended

family, her nuclear family and herself upon entering college. She indicated that she came from a lower class background and was also in her first year when she took the service learning course. Cindy explained the importance of building a relationship with someone very different than herself, even pointing out the age difference. Cindy explained,

... like my understanding that it was possible to like develop some sort of partnership with someone, like a child, no matter how many differences or similarities we had, because he and I were not that similar. (pause) So I think just the understanding that I was like, I don't have anything to talk about to him at first because we didn't have anything in common. Our families were not the same, I just really couldn't figure out...but it seemed to work out fine and so it was like, well I don't have to be exactly like this person, this child, to develop a relationship with him.

Kara, who also came from a small town, rated her family in the upper class, rated herself at a level of six on the prejudice scale, her immediate family and extended family at a level seven, explained how important it was for her to learn how to bridge cultures to develop a one-on-one relationship. She explained how this helped her later in the Peace Corps:

I can't imagine going into the Peace Corps without first having experienced one-on-one with someone. Someone completely different than what I was used to. And as nervous as I was to enter the Peace Corps, I was so excited. I don't think that's how I would have been if I hadn't experienced one-on-one with someone else from a different culture.

The last example of a participant expressing importance in building relationships across cultures is Sally who did not come from a small town, but rather a medium-sized town. Sally rated herself at a level of four on the prejudice scale upon entering college and her nuclear family and extended family at a level of seven and six respectively. Sally explained this importance in the following way:

And it gave me the opportunity to see a lifestyle that's totally different than my own...But for knowing that I can connect with someone that has a culture different than my own, and I can learn and even learn to enjoy that culture, is something that I think is pretty neat. And knowing that I can make this, and yeah there are differences, but we're also the same. Like we have similarities

as well. So I think that getting to experience that and realize that, it kind of opened me up more.

Learning not only the importance of building relationships, but that these relationships can be built across different cultures, ethnicities, immigrant status and even age, was a large theme. Participants felt these relationships were important and became very strong in most instances. However, to understand this theme thoroughly, it is important to look at some examples where participants did not see the importance of building a relationship or circumstances prevented them from building strong relationships with their young partners.

Contrasting Experiences to Building Relationships

Some participants did not talk about building relationships at all. Others expressed issues around their young partner's misbehavior or not doing his or her part in developing the relationship. Anya came from a medium-sized town and identified her family as growing up in the middle class. She was a sophomore student when she took the service learning course and rated herself at a level of eight on the prejudice scale; she rated her immediate family at the highest level ten and her hometown community at a level eight. Her experience with her young partner, who was a boy, did not go well. Anya put much of the blame for the relationship not going well on her partner. She explained it like this:

That kid just ran away from me. I think, [he] would just go away. Him and the boys, they would just try to get away from us. ... Yeah. Because I think we [college students] just sit there and be like, well what do we do? They don't want to talk to us. ... And there we would go outside as a group. I think inside he was pretty quiet and then outside, he would just run away and be with his friends.

Anya did respond that "we" were all women college students and the "boys" were the young partners. When asked if she thought the gender differences might have impacted the relationship, she agreed that it might have. Brenda didn't have a group phenomenon to deal

with but spoke about her young boy partner being “hyper” and that her partner even got in trouble about making bad comments about her and the college teacher. She found a struggle to make a relationship with her partner. Brenda said,

He was very hyper. He didn't like to listen. He wanted to do things his way and very vocal. He was upset. ... he just didn't want to do anything. And he said, I think I still have it, but he made some comment about me and you [college teacher] and the principal had him write an apology note on the last day.

Anya and Brenda both commented on their partners not wanting to be around them and the difficulty in building a relationship. Although gender may have been a large contributing factor in these cases, neither participant spoke of any blame on their own part in the relationship. It clearly was focused on the young partner.

Overall, the majority of participants spoke about the importance of building a relationship. They talked about the techniques they used to develop a bond and often expressed the surprise at how much the relationship developed. Many described the strength of connection they experienced with their partners by the end of the program, explaining how to build the relationship and how it could bridge differences when friendships were established. Additional comparisons were made between the category of building relationships and other demographics of the participants. They will be discussed next.

Antecedents to Building Relationships

Additional comparisons were made between the theme of building relationships and various antecedent demographic information on the participants. Some of the most interesting and significant comparisons will be pointed out here. Refer to Table 4.5 and 4.6 for the listings of the various comparisons. The first noteworthy comparison is that all the participants from cities and large cities verbalized building relationships as important in their interviews. Only part of the participants from small and medium sized towns discussed

building relationships; however they still have a large majority in those two groups who did verbalize building relationships as important. No interesting differences appeared between the five socioeconomic groups or any of the prejudice levels under the theme of building relationships. All junior and senior level participants while involved in the service learning course indicated building relationships was important. Also all non-white participants verbalized in their interviews that this theme was important.

Triangulation of Building Relationships

The theme of building relationships was triangulated with the journal entry coding. This data analysis showed that when college students were contemporaneously involved in the service learning program, they indicated that building relationships was very important. In fact, this category received the highest number of coded references with 103 (Appendix D). Out of 41 students' four journal entries which were coded, 39 students wrote about building relationships in some manner. For example, one college student wrote, "I feel as if G. is feeling more comfortable with me," another wrote, "The relationship between my partner and [me] is great," and still another shared, "She even gave me a hug goodbye! In my card she wrote that she will never forget me." The triangulation of journal entry content analysis provides strength for the theme of building relationships within the service learning experiences. Overall, the majority of participants spoke about building relationships, showing the importance they felt it had in the outcome of the program. Participants talked about the techniques they used to develop a bond and often expressed the surprise at how much the relationship had developed. Many expressed how they experienced strong connections with their partners by the end of the program.

Table 4.5

Possible Antecedents to Building Relationships

BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS			
	YES (26/84%)	NO (5/16%)	
Size of Home Town			Total (%)
Small Town	12	3	15 (49%)
Medium Town	7	2	9 (29%)
Large Town	0	0	0 (0%)
City	5	0	5 (16%)
Large City	2	0	2 (6%)
Socioeconomic Class			
Lower	7	2	9 (29%)
Lower Middle	1	1	2 (6%)
Middle	7	1	8 (26%)
Upper Middle	7	1	8 (26%)
Upper	4	0	4 (13%)
Year in College			
First Year	16	2	18 (58%)
Sophomore	5	3	8 (26%)
Junior	4	0	4 (13%)
Senior	1	0	1 (3%)
Race			
White	22	5	27 (87%)
Non-White	4	0	4 (13%)

Note: Sm. Town = ≤ 5000 , Med. Town = 5001 – 25,000, Lg. Town = 25,001 – 100,000, City = 100,001 – 500,000, Lg. City = $\geq 500,001$;

Table 4.6

Possible Antecedents of Prejudice Level to Building Relationships

BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS			
	YES (26/84%)	NO (5/16%)	
Home Town Prejudice Level			Total (%)
7 – 10	12	3	15 (49%)
4 – 6	11	1	12 (38%)
0 – 3	3	1	4 (13%)
Extended Family Prejudice Level			
7 – 10	11	3	14 (45%)
4 – 6	13	2	15 (49%)
0 – 3	2	0	2 (6%)
Nuclear Family Prejudice Level			
7 – 10	4	2	6 (19%)
4 – 6	12	1	13 (42%)
0 – 3	10	2	12 (39%)
Self Prejudice Level Upon Entering College			
7 – 10	4	2	6 (19%)
4 – 6	8	1	9 (29%)
0 – 3	14	2	16 (52%)

Note: Prejudice is measured on a scale of 1 – 10, with 10 being the most prejudiced

Opened Eyes: Theme Three

Participants obtained new perspectives when working with their young immigrant partners. This was the third notable theme verbalized by the participants in their interviews. Using the participants' own words, many of them referred to this as their "eyes were opened." A majority of participants expressed this sentiment; however this category had the most individualized references in the interviews (108) of all categories. Individualized references refer to the number of separate times the topic was brought up in the in-depth interviews (Appendix E). Participants expressed how significant it was to have the service learning experience open their eyes. What new things did they see? Participants' responses are categorized into two main areas. The first dimension of opened eyes was that participants had new perspective through self-reflection on their own direction in life, their own biases, and even their own self identities. The second dimension was that participants' gained a focus of what issues of immigration meant from their particular partner's perspective or "eyes." These two dimensions of opened eyes will be addressed in detail, providing examples and explanations. The definition of opened eyes will help us understand this theme.

Definition

'Opened eyes' in this study is defined as *developing a consciousness or awareness of perspectives beyond what already exists for a person*. Appendix H provides a chart of each interviewee and whether he or she expressed some form of opened eyes. Various descriptive terms were used by participants in explaining this theme, such as "cracked the door open," "changed my perspective," "opened the door," "opened the windows," "the blinds were coming up," "more open minded," or "changed my view." Now each dimension will be examined in turn.

New Perspectives through Self-Reflection

Participants explained various outcomes from self-reflection when being partnered with young children from different ethnic or racial backgrounds. One area that participants explained was that their eyes were opened to their own biases or their family's biases. The interaction with their young partners jogged their own sense of comfortableness or privilege in their views on life. In their own upbringings, they did not have to understand other perspectives and thus they were now being disabused of this privilege. The intensity of this new perspective on their own biases was significant. This intensity is noticeable in Bridget's explanation of finding out about her own biases. Bridget explained:

My idea of a different ethnicity is totally, totally like completely changed ... And I think service learning was just the beginning of that for me ... just to open my eyes to the bias, how biased I am, or what kind of bias I had coming out of high school. It kind of, it obviously helps me realize there are other things in the world, other ethnicities, whatever ... Yeah, so for me it was definitely was a starting point, but you know, but it worked well for me.

Bridget rated herself at a level of seven on the prejudice scale when entering college. She came from an immediate and extended family that she rated at a level nine on the prejudice scale. She even rated her hometown, which was small, at a level eight. The jarring of her own identity occurred when she entered into the relationship with her young immigrant partner. She was able to open her eyes to the bias she grew up with and had adopted. Likewise, Cindy demonstrated the adoption of attitudes and beliefs from where she grew up. Similar to Bridget, Cindy grew up in a small town and she rated that town at a level of eight on the prejudice scale. She also rated her immediate family, extended family and herself at a level of eight. Cindy explained how her eyes were opened:

Before like college and stuff, I would say I didn't have a lot of experience with someone from another ethnic background. ... I think it opened my eyes to start to experience talking with and developing relationships with someone from another country or a different ethnicity, different background than my

own. It wasn't really much of an option where I grew up. ... Yeah, before these experiences, I just went with what everybody else said. Like, I don't know. I didn't know it was different or that it could be different, I just thought that [was] what it was. I didn't question it.

Other participants talked about how the service learning caused them to see a new perspective about the direction they should take in life. They examined themselves for the meaning this connection with a young immigrant partner gave to their lives. Some explained that they now had a new interest in this area. Others described how they changed their academic majors and focus in life. Jessie was one of those that changed her major. She came from a small town and rated her family as upper class. She also rated her hometown, her extended and immediate family, as well as herself at a level of eight on the prejudice scale. After interaction with her young partner, she stated, "I don't know if I would have actually got my major in sociology if I wouldn't have taken the [service learning] class. ... So it kind of changed my perspective on people." Other participants focused on career areas where they could work with immigrants. Allison explained how this experience opened up new possibilities for careers in sociology. She stated, "I still feel that it opened up... thinking about different populations that are in [this city and state]. And also if you are into sociology, it gave you different ideas what you can do for careers." Allison did major in sociology along with education and art. Allison came from a small town and rated herself and her nuclear family at a level of three on the prejudice scale. She was a junior when she enrolled in the service learning course.

Shirley always wanted to work with kids, but now she found a new focus of the type of children she wanted to work with. Shirley also came from a small town and was a sophomore when she got involved in the service learning course. Shirley explained her change of focus in this way:

I think it really opened my doors for what I wanted to do with my life, honestly. Like, because, I knew I always wanted to work with kids, so it's really important to me. But, it [service learning] helped me realize that I didn't just want to work with rich kids, you know what I mean? ... It kind of helped me realize that work with kids is what I want to do, and not necessarily just the majority of the population...with those special children and being there for them.

Jasmine also talked about obtaining a new focus in volunteering more, both while a student at the college and after graduation, as result of the interaction she had with her young immigrant partner. She explained,

But that was kind of the part of a start of working more with immigrants...I think it has tied in a way as a step in the right... direction. Or a step in opening the door. Because if I wouldn't have taken that class, I don't know if I would have necessarily gone into volunteering as much at [the college], or gone into that type of thing. .. So this being the first step, it was just like a spark and then it just went from there...For me, I mean, it's been just another stepping stone to where I am now in the journey about learning about immigrants now, and I love it and it is a passion of mine.

Jasmine continued to explain that she now is a school teacher, but she spends a lot of her free time translating for immigrant families at the schools. She also has done a lot of volunteer teaching in an English Language Learner program for adults.

Another participant explained that due to his own family background, he engaged in a lot of self-reflection and search for his own identity due to the interaction he had with his young immigrant child. Josh, who indicated that his family was in the upper class and that he came from a small town that he ranked at the high level of nine on the prejudice scale, explained his self-reflection in this way:

I think working with someone who had immigrated to the United States made me more attentive of my own background. I am Mexican on my mother's side and so even existing as a person, I'm a product of that in some way. So it sort of, it forced me to take a step back and take a look back at my own life too and how I came to be who I am because of that [immigration]. Yeah. ... I mean it was the first time I really interacted with someone who was an immigrant so, anytime since then, it will always be connected to that. So, yeah I think grounding those things in a very practical situation and giving it a face

was significant. I don't think I would have, definitely wouldn't have gotten that. I don't think I would have internalized it in the way I did.

In addition to participants sharing about their own self-reflection and awareness, they discussed how they developed opened eyes to the wider issues of immigration and their own partner's perspective in particular. This dimension of opened eyes will be addressed next.

Opened Eyes to Immigration through Partner's Perspective

Participants explained that they now had awakened to new perspectives of what life in general might be like for immigrants. They most often tied this together with some aspect of what perspective their young partners might have on an issue, or of some aspect about their partners' lives that they had shared. These responses varied in intensity. We will examine some of the more moderate intensity levels first and then progress to the highest intensity levels of gaining new perspectives as shared by participants. Marshall explained in more general terms how he had developed a new perspective understanding some of the pressure that immigrants faced in a new country's environment. Marshall explained that he had worked in an inner-city kids club with "unfortunate" kids, but that immigrant kids had additional pressures. He explained it this way:

And I feel that some of the immigrants we worked with had some type of pressure, some type of stress behind who they are...It kind of helped me get another perspective. So I mean,...it actually did influence [me] because I got other perspectives. I got other ideas, at least, about immigration and how things should be handled and how things are handled now.

Participants became aware of the presence of immigrants in communities around them in addition to learning more about the issues immigrants faced. Bridget provided an example of how she just had become aware of the presence of immigrants:

I learned that it just really opened my eyes, that people do live different lives and you don't really realize that those kind of things are happening in your neighborhood or close to you. That people are having those issues adapting and different cultures coming together. You know you don't really think about

that when you are from a small town like this... That was definitely the most, it really opened my eyes, and after that I was really interested in doing other service projects.

This awakening coincided with Bridget being a first-year student coming from a prejudiced town, rated by Bridget at a level eight. Often first-year college students become aware of other perspectives as they move into college life. Being faced with new perspectives at college also coincided with Bridget's involvement with her young immigrant partner during her first year. Other first-year college students commented that having this experience during their first year really opened up new perspectives and opportunities for them through the rest of their college years. Richard confirmed this idea when he stated, "I think some of it too was just like the conjunction of when it happened, like freshman [year] of college...it was happening at the same time as a lot of things were being opened up. A lot of windows were being opened and the blinds were coming up (laughing). Yep."

Other participants intentionally connected their newly found perspectives with having immigrant service learning partners. This connection helped college students to gain the new perspective surrounding issues of immigration. What might have been learning points about immigration, in class or heard from media sources, became more understandable when they had someone who had experienced the issues. Sophia, a first year student, came from a large city and rated herself at a level of one on the prejudice scale when she entered college. She explained that when you know someone from a situation it actually changes your viewpoint. She elaborated her thoughts about it in this way:

I think sometimes when you have a relationship with somebody, you change a little bit of your view on stuff or how you feel about it...It showed me, like a different culture and kind of, you know, struggles that immigrant have to go through. I mean, that's something that you know I like to hold and it's, you know, close. When people start making you the political arguments, it's like, well they haven't had the actual experience with someone who is going through that situation, and I think that does make you change the way you feel

about it, or makes you stop and think a little harder rather in black and white...But your emotional connection to it, I think changes that.

Jocelyn commented on her new perspective by saying, “So it kind of changed my perspective on people... well it opened my eyes to let me see what it was like for him to be in the school, or for his family. This was first-hand experience that I hadn’t had before.”

Brandon explained how this awareness built up little by little through their interactions. He stated, “I think when going through the class, the biggest part was kind of altering week by week a little bit, altering the lenses or perspective I was looking at our interactions...it has given me better perspective when looking at issues.”

By and large, some of the strongest intensity level in the theme of opened eyes surfaced from taking on the perspective of the partner and verbalizing it in other situations. When participants found their voices to advocate on behalf of their partner, or through their partner’s perspective, the emotional connection was visible and spirited. Julie provided the best example of this when explaining her newly found perspective and how she now can’t keep quiet when faced with what she interprets as ignorant or racist statements.

Definitely [after] having heard her [partner’s] story and talked with her about her family and thinking of them. Putting a face to immigration is what I think it did for me ... I think it definitely like cemented it and it made it where I can’t be quiet around my family when they start saying all kinds of stuff that I find ignorant. I have this bond with a person, I have a connection to a person who has been through that experience ... And I didn’t experience it first hand, but I have this person who I bonded with who has. Being silent when my family is saying things that I disagree with, that I think are ignorant or racist, I still feel like it is an insult to her and everyone who has been through her experience.

Not only had Julie opened her eyes and understood a new perspective because of the relationship she developed with her young partner, but Julie has made the commitment to ‘honor’ this strong relationship, in her words a “bond.” She had committed to upholding this new perspective even when conversing with others.

This particular theme did not come from specific questions but was volunteered from interview responses. As such, there are no contrasting references where participants talked about not gaining a new perspective. Twenty-six participants brought up the theme of obtaining new perspectives in some fashion. Only five participants did not bring up any examples or explanations of gaining new perspectives through the interviews.

Antecedents to Opened Eyes

Additional comparisons were made between the theme of opened eyes and various antecedent demographic information on the participants. Refer to Table 4.7 and 4.8 for the listings of the various comparisons. The most interesting comparisons are that all participants that indicated they came from upper class socioeconomic level opened eyes through the service learning program. Additionally, all the participants who were at the junior and senior level when engaged in the service learning program commented on opened eyes. It is notable that both white and non-white participants had some in the group that did not comment on new perspectives when working with their young immigrant partners. As has been noted, this question was not directly asked so it may be that they just did not comment on this aspect. It is also notable that all participants who listed their immediate families at the highest level of prejudice (7 – 10) and who listed themselves upon entering college at the highest level of prejudice (7 – 10), all commented on achieving a new perspective or opened eyes. Next we will look at how the journal entries triangulated this theme.

Triangulation of Opened Eyes

The theme of opened eyes was triangulated with the journal entry coding. The journal entries provided some evidence that college students were beginning to obtain new perspectives during the service learning program. However, their writings in response to journal questions did not evidence deep levels of reflection. For example, one college student wrote that, “It allows us to stay more grounded and have a wider viewpoint on life.” Another student wrote, “Service learning has given me a bit of a new perspective on things.” A third student provided the following view: “I look at things a little bit differently now, and I think it is because of this project. It caused me to look at another part of life and look at things differently.” From the journal entries, nine students (22%) wrote about seeing with new eyes with a total of 15 individual references (Appendix D). Although there are not as many references to opened eyes in the journals as was discussed in the interviews, it still provides triangulation that this perspective was important and present.

Overall, the majority of participants spoke about gaining opened eyes to new perspectives from being involved with their young immigrant partners. Participants talked about how the new eyes provided perspectives of self-reflection in the direction of their own lives, on the fact that they had their own biases, and on their own self identities. The second dimension of opened eyes explained how participants’ gained a focus of what issues of immigration meant from their partners’ perspectives. Next we will analyze the final theme of lessening prejudice.

Table 4.7

Possible Antecedents to Opened Eyes

OPENED EYES			
	YES (26/84%)	NO (5/16%)	
Size of Home Town			Total (%)
Small Town	12	3	15 (49%)
Medium Town	8	1	9 (29%)
Large Town	0	0	0 (0%)
City	4	1	5 (16%)
Large City	2	0	2 (6%)
Socioeconomic Class			
Lower	6	3	9 (29%)
Lower Middle	2	0	2 (6%)
Middle	7	1	8 (26%)
Upper Middle	7	1	8 (26%)
Upper	4	0	4 (13%)
Year in College			
First Year	14	4	18 (58%)
Sophomore	7	1	8 (26%)
Junior	4	0	4 (13%)
Senior	1	0	1 (3%)
Race			
White	23	4	27 (87%)
Non-White	3	1	4 (13%)

Note: Sm. Town = ≤ 5000 , Med. Town = 5001 – 25,000, Lg. Town = 25,001 – 100,000, City = 100,001 – 500,000, Lg. City = $\geq 500,001$;

Table 4.8

Possible Antecedents of Prejudice Level to Opened Eyes

OPENED EYES			
	YES (26/84%)	NO (5/16%)	
Home Town Prejudice Level			Total (%)
7 - 10	14	1	15 (49%)
4 - 6	10	2	12 (38%)
1 - 3	2	2	4 (13%)
Extended Family Prejudice Level			
7 - 10	11	3	14 (45%)
4 - 6	14	1	15 (49%)
1 - 3	1	1	2 (6%)
Nuclear Family Prejudice Level			
7 - 10	6	0	6 (19%)
4 - 6	12	2	14 (45%)
1 - 3	8	3	11 (36%)
Self Prejudice Level Upon Entering College			
7 - 10	6	0	6 (19%)
4 - 6	7	2	9 (29%)
1 - 3	13	3	16 (52%)

Note: Prejudice is measured on a scale of 1 – 10, with 10 being the most prejudiced

Lessening Prejudices: Theme Four

Participants lessened their prejudice when working with their young immigrant partners. This was the fourth notable theme verbalized by the participants in their interviews. A majority of participants expressed some form of lessening prejudice. Individualized references, in which participants referred in some aspect to lessening prejudices, can be found in Appendix H. How did their prejudice lessen? Participants' responses are categorized into three main areas. The first dimension of lessening prejudice was that participants recognized that they held prejudice or racist beliefs when they began in the service learning program. They also recognized that their family might be prejudiced or that media images exposed prejudicial attitudes or racism. The second dimension of this theme was that participants learned that they had similarities and differences with their immigrant partners. Many, for the first time, recognized the similarities which helped them get rid of negative preconceived notions that they were different. Others found that not all people have the same cultural norms and that differences are acceptable and even positive. The third dimension of the theme of reducing prejudice included participants' actual examples and discussion of getting rid of stereotypes and prejudice through the service learning experience itself. Additionally, participants learned that people have the ability to change the prejudices they may have adopted from their upbringing and that the service learning program served as a start in a continual process of change. Each of the three dimensions of lessening prejudice will be addressed in detail, providing examples and explanations. The definition of lessening prejudice follows.

Definition

Lessening prejudice means to *diminish disrespectful attitudes toward, or negative evaluative responses to, a group as a whole or toward individuals on the basis of their group membership* (Jackson, 2011, p. 20; Nelson, 2006).

Recognizing Prejudice Beliefs

The first level of reducing prejudice is to recognize that prejudice is present within one's self. Participants explained that they became newly aware of their prejudice through the interaction with their young partners. The amount of embarrassment and pain in these realizations is often stark. Kara became very embarrassed to explain how she started to recognize her biased thinking in high school. She recognized that the thinking was just adopted from those around her. Kara came from a small town, upper class beginnings, with prejudice ratings of seven for herself and her immediate family. Kara explained this painful process of recognizing her prejudice in the following way:

Then working with him, I came to see they were just people like us and they were just doing what they can to make it work for them... Yes. Oh it's awful. I was looking through my high school papers and I found a paper on illegal immigration and it's exactly what my parents would say. It's just spit out and regurgitated and awful. I came to school [college] and I wrote a paper exactly the opposite. And I actually believe in that paper whereas the one I wrote in high school was just regurgitated ... I hate reading it and it's awful but I refuse to throw it away because I don't want to forget where I came from. It's just... I changed a lot.

This painful process of recognizing the prejudice inherent in themselves was evident in participants' explanations. When Kara shared how "awful" this was, she actually looked down and away from me; her body language confirmed her verbal message of pain and embarrassment in learning about her prejudice. Richard explained his prejudice beliefs as "ridiculous" and used humor to soften the harshness of recognizing his prejudicial viewpoints

when beginning the service learning program. Richard came from a medium-sized town from upper middle class background. He rated himself at a seven on the prejudice scale, even higher than the sixes he rated his immediate and extended family. Richard used humor to help deflect some of the embarrassment and pain in exposing his prejudice when beginning the service learning program. He explained,

That was a new thing [service learning interaction]. I mean, that was pretty much new. I had never had that much interaction with an immigrant. I guess like, to put it bluntly, oh these are people too? It's kind of a ridiculous thing to say now, it seems like, but yeah, that was a totally new and foreign, 'no pun intended', sort of thing. I'm just like, 'oh you got a life, and a family and a personality and everything else.' That, yeah (emphatic), it kind of caught me off guard a little bit and especially coming from a, (pause) I mean I came from a pretty conservative family who would usually, you know, [was] not always favorable towards that population. ... OK, let's see (pause). So I'll tell one story ... I remember the first time I ever heard something positive about immigrants was when I was in high school. Someone on my cross country team said, "Oh, well you know, if they just want to come here, then I say, just let them." I was like ... oh, you can be in favor of that? It isn't like illegal?

The entrenched nature of holding prejudicial viewpoints was demonstrated and some participants fought to hold on to those prejudices even in interacting with their young immigrant partners. Anya explained that her prejudiced beliefs were strong and had been ingrained through her dad's narratives growing up. She fought to continue holding those prejudiced notions until finally, through "force" of being required to interact, she realized that the racist statements had no truth in them. This was a revelation for Anya and she recognized the clash of viewpoints through this process. Anya came from a middle class background in a medium-sized town. She rated herself at a prejudice level of eight when she began college and her immediate family at the highest level of ten. Anya explained this difficult transformation in the following way:

I didn't really feel like I had that much racism, if that's the right word you want to use. But my dad had always been like, 'There are not going to be

black people in this house. You are not going to date somebody who is different, it is going to be white.’ And they made racist jokes and so I didn’t really think that that affected my life, but probably going into the [service learning] class, I still had some of those things in my head. And then working with those kids, it kind of didn’t really matter. I was kind of forced through the class. I mean at no point was I going to raise my hand, and be like, sorry I don’t really like the Mexican kid or you know. I wasn’t going to say that. So I was kind of forced into the situation to just accept what was handed and what was in that class, and just work with that kid no matter what. And nothing really happened to me, everything was fine. And it probably gave me new perspective on ‘I shouldn’t be racist.’ I really didn’t think that I was, but I probably still had those notions and concepts in my head. So I think that was probably really important that I just had to be forced into that situation to just deal with it and be around it and learn that nothing happened. Those kids were just like everybody else. I probably became more open minded through it.

Besides learning to recognize their own internal prejudice, participants started recognizing the prejudice and bias inherent in the media and other places. Chelsea explained that she started to notice the negative biased statements broadcasted through the news and TV programs. When talking about whether her prejudice level changed, she noted that she now was more aware of bias around her. She provided the following example:

I think the most important thing you learn is just to be open, and open minded about the different kinds of people and they are not exactly the way you think they are from what you watch on TV... But I think a little bit did change [prejudice level] because you always hear all these negative things on the news about immigration and it’s with working with a kid like that, who gets thrown in all the mess or the generalizations. I think it made me understand like you really need to, you can’t just judge somebody by their ethnicity or you can’t take somebody’s word on it.

Several participants exposed the difficulty in recognizing prejudicial attitudes within themselves. This recognition was a major start to changing those prejudicial beliefs. Others explained that they discovered similarities and differences in their young partners and this was the beginning of lessening their prejudice which will be examined next.

Discovering Similarities and Differences

Several participants explained that they had learned there really were not that many

differences between their immigrant child partner and other non-immigrant children. They were surprised to learn about the similarities as if they always had thought that immigrants were quite different than themselves. Teresa explained that recognizing the similarities was the most important thing she learned through the service learning interaction. She commented:

One of the most important things that I learned is that they are not all that different than you. And even though they may have a different upbringing, you will still find so many similarities between how you are raised. Like the same values, family relationships, and like what you find important in life... there are some stereotypes that maybe they can't afford to live separate or there is a reason why there are a whole bunch of people living in one house ... but it helped me see that it is more about the family values and why they chose to have multiple members and multiple generations in one house and the benefit that can bring to the family.

Through learning there are similarities, the participants actually started seeing their young partners, and immigrants in general, as part of humanity. Prior to this understanding, it was easy to not think about the person behind the label "immigrant." Janie even felt it important to spell it out how an immigrant child had the same bodily functions as other people. She emphasized the basic understanding that we all share the same humanity. Janie explained it this way:

But what I learned was that there isn't really a difference, they are just like us. I don't know why people treat immigrants or different ethnicities so different. I mean some people, not so much J.[her partner], but other kids I noticed, like talk with a different accent, and they are just the same as us. Like they go to the bathroom, wear their clothes, eat, sleep.

In addition to learning about the similarities between themselves and their partners, other participants learned for the first time that different cultures have different norms and experiences. This also was an important realization that their own experiences and cultural norms are just that – their own. Different groups have different experiences. The immaturity,

and often privilege of believing that ‘my way’ is everyone’s way, was debunked for these participants. They now began to learn some specific differences in cultures; they felt this knowledge made them more aware and more accepting. Amy explained the following realization:

She was talking about what they do at home, and then [I was] thinking, oh, well they probably do something different too. This is not a world-wide normalcy, this is something that changes from culture to culture and from place to place. So I think that definitely helped. ... the more you are around people of other cultures, I think you become more accepting of other people if you are actually willing to learn about them and not just judge them off the bat. Like, ‘oh that’s different than my life, it can’t be correct.’

Here Amy has realized that, not only are there differences between cultures, but that her own upbringing was not necessarily standard in all cultures. This was a new revelation for participants in working with their young partners. They learned that partners and their families had different practices, different worries, and came from different parts of the world with different viewpoints. Sally became excited when she finally realized that it could be interesting to learn about a new culture. This only became a reality for her when she interacted with her young partner and ‘woke up’ to the fact that there are more experiences than just her own. Sally came from a medium-sized town, classified her family as lower middle class and rated herself at a level of four on the prejudice scale and her immediate family at a level of seven. Sally provided an example of the excitement of her newly found knowledge about her partner’s background:

I think it is so important to have communication between different ethnicities and stuff. I think you learn a lot and become a much more worldly and well-rounded person when you have this kind of interaction. You’re not so narrow-minded I guess. I learned a lot in the short amount of time I spent with her, about a different area of the world that I never would have much interest in, to be perfectly honest. And, it’s actually kind of sparked my passion for cultural differences and that kind of thing. I think it makes you a lot more educated. It opens up your perspective, that kind of thing.

Finding similarities and differences provided an avenue for participants to get rid of prejudicial thoughts and ideas. Often these realizations were emphasized with importance when discussed in their interviews. From these examples of lessening prejudice, we now turn to examples where participants attributed their prejudicial change to the service learning interaction.

Getting Rid of Prejudice

During the interviews, participants were asked to describe their hometowns: the size, the demographics, and general socioeconomic level of the community. After explaining the conditions in which they grew up, a series of questions about prejudice was asked. After rating the prejudice level of their hometown, extended family, immediate family and themselves, they were asked whether they believed their own prejudice had changed or not during the service learning program. Although being specifically asked the question may have influenced their answers, most gave detailed examples of how they felt their prejudice lessened and five participants answered that their level of prejudice did not change during the program. We will examine these various responses.

Several participants recognized that their prejudice level had lessened during the service learning experience. Jared explained how it was important to try to put aside prejudices in order to learn about others. He explained that if you do this, you will not only learn about others, but will learn about yourself at the same time. Jared stated it this way:

Go into it with an open mind and not have any expectations or things you are anticipating. If you go in with a predetermined, I'm going to use the word 'stereotype,' [with] predetermined stereotypes then you aren't going to go anywhere, because it will ultimately meet your expectation of what it's going to be. If you go into it with an open mind, it allows a relationship to develop without those prejudices or barriers... What I wasn't expecting was that they would help me as well. That I would come away, not only learning about different cultures, but learning more about myself, how to keep an open mind,

how to, I guess how to be just human in a way. ... With that, just being able to see where I've come from, being able to apply that to where other people come from, allows me to go into situations more open, being able to listen even having a cultural sensitivity.

Other participants explained that once you got to know more about the person, or about their background or their country of origin, stereotypes could be broken. Participants explained how getting to know people, such as their partners, helped to build respect for them and break the stereotypes that were previously held. Nancy summed it up this way:

I think from that setting, you really get to know, it is almost like you break the stereotypes. Things that we learn about different ethnicities, once you get to know the person, you have more respect for them. When we don't know the person, we don't respect them as much ... I think that probably breaks a lot of stereotypes as well ... you would get to know the person and where they come from.

Bridget provided a graphic demonstration of the prejudice she held against Hispanic people and how she "lost" that prejudice through her interactions. Though embarrassed when she told me, through signs of laughter, she explained the change with emphasis; it seems as though she was describing a metamorphosis within herself. Bridget's frank explanation follows.

I've definitely had my eyes opened up. Not everything is the way you think it is. You see a Hispanic person walking up the street, and they probably aren't an illegal alien. But when you are younger, like in high school, I would think, 'oh yeah, they're Hispanic, they are probably here illegally [chuckle and high voice]. Now I definitely don't... so I lost that prejudice pretty good. ... Changed, completely [with emphasis].

Jessie also explained the change she experienced through the interaction with her partner but not quite as forcefully as Bridget did. Here's how Jessie saw her own change process:

I can see how some of my beliefs changed. Or some of my judgments changed. I don't think I'm so quick to judge people based on where they live, or how they live, anymore... I think I probably would have been a little too quick to judge before that experience because I come from such a small town and we were 99.9% white (laughing)...So this definitely brought me out of

my comfort zone. So it did open me up.

Both Bridget and Jessie came from small towns and rated their towns at the level of eight on the prejudice scale. Bridget rated herself at a level of seven and Jessie rated herself at a level of eight when entering college. Both claimed their upbringing as upper middle class. Learning how the environment causes people to become prejudiced, particularly when growing up and hearing prejudiced statements, was not an easy task. It took the interaction with someone from another ethnicity and immigrant status, to expose their own prejudicial thoughts to participants. Cindy explained this process of change through the development of a relationship with her young immigrant partner. Cindy described to me how this change process started:

I think it [service learning partnership] did influence [me]. I think before college I was very influenced by the ideas of those that were around me in the area that I grew up, wasn't very positive towards someone from another ethnicity or immigrants. So, I think it started because I was able to see how I can develop a relationship with someone who is completely different in personality, as well as ethnicity.

Participants expressed how their movement to lessen prejudice was only a start when involved in the service learning program. When participants were interviewed, years after involvement in the service learning program, they acknowledged that this experience was just a start in a longer process of change. Richard was asked where he thought he would fall on the prejudice scale now, several years after the service learning. He responded:

I'd like to think I'm a zero, but probably a 3 or 2. (Interviewer: A significant move?) Definitely, definitely a lot lower, oh yeah. (Do you think it [service learning interaction] moved you anywhere on that scale? Or was it still probably the same?) It started moving that way. Maybe it moved me from a 6 or 7 to like a 5 or 6 you know.

Learning that prejudice can be reduced was an important step in the process. Teresa elaborated on that process in this way:

It just takes certain experiences to open up your mind and fully develop ideas that you might have. And so, people can change and it just takes experiences and giving them the opportunity to get to know other people...It helped me see that it is more about the family values...I don't need to be nervous around other cultures... Just in kind of shaking up my views since the beginning of college... And it is the process of becoming more open minded...[it started] after my component of that [interaction]...But unless you've had those experiences, you can't be that way. Which is something I've had to struggle with trying to challenge my own thoughts.

Teresa had learned that lessening prejudice not only can happen through new experiences but that it is a process of change. Teresa did not have an expectation that it would occur immediately but that it was a struggle to continue to lessen prejudice and become “more open minded.” She took on the challenge to work with this struggle, challenging her own thoughts, which she indicated started when she met another person from another culture.

Teresa exposed the highest level of learning that prejudice reduction will occur through hard work and continual challenge. Other participants verbalized that their prejudice did not lessen through the service learning program. We will examine their situations next.

Contrasting Experiences to Lessening Prejudice

Five participants did not see a drop in their prejudice level; two of them, Sophia and Steve rated themselves upon entering college at a level of one, the lowest prejudice level on the scale. Steve felt that he came in to college at a level one because he initially went to a larger university that had a lot of diversity prior to transferring to the smaller college. Sophia felt she was not prejudiced because her dad had been in the military and they ‘lived all over the place,’ even in foreign countries. Marshall did not see a change in his prejudice level because he said, “My best friend, [and] his family [were] immigrant[s]. Another one of my best friend’s family was immigrants. So I’ve been around it my whole life.” However, when Marshall rated himself at a level of five on the prejudice scale when entering college, he explained that, “I feel a 5, that I would fit on 5 because I do see the positive and then I do see

the negative.” Another participant, Brenda, who did not feel her prejudice level changed, explained it this way: “Yeah. Culture and diversity has always been something that I’ve been interested in and I always liked that. So that part wasn’t really an issue for me.” Lastly, Julie did not think the service learning program helped her change her prejudice level despite it being at six out of ten when she entered college. Julie primarily explained that she had many different cross-cultural, inner-city experiences prior to her senior year when she took the service learning course. Julie specifically enrolled in the service learning course because of the interaction with young immigrant children. Additional comparisons were made between the theme of lessening prejudice and other demographics of the participants which will be examined next.

Antecedents to Lessening Prejudice

Additional comparisons were made between the category of lessening prejudice and other participant antecedent demographics. Refer to Table 4.9 and 4.10 for the listings of the various comparisons. There are a few interesting comparisons to note. Nearly one-half of all participants came from small towns (15 out of 31 interviewees) and 100% of those coming from small towns verbalized that they had lessened their prejudice. Also, 100% of the participants who rated their nuclear family and themselves at a high level of prejudice (7 – 10) provided information in the interviews that they had lessened their prejudice. Overall, there was a majority of participants who reported lessening their prejudice (26 out of 31) and this outcome was distributed over all the other demographic categories. Next we will examine how the theme of lessening prejudice was triangulated in the study.

Table 4.9

Possible Antecedents to Lessening Prejudice Theme

LESSENING PREJUDICE			
	YES (26/84%)	NO (5/16%)	
Size of Home Town			Total (%)
Small Town	15	0	15 (49%)
Medium Town	7	2	9 (29%)
Large Town	0	0	0 (0%)
City	4	1	5 (16%)
Large City	0	2	2 (6%)
Socioeconomic Class			
Lower	8	1	9 (29%)
Lower Middle	1	1	2 (6%)
Middle	6	2	8 (26%)
Upper Middle	8	0	8 (26%)
Upper	3	1	4 (13%)
Year in College			
First Year	16	2	18 (58%)
Sophomore	6	2	8 (26%)
Junior	4	0	4 (13%)
Senior	0	1	1 (3%)
Race			
White	23	4	27 (87%)
Non-White	3	1	4 (13%)

Note: Sm. Town = ≤ 5000 , Med. Town = 5001 – 25,000, Lg. Town = 25,001 – 100,000, City = 100,001 – 500,000, Lg. City = $\geq 500,001$;

Table 4.10

Possible Antecedents of Prejudice Level to Lessening Prejudice Theme

LESSENING PREJUDICE			
	YES (26/84%)	NO (5/16%)	
Home Town Prejudice Level			Total (%)
7 - 10	13	2	15 (49%)
4 - 6	10	2	12 (38%)
1 - 3	3	1	4 (13%)
Extended Family Prejudice Level			
7 - 10	11	3	14 (45%)
4 - 6	13	2	15 (49%)
1 - 3	2	0	2 (6%)
Nuclear Family Prejudice Level			
7 - 10	6	0	6 (19%)
4 - 6	11	3	14 (45%)
1 - 3	9	2	11 (36%)
Self Prejudice Level Upon Entering College			
7 - 10	6	0	6 (19%)
4 - 6	7	2	9 (29%)
1 - 3	13	3	16 (52%)

Note: Prejudice is measured on a scale of 1 – 10, with 10 being the most prejudiced

Triangulation of Lessening Prejudice: Quantitative Survey Findings

To triangulate the qualitative finding of whether prejudice levels shifted, I utilized a quantitative survey that was administered to those participants willing to fill it out after they had been interviewed. They signed the consent form and checked the box that they were willing to fill out the survey (Appendix C). All thirty-one interview participants checked that they agreed to fill out the survey. They were given the link to the anonymous SurveyMonkey survey with twenty-five completing the survey. The same survey tool was then administered to a regular Introduction to Sociology class without a service learning project (control group). The control group had thirty members in the class and twenty-seven signed the consent form and participated in the survey. The survey tool consisted of twenty-two questions; nineteen of which were opinion questions which asked the participants to rate on a likert scale whether they strongly agreed, agreed, were neutral, disagreed or strongly disagreed with each statement. See Appendix B for a copy of the full survey questions.

The service learning group and control group were compared on three demographic areas: 1) how much ethnic diversity existed in the home town which the participant spent the most time during his or her childhood; 2) the amount of ethnic diversity in the Kindergarten through twelfth grade (K-12) school in which the participant was enrolled (if enrolled in more than one, then they rated the school that had the most diversity); and 3) the amount of diversity in the participant's extended family, defined as the mom, dad, step-mom, step-dad, brothers, sisters, step-brothers, step-sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and parent's significant other. The findings of the demographic comparisons are found in Table 4.11. The two groups were similar in ethnic diversity of hometown, schooling, and extended family.

The differences between these demographic categories of the two groups were not statistically significant.

Table 4.11

Group Statistics of Control and Service Learning Groups

	N = 27		N = 25	
	Control Group		Service Learning Group	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Home Town Diversity	3.74	1.130	3.84	1.179
School Diversity	4.07	1.238	3.92	1.222
Extended Family Diversity	3.22	.892	3.24	1.012

Note: $p \leq .10^*$, $p \leq .05^{**}$, $p \leq .01^{***}$

Looking further at the opinion questions, the first eight questions listed on Table 4.12 were coded so the lower the score, the higher the level of prejudice. The last four questions were reversed coded, so that the lower the score indicated the lower the level of prejudice. See Appendix B for the full question asked; only a short title from the question is listed on Table 4.12. Even though the demographic questions show the groups came from similar backgrounds, the two groups reported significantly different attitudes regarding nine of the twelve prejudice statements. Seven of those nine statements were highly significant at the $p \leq .01$ level. Two of those seven are especially interesting to note because they include statements about immigrants: 1) immigrants control whether they are poor or wealthy and 2) it is difficult for immigrants to work their way out of the lower class. The service learning group rated less prejudice than the control group on these statements. Two statements were significant at the $p \leq .05$ level. These two statements centered on poverty. It is also interesting to note the lack of statistically significant difference in the statements about feeling comfortable working with people with different race or nationalities, and with poor people. Although they were not significantly different, the service learning group had mean

scores indicating lower prejudice, however it may have been just due to chance on these three non-significant outcomes. Overall, the quantitative survey triangulated that the service learning group had significantly lower prejudice levels than the control group. It did not measure causation of those lower prejudice scores.

Table 4.12

Comparison of Control Group and Service Learning Group on Prejudicial Statements

	N = 27		N = 25	
	Control Group		Service Learning Group	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
<u>Lower score = higher prejudice</u>				
Immigrants control whether poor or wealthy***	3.26	1.318	4.32	.900
People get what they deserve***	3.19	1.178	4.0	.913
Could get by without welfare if tried ***	2.89	1.013	3.64	1.036
Minorities could be like whites if they try harder***	3.37	1.245	4.28	.843
Poor people don't want to work hard **	3.26	1.318	4.04	1.098
Too many people get something for nothing**	2.26	1.023	2.88	1.130
Feel uncomfortable working with different race or nationality	4.26	1.163	4.56	.768
Poor people were brought up without ambition	3.59	1.118	4.08	.909
<u>Lower score = lower prejudice</u>				
Difficult for immigrants to work their way out of lower class***	2.59	.931	1.56	.583
Problems are beyond their control***	3.04	.940	2.24	.879
Rather be working than taking welfare money***	3.63	1.079	2.36	1.114
Comfortable working with poor people	2.07	.997	1.96	1.098

Note: $p \leq .10^*$, $p \leq .05^{**}$, $p \leq .01^{***}$

Triangulation of Themes

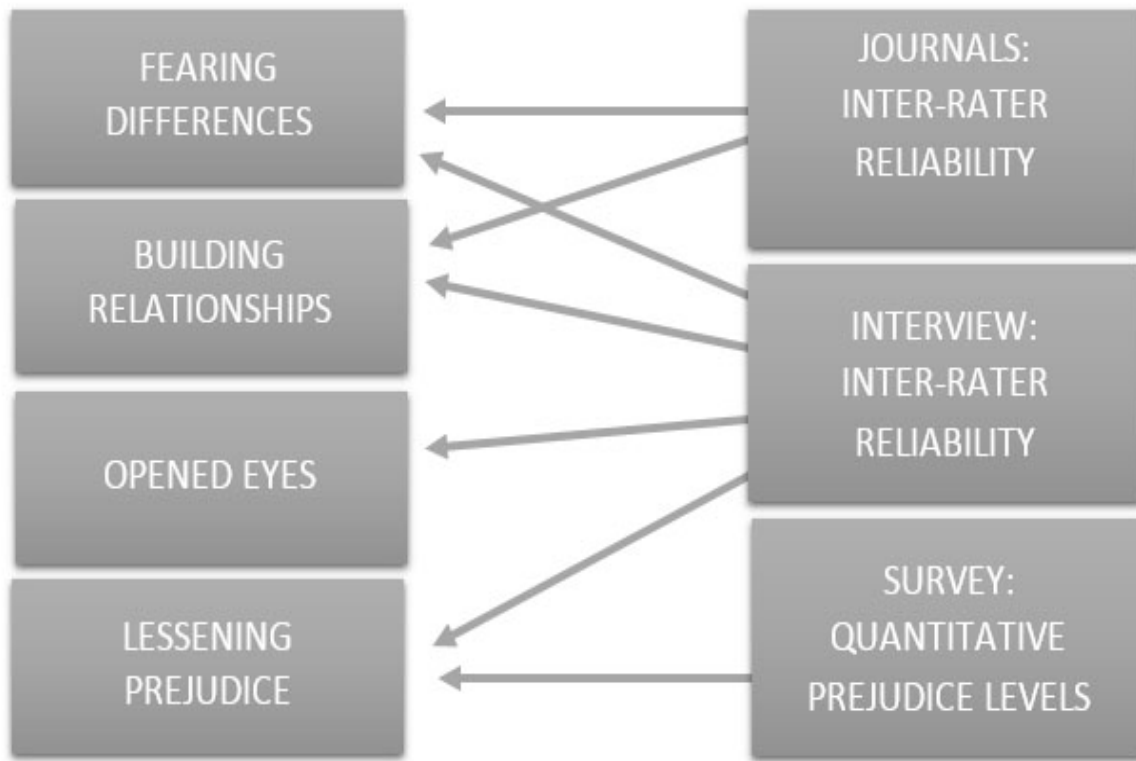


Figure 4.8 Data Analysis Triangulation

Several methods were utilized to triangulate the major themes developed in this study. Figure 4.8 demonstrates the connection between methods of triangulation to each theme. Specifics of triangulation were included in the discussion of each theme in this chapter, but this figure shows the overall triangulation for the study. Coding of journal entries triangulated the first and second themes. Although journal entries were more superficial and did not go into the same depth as what participants verbalized in later interviews, the coding of those themes did surface (Appendix D). Additionally, inter-rater coding found consistency in journal entries under these two themes. Inter-rater coding of the interviews also was useful in triangulating all four major themes. Through the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the four themes emerged. On two different occasions my

major professor and I met to compare and discuss coding of journals and then interviews. Adjustments were made and agreement was reached at two levels of abstraction. I continued to code the remaining interview data as it was obtained and the results of this process are found in Appendix E.

The last theme of lessening prejudice was also triangulated through the service learning and control group survey outcome comparisons. The survey showed that service learning participants had lower levels of prejudice than the control group and that the differences were statistically significant. Although this comparison did not indicate that the service learning program caused the lessened prejudice, the outcomes do triangulate the theme developed through interview data analysis.

Summary

This chapter began by presenting some of the demographic characteristics of the study interview participants and the children with which they were partnered. The major themes of this study explained that the majority of participants 1) feared differences with their young immigrant partners upon starting the program, 2) actively worked to build relationships, 3) obtained new perspectives, and 4) lessened their prejudice when working with their young immigrant partners in the service learning program. Triangulation of the four themes included content analysis of journal entries, inter-rater coding of journals and interviews, and a survey administered to the service learning group and a control group for comparison. In Chapter 5, I will examine the analysis of how the themes work together to develop theory.

CHAPTER 5. AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF SERVICE LEARNING AND PREJUDICE REDUCTION

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore, with a sample group of college graduates, the meaning they attributed to their interactions with young immigrant children in a service learning program and the impact those interactions had on their prejudicial levels. It was hoped that learning more about the meaning of the interaction would lead to the development of a theory to elaborate the process and outcomes of the program in particular on their prejudicial levels. The purpose of this chapter is to provide interpretation of how the themes presented in Chapter 4 fit together and provide a more integrated theoretical understanding. The analysis takes into consideration the literature on prejudice reduction presented in Chapter 2. This discussion is intended to give explanation on how extant theory on prejudice reduction is explained and extended through this study. An integrated theory of prejudice reduction and service learning is explained and the chapter concludes with discussion of possible researcher bias in the interpretations.

To understand the impact on participants' prejudicial level and the meaning they formulated in interacting with their young immigrant partners, it is important to go back and review the themes from the previous chapter. Refer to Figure 5.1 which is a diagram depicting the progression through each theme. The first theme was that participants feared differences when beginning to interact with their young immigrant partners. Participants were reticent because their young partners were from different cultures, races, or immigrant status. This parallels previous research findings about anxiety within contact theory. Anxiety comes from anticipation of rejection, being misunderstood or embarrassed (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Participants held these types of concerns and additional concerns that they would not

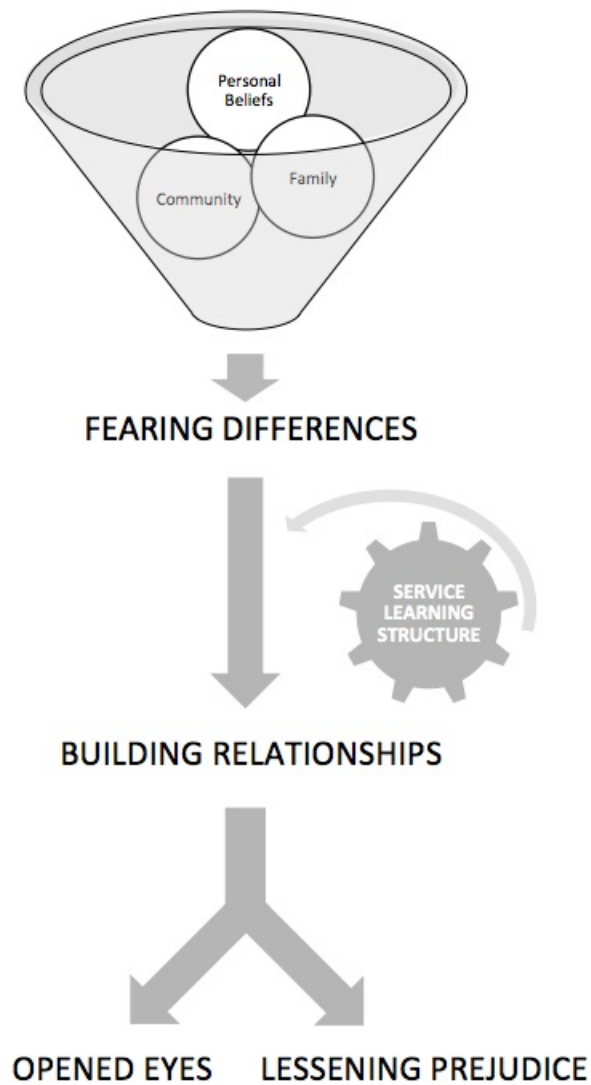


Figure 5.1 Theory of Progression: Lessening Prejudice Through Service Learning

be able to answer the posed journal questions if they could not understand their partners due to language barriers. Those levels of concern stemmed from messages they had learned in their hometown communities or from extended families with moderate to high levels of prejudice and messages adopted as their own beliefs. These prejudicial messages contributed

to the high level of participants expressing fear, nervousness or reticence upon beginning the interaction with their young immigrant partners.

Despite anxiety about intergroup contact, external as well as internal motivation encourages people to successfully connect with others unlike themselves (Butz & Plant, 2011). In the present study, the structure of the service learning program provided external motivation for participants. Participants were well aware that they were required to respond to journal questions and that they were being graded in the course. Despite this external motivation, many commented that the push to make connections with their young partners was more than just the external requirements of the course. Jessie said, “You want to kind of get to know her... So you don’t sign up for it [service learning] to not get to know them.” Many participants found internal reasons to continue to work at overcoming the fear or reticence in working with their young immigrant partners, however the external structure of the service learning program provided additional incentive. The service learning program provided an avenue to come into contact with an immigrant child which would not ordinarily be a contact most students would have made on their own.

Another part of the structure of the service learning program included the group dynamic of several students going together to meet their new partners in ‘van groups.’ Although participants in the van may not have verbalized with each other a tremendous amount about their fear, they knew that they were not in this situation alone. Other college students were also meeting someone of a different immigrant background at the same time. The van groups gave participants something in common and provided assurance that they would get through the experience together. Peter mentioned, “In those drives up there and

back, we were always, my classmates and I, were always talking about it you know. What did our kids say about that and such.”

Once the fear, nervousness and reticence were overcome, participants worked to develop relationships with their young partners, theme two. Participants strived to find commonalities and to ease the uncomfortableness of the initial interaction. Christy explained that, “I feel like as time went on ...like we became more comfortable with each other, and ... it became easier to ask her questions and not feel awkward about it.” Again, the structure of the service learning program pushed the participants to find ways to make those connections. They were required to answer journal questions that probed uncomfortable or sensitive areas. Participants worked to find the best ways to formulate questions to ask their partners and engage in discussions to get the journal questions answered. Chelsea explained it this way, “I remember she was really shy and not very talkative at all... I remember that we had those journal questions...you couldn’t just go and attack them with a question or anything. So you had to warm up... and then just learn a little bit more.”

Allport’s contact theory proposed four necessary factors of 1) equal status, 2) pursuit of common goals, 3) intergroup cooperation, along with 4) institutional support (Allport, 1954). Along with the institutional support and structure, the service learning program provided the other Allport factors for the participants. Engaging their young partners in discussion, working together to select activities and meeting as friends, the college students provided the equal status in the relationship, the first Allport factor. The structure of the service learning program provided a win-win situation; college students were told in their syllabus:

This cooperative venture benefits all parties involved. The individual contact time benefits the elementary student by having an older role model and someone to talk with about any concerns he or she is having. It benefits the

elementary school by providing them with more adult role models to reach more students. It benefits our class by giving us a real life situation to observe and interact to learn specific concepts of sociology and the issue of immigration.

The two partners in the relationship had a common goal, Allport's second factor, of successfully navigating the 'arranged' partnership to get through the semester. Although both children and college students could get out of the relationship by dropping the course or not being cooperative, the professor and school principal provided lots of encouragement and favorable explanations as to why this structured program, Allport's fourth factor, was a benefit for each participant. The added external motivation encouraged the two parties to find a common goal of securing the partnership and obtaining the needed intergroup cooperation, Allport's third factor. Only rarely did a child become uncooperative and then was removed from a partnership. Likewise, only rarely did a college student not persist in the partnership, stop going to the meetings, or drop the course. Although occasionally a child withdrew from the school and a new partner needed to be added, it rarely was due to uncooperativeness of the child.

Allport's four factors were all present in the service learning program. However, an extension to Allport's theory was developed in this service learning program. That extension was the development of strong one-on-one relationships. Although Allport, and subsequent researchers, discuss the intergroup contact, they never specify that it necessitates one-on-one relationships; contact can happen with an individual to a group, or vice-versa. One example of this was when Brandon explained he had been a leader for a diverse group of kids at an inner-city agency, but he was nervous to start a one-on-one relationship despite his prior experience with groups of kids. Although some contact situations described in the literature contemplated the one-on-one relationship, such as contact with other roommates (Van Laar et al., 2005), this is not a prong that Allport explains as essential. In the service learning

program, the one-on-one contact aided the building of the relationships between partners, which in turn helped participants find movement in the final two thematic areas. Additionally the structure of the service learning program aided the relationship building. See the direction of participant progression in Figure 5.1.

The third theme, that participants found they gained new perspectives from interacting with their young immigrant partners, follows after the development of relationships. Participants' eyes were opened to new situations, including the larger issue of immigration, their partners as young immigrants, or the partners' families' situations. One participant's partner's mom was in the process of being deported and the service learning partnership was terminated early when the young partner had to leave the school. The participant, Sally, then was assigned a new partner. Sally felt confused about this new perspective of having a parent deported and how it was not the fault of her young partner. Sally said, "But it gave me the opportunity to see a lifestyle that's totally different than my own. And someone who is worrying about things that I would never have to worry about...especially when you are dealing with things like your mom possibly getting deported and stuff like that." Other participants learned what it would be like to learn English in a short time, or face discrimination as an immigrant. Some of the journal questions pushed participants to think about these different perspectives. Journal questions included issues of race and ethnic background: *How do you think your partner and his or her family might be impacted about some issue of race and ethnicity?* and privilege: *How do you think your partner would fare in playing the penny "privilege" exercise (like did your partner's parents go to college, have they lost their jobs, etc.)?* Here again the structure of the service learning program assisted participants in having the opportunity to open their eyes to new

perspectives in life. In the end, it was up to each participant whether they were able to achieve opened eyes.

Participants talked about how obtaining this experience caused them to change undergraduate majors, change focus in life, or learn more about their own identity. The development of new perspectives had a particularly strong impact. Participants were asked toward the end of the in-depth interview, *What overall meaning has this experience, either had, or continue to have for you?* Although five areas surfaced in answering this wrap-up question, opening their eyes to new cultures and new perspectives was the highest area with 61% of the participants including this in their answers. The other areas included positive impact on the young partner (29%), enjoyment of the experience (8%), learning about my own prejudice and how race doesn't matter (7%) and looking to do more service and volunteer work (7%).² Many participants also found that it was important that this experience happened early in their college years. This early exposure impacted the direction of academic courses they took, fields they majored in, and experiences they looked for in the future. Many wanted to continue their experiences of interacting with diverse people. When Brenda was asked what she learned in working with her partner, she responded that, "Working with other cultures is definitely something that I would love to do." Still others now had an image of a person, family or child to think about when they heard negative statements about immigrants or immigration issues. The new perspective allowed the participants to see the complexity of larger societal issues.

This third finding of opened eyes concurs and extends prior findings on contact theory. Building empathy for the other in the intergroup contact is an important mediating

² Adds up to more than 100% as some participants listed more than one area.

factor in reducing prejudice (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Allport originally described this concept as putting yourself in someone else's shoes (1954). This describes the affective process when the participants started to feel what it would be like to be the child learning to adapt to a new culture and new language. Allport also talks about how it might include adapting to the other person's point of view. Here participants took these new perspectives and many realized their goals to find ways to continue having intergroup contact in some form. Some participants talked about learning a new direction for a career, others had existing career paths but now wanted to include working with diverse populations within that path. Other participants began more service work specifically with diverse populations, with one participant seeing it direct his path in ministry. Josh explained, "I think the way it [service learning] is continuing to have clear meaning is a passion that I've sort of seen in myself... pursuing a ministry, I would call ministry at the margins...being in solidarity with people who are often marginalized...it is always going to be connected ... to my first experience with someone [service learning partner] who was a part of people that we often ignore." These examples demonstrate establishing empathy when participants obtained opened eyes.

Lessening prejudice, the fourth theme, often concurred with the category of seeing with new eyes; a majority (81%) discussed both areas in their interviews. Structural aspects of the Introduction to Sociology course content focused on racial stratification and prejudice and racial privilege in society. These structural foci, in combination with working with partners from different racial and ethnic groups, resulted in participants verbalizing reduced prejudice levels. All of a sudden, many participants became aware of their own prejudicial stereotypes and bias, along with prejudice of their extended family and home town

community. A surprising 48% of home town community and 45% of extended family were rated at the high level of prejudice (7 – 10). Participants wrestled with the friction between previous exposure to high levels of prejudice against immigrants and other minorities, internal levels of prejudice and getting to know someone from the immigrant category. Participants exposed this strain by expressing embarrassment at such high levels of prejudice within her or his family or self. The previously accepted belief system became dislodged when meeting a person who did not fit the same stereotypes previously learned. Some found it hard to verbalize, but through the interaction they learned immigrants were real people. Other participants were just embarrassed to claim that they had prejudiced family members. As the contact with their partners provided examples of young people with families, goals, hardships, and common traits, the participants had to deconstruct their previous prejudicial viewpoints. As the immigrant child became a real person, participants then learned that the child and his or her family may have similar goals and norms or may have different norms in their family. This became acceptable and understandable by putting aside previous prejudicial stereotypes about immigrants.

Allport's contact theory culminates in the final outcome of reducing prejudice through contact with someone from another group. This service learning intergroup contact experience confirms Allport's theory through his four prongs. This study refines and extends the context in which the theory can be applied through this specific service learning program. The temporal progression from initially fearing differences with the young immigrant children, to building relationships through the one-on-one contact, leading to establishing new perspectives and reducing prejudice levels was clearly evident from the participants in the service learning program. This surfaced as the 'answer' to what meaning the interaction

had for participants and how the interaction reduced their prejudice. Therefore, we will turn to the second research question.

College Student Backgrounds Influencing the Meanings of Interaction

To understand the outcome of the second research question, how the participants' backgrounds influenced the meaning of their relationships with their young partners, a review of their backgrounds is needed once again. The typical service learning participant was in the first or second year of college, came from a small or medium town of less than 25,000 people, and grew up in the lower or middle economic class. He or she had a white racial background and averaged a medium to high level of prejudice in either his or her home town and extended family. Looking further at the comparison of the participants' backgrounds with the themes of this study, a determination can be made as to whether particular backgrounds influenced the meanings of the interaction. The theme finding differences will be examined first. Although the majority of participants talked about nervousness due to the partner being an immigrant or different ethnic background, there were some that talked about uneasiness in making connections with someone else in general. The findings from comparing fearing differences to the demographic information primarily showed that there were no major differences in any of the categories. There were no real differences between small towns to cities in the fearing differences category (93% to 100% respectively). Only the large city showed a difference (50% in the fearing differences category). What these demographic comparisons primarily demonstrated were that all demographic sectors exhibited high levels of fearing differences. That is, small towns to large cities, all prejudice levels of hometown, extended family, or college student upon

starting college, all economic class levels, all ethnicities, and all students regardless of year in college, exhibited high levels of fearing differences.

Next the category of building relationships was examined. The comparisons between building relationships and the demographic information, primarily showed that there were no major differences in any of the categories as well. It was interesting to look more specifically at some of the comparisons: 100% of the non-white participants, 100% of the junior and senior students, and 100% of the participants growing up in cities and large cities all worked to build relationships with their young partners. In general, as noted in the fearing differences theme, the demographic information does not exhibit any real differences, but that all demographic groups worked pretty evenly at building relationships. One example would be to look at the hometown prejudice that participants grew up with; of those growing up with highly prejudiced home towns (7 – 10), 80% still worked to build relationships, of medium prejudice home towns (4 – 6), 92% worked to build relationships, and of the low home town prejudice (1 – 3) 75% worked to build relationships with their young partners. What these demographic comparisons primarily demonstrated were that all sectors of small towns to large cities, all prejudice levels of hometown, extended family, or college student upon starting college, all economic class levels, all ethnicities, and all students regardless of year in college, exhibited reasonably high levels of working to build relationships with their young immigrant partners.

Opened eyes was examined to determine whether participant backgrounds had an influence on this outcome. In looking at the economic class background of the participants, both upper class and lower middle class had 100% rates of opened eyes, both the middle class and upper middle class had 88% rates, and 67% of the lower class indicated that they

had opened eyes through the work with their immigrant partners. The participants who indicated they had high levels of prejudice (7 – 10) showed that 100% verbalized statements indicating they achieved opened eyes. This was a significant finding. However, 78% and 81% respectively for the medium level of prejudice and low level of prejudice when students entered college, also obtained new perspectives, which is still an impressive level. The findings from the comparison of the opened eyes and the demographic information primarily showed that all categories were fairly high. They do point out that additional research, looking to see if studies concur with these findings, would be important.

The last theme of lessening prejudice was compared to participants' backgrounds. In looking at the home town size, the participants who grew up in a small town had 100% who lessened prejudice levels. The participants who grew up in a large city had 0% that lessened prejudice. There is no major difference in the racial background between whites (85%) and non-whites (75%) when it came to verbalizing prejudicial reduction shifts. Researchers have found that those with less favorable diversity beliefs (here equated to high prejudice levels), had the most prejudice reduction upon intergroup contact (Adesokan et al., 2011). Here in the service learning program, looking at the comparison of high levels of prejudice upon entering college compared to changes in prejudice level, the same principle holds true. Six people rated themselves in the high level of prejudice upon entering college and all six reported reducing their prejudice level. Thus 100% of the students entering with high level of prejudice verbalized their prejudice levels were reduced. However, 78% of the ones who rated themselves at a medium prejudice level reduced that level and 81% of the ones who rated themselves at a lower prejudice level (1 – 3) also reduced their prejudice. It seems clear that participants at all levels of prejudice upon entering college could be impacted through

service learning contact with young immigrant children. When examining all student backgrounds, of particular importance was that 100% of participants from small towns lessened their prejudice. Even more important is that of those participants who rated their prejudice level high when entering college, 100% both developed new perspectives and lessened their prejudice. Overall however, when examining all student backgrounds, any person from any demographic category had the potential for lessening prejudice when involved with young immigrant children.

Meanings of Interaction Shifted Over Time

This research question looked at whether the meanings participants attributed to the interaction with their young immigrant partners changed over time or was established by the end of the service learning program. After asking each participant what overall meaning did the service learning experience have for them, they were asked whether they understood that meaning by the end of the service learning program. Clearly, 58% of the participants answered strongly that they developed the meaning through later life experiences and reflection. Only 10% said they actively knew the meaning at the end of the program. The other 32% were not asked the question specifically as that question was developed and asked in later interviews after analysis of initial data. The way Brandon stated it was, “I don’t think right after that class, that I felt that way, but clearly I’ve seen ... a lot more since I left college and since I’ve been involved in life.” Bridget explained, “I didn’t just open up to the idea of this on the first day of the program. I might not have opened up to it at the end of the program. ... But I think ... it was more of my other experiences that really solidified my ideas.” Participants had formulated meanings about the program when they experienced later life events or even during the interview process itself. In socially constructing a person’s

reality, they interpret the interaction with others creating concepts and understandings of the interaction over time (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Although some findings were clear at the time of final journal entries, most of the larger meanings of the interactive program came later for participants. Participants knew that they had established a strong friendship and bond by the end of the program. However, they did not verbalize the larger impact of whether their prejudice level had lessened until later life experiences came in to play. Journal entries triangulated the findings of fearing differences and building relationships. However, participants often took years and distance from the program to understand the significance of lessening their prejudice after interacting with their young immigrant partners. Many participants explained that the service learning program was just a ‘start’ that set them on a new path of volunteering or seeking continued work with immigrants or other minority groups. Cindy explained, “Yeah, because that was pretty much like the opening since my freshman year of college... starting to have a lot more volunteer experiences.” Jasmine explained her desire to volunteer tutoring immigrants in this way:

That [service learning] also helped me start. I volunteered at ... church and I started working with their English [Language Learner] program...I’ve been teaching [it] ever since... So I haven’t lost the love for immigrants...I have a passion for that... I think it [is] ... a step in the right ... direction. Or a step in opening the door. Because if I wouldn’t have taken that class, I don’t know if I would have necessarily gone into volunteering as much.

Summary

This chapter explained the meaning participants formulated from being involved in a service learning program with immigrant children and how it impacted their prejudice level. The prior discussion illustrated the complex temporal nature of changing fear and reticence in partnering with an immigrant child, to working to build relationships, to finally obtaining a new understanding of different perspectives and lessened prejudice. Participants with a

variety of backgrounds lessened prejudice and also built empathy to see through different viewpoints. Significantly, 100% of participants from small towns and high levels of prejudice reported lessened prejudice, and 100% of those with high levels of prejudice reported opened eyes through contact with young immigrant children. Lastly, the meanings participants gained about the intergroup contact with young participants developed over time and not just at the end of the service learning program. This chapter offered a theory to explain how these processes developed in sequential order.

Reviewing the analysis of the findings warrants some caution. The research sample contained thirty-one in-depth interviews, however it was a random sample. The themes from the interviews reached saturation and both journal entry content analysis and the quantitative survey provided triangulation of the themes. The in-depth interview participants consisted of those willing to engage in the process. Thus the findings did not represent those that did not want to take part or did not learn about the study. Participants might have self-selected to engage in the interview process if they felt they had positive outcomes from the service learning interaction; they may have declined if the interaction was not positive. Thus, is it important to emphasize that the implications taken from the discussion are specific to the experiences of the sample group under study. However, through theoretical saturation, the themes and theory developed here, through the grounded theory methodology and the constant comparative analysis, allows extension to other similar concepts and themes in new situations.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore the meaning college students made of interacting with young immigrant children while involved in service learning and to develop a theory to advance our understanding of prejudice reduction. The conclusions from this study explained in this chapter follow the analysis stemming from the research questions. Lastly, recommendations will be made resulting from the major themes and conclusions.

Meanings Made of the Interaction With Young Immigrant Children

The most common meanings made in the service learning program was that participants developed seeing with opened eyes or empathy for new perspectives and reduced their prejudice. The themes demonstrated that participants experienced fear in starting interactions with young immigrant partners seen as very different than themselves. The concern primarily centered on differences of race, ethnicity, immigrant status, and language. A conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that fear is primarily universal for people getting involved in contact with someone in another racial, ethnic or immigrant status if it is a new experience. One implication for the service learning program is to understand that almost all participants will be nervous or reticent to begin the program; special attention should be paid to this area.

The fear lessened as relationships were built between partners through the weekly, one-on-one meetings. The second theme demonstrated how important building relationships were to the participants. Required writing assignments about the partner and his or her family's ethnic background, level of privilege, possible experiences with discrimination and prejudice, and other sociological concepts provided external encouragement to the participants. This encouragement pushed participants to make bonds and build relationships

with their young partners to be able to ask personal questions. The uncomfortableness in the initial meetings, and the added requirements to obtain information, worked in concert to nudge the building of relationships. Both external and internal encouragement helped advance the relationships that participants developed.

After building relationships, participants went on to develop empathy and adopt new perspectives from the partners' points of view. A conclusion drawn from this theme is that developing relationships occurred because of participants' interacting with their young partners, learning to see similarities, and finding common interests. From there, participants began to see a life outside of their own existence and that others (their partners) have different experiences than their own. This realization often coincided with being a first-year college student and thus emphasized this particular learning for many. The structure of the program pushed participants to think about the children's backgrounds, families and cultures and that they lived a different experience than their own. Another conclusion is that the structure of the service learning program was important in pushing participants into defining some of the similarities and differences so participants could begin to develop a new perspective. An additional conclusion is that through the intensive one-on-one interactions, participants were pushed to focus on others' lives and experiences. This might not be gained in another type of setting through intergroup contact where participants are leading a group or 'serving' others in a less personal capacity.

Additionally, participants lessened previously held prejudices against immigrants or people of other ethnic identities. This theme was bolstered through a survey comparing participants' levels of prejudice with those in a course who did not participate in a service learning program. The survey showed that the service learning participants' prejudice levels

were lower than the non-service learning group. A conclusion that can be drawn from this theme is that interaction with young immigrant children, along with the structure of asking journal questions about prejudice and discrimination faced by the children and their families, encouraged participants to focus on bias and prejudicial thoughts they might hold. Many participants explained that they had never had contact with an immigrant or someone from another ethnic background. They had previously adopted beliefs they heard growing up in their own communities, from interacting with their extended families or their own nuclear families. A conclusion from this theme is that exposure to others, in an intentional one-on-one manner, allows participants to examine their own prejudices and belief systems resulting in lessened prejudice.

Participant Background Influence

The theme that participants lessened previously held prejudices against immigrants or people of other ethnic identities occurred despite participants' varied backgrounds. A significant comparison of demographic antecedents showed that 100% of the participants, who rated themselves as highly prejudiced upon entering college, lessened their prejudice level and increased their new perspectives. Also 100% of participants who came from small towns lessened their prejudice. Additionally, a conclusion to be drawn from these comparisons is that the one-on-one interaction with young immigrant children worked to lessen prejudice and develop new perspectives despite the race, hometown size, socioeconomic status, year in college, and levels of prejudice of the participant's hometown, extended family, nuclear family or him or herself upon entering college. A final conclusion is that the prejudices held against others are not innate or permanent and can be lessened through one-on-one contact.

How Meanings Shifted Over Time

This last research question was answered by showing the meanings participants developed did not all occur immediately within, or at the conclusion of, the service learning program. A conclusion that can be drawn is that experiences, particularly significant one-on-one interactions for a length of time, develop meaning through additional time and life experiences. A further conclusion is that participants may need help in thinking through and concluding what meaning the interaction with their young immigrant partners had for them. Another related conclusion is that to learn the meaning of service learning programs, where intergroup contact is involved, it may take time, distance and additional experiences for the participants to develop those meanings.

Recommendations

Several recommendations are offered here based on the developed themes, analysis, and conclusions of this study. The recommendations that follow are directed to college administration and faculty, students, community agencies, and researchers.

Recommendations for college and university faculty and administration

1. Provide more service learning educational programs that offer one-on-one contact with someone from different backgrounds than the students, such as different race or ethnicity, immigrant status, economic level or other identity areas. Equal status, cooperation and common goals must be present in the structure of the program. The theoretical outcomes, according to participants' perspectives, show shifts in levels of new perspectives and lessened prejudice.
2. For those faculty who are engaged in service learning, find situations where students can engage in one-on-one interactions to build strong relations and

develop assignments for them to think deeply about the interactions, different perspectives, and possible prejudices held by the students.

3. When one-on-one service learning programs begin, faculty should engage in discussions about participants fearing differences, being uncomfortable and reticent in getting started. Providing examples of positive outcomes and suggestions from previous participants could be useful.
4. Colleges and universities should encourage all backgrounds of students to get involved in one-on-one interactive service learning programs. Particularly, they should encourage those students who have not had opportunities to engage with someone from a different ethnicity, immigrant status, or lower socioeconomic level to get involved.
5. Evaluations of the programs and faculty should be handled carefully as participants may not understand the meaning that it had for them until additional experiences and time has transpired. Traditional methods of course evaluations may not get at the added learning that is involved in the service learning one-on-one programs.

Recommendations for college students

1. Students should get involved in service learning with one-on-one interactions with someone different than themselves. Despite feelings of anxiety, nervousness and reticence about the interaction, learning can be accomplished.
2. Students should push colleges and universities to offer more service learning one-on-one interaction programs connected to courses if the additional Allport factors are present: equal status, common goals, cooperation and institutional support.

Recommendations for community organizations

1. Community organizations should look for opportunities to engage clients, children, students, or participants to partner with colleges and universities to provide one-on-one interactive opportunities. Obtaining new perspectives and lessening prejudices should apply to the agency participants as well. Good service learning programs should provide win-win opportunities, one-on-one interactions and the four Allport factors outlined previously.

Recommendations for researchers

1. Research on the effectiveness of the service learning one-on-one interactive programs should not occur immediately upon ending the program but after some time has lapsed to allow participants time and further experiences to gain perspective about the program.
2. Future research could add a research control group in the in-depth interview stage. Students not involved in service learning who graduated within the same time frame as the participants could be interviewed as a comparison group.
3. Research could focus on involvement with other groups, beyond immigrant children, who are engaged in one-on-one interactive relationships. This research could identify whether prejudice was lessened and if participants gained new perspectives in comparison to this study.
4. Finally, research should focus on the meanings developed by the immigrant children through interaction with college students. Does the same service learning program that reduced prejudice in college students provide similar benefits for the children?

Researcher Reflection

I have come to appreciate and respect the large amount of work and depth of engagement that is entailed in qualitative research and grounded theory in particular. As is required of grounded theory, the researcher must put aside his or her own desires for outcomes and find what the data truly reveals. I pride myself on teaching with a social justice mindset and I really wanted to find the students exhibiting messages about social justice. Although analysis could have been applied to the data in that manner, the real message revealed by participants moved down a different path of developing a theory of prejudice reduction. True to the essence of grounded theory, I slowly shifted my focus to what the data were showing me all along. The grounded theory methodology provided rich and quality findings and I found it very rewarding in the end. I particularly enjoyed the in-depth interviews with former students as I was able to reverse roles getting out of the 'teacher' mode and into the 'learner' mode. I'm forever grateful that my former students taught me well.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Starting the Service Learning (SL) Program

1. Think back to when you were just beginning the SL program. Do you remember why you signed up for that particular class? Did you know it had SL?
2. Describe what you remember thinking/feeling when you first began. What were you told about the program or the children prior to starting the SL? (immigrant child)
-What informed your views at the beginning?
3. Some students write and talk about the feeling of nervousness or fear before they began the SL and others don't. How did your experience fit against these other students? Why do you think you had that feeling? Where did it come from?
4. Describe your SL partner. (ethnicity, class background, country of family of origin, personality)
5. Describe some of the specific interactions with your SL partner that are memorable.
 - a. What makes this experience particularly memorable?
6. Were there any events or experiences that surprised you during SL?
7. Describe the similarities and difference between you and your SL partner.
8. Describe how ethnicity (nationality) was noticeable about your partner's conversation, actions, explanations, shared experiences. Do you remember specific stories, examples? (play with other kids of similar/different backgrounds)
9. What was the most important thing you learned about interacting with the population that you partner was a member of (ethnicity, class)? How did you come to learn that? What actions helped you come to that conclusion?
10. Did other parts of the course help you come to those understandings (above)? (journal entries, class discussions, videos, readings)
11. When the program came to an end, what was the most significant thing you took away from it? What meaning did it have for you? How did you come to that meaning? What actions/thoughts/experiences contributed to it?
12. Did your beliefs/opinions change or stay the same during the SL program? Why? How did they change?
13. What did you learn about yourself in working with this population (ethnicity, class)? Why? How?

After the SL program

1. Describe the last time you thought about your SL partner? (where were you, what were you doing)
2. Describe any interactions with those of different ethnicities/nationalities/classes since your involvement in the SL program. (work, community, activities, etc.) How do you feel about those interactions? Did SL influence your feelings?
3. Has the SL program affected your thinking or actions in any way since the program ended? Give me examples. How? Why?
4. How long has it been since you were in the SL program? Has your thinking or actions changed over time? Give me examples. Why do you think they changed?

Larger Society SJ & MCC Issues

1. The larger U. S. society has various opinions about immigrants, people from different racial groups, or poor people. Describe the latest time you heard someone (media) talk about immigrants or immigration. What were your feelings about it? What was your reaction? Why? Did SL have any influence on your feelings? How? Why?
2. Describe the latest time you heard someone (media) talk about different racial groups. What were your feelings about it? What was your reaction?
3. Describe the latest time you heard someone (media) talk about the poor class. What were your feelings about it? What was your reaction?
4. Do you believe that our society provides every member with equal treatment and opportunity? Why or why not?
 - a. Where is society equitable? where is it not? How did you come to these conclusions? Why do you believe that way?
5. Do you think society has an obligation to make society more equitable for all members of society? For immigrants? Why do you feel that way? How did you come to that feeling?
6. How do you personally fit in with creating a more equitable or “just” society, if at all?
7. Do you feel that inequalities exist more in social institutions or in individual actions? Why do you think that?
8. Has your opinion changed over time? What made it change?

Hometown & Family

1. Tell me a bit about your background before college. What was your home town like? (size, diversity, economic classes, etc.)
2. What was it like growing up in your hometown in regards to contact with people different than yourself?
3. What level of prejudice (on a scale of 1 – 10, with 10 being most prejudiced) do you feel your hometown (extended family, immediate family) had towards immigrants (those in poverty, minorities)? Why do you feel that way? Do you remember an example?
4. Describe your interactions with people outside of your own ethnic, economic class, immigrant backgrounds prior to Simpson College/SL program?
5. When you came to college, did you hold some of those same beliefs as (hometown people, extended family, immediate family)? What level on the same scale mentioned above (1 to 10) did you hold? Do you remember how you felt about immigrants prior to entering the SL class?
6. Did those beliefs/opinions change or stay the same during the SL program? While at college? Since the end of the program/college? If they changed, what specifically do you think contributed to that change? Why did they change? How did they change?
7. What is your ethnic background?
8. What types of work did you parents or guardians do?
9. Did you have access to summer camps? activities after school? Vacations? Lessons (music, sports, ballet, etc.)? Describe your family’s approximate income level while growing up.

10. Did you take other sociology courses or ethnic diversity classes? Why did you take those classes? Were they before or after the SL class? Did your attitude change after/during those courses? Why? How did it change?
11. Where do you currently work/live? Does your work or community in which you live have immigrant or minority people? How so?
12. What level of school did the people that raised you attain? (mom, dad, guardian)
13. What was your college major?

Ending questions

1. After having experienced the SL program, what advice would you give to someone who is just now getting involved in the program?
2. Are there things you learned from SL that you wouldn't have learned in the classroom? Why?
3. Are there things you learned in class that you understood better because of the SL? What?
4. Is there anything else that you think could help people understand the impact of SL on those who participate?
5. Overall, what meaning has this experience had for you? continue to have for you? Why?

APPENDIX B: SURVEY QUESTIONS

Likert scale: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree

1. Government should get out of the business of solving social problems for immigrants.
2. The problems that cause people to need social services are frequently the result of circumstances beyond their control.
3. If I could change one thing about society, it would be to achieve greater social equality.
4. Helping individuals is more important than changing social institutions to help achieve equality.
5. I feel social problems are not my concern.
6. I think our social problems about immigration could best be solved by actions of individuals.
7. For the most part, each individual immigrant controls whether he or she is poor or wealthy.
8. Communities should provide social services to their immigrant members who are in need.
9. We should reach out to specific people in need rather than creating programs to address social problems.
10. I feel uncomfortable working with people who have a different race or nationality than me.
11. Many poor people simply don't want to work hard.
12. Maybe it's not their fault, but most poor people were brought up without ambition.
13. There are too many people getting something for nothing in this society.
14. All things considered, most people get just what they deserve out of life.
15. I feel comfortable working with people from poor communities.
16. Most people on welfare could get by without it if they really tried.
17. Most people on welfare would rather be working than taking money from the government.
18. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if minorities would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.
19. Social conditions make it difficult for immigrants to work their way out of the lower class.

For the following questions, **ethnic diversity** means people of African American, Latino or Hispanic, Asian American, or American Indians descent.

20. The town I spent the primary time during my childhood years had ___ % of ethnic diversity?
 - a. approximately 50% or more ethnic diversity of people
 - b. approximately 25 -49%
 - c. approximately 10 - 24%
 - d. approximately 3 - 9%
 - e. approximately 1 - 2%
 - f. absolutely no diversity

21. The K – 12 school I was enrolled in had ____% of ethnic diversity of students? (If you attended more than 1 school, pick the 1 with the highest diversity.)
- a. approximately 50% or more ethnic diversity
 - b. approximately 25 -49%
 - c. approximately 10 - 24%
 - d. approximately 3 - 9%
 - e. approximately 1 - 2%
 - f. absolutely no ethnic diversity in my school
22. My extended family (mom, dad, step-mom, step-dad, brothers, sisters, step-brothers, step-sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, parent's significant other, etc.) has ____ members of ethnic diversity background?
- a. Approximately 5 or more members
 - b. Approximately 3 – 4 members
 - c. Approximately 1 – 2 members
 - d. No members from ethnic diversity background
 - e. Other: _____

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM**Title of Study: What Meaning Does Service Learning with Immigrant Children Have for College Students****Investigator: Carolyn Dallinger**

This form describes my current research project. It has information to help you decide whether or not you wish to participate. Research studies include only people who choose to take part—your participation is completely voluntary. Please discuss any questions you have about the study or about this form with me before deciding to participate.

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to learn what the service learning program means to past students who were engaged in it. For example, I will ask you questions about the service learning program, what it meant to you in regards to your learning about immigrants, and other possible sensitive questions about your experiences with immigrants, ethnicity, racial and class issues. You are being invited to participate in this study because you completed the Introduction to Sociology with Service Learning course at xxxxxx College.

Description of Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to be interviewed by me. Your participation will last for approximately 1 ½ hours and you will be asked to talk about your attitudes towards the service learning experience and what you learned from it. I will audio-record the interview for my use later on in my research.

If you agree, I will look at four entries during your service learning journal including the first and last journal entries, the mid-term entry, and an entry on a privilege exercise.

Also, if you agree, by checking a box below, you will fill out a 22 short-answer question online survey monkey survey at the end of your interview.

The types of questions that I will ask will center around asking you about the interactions you had with your service learning partner, about what meaning the experience had for you, and how the experience influenced your understanding of people with different ethnic and class backgrounds in other settings.

Risks or Discomforts

While participating in this study you may experience some emotional discomfort in answering sensitive questions about immigrants, ethnic, racial and class issues about the service learning project that you were engaged in during the class and in society in general.

Benefits

If you decide to participate in this study, there will be no direct benefit to you. It is hoped that the information gained in this study will help improve service learning teaching methods.

Costs and Compensation

You will not have any costs from participating in this study.

Participant Rights

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part in the study or to stop participating at any time, for any reason, without penalty or negative consequences. You can ask to skip any questions that you do not wish to answer.

If you have any questions *about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury*, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

Confidentiality

To ensure confidentiality to the extent permitted by law, the following measures will be taken: I will immediately assign a pseudonym (i.e. false name) to your recorded information. I will keep your name as assigned to a pseudonym separate from your information in a locked cabinet. I will transcribe your comments. If any quotes are taken out of your recorded information or the journal entries, a pseudonym will be used instead. I will not identify Simpson College in any writings but will refer to it as a small liberal arts college located in the Midwest. I will not disclose your hometown but may make general reference to the size of your hometown or how diverse it is. No names will be revealed about your service learning partner and/or his or her family.

Any records identifying you as a participant will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by applicable laws and regulations and will not be made publicly available. However, federal government regulatory agencies, auditing departments of Iowa State University and Simpson College, and the Institutional Review Board's for both Iowa State University and Simpson College (a committee that reviews and approves human subject research studies) may inspect and/or copy study records for quality assurance and data analysis. These records may contain private information.

Questions

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study. For further information *about the study*, contact Carolyn Dallinger at carolyn.dallinger@simpson.edu or phone (515-708-0135) and/or my supervisor, Dr. Terry Besser, at tbesser@iastate.edu or phone (515-294-6508).

Consent and Authorization Provisions

Your signature indicates that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, that the study has been explained to you, that you have been given the time to read the document, and that

your questions have been satisfactorily answered. You will receive a copy of the written informed consent prior to your participation in the study.

I agree _____ disagree _____ to allow four of my journal entries, written during the Sociology 101 course, to be compared to the transcript of my interview.

I agree _____ disagree _____ to allow Carolyn Dallinger to contact me by phone _____ for follow-up questions and/or clarification of an answer I gave during this interview.

I agree _____ disagree _____ to answer a 22 short-answer question online survey once this interview is completed. The survey will be anonymous and not attach my name to it in anyway.

Participant's Name (printed) _____

Participant's Signature

Date

APPENDIX D: CODING FOR JOURNAL ENTRIES

Name of Code	Number of Sources N=41	Number of References
Work to build relationship, interaction	39	103
Fun, enjoy	16	35
Nervous, scared, reticent, language barrier	21	28
Learn about partner's culture	13	28
Improve college student skills	15	28
Lack of privilege	12	26
Making difference	15	25
Bootstrap mentality	23	24
Systemic need for societal change	22	24
Favorable attributes seen in child	12	15
Seeing with new eyes, new perspective, exposure	9	15
Mentor recognize privilege in self	7	11
Not taking initiative, awkwardness	4	10
Challenge to build relationship	8	10
Out of the classroom learning	5	9
Learn make connections – age	6	6
Similarities – not all that different	5	6
Experience diversity at school	3	4
Shy, child hesitant to talk about ethnic background	4	4
College student taking risks, sharing	2	3
Want work with diversity, immigrant, cultures, change majors	3	3
Future provide more types of service learning	1	1
Child proud of culture, language	1	1

APPENDIX E: FINAL CODING FOR INTERVIEWS

Name of Code	Number of Sources N=31	Number of References
Opened eyes	26	108
Building relationships	26	86
Shifting prejudice and bias	26	78
Fearing differences	28	53
Systemic social justice mentality	26	44
Learning out of the classroom	24	44
Learn about partner's culture	23	40
Desire to work with diversity	18	37
Lack of diversity experiences	16	31
Advising new SL college students	27	29
Bootstrap mentality	11	23
Finding similarities	13	21
Keeping card & gifts	15	18
Seeing favorable attributes	11	16
Constructing meaning later in life	13	14
Improving skills	9	13
Being frustrated at racist or anti-immigrant comments	9	13
Making a difference	9	12
SL helping with coursework understanding	9	12
Civically engaged or volunteer	8	11
SL early directs college experiences	8	9
Learning to make connections despite age	6	8
Personally responsible to make more equitable society	7	7
Feeling bad about prejudiced background	5	7
Enjoying partner	5	5

APPENDIX F: CONTROL GROUP INFORMED CONSENT

This online survey is for a research study conducted by Professor Carolyn Dallinger to learn students' opinions about immigrants, ethnic, racial and class issues in our society. If you agree to participate, you will be asked 22 questions in an online survey. It should only take you approximately 5 minutes to complete. While participating in this study you may experience some emotional discomfort in answering sensitive questions about immigrants, ethnic, racial and class issues in our society.

There will be no direct benefit or cost to you for entering this research survey. No other specific person will directly benefit from this research. It is hoped that this research will lead to better teaching methods in general. Participating in this study is completely voluntary. Your name will not be connected in any way to the survey. You may choose not to take part in the study or to stop participating at any time, for any reason, without penalty or negative consequences. You can skip any question by just entering to the next page.

Federal government regulatory agencies, auditing departments of Iowa State University and xxxxx College, and the Institutional Review Board's for both Iowa State University and xxxxx College (a committee that reviews and approves human subject research studies) may inspect and/or copy study records for quality assurance and data analysis. These records may contain private information.

If you would like a copy of this Informed Consent, you may email me at carolyn.dallinger@simpson.edu or at carolynd@iastate.edu for a copy of this document.

If you have any questions *about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury*, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011. For further information *about the study*, contact Carolyn Dallinger at carolyn.dallinger@simpson.edu or phone (515-708-0135) and/or my supervisor, Dr. Terry Besser, at tbesser@iastate.edu or phone (515-294-6508).

By clicking the enter button below, you have consented to engage in this survey.



Enter Survey

Thank you for your participation in this research.

Carolyn Dallinger
Associate Professor xxxxxx College & PhD student at ISU

APPENDIX G: JOURNAL ENTRY QUESTIONS CODED FOR TRIANGULATION

- 1) Write a journal entry that explains your initial meeting with your [elementary school] student. What was the best part of your initial meeting? What was the most difficult part of your first meeting? What did you do during this first meeting?
- 2) What did you and your partner do this week during your service learning? Are you finding enough activities to do? What thoughts do you have about the "privilege" exercise we did in class (with the pennies)? How do you think your partner would fare in playing the penny "privilege" exercise (like did your partner's parents go to college, have they lost their jobs, etc.)? What responsibility, if any, do we have in our society to try to even the privileges that some people are born with or receive in early life?
- 3) You have just passed the mid-point of meetings with your student partner. Critique how things have gone thus far. Have you noticed any benefits from this project so far? What have been some of the drawbacks? Do you have any suggestions for changing the project?
- 4) What feelings did you have about saying goodbye to your partner at the final party at [elementary school]? In what ways do you think you have impacted your young partner and your partner has impacted you over this semester? Do you feel this service learning project has helped your overall learning at college? Do you have any other suggestions to improve the service learning program?

APPENDIX H: INTERVIEWEE INDIVIDUAL DEMOGRAPHICS

Name ³	Year in college	Economic class ⁴	Size of home town ⁵	Level of Prejudice of: ⁶			
				home town	extended family	own family	self when entering college
Addy	1 st	L	MT	7	10	5	5
Alison	3 rd	L	ST	3	6	3	3
Amy	2 nd	UM	ST	5	7	3	3
Anya	2 nd	M	MT	8	5	10	8
Brandon	3 rd	M	MT	6	5	3	3
Brian	2 nd	L	ST	3	7	0	0
Bridget	1 st	UM	ST	8	9	9	7
Brenda	2 nd	LM	MT	6	7	5	3
Chelsea	1 st	L	ST	7	6	2	2
Christy	1 st	UM	C	4	8	4	2
Cindy	1 st	L	ST	8	8	8	8
Janie	1 st	UM	MT	4	5	4	2
Jared	1 st	M	C	8	8	3	1
Jasmine	1 st	UM	C	8	6	4	2
Jessie	1 st	UM	ST	8	8	8	8
Jocelyn	3 rd	U	MT	6	3	2	2
Josh	1 st	U	ST	9	4	4	3
Julie	4 th	U	C	9	8	6	6
Kara	2 nd	U	ST	7	6	7	7
Macey	3 rd	L	ST	9	9	6	6
Madison	2 nd	M	ST	6	4	4	4
Marshall	1 st	L	LC	10	5	5	5
Nancy	1 st	L	C	3	1	1	1
Peter	1 st	M	ST	5	10	5	5
Richard	1 st	UM	MT	7	6	6	7
Sally	1 st	LM	MT	5	6	7	4
Sarena	1 st	UM	ST	4	4	2	2
Shirley	2 nd	M	ST	5	8	5	5
Sophia	1 st	M	LC	5	5	2	1
Steve	2 nd	M	MT	1	7	1	1
Teresa	1 st	L	ST	7	5	5	5

³ All pseudonyms

⁴ L = Lower Class, LM = Lower Middle Class, M = Middle Class, UM = Upper Middle Class, U = Upper Class

⁵ Sm. Town (ST) = ≤ 5000, Med. Town (MT) = 5001 – 25,000, Lg. Town (LT) = 25,001 – 100,000, City (C) = 100,001 – 500,000, Lg. City (LC) = ≥ 500,001

⁶ Level of Prejudice from 1 to 10 with 10 being the most prejudice (used for hometown, extended family, own family, and self)

APPENDIX H CONTINUED

Name	Race of college student ⁷	Race of child partner ⁸	Country of immigration	Seeing with new eyes	prejudice & bias reduction	Want to work with diversity
Addy	W	L	Unk		√	
Alison	W	As	Laos	√	√	√
Amy	W	L	El Salvador	√	√	
Anya	W	L	Mexico	√	√	
Brandon	W	L	Honduras	√	√	
Brian	W	As	Cambodia		√	
Bridget	W	L	Mexico	√	√	√
Brenda	W	Af	Liberia	√		√
Chelsea	NW	L	Unk	√	√	√
Christy	W	L	Unk	√	√	√
Cindy	W	L	Mexico	√	√	√
Janie	W	Af	Unk	√	√	
Jared	W	L	Unk	√	√	√
Jasmine	W	L	Mexico	√	√	√
Jessie	W	L	El Salvador	√	√	
Jocelyn	W	L	Columbia	√	√	√
Josh	NW	Af	Unk	√	√	√
Julie	W	L	Guatemala	√		√
Kara	W	L	Mexico	√	√	√
Macey	W	L	Mexico	√	√	√
Madison	W	L	Mexico	√	√	√
Marshall	NW	As	Nepal	√		√
Nancy	NW	L	Mexico		√	
Peter	W	L	Mexico		√	
Richard	W	L	Mexico	√	√	√
Sally	W	As	Viet Nam	√	√	√
Sarena	W	L	Unk		√	
Shirley	W	L	Unk	√	√	√
Sophia	W	L	Mexico	√		
Steve	W	L	Unk	√		
Teresa	W	L	Unk	√	√	

⁷ W = White/Caucasian, NW = all other ethnic minorities whether one race listed or multicultural (to protect the identity because of so few minority college students)

⁸ Children's race: L = Latino, As = Asian, Af = African