CRITICAL QUESTIONS IN EDUCATION

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The Academy for Educational Studies

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Colleagues and Friends of the Academy:

Welcome to year 12 of *Critical Questions in Education*!

The individual manuscripts in this first Issue of Volume 12 were "published" some ten days ago as I struggled to get time to pen this editorial introduction. I sit here at the end of January pondering 2020 and the rough start to 2021. In just the past month we've witnessed a new year; a violent and deadly insurrection at the U.S. Capitol; walls being erected around the Capitol; the inauguration of Joe Biden; the second impeachment of Donald Trump; yet more black men dying at the hands of police; the loss of Hammerin' Hank Aaron, Cicely Tyson, and Larry King; the grim milestone of 433,000 Covid-19 deaths in the U.S.; the slow roll-out of two Covid-19 vaccines; and, the appearance of virulent new strains of the virus. Anyone exhausted? A colleague of mine recently quipped that though 2020 was bad, 2021 is of drinking age…imagine 2020 on a binge. It seems she may have been right.

Volume 12, Issue 1 of *Critical Questions in Education* might best be read as addressing two differing themes: one on emotion and violence; the other on teacher education practices. The first of these two themes is taken up by Emma M. McMain and Zoe Higheagle Strong. They ask that we reconsider how emotions have been historically conceptualized. Ilene Allgood & Rachayita Shah follow up with a report on the impact of implementing a Holocaust unit with Elementary students on pre-service teachers. Finally, on this first theme, Yuki Hasebe, Colin R. Harbke, and Nadia Sorkhabi present an analysis of self-perceptions among both bullies and victims.

The second theme, teacher education practices, is first considered by Doreen L. Mazzye & Michelle A. Duffy who discuss the impact of a teacher residency model. Cathy Pearman and her colleagues, Freddie Bowles and Walter Polka, complete this first Issue of Volume 12 in reporting the findings of a study on teacher self-efficacy.

In closing, the Academy hopes to be back in the conference business this October in Cleveland. We hope to see you there…and…here's to a sober 2021.

Happy reading.

PAX,

Eric C. Sheffield, Editor
Critical Questions in Education

Critical Questions in Education

Eric C. Sheffield, Managing Editor

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Troubling Dominant Understandings of Emotion in Educational Settings: A Critical Reflection on Research and Curriculum

Emma M. McMain & Zoe Higheagle Strong, Washington State University

Abstract

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, educational research on emotions and social emotional learning has increased substantially. With this influx is a need for more critical work that explores how such research can both challenge and reproduce social injustices. In this conceptual paper, we critically reflect on the first author's thesis study to explore how Western-dominant frameworks of emotion can shroud marginalized ways of thinking, feeling, knowing, and being. Our paper is guided by the question, how can we explore social-emotional aspects of education in ways that dismantle the privileging of white, neoliberal, patriarchal, and colonial worldviews? We consider how such worldviews (which often partner with post-positivist paradigms) can 1) position emotions as instrumental toward the end goal of "academic achievement," 2) neglect how race, ethnicity, gender, culture, and context shape people's understandings and experiences of emotion, and 3) privilege individualistic models of emotion over relational, embodied, and collectivist understandings. The paper ends with an overview of three frameworks (one arts-based, one discourse-based, and one rooted in Indigenous pedagogies) that could be potential starting points toward transformative, decolonial explorations of emotion.

Keywords: *Emotion, social emotional learning, critical reflection, decolonial education, culturally sustaining/revitalizing pedagogies*

In my second year of graduate school, I sat in a blue plastic chair in the fifth-grade wing of an elementary school, conducting my Master's thesis study. Recess had just ended and a torrent of students flooded the hallway, cheeks flushed from ball-throwing and voices still cranked to the outside setting. Beside me, my participant worked on a survey designed to measure her emotions: pride, excitement, frustration, and nine others, each listed beside a 1-10 scale. I had instructed her to accurately report on how strongly she felt each emotion in the moment, not yet disclosing that I had delivered a predictor variable —praise—a few minutes earlier. I was exploring whether two types of academic praise ("process praise" focused on effort and strategy use, versus "person praise" focused on inherent ability) predicted fifth-graders' emotions in the midst of a challenging puzzle. As a graduate student conducting a quasi-experimental study, I believed that "rigorous" research should attempt to control for all the "noise" in the world except for my variables of interest.

As my participant hunched over her paper, the rest of her classmates barreling along behind us, I had to suppress a laugh at the irony of our situation. Here we were, both working to drown out the noise and commotion of a world that never holds still. My fascination with human

emotion, in all of its social, embodied dynamism, was reduced to a list of twelve words next to a scale of ten numbers. I asked myself, what assumptions about research, knowledge, and reality am I making, shaped by my experiences as a white, middle-class, young-adult woman who has spent more than eighteen years in Western institutions of education? How can I recognize my simultaneous reproduction of and resistance to dominant paradigms of social science? How can I learn from my own contradictions to support understandings of emotion that challenge the current hegemony of educational research?

Introduction

Students in educational research fields, including the first author of this paper, are often taught the pillars of post-positivist science without deeply interrogating the power relations that are embedded in research. Although the paradigm wars of the 1980s forged new paths for critical scholars (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), post-positivism continues to act as a dominant paradigm in many research disciplines, framing research as a tool for discovery and representation—more than creation and transformation—of our worlds. In a society responding to neoliberal emphases on management, marketization, and measurement, post-positivism partners with a demand for "accuracy" and "accountability" to constrain what is valued in empirical pursuits (Spooner, 2018; Yoon & Templeton, 2019). In such a framework, inquirers are limited in how they can create knowledge about emotion in narrative, aesthetic, and embodied forms. To open more space for these forms of knowledge, post-positivism must be decentered as a privileged philosophy of research.

The first author's thesis, a quasi-experimental study that manipulated two types of researcher-to-student praise and then measured students' emotions, built on criteria of "good" post-positivist inquiry without seriously considering the constraints and alternatives to such an approach. In this conceptual paper, we (the first author and her committee chair) make time and space for such considerations, focusing less on the thesis itself and more on the discourses that shaped it. The purpose of this article is *not* to say that post-positivist studies are unethical, poorly designed, or false in their "findings." Our critique is not on post-positivism itself, per se, but on how the knowledge produced by such research can reproduce white, individualistic, patriarchal, and colonial discourses.

We do not claim that post-positivism is inherently inferior to other frameworks, that all quantitative research is post-positivist, or that all qualitative research is critical and/or interpretivist. Rather, we open with the first author's snapshot story of her thesis as a point of rupture, a place where our researcher-identities became more aware of their own binds and began transforming those binds into a critical reflection of emotion-based research in the social sciences. Following Ahmed (2017), we draw from our particulars to question broader themes. Guiding this paper is the question, *How can we create research and curricula on social-emotional aspects of education that recognize and decenter white, neoliberal, patriarchal, and colonial ways of knowing?* We pose this question specifically to scholars whose inquiry involves the construct of emotion and/or social-emotional learning, but also to any educational researchers who find themselves positioned in fields that are still dominated by objectivist epistemologies and individualistic ontologies.

Theories and frameworks of emotion are always inextricable from the wider socio-cultural-economic climates in which we live (Apple, 2004; Ahmed, 2004; Hoffman, 2009). Our focus in this paper is less on *what* emotions are or *why* they occur, and more on *how* understandings of emotion are situated in various contexts and implicated in *whose* lives. Toward what ends do we study emotion? How do outcomes vary across contexts? In the following sections, we provide a

brief history of research on emotion in the United States and discuss how educational studies can lead to social reproduction *and* transformation. We then highlight three prevalent issues in the field: 1) emotions as instrumental toward "academic achievement" (a term shaped by neoliberal values of competition, individual merit, and rational choice), 2) emotions as "neutral" (the need to move beyond white, Western frameworks), and 3) emotions as possessions (the need for relational frameworks). We end with a discussion of three frameworks that could be beneficial in exploring emotions among diverse populations in educational contexts.

A Brief Historical Context of Emotions in the Social Sciences

In their review of emotion-based research, Paoloni and Verónica (2014) suggest that "it is surprising that research on emotions in school settings has been so slow to emerge" (p. 570). When considering the socio-historical context of emotions in colonial research, *is* this really surprising? The history of such research in the United States is, according to historians Stearns and Lewis (1998), both old and new. "Research" in the U.S. has long drawn on the Enlightenment notion of "rational" observations toward the discovery of universal "Truths," which often involves bracketing emotion and adopting a positivist view of the world. The last two decades of the twentieth century, with the paradigm wars that contested positivist constraints on scientific inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), contributed to a new wave of explicitly emotion-based research in education. However, emotion was a topic of inquiry for early psychologists as far back as the late 1800s.

At the end of the nineteenth century, emotion was taken up by the emerging field of psychology as a biological construct to measure, manipulate, and control (Stearns & Lewis, 1998). The James-Lange theory (James, 1884), one of the earliest psychological frameworks of emotion, suggested that emotion was the result of bodily changes from environmental stimuli. This model was later critiqued for its causal assumption that humans experience emotions and physiological reactions linearly rather than simultaneously (Cannon, 1987). A key theme during the early 1900s was a push toward emotional control and the belief that "de-emotionalized" bodies could promote standardization and replication (Stearns & Lewis, 1998). Entering the mid-1900s, behaviorist paradigms provided further momentum for a pendulum swing away from the introspective and psychoanalytic traditions that threatened psychology's credibility as a legitimate positivist science. New cognitive models of emotion emerged in the 1980s (e.g., Lazarus, 1988) in response to the limits of behaviorism (i.e., its disregard of humans' attitudes and appraisals), but the emphasis on emotional management/regulation remained—particularly in educational contexts (Hoffman, 2009). In sum, much of the twentieth-century research in the social sciences either neglected emotion entirely or understood it across a split of "cognitive" versus "biological" perspectives (Paoloni & Verónica, 2014).

The turn of the twenty-first century brought several "gains" including integrative frameworks that recognize emotion as physiological, cognitive, *and* cultural (e.g., Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Paoloni & Verónica, 2014); popular sentiments that learning is about more than cognitive intelligence quotients (Goleman, 1995; Salovey & Mayer, 1990); and a rise of social-emotional learning (SEL) curricula. SEL curricula typically aim to promote empathy, care, and relational skills among students (Cherniss et al., 2006; Elias et al., 1997). However*,* all of these signs of "progress" should be critically examined. Despite the shift away from positivism and toward more interpretivist and critical frameworks in the social sciences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), Western understandings of emotion remain bound to the perceived inferiority of women, people of color, and the working/lower class (Stearns & Lewis, 1998). Emotions have long been positioned on the

feminine, bodily, irrational, subjective side of an implicit binary with masculine, cognitive, rational, and objective on the side of scientific "progress" (Ahmed, 2004; Lesko, 2012). Research continues to privilege white, middle-class knowledge (Hoffman, 2009), and even many cross-cultural studies on emotion use white samples as benchmarks and baselines. Too often, marginalized populations are treated as homogeneous, exotic, and/or deficient within educational research (Rowe & Royster, 2017). While scientific "advances" recognize the importance of research on emotion and SEL, these advances continually fail to ask, value *for what, for whom*, and *in which contexts?* Where might the historical emphasis on emotion "management" and the search for meta-theories of reality linger?

Educational Research as a Site of Social Reproduction *and* Transformation

U.S. education is currently dominated by neoliberal discourses that constitute education as the acquisition of measurable competencies and self-control (Apple, 2004; Hoffman, 2009; Yoon & Templeton, 2019). This "object-list model" of learning (Emery, 2016) lends itself to standardization and competition, which work to maintain social hierarchies on the basis of sex, race, class, and other facets of identity (Apple, 2004). Social reproduction theorists (e.g., Anyon, 1981; Bowles & Gintis, 1976) argue that schools reproduce inequalities by teaching curricula and delivering assessments that privilege the "achievement" of groups who already hold the most social capital (Bourdieu, 1973). This privileged capital includes elements of personality, self-presentation, and identity, all of which are implicated in SEL curricula.

Public schools can be seen as agencies of acculturation in which dominant ideologies about emotion are both reproduced and resisted by students. Those whose cultural identities clash with Western curricula may still take up some of these dominant beliefs, not through overt control as much as subtler hegemonic forces. Carnoy and Levin (1985) complicate social reproduction theory by illuminating the contradictions within capitalistic education: Even while schools reproduce social relations of power, the education system is also a site of conflict and contestation. SEL curricula are not only instruments of the elite but are also produced by conflicting power relations among social groups. As dominant discourses "hail" or push people toward particular subjectivities (senses of self), people "speak back" with multiple responses (Ngo, 2010). Thus, we recognize education as a space in which inequities are reproduced via social practices and internalized identities *and* where transformation can occur for greater social justice.

Transformation requires more than small changes within the same hegemonic frameworks. Although stakeholders should be applauded for making "new moves" (e.g., developing SEL curriculum and disrupting dualistic frameworks of emotion), many remain bound to the dominant gameboard of neoliberal discourses. This gameboard set the boundaries of the author's thesis as a quest to "fill in the gaps" or build on the "progressive" knowledge produced by past literature. The authors responded to the proclaimed need for further research on praise and emotion by hypothesizing that specific types of praise would relate to specific emotions. This meant producing a measurable definition of emotion, clear categories of praise, and an interest in generalizability over context. We seek to recognize what may go unquestioned and unexamined when a study is confined within such boundaries. Our goal is not to call for the replacement of one hegemonic paradigm (e.g., post-positivist educational research informed by neoliberal ideologies) with another, but to illuminate the realities that are marginalized behind dominant assumptions about what it means to think, feel, learn, and know. In this mission, we address several concerns in the research on emotion.

Three Central Concerns in Emotion-Based Research and Curriculum

Emotions as Instrumental Toward Academic Achievement

Our first concern responds to the question of *whose interests and what ends are being served by research on emotion?* This question came to light in the first author's thesis study as she simultaneously resisted and reified the use of emotions for academic ends. As mentioned, the purpose of this study was to examine whether different "types" of praise predicted fifth-grade students' emotions. Despite the author's intentions to recognize emotions as important in and of themselves—positioning them as dependent variables, rather than mediators or moderators—she drew on frameworks, methods, and assumptions that centered academic success as the core "so what" of the work. While we do not intend to demonize research that examines how emotions relate to academic outcomes, we are critical of the power relations that constitute categorical and quantifiable measures as the *best* or *most rigorous* means of exploring emotion. By treating emotions as measurable, isolatable, universally labeled, and linked with academic outcomes, this thesis reproduced what a growing body of work is producing: a story that, with good intentions, tells stakeholders how they can hone students' emotions into "adaptive" profiles for an outcome with higher value—academic achievement.

How do dominant discourses position and preserve "achievement" as a desired educational outcome? The U.S. education system is rooted in colonial practices that protect and legitimize white, male, middle-class interests under the realm of capitalism (Lesko, 2012). Even in the twenty-first century, these imperialistic regimes continue to oppress people via culturally-biased testing, inequitable distribution of resources, and an emphasis on measurable skill-sets (Apple, 2004). Contrary to the promise of education as the ladder of upward mobility, only certain bodies can come out on top. The educational emphasis on sortable "skills" appears in SEL, which was introduced in 1994 as "the process of acquiring a set of social and emotional skills—self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making within the context of a safe, supportive environment" (Cherniss et al., 2006, p. 243). While SEL programs may aim to richen students' lives and relationships, many standards include terminology such as *regulate, monitor, control, reduce,* and *manage* emotion. With this, emotion is subverted beneath the *cognitive processing* of emotion that can be more objectively measured. Hoffman (2009) states:

> The emphasis on emotional skills reveals that emotion per se is not the focus; rather, it is the cognitive processing of emotion that is important—the "reasoning about" emotion and the behaviors one associates with such reasoning. SEL is fundamentally about psychometric and pedagogical possibility: Skills can be taught and the learner's competence in their performance can be measured…individual performances can be measured, deficiencies can be assessed and remediated, and in the end all children can be taught the appropriate skills and behaviors (p. 538).

The concern is not that measurable performance and emotion regulation are *bad*, but that standards tend to frame emotion as a means to behavioral control and academic "productivity" rather than an integral aspect of life to be fully experienced, explored, and valued in itself. Hoffman (2009) goes on to say,

Unless a parallel emphasis is placed on the qualities of relationships that arguably should contextualize skills and behaviors, the discourse risks promoting a shallow, decontextualized, and narrowly instrumentalist approach to emotion in classrooms that promotes measurability and efficiency at the expense of (nonquantifiable) qualities of relatedness (p. 539).

A continual emphasis on emotional self-management can lend itself to rigid definitions of "success," "appropriate skills," and "career readiness" that privilege upward growth of the nation more than inward/outward growth of the people in it. Self-management can also work as a tool to create subjects who will, through their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, reproduce the standards of "achievement" that serve the interests of dominant groups (Burke, 2017; Zembylas, 2014). "Whole child" education that grants attention to social and emotional wellbeing is greatly needed to promote balance and break binaries. However, holistic frameworks can also become assimilated into classification devices that perpetuate the very injustices they seek to heal. When SEL is taken up with an emphasis on self-regulation, rationality, and measurable achievement (and covertly, whiteness, masculinity, and capitalistic values), it can become a new way to test and sort students among the haves and have-nots (Apple, 2004) and can promote students' own *self*-sorting and internalizations of worth (Hatt, 2012).

Without denying the benefits of SEL in certain contexts, curricula may sometimes *intend* to nurture emotion yet incidentally re-marginalize emotion under the dominant discourse of categorization and cognitive control. Academic achievement and emotion regulation must be critically examined as conduits of power that reinforce social stratifications. When emotions are construed as capital to be managed toward dominant definitions of achievement, what does this mean for groups of people who do not benefit from those ends? Who is involved in producing the dominant knowledge on emotion, and whose knowledge is pushed to the fringes?

Emotions as "Neutral": The Need to Move beyond White, Western Assumptions

Because race/ethnicity, class, gender, and other aspects of identity are always embedded within research paradigms, researchers must critically consider how their work implicates students in direct and indirect ways. In this section, we continue to draw from the first author's thesis study to explore how well-intending research can revert to assumptions that attach individualistic, Eurocentric labels and expectations to students' emotions. Due to the small sample size of the thesis, the authors excluded race/ethnicity from analysis, citing this as a factor that should be explored in future research. Beneath this common disclaimer is the assumption that race/ethnicity *is* a "variable" that can be "left out" of a study. We argue here that it is not and cannot—and nor can any other facet of identity. By this, we do not mean that quantitative researchers should extend demographic surveys to include measures and categories for infinite aspects of identity. Our point is that "variables" do not just appear when they are presented in measures: identity is always embedded in research designs, frameworks, and citations. Race and ethnicity shape and are shaped by ontological and epistemological beliefs, and whiteness often partners with an individualism that shrouds the collectivist beliefs held by many people of color. Recognizing the non-categorical, intersectional identities at play in any study can help to protect against the marginalization and instrumentalization of certain groups of people and certain ways of knowing.

Despite general consensus that educational research must devote greater attention to marginalized communities, such statements appear more often in the discussion sections of manuscripts than in the guiding frameworks. In the U.S., Black and Brown people are marginalized not only as participants but also as voices missing from theories and reference lists (Ahmed, 2004; Thompson, 2004). Even when variables are carefully measured and manipulated (and even if no statistical differences are detected between groups), research projects are not ideologically-neutral (Apple, 2004) and ideologies are not identity-neutral. When we say that research is always "cultural," we mean that studies are always bound to "a multilayered, interacting, dynamic system of ideas, institutions, interactions, and individuals" (Hamedani & Markus, 2019). The problem is not that particular identities and versions of reality are always woven into the tacit assumptions of research—the problem is that many researchers are unwilling to recognize it (Ngo, 2010).

Problems also arise when demographic information is collected and analyzed in sweeping categories that do not allow for disaggregation and intersectionality. Native American students are particularly affected by this, as data collection procedures often homogenize the diversity of tribes, socio-economic status, regions, and lifestyles that fall under the category "Native American" (Brady et al., 2020). Such homogenization can perpetuate deficit beliefs about students and obscure their assets and complexities. Whether researchers are designing qualitative studies that recognize identity in non-categorical ways or quantitative studies that explore identity with categorical measures, scholars must reflexively consider what assumptions, stories, and biases they are inevitably bringing into their work.

Going Beyond Constructionist and Socio-cultural Models

As we critique the hegemony of post-positivist studies of emotion in educational settings, we must also acknowledge sociocultural models of emotion. Since the increase in emotion research at the end of the twentieth century, numerous scholars (e.g., Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Butler, 2015; Cameron et al., 2015; Kitayama & Markus, 1994) have challenged the essentialism that still predominates in many disciplines (e.g., that emotions are discrete and predictable; that reality is stable and discoverable). For instance, constructionist frameworks of emotion (Cameron et al., 2015) advocate for non-rigid labels and high within-category variability: Although there are physiological "basic ingredients" for an emotion such as anger, contextual and culturally-specific knowledge complete the recipe. In this sense, emotions are tied to cultural values and may be expressed and experienced differently for different people (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). Kitayama and Markus's (1994) anthology is based on the premise that emotions can only be understood by exploring culture. Guidelines for SEL curriculum continually acknowledge the need to be "culturally appropriate," fair, and sensitive to each individual learner (Elias et al., 1997; Garner et al., 2014).

Even amidst these commendable bodies of research, several challenges remain. These include a) the general lack of critical theories of emotion that explore power relations and social injustices (Ahmed, 2004; Milley, 2009), b) the continual struggles to implement critical frameworks into educational curricula, and c) the need to move beyond statements of multicultural *sensitivity* or *awareness* toward deeper actions of cultural *responsiveness, sustainability,* and *revitalization* (McCarty & Lee, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014). It is not enough to recognize that multiple emotional realities exist. We must understand that these realities are historically- and culturally-bound (Brave Heart, 1998; Hamedami & Markus, 2019) and that some realities are privileged at the expense of others. We must hold a space for individual and group differences *and* similarities,

working to neither exoticize nor assimilate those deemed "other." Because dominant worldviews often become equated with what is considered "normal" or "common sense," the knowledge being produced about emotion is always a particular version of knowledge. Not only must we recognize that common sense is a social product, we must also consider how common-sense practices can marginalize, pathologize, exploit, and punish particular bodies.

The Hegemony Behind "Positive" and "Negative" Emotion

Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony helps to explain how dominant ideologies shape social practices and identities through consent, not force. Defined as "the social and cultural process by which certain parties gain and maintain power and control" (Tucker & Govender, 2017), hegemony involves 1) creating categories and structures that define our realities, and 2) producing "experts" that legitimize particular structures as objective fact (Apple, 2004). Hegemony is never absolute, but hegemonic forces do constrain realities and maintain inequities. For example, the notions of individuality and management in the U.S. are used to label particular emotions as positive, adaptive, or appropriate. This differentiation between "good" and "bad" emotions has become especially relevant in the past few decades, as educational, psychological, and developmental researchers broaden their focus on preventing negative outcomes and reducing risks to include promoting positive outcomes and enhancing strengths (Catalano, 2004; Elias et al., 1997; Fambrough & Kaye Hart, 2008; Paoloni & Verónica, 2014).

The first author followed this approach in her thesis study, measuring six "negative" emotions (e.g., shame, boredom, anxiety) *and* six "positive" emotions (e.g., pride, relief, enjoyment) to move beyond the goal of simply decreasing "harmful" emotionality. In doing so, the study highlights the question of *whose* labels are assigned to particular emotions. Grouping emotions across binaries is ubiquitous but never neutral. Even with the acknowledgement that not all negative emotions are "maladaptive" and not all positive emotions are "adaptive" (Schutz & Pekrun, 2007), how do meaning attributions depend on various aspects of culture and context?

Ahmed (2004) points out that "even when we feel we have the same feeling, we don't necessarily have the same relationship to the feeling" (p. 10). For instance, Western norms tend to value and foster students' pride for individual accomplishments, whereas many East Asian norms attribute pride to achievements that benefit others (Eid & Diener, 2001). While pride is often viewed as desirable for people with strong individualistic beliefs (aligning with norms for self-promotion), *guilt* may be desirable for those with stronger collectivist beliefs because guilt provides information that can promote social cohesion (Eid & Diener, 2001). Even if guilt is still considered to be "negative" in the sense of unpleasant, classifying guilt as a "negative" emotion with "maladaptive" implications can frame guilt as inappropriate and undesirable, which may not align with some participants' values and beliefs. For some, guilt may motivate toward responsibility and reconciliation. This misalignment may perpetuate deficit views toward certain groups of people and may drive efforts to assimilate students' emotional experiences into more Eurocentric patterns of understanding. Researchers should also not assume that students will hold a particular belief simply because of their group membership or identity.

Despite substantial evidence of inter- and intra-group differences in how people understand emotions (Crivelli et al., 2016; Kitamama & Markus, 1994; Mortillaro, 2013), researchers often anticipate and seek out cultural differences while ignoring similarities. Other times, scholars may focus more on missions of cross-cultural validation for Western-derived measures and findings

than on delving into heterogeneous complexities and counter-stories. This is not to say, for instance, that pride is *not* adaptive for some people, but to acknowledge the continual deferral of "others" to the position of the footnote, suggestion for future research, or exception to a statistical finding. The first author's common-sense decision to list pride as a "positive" emotion in her study is not "wrong," but it is embedded with cultural assumptions in need of critical reflexivity (not just sociocultural acknowledgements).

The Hegemony Behind Rules of Emotional Expression

Not only do many SEL guidelines (e.g., Elias et al., 1997) rely on Eurocentric classifications of emotion, but they also imply that there are particular, "appropriate" ways to experience and express one's emotions. *Appropriate*, defined as "especially suitable or compatible" (Merriam-Webster, 2019), is always bound to culture and context (suitable *for whom;* compatible *with what*?). Burke (2017) suggests that taking on and performing "appropriate" emotional profiles is usually easier—and often subconscious—for those with greater privilege in a given society. As we discussed earlier, the concepts of academic "achievement" and "success" are produced by a neoliberally-informed system that sorts people within hierarchies. Similarly, emotional displays are often held against the same hyper-rational, Eurocentric benchmarks.

For example, individualistic ideologies tend to view explicit, verbal expressions as good and necessary. Failing to "communicate" one's emotions brings a concern of suppression and negative outcomes (Hoffman, 2009). SEL curricula often emphasize verbal expression of emotions as an important skill, disregarding that these are Western, middle-class values (Hoffman, 2009). For some cultural groups, non-verbalized emotions are not at all considered to be building toward eminent explosion (Saarni, 1997), and requiring all students to talk about their emotions in large-group contexts may be culturally insensitive and harmful. Students' SEL "incompetencies" are often cast as deficits, rather than as culturally misrecognized, undervalued, and/or shaped by structural inequities. While there have been applaudable efforts to make SEL programming "culturally relevant" (Denham & Weissberg, 2004), very few programs devote follow-up studies to examine how they are actually being implemented and experienced by diverse groups of students (Garner et al., 2014). Mere adaptations to dominant frameworks cannot stand in for projects that recognize and develop curricula rooted in marginalized voices, needs, and values.

As a second example, hyper-rational understandings of emotion can reproduce hegemonic expectations about gender. Even if people of all genders use the same words to describe their emotions, girls are still expected to be cheerful, smile, and avoid anger—with the double-bind of being assertive but not volatile and sensitive but not "needy" (Burke, 2017; McRobbie, 2009). Assumptions of excessive emotion tend to be attached to women, particularly queer-identifying women and women of color (Ahmed, 2004; Rowe & Royster, 2017), and female anger is often framed as a choice and/or pathological (Ahmed, 2017; Ringrose, 2006). Boys are often told implicitly that the *only* acceptable negative emotion to express is anger (Pascoe & Bridges, 2016; Way, 2013), yet boys of color and lower-class boys receive far worse punishments for displays of anger than do middle-class white boys (hooks, 2004). Even as many SEL curricula encourage boys to express their emotions, emotional control continues to be rewarded (Hoffman, 2009). When studies only examine gender through statistical differences in self-reported emotional intensity, what nuance is lost? Emotion, gender, race, and class are intersectional, and dominant frameworks

often gloss over that intersectionality with a focus on discrete group differences. Dominant frameworks also tend to view identity and emotion as contained within individuals, rather than recognizing the relationality of affective experiences.

Emotions as Possessions: The Need for Relational Approaches

The objective of the first author's thesis study was to examine whether two types of praise were related to students' academic emotions. Within this objective, the *object* of the study was also clear: students' emotions, or emotions belonging to students. The assumption that people are subjects and emotions are objects is firmly embedded in dominant ways of thinking, speaking, writing, and behaving in Western societies. This assumption underpins research and curricula that frame emotions as coherent, measurable, and contained within the person believed to possess them. To be taken up by mainstream research in the social sciences, emotions are often forced to fit in with what Burke (2017) calls a dominant discourse of evidence—put simply, "if it can't be measured, it does not count" (p. 437). This dominant discourse also shapes *how* emotions are measured. As we have discussed, many Western researchers classify emotion as pleasant/unpleasant or positive/negative, which favors a physiological and individual interpretation of emotion above social and moral interpretations. In this section, we consider what is lost when researchers feel that their work on emotion can only be "sound," "rigorous," or "credible" when it entails individual-focused measurement. How can researchers disrupt the subject/object binary of emotion and explore how emotions are shaped and shared through relational spaces?

Some boundary-blurring work already exists. Kitayama and Markus's (1994) sociocultural model of emotion works toward a "dissolution… of the hard and fast boundaries between the inner and outer, the ideational and material, the self and society" (p. 341). In her work on interpersonal affect dynamics, Butler (2015) asserts that emotions are always social, never fully private, and are transmitted between bodies (also see Klimes-Dougan et al., 2014). Several critical feminist scholars push this dissolution even further—Ahmed (2004) suggests that emotions *create*, rather than traverse, the lines between self and society, and Davies (2014) conceptualizes emotions as intensities of energy that are always moving among bodies. Ahmed and Davies provide us with an alternative to studying emotions based on their source, recipient, or owner. Instead of measuring what emotion *is*, we can explore what it *does* by tracing the material and relational effects of its spillage.

The problem, then, is not that critical and contextual models of emotion do not *exist* but that they continue to be prodded toward the margins of scientific knowledge and remain absent from many SEL programs and curriculum. In educational research, students' emotions are usually the unit of analysis, paired with the assumption that while their feelings may very well be *influenced* by the environment, their emotions still belong to them. This individualistic focus can lead to two seemingly paradoxical issues: positioning students as passive recipients and positioning students as free (thus blame-worthy) agents. In the first issue, by focusing on clean, controlled pathways to and from emotion, researchers may position students as receptacles for emotions that can be manipulated, measured, and known. While such research is not inherently harmful, it must be ethically considered for unintended social and political effects. There is a need for more research *with*, not on, students to explore how emotions take shape in dynamic contexts and cultural understandings among teachers and students, students and other students, and researchers and students (Ahmed, 2004; Davies, 2014; Zembylas, 2005).

Regarding the second issue, problems can arise even when researchers recognize student agency in the construction of emotion. Dominant narratives of emotion in many SEL curricula understand agency as choice, ownership, and management. Emotion regulation is a key area of skill development, and when students "lose control" of their emotions, the response is often to remove the student from the classroom and attribute the issue as internal to the student (Hoffman, 2009). This individualistic narrative is only one of many possible ways of understanding students' emotions. Some Japanese schools, for instance, draw up a more collectivist narrative: students who "act out" emotionally are seen as not feeling sufficiently attached to the classroom community. The failure is not in the student but in the relationship, and teachers may respond by trying to learn from (not extinguish) the heightened emotion and restore/strengthen the interpersonal connection (Hoffman, 2009). This narrative is similar to models of restorative justice (e.g., Mullet, 2014) in that "negative" behaviors are framed as relational problems that merit relational solutions. Those who harm others are not "off the hook" or excused for their actions but are actually placed more firmly *on* "the hook" by being urged to recognize how self and other are mutually implicated in the emotions that come to be (Davies, 2014).

It is also important for practitioners to look beyond the "problem behavior" itself to consider how emotions and actions are shaped by cultural and historical factors. For instance, Native American students are disciplined at disproportionately high rates in U.S. schools for non-violent actions that are deemed "deviant" (Brown, 2014; Sprague et al., 2013). There is a need for teachers (and Western culture as a whole) to recognize how historical trauma can manifest in ways that are seen as "difficult," "dysregulated," or "defiant." Again, by engaging *with* students rather than displacing them from the group with deficit-based assumptions, emotional healing can occur. Instead of framing emotions and behaviors as unconstrained "choices," they can be seen as interpersonal creations with interpersonal effects.

Emotions are both produced and productive, shaping social worlds. They do more than motivate us toward particular actions—they create *us* as actors (Zembylas, 2005). The labels we use and the translations we attempt to make are not just reflective but constitutive, albeit constrained by the cultural narratives available to us at the time. For example, the phrase "you made me angry" suggests that emotion has a clear source ("you") and a clear container ("me"), rather than emerging from and as a relationship (e.g., "the anger between us"). The functions of emotion words are always rooted in social discourses, which are heterogeneous and ever-shifting. *How can researchers better recognize and value collectivist models that attach emotions to relationships rather than individuals*? When researchers and curriculum designers feel compelled to confine emotions to individual bodies and pinpoint the starting and stopping points of emotional energy, alternative ways of knowing are closed off. In the following section, we briefly discuss three frameworks that can help to re-imagine emotion in educational settings.

Alternative Frameworks for Re-Imagining This Thesis and Shaping Future Studies

Our critical engagement with the first author's thesis has focused on how the study reproduced several concerning patterns within the dominant paradigm of educational research on emotion. Drawing from this paradigm, measurement was a given, as were categorical models and statistical analyses. Emotion was assumed to be located in the student, and its ontology was not only assumed to be knowable but also *isolatable* (caused by praise, the predictor variable). Emotions were positioned as factors toward achievement, and the study's theoretical framework was born

from white, Western, rational modes of knowing. In this section, we shift our attention from exploring what *was* to explore what *might have been,* or what alternative frameworks could be used to learn about students' social and emotional experiences in school.

Each of the following approaches involves creative, collaborative work with students and teachers, where emotion (not just emotion management) is welcomed as relational and contextual. From a Deleuzian perspective, research projects are never confined to one conceptual framework but are "assemblages," or dynamic entanglements of theory, practice, thought, affect, and other flows of intensity. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) use the metaphor of a "machine" (not as a rigid mechanism but as a hub of ongoing connections and transformations) to illuminate how inquiry produces an endless flow of potential knowledge. By conceptualizing each of the following frameworks as a "machine" that research can "plug into" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012), we ask, *what questions and designs might emerge if the first author's research interests were plugged into each one?*

Aesthetic Pedagogies

Arts-based research (Davies, 2014; Finley, 2008; Greene, 1995) is an excellent avenue for critical studies that seek to disrupt the binaries between art and science, rational and emotional, personal and social, and teaching and learning. Greene's (1995, 2010) aesthetic pedagogy has guided research and curricula that explore art, ethics, and affect. If the first author's interest in emotion had been plugged into an arts-based framework, her research questions might have included the following: *How is emotion produced through creative work (e.g., painting, writing, photographing, dancing, and /or video-making)? How can art be recognized as an epistemology for new understandings of emotion? How does student artwork reconstruct and deconstruct dominant narratives about emotion in educational settings? How can students and teachers engage with artistic pedagogy as a means to create new visions and actions toward social justice?* With these questions, praise would not have been forced into the thesis study as a variable but allowed to emerge organically, or perhaps not at all—more honed research questions would unfold with participants and over time.

Through what Greene refers to as the "social imagination," teachers and students are encouraged to *move* and *make*, not just think and rationalize. Aesthetic education draws on questions of relationality (not "who am I?" but "who am I in relation to others?"), criticality (how can imagination be used not as a resolution but as an awakening or unsettling?), and responsibility (how can we rethink education to break destructive habits and move toward new alternatives; Guyotte, 2018). While the focus of aesthetic pedagogy is on social justice, it also understands emotion as a lively entanglement of energies, shared and spread across bodies. Greene urges educators to teach through ignorance, recognizing that we do not need to possess cut-and-dried knowledge about emotion to embrace it in education. Rather than looking for facts, an arts-based study could work to unsettle facts and create openings for new understandings. In sum, arts-based research can serve as a rich soil for nurturing emotional growth and social awareness, welcoming "SEL" into academics without the condition that it must be scored and captured.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Emotion Reflexivity

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is another qualitative machine into which the first author could plug. While CDA is a broad methodology with multiple definitions and approaches (e.g., Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 2014), it centers on unveiling and exploring "discourses," or patterns of

language, thought, images, and actions that do not just reflect but constitute our realities. Discourses clash and compete, and dominant discourses work to create and legitimize what becomes known as fact and reason. A key goal of CDA is to expose the discourses that uphold hegemony, question how discourses contribute to social inequities, and see the world as something that is constantly being created (Gee, 2014).

Related to CDA is Zembylas's (2014) framework of Critical Emotion Reflexivity (CER), which encourages teachers and students to reflect on how their habits, beliefs, thoughts, and emotions are shaped by particular discourses. CER can be thought of as a tool for doing CDA *with*, not on, participants. With the focus still on praise and emotion in educational settings, the first author could have drawn from CDA and CER to ask, *How are praise and emotion discursively shaped? How might the concept of "praise" be informed by Eurocentric models of teacher authority, student engagement, and behaviorist theories of learning? How do teachers, through praise, reproduce and challenge dominant knowledge about U.S. education? How is emotion understood within the dominant discourses of what it means to be a learner? How do emotions create, and how are they created by, learners' complex identities?*

Plugged into CER and CDA, the first author could invite participants to reflect on their own praise interactions and emotional experiences, perhaps including interviews, observations, and other textual analysis. Praise would be framed as an interaction that always involves emotion and is entangled with social power relations. Emotions would be seen as inseparable from identity—people are not passive in their emotional experiences but are constantly engaging in dynamic relationships *with* them. The researcher would read herself, teachers, and students as products and producers of interacting educational realities. Rather than seeing emotion as being produced in a stable pathway, emotion would be seen as a discursive creation with material effects. Participants would be recognized as co-producers of the knowledge that came forth. By facilitating decolonial endeavors such as co-generative dialogue among students and teachers (Emdin, 2009), this kind of inquiry could help to expose and work against oppressive structures that stifle the agency of students, particularly those who are marginalized on the basis of class, race/ethnicity, and cultural identity.

Indigenous Social Justice Pedagogy

As a third potential "machine" for shaping future studies, Indigenous Social Justice Pedagogy (ISJP; Shirley, 2017) would also center participant voices and agencies throughout the research process. ISJP is defined as "a framework for *rethinking* the process of schooling for Indigenous students. Its primary focus is on reframing curriculum and pedagogy that aims to preserve and privilege Indigenous epistemologies while promoting nation-building in Indigenous communities" (Shirley, 2017, p. 165, original emphasis). As we discussed in earlier sections, much of the academic "knowledge" about SEL and teacher-student interactions has come from research on primarily white, middle-class populations. While large, diverse samples are sorely needed in educational research, they are not the only way to engage with marginalized communities. By working collaboratively in smaller groups, researchers and participants can learn more about one another's realities while refusing the confines of mainstream research paradigms. There is a great need for research projects that use culturally sustaining/revitalizing frameworks to explore how Indigenous youth experience academia.

If the first author's thesis had been a collaboration with Indigenous students and teachers, the focus would have been on depth rather than generalizability. Instead of delivering pre-specified

types of praise and looking for group differences in emotion, the first author could have asked, *what might social-emotional learning look like through a locally-relevant Indigenous framework? How is emotion a part of cultural identity and a history of colonial oppression? How do praise interactions shape and situate Indigenous students' emotions and identities in beneficial and detrimental ways? How can emotion be explored with a goal toward decolonization and building more respectful and reciprocal relationships among humans and more-than-humans (e.g., land, flora, fauna)?*

ISJP involves sharing personal stories in intimate, trusted spaces (Shirley, 2017). In a study based on ISJP, negative emotion would not be judged or discouraged, but welcomed as an energy that can be transformed into a force for change and healing only after it is acknowledged. Indigenous populations are often met with "damage-centered research" (Tuck, 2009) that emphasizes suffering while failing to acknowledge the joys, strengths, desires, and contradictions of Native peoples. While pain should not be ignored, treating Indigenous people as exclusively "damaged" denies them their human complexities and can reify white supremacy with the savior mindset of "fixing" colonial misdeeds (Ahmed, 2004; Tuck, 2009). Savior-model ethics and damage-centered research, even when well-intended, can reinforce conquer-models that position Native people "underneath" those of European descent (Christians, 2018; Tuck, 2009). Emotion must be situated in socio-historical contexts and understood as a product of cultural relationships (including historical trauma and oppression), not just the product of an individual's personality and first-hand experiences. As relational and often contradictory energies (Archibald, 2008), emotions could actually be seen as participants in the research process, changing and impressing upon all those involved.

If the first author were to approach a study in this way, she would need to deeply engage with her own emotions and biases, working not to appropriate, romanticize, nor claim ownership of the knowledge that emerged. Historically (and currently), well-intending researchers steeped in colonial paradigms have assimilated marginalized practices into lip-service versions that may do more harm than good (Hoffman, 2009; Hyland, 2017). A study that utilized Indigenous understandings of emotion to benefit privileged groups, without advocating for decolonization, could become a vehicle of *further* oppression. The intentions of ISJP research should not be to provide a post-positivist, generalizable panacea to all the inequities in U.S. society. Rather, such projects could draw from engagement models of ethics (Christians, 2018) to resist the colonial discourses that privilege Western institutional agendas over the needs and values of tribal communities.

Conclusion

In this conceptual paper, we have critiqued the dominant narratives of educational research on emotion that often reproduce social inequities and further marginalize the "other." Knowledge about emotion in education continues to be shaped by hegemonic discourses that emphasize self-regulation, individualistic rationality, and academic achievement as the end-goal. When these discourses are paired with the privileging of post-positivist frameworks, it becomes even more difficult to resist concepts such as "everything can be measured" (Burke, 2017) or "emotions are objects to be managed" (Davies, 2014; Hoffman, 2009). We as a research community must do better in recognizing that these concepts, labels, and assumptions are always entangled with power relations. We return to the question, *how can we decenter white, middle-class, neoliberal, and patriarchal understandings of emotion in education?*

Critically drawing from our own experience with the first author's Master's thesis, we call for more work that 1) challenges neoliberal definitions of "achievement" as the implicit end-goal

of emotional learning, 2) unsettles the dominance of white/middle-class frameworks, and 3) pursues, supports, and revitalizes collectivist and relational understandings of emotion. Even when emotion is defined within Western meaning systems (Ahmed, 2004; Davies, 2014; Hoffman, 2009), it has not been completely colonized (Sturdy, 2003). Perhaps social and emotional education can be positioned as sites of resistance from rationalization and commodification, with continued engagement of discourses that promote aesthetics and embodiment.

The three frameworks we offer as potential starting points to transformative, collaborative, decolonial research about emotion are by no means an exhaustive list. Our hope is to provide readers with new ideas of what inquiry could look like, even from within the field of educational psychology where explicitly critical and qualitative work is less common. We do not intend to jettison all quantitative science in our mission to promote qualitative, post-qualitative, and aesthetic ways of knowing—or to assume clean lines between these approaches. Importantly, no framework in and of itself can act as a safeguard against the persistent pressures of measurable academic achievement, ideological "neutrality," or individualistic assumptions in the educational research about emotion. Scholars working within any framework must continuously consider *who* is benefitting from the work and *what* social practices, relations, and injustices are being changed (and/or staying the same).

The goal of transformative research is not to merely invert the binaries that weave through research and curricula but to deepen the critical realization that the "point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous" (Foucault, 1984, p. 343). We argue that, while greater empirical attention *is* being devoted to emotions in education, and while there *have* been "positive" developments in research, programs, and paradigms, none of these signs of progress can be taken as indication that we as a scholarly community are "past" the marginalization of emotion, certain bodies, and/or identities. Growth is nonlinear and dominant paradigms are sticky. What values do we hold the highest? Who is "we" and who is "them?" How can we pursue research with a social justice agenda while being humble but not immobile, working in but not as the institution? We must not privilege easy answers over difficult questions as we take on this transformative work.

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Preparing Preservice Teachers to Implement Holocaust Curriculum in Elementary Grades: A Study that Shows the Effects on Undergraduate Students' Cognitive, Reflective, Affective, and Active Domains

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> *Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral*
> Paulo Freire (1985)

Abstract

> *Recognizing the need to prepare elementary education teacher-candidates to implement state-mandated curriculum, a Genocide Studies Unit was developed. This study evaluated the effectiveness of the Unit in building preservice teachers' knowledge-base and efficacy levels with a mind toward preparing teachers to implement difficult content more effectively. Participants reported increased content knowledge about genocide studies, and expressed confidence in teaching sensitive and challenging topics in their classrooms.*

Keywords: *anti-bias and Holocaust education; genocide studies; preservice teacher preparation; multicultural education; curriculum development; prejudice reduction; teaching controversial issues; elementary grades*

Introduction

With a renewed incentive to teach and apply the moral lessons of the Holocaust, along with the growing trend across the nation to mandate some form of genocide or Holocaust education in schools, the imperative to enhance teacher competency in this area increases. Research verifies that the principles of critical multicultural education and Holocaust education have a mitigating effect in reducing prejudice and bigotry (Anti-Defamation League, 2013; Marttila 2011; Shoham, Shiloah, & Kalishman, 2003). Researchers in both fields have argued that extremism, terrorism, and tyranny, some of the consequences of unchecked prejudice, need to be combatted through education and legislation. The result has been that a number of states have mandated the teaching

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of the Holocaust so that students can learn from that history how to prevent such atrocities from occurring again. Indeed, Representatives Boyle, Ros-Lehtinen, Deutch, and Fitzpatrick in April 2017 introduced bipartisan legislation mandating nationwide Holocaust Education similar to the Holocaust Education Bill (F.S. 1003.42) which was passed by the Florida Legislature in 1994. The law strengthens the mandates in that it requires all school districts to incorporate lessons on the Holocaust as part of public school instruction, kindergarten through twelfth grade. The effectiveness of the Florida mandate's integration and the quality of the curriculum and methodology for genocide studies rest on the preparation of teachers.

According to Lindquist (2007), the Holocaust is perhaps the most compelling topic studied in U.S. schools. Moreover, scholars argue that social studies teachers see the benefit in teaching controversial issues in the classroom in that this heightens students' critical consciousness, civic mindedness, and socio-political activism, however, they feel constrained by perceived disruptions in the classroom and consequences to their job by doing so (Byford, Lennon, & Russell, 2009). Considering the heightened significance of this topic in schools and society, and the research that supports teaching controversial issues to stimulate critical engagement, it is crucial that teachers have the necessary support to develop a strong knowledge-base in the history of the Holocaust and to adopt sound pedagogical approaches to educate students about this subject-matter. Today, there are some resources and curriculum support for in-service teachers who infuse genocide studies into their curriculum. At the preservice level, however, there are a number of challenges to preparing teachers who can effectively implement Holocaust and Genocide Education in schools. First, there is a dearth of opportunities for preservice teachers in undergraduate teacher education programs to learn the content and pedagogy of this subject matter. Second, preservice teachers feel unprepared to handle the difficult and controversial topics arising from studying the Holocaust and genocide Bartlett (2009). Donnelly (2006), pointed out that this weakness could be overcome through high-quality professional development in the area of Holocaust education. As Ellison (2002) and Shah (2012) indicated, teachers who receive this training are more likely to implement the lessons. This position is supported by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), which considers vital, the historical significance of the Holocaust, its pedagogical value, and its potential to spread awareness on human rights issues. Researchers observed that in order for teachers to understand how to teach the Holocaust effectively, they need to experience good pedagogy first (Borko, 2004; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). A third challenge faced by preservice and in-service teachers is the phenomenon of "Holocaust Fatigue" a term introduced by Simone Schweber, (2006) to describe more recent student resistance to learning about the Holocaust and genocide and the potential for trivialization of the event to the extent that it loses its pedagogical value; and thereby results in the reduction of the power of Holocaust study to deepen students' capacity for moral reasoning.

Recognizing the need to prepare elementary education teacher-candidates to implement state-mandated curricula and to address the challenges that thwart effective teaching practices, a faculty member in Florida Atlantic University's Department of Curriculum, Culture and Educational Inquiry (CCEI) developed and implemented a Genocide Studies Unit (GSU), and concurrently formed a research collaboration with the Program Manager of the Center for Holocaust and Human Rights Education (CHHRE) at Florida Atlantic University to evaluate the efficacy of the unit. The unit (GSU) was designed and implemented in a required undergraduate multicultural education course. The study's intent was to evaluate the effectiveness of the GSU in building preservice teachers' knowledge and efficacy with regard to genocide education. The researchers were interested in identifying the specific components of the unit that resonated most with students and

in determining whether the delivery format (either face-to-face or fully online) made any differ-ence in the participants' knowledge acquisition or efficacy levels.

Research indicates that when it comes to culturally responsive teaching, preservice teachers sometimes may harbor deficit perspectives about victims of violence (Castro, 2010). If these per-ceptions and attitudes are not examined or challenged, participants (students) may think of victims as passive human beings without any sense of agency (Fogelman, 1994; Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Such prejudices could possibly be eroded by asking preservice teachers to analyze victims' and survivors' narratives through diaries, memoirs, and films, along-side the historical narrative of mass atrocities. In addressing this concern, the GSU was designed as an integral part of a multi-cultural education course focused on studying genocides by analyzing "counter narratives" (Schneider, 2014), which means understanding historical events from less dominant perspectives. In Schneider's (2014) words, "Counter-narratives are important to push back against the Dominant Discourse (the language of those in power) of history that celebrates only the ones who were able to "win"."

The counter-narrative helps learners move beyond "what happened" or how many were murdered (statistics) and highlights individual's experiences and circumstances. For the GSU, the instructors presented the history of the Holocaust, which not only discussed the historical context, but also individuals' experiences of dehumanization. The pre-service teachers were shown exam-ples of victims' narratives through diaries, poems, and testimonies (e.g. Harmonica, Hannah's Suitcase, I Never Saw Another Butterfly, documentaries and excerpts from Anne Frank's diary etc.) and were guided to adapt a similar approach while studying other genocides. See appendix B for suggested readings for the GSU. These types of narratives have the potential to help preservice teachers comprehend the complexity of the situation and the dilemma that individuals faced re-garding making choices during those unprecedented times, and to encourage them to be more re-flective. As noted by Shah (2012), effective professional development approaches facilitate exam-ination of diverse perspectives (narratives), engage participants in self-reflection, and create cur-ricular spaces for participants to connect the past and the present. The GSU curriculum was de-signed keeping in mind these approaches to encourage students to comprehend the complexity of the genocide, to think critically about individual choices under dire circumstances, and to examine the historical and social contexts under which prejudicial attitudes take shape. While deficits in millennial preservice teachers' experiences are noted, these teacher-candidates also express a type of naïve egalitarianism—in particular they also are somewhat naïve about the complexity of struc-tural and institutional inequalities. Additionally, they often are still developing the skill of critical awareness (Castro, 2010; Mueller & O'Connor, 2007). These findings support the imperative for direct and deep genocide education. While examining the Holocaust/Shoah as a case study of gen-ocide, the researchers discussed the impact of prejudice and the role of propaganda in mobilizing groups of people to commit atrocities. The goal was to help the participants understand how insti-tutional racism is fueled by socially accepted prejudices, even in "well-developed" and "modern" societies.

While there is a limited amount of research comparing the efficacy of fully online (FOL) to face-to-face (F2F) instruction especially when dealing with sensitive topics, researchers have found that educators believe that F2F is more effective because in part that format can provide experiential learning and in-person collaborative opportunities. Stauss, Koh, & Collie (2018) looked at students taking a Human Diversity course in a F2F format and in a FOL format (with 3 synchronous sessions) and found that both groups showed increases in multicultural awareness and oppression issues with no statistical difference. The authors were also interested in looking at the effectiveness of FOL/synchronous instruction agreeing in part that real time "live" interaction

was necessary for students to process and reflect on the content, which is why the online course was developed as a 12-week live (highly interactive) synchronous format where students were required to attend regularly scheduled class sessions and participate. In fact, attendance and participation were factored in their grades.

The study of genocides can be daunting for students due to the sensitivity of the subject-matter and in some cases, due to the claims of denial from individuals and groups. The ultimate goal of genocide education is to leave the learners feeling empowered and activated, never hopeless or stymied as to what to do. Within the framework of multicultural education, the goals of Holocaust/genocide education include developing empathy among people and encouraging individuals to become advocates for peace and justice (Banks & Banks, 2016 Gorski, 2009). In that context, the GSU also offered examples of role models who were engaged in rescue, resistance, and advocacy efforts with a view to encouraging students to reflect on their own roles as advocates for building solidarity in a diverse society. The research questions that guided our study were:

- What is the role of a Genocide Studies Unit (GSU) in building preservice teachers' knowledge-base about genocide education?
- What is the role of a Genocide Studies Unit (GSU) in developing preservice teachers' efficacy levels in implementing genocide education?
- Does the delivery format of instruction (i.e. face-to-face or fully on-line), make any difference in preservice teachers' knowledge and comfort levels with genocide education?

Methodology

Overview of the Genocide Studies Unit (GSU)

The Genocide Studies Unit (GSU), embedded within a critical multicultural framework, was designed to guide preservice teachers through a focused study of a particular genocide which they selected. The GSU asked them to reflect on the complexity of the causes of genocide, the imperative for activism, and the curriculum and methodology for teaching these universal themes in their future classrooms. The GSU was infused as the major critical assignment in an upper-division, undergraduate course which relied heavily on the theories of critical multicultural education and critical race theory (Sleeter & Bernal, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2004). Other topics of this multicultural course included an in-depth look at various examples of oppression and systemic injustices, such as racism, heterosexism, and faithism (Allgood, 2016), since they may be problematic and cause contention in classrooms.

Components of the GSU

There were four scaffolding components that organized the GSU process:

1. The initial component prepared students to conduct a Critical Analysis (CA)—a focused and comprehensive study of a genocide. Students learned the terminology of genocide (e.g. prejudice, stereotyping, dehumanization, etc.) and the theoretical framework (i.e. Stanton's (2012) Ten Stages, Rummel's (2001) concept of democide, and the Anti-Defamation League's (2005) Pyramid of Hate). The Holocaust was presented

as a case study to demonstrate the method and criteria of the research project. The focus was on fundamental causes, the lessons, and legacy.

2. The second component was the Critical Assignment (CA), an investigation of a particular genocide, chosen by students. They were required to examine the underlying political, social, and economic factors that triggered the genocide, and analyze its immediate and current impact.

3. The third component focused on implications for teacher-practice by discussing grade-appropriate children's literature (e.g. the Ugly Duckling—Kindergarten and the Sneetches—2nd grade) and connected these resources to the key themes (e.g. similarities and differences, respecting differences, finding commonalities, empathy, overcoming prejudice, advocacy etc.). Methodology was supported by the USHMM guidelines ("Guidelines for Teaching," n.d.) and the imperatives for teaching this content (i.e. to inspire civic/social activism and meeting the mandate) were included.

4. The final component required students to reflect on what they learned and to assess their own confidence with their content knowledge and comfort levels in teaching this subject matter.

Participants

Undergraduate students who were enrolled in the upper-division undergraduate level Multicultural Education class were invited to participate in the study (N = 60). Participants (juniors and seniors) were pursuing bachelor's degrees in Education at the time the study was conducted. Participants' majors included Elementary Education as well Exceptional Student Education. All the participants were females, and their ages ranged from 23–51. A total of 26 out of 60 participants responded to the survey; however, 5 of them did not complete the survey. 12 out of 26 participants took the course in a fully online (FOL) format, whereas the others were enrolled in a Face to Face (F2F) section.

Research Instrument 1: Survey

After Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval and the pilot test, the survey was sent out to all the participants (N = 60). The consent form was included in the survey. In order to remain anonymous, the participants were asked to sign the consent form digitally. The administration of the survey was done online through Survey Monkey Software. Descriptive statistics was used for all the survey items pertaining to participants' levels of awareness, levels of efficacy, and usefulness of the GSU components. A 4-Point Likert-type scale was used for these items. After individual item analysis, a composite score analysis was also conducted. The score on the items was analyzed in terms of percentages. Due to the limited sample size and low response rate, paired t-tests could not be used to determine the significance of the findings. Finally, the scores for the FOL and F2F groups were compared to see if the delivery format played any role in these scores.

Research Instrument II – Reflective Essay

Participants' responses to the prompt for a reflective essay were analyzed. The initial analysis of these data consisted of coding the individual responses according to ideas that pertained to the key components of genocide education such as content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, preparedness, and willingness to teach. Following the axial coding, the data pertaining to each

construct were analyzed to identify emerging themes that revealed the nature of the GSU and its role in developing participants' knowledge and efficacy levels. These themes also helped to identify the strengths and the weaknesses of the GSU components.

Data Analysis

Participants' responses to survey questions and reflective essays were analyzed to ascertain the impact the GSU had on their own perceived cognitive development and confidence levels which resulted from exposure to all the elements of the GSU. Participants' responses about their knowledge of the subject-matter and pedagogical approaches to Holocaust and genocide education provided insight into their knowledge-base and their abilities to apply this learning to understand current social issues. Participants' attitudes were measured based on the perception of their preparedness to introduce this subject matter to their students, their confidence levels and willingness to teach, and their readiness to become human rights advocates.

We arranged our data into four domains based on a construct that measured curriculum effectiveness in reducing prejudice and dogmatism levels in undergraduate students (Allgood, 1998). Regarding participants' knowledge level, the first two domains were the Cognitive Domain (CD) and the Reflective Domain (RD). The CD sought to capture specific content and concept knowledge, whereas the RD highlighted critical thought processing and application of the concepts and content acquired though exposure to the GSU. We attempted to study participants 'efficacy and empowerment through the Affective Domain (AfD), which encompassed the participants ' emotional response to the GSU (i.e. their willingness to teach and concerns about teaching the content). The fourth domain was the Active Domain (AcD), which encompassed the participants' expression of willingness to advocate for victims of genocide or to take action to prevent genocide.

Results and Discussion

The findings within the Cognitive Domain and the Reflective Domain corresponded to research question one (contributions of the GSU to participants' knowledge-base); whereas the findings within the Affective Domain and the Active Domain corresponded to research question two (contributions of the GSU to participants' attitudes). One of the survey items asked participants to indicate the delivery mode of the course (Fully-Online or Face-to-Face) in which, they experienced the GSU. Based on participants' responses, scores were arranged in two groups to determine whether the difference in participants' knowledge and comfort levels with genocide education was related to the delivery format of instruction (i.e. face to face or fully online).

Cognitive Domain

Survey Findings: Understanding the Root Causes and Concepts Related to Genocide:

Survey items 7a to 7n (as shown in *Table 1*) dealt with participants' perceptions of their knowledge about the concepts and causes related to genocide before and after their participation in the GSU. Table 1 indicates the composite score of each of these items for both groups: students enrolled in a fully online course and students in a face to face class. These scores indicate participants' knowledgebase before and after their participation in the GSU. A composite score of these individual items after their participation in the GSU was 3 or above, indicating participants' in-

creased levels of awareness after the GSU intervention. The survey items that particularly corresponded with the qualitative findings are: 7a (genocide), 7b (ethnic cleansing), 7c (human rights), 7d (propaganda), and 7e (root causes of genocide), which will be discussed in the next section.

Table 1

	Survey Items	Fully online		Face to Face	
		Before	After	Before	After
a	Genocide	2.3	3.8	2.4	3.8
b	Ethnic Cleansing	1.7	3.6	2.0	3.4
c	Human Rights	2.5	3.4	2.8	3.7
d	Propaganda	2.3	3.4	2.3	3.4
e	Root Causes of Genocide	1.7	3.7	1.6	3.5

Reflective Essay Findings: Understanding the Root Causes and Concepts Related to Genocide

Participants identified the underlying causes of various genocides as racism, xenophobia, discrimination, hatred, European imperialism, ultra-nationalism, communism, and colonization. They reported religious, social, and economic factors that contributed to such atrocities, and applied the concept of scapegoating, brainwashing/propaganda, and ethnocentrism to analyze various stages of genocide. For example, the following response reflects a participant's understanding of the root causes of genocide: "I have learned that power, greed, control and selfishness can create the right environment for genocide and these characteristics can appear anywhere and anytime" (The participant studied the Rwandan genocide).

Survey Findings: Understanding the Legacy of Genocide

A composite score of survey item 7h "After-effects of genocide" indicates an increased level of awareness about understanding the legacy of genocide. This result was also confirmed in participants' reflective essays; a more detailed discussion of which will be discussed in the next section.

Table 2

	Survey Item	Fully online		Face to Face	
		Before	After	Before	After
h	After-effects of genocide	1.8	3.7	2.0	3.4

Reflective Essay Findings: Understanding the Legacy of Genocide

Participants discussed the legacy of the genocide that they studied in terms of policy implications, the effect on the victims, and the effects on respective countries in which genocides took place. Some of the students referred to the United Nations' role during and after these atrocities, the change in U.S. immigration policies after the Holocaust, and government accountability (e.g. a bill was passed in Cambodia that made it illegal to deny the horrific events, whereas Turkey still denies the Armenian genocide). Participants were also able to recognize the long-term effects of physical, mental, social, and psychological problems among victims. Economic struggles and reconstruction were also viewed as major problems facing countries in which genocides took place. Participants also referred to current events that raise concern; the emotional scars with which survivors live, the importance of the message "never again," and fair treatment for all. These findings reflected participants' ability to connect the past and current events and examine an issue from diverse perspectives.

Survey Findings: Understanding World Response

Survey responses indicated increased levels of awareness among participants regarding the response of the U.S. and the world; whereas, reflective essays demonstrated participants' analysis and expanded understanding on these topics.

Table 3

	Survey Items	Fully online class		Face to face class	
		Before	After	Before	After
i	The United States' Response to Genocides	1.6	3.4	2.0	3.5
j	The Global Response to Genocides	1.6	3.3	1.9	3.3

Reflective Essay Findings: Understanding World Response

Participants described the world response to genocide mainly in terms of "a lack of intervention" or "delayed response." They acknowledged the help from some countries and the role of the UN in these events; however, a major point of concern was the absence of intervention. There was a comparison of the role of the U.S. during the Armenian genocide to its response during the

Holocaust. Participants also critiqued immigration policies, the use of weapons, attack methods, and interrogation tactics in context of the role of the U.S. during various genocides.

Reflective Domain

Reflective Essay Findings: Contributions of the GSU to Participants' Critical Thought Processing

Whereas survey item 7e helped identify participants' knowledge of root causes of genocide, reflective essays provided an insight into participants' analysis of those root causes. Participants analyzed the historical contexts under which various genocides took place. References were made to government policies, guerilla supports of communism (Cambodian), eugenics, Nazi ideology (the Holocaust), World War I (Armenian), colonialism and racism (Rwandan), scapegoating, and government sponsored propaganda. They clearly identified the role that respective governments played in these genocides. In fact, students were able to categorize the type of genocide they studied (e.g. democide, politicide, and ethnic cleansing). Participants' ability to apply the learning of these concepts to analyze their respective case studies demonstrated their growth under reflective domain. Some of these concepts such as politicide and democide were not listed on the survey, yet students identified them in their reflections, which helped to substantiate the quantitative findings regarding knowledge acquisition. These findings are significant, because they address the concern that was raised in the literature regarding the degree to which participants' lack of understanding of historical context contributed to the formation of "deficit perspectives," especially in the context of genocide victims. These findings demonstrate participants' enhanced understanding of the role of respective governments in creating environments that lead to genocide, and the complex situations under which, victims are pressured to make "choiceless choices."

Survey Findings: Understanding Human Behavior

Survey items in *Table 2* echo similar findings, i.e., participants reported an increased level of awareness about the causes and effects of prejudice, the importance of recognizing and combating prejudice in schools and society, and finally individuals' roles and responsibilities in a multicultural society. These findings shed light on how important each individual's role is in recognizing and combating prejudice.

Table 4

	Survey Items	Fully online		Face to Face	
		Before	After	Before	After
g	Causes and Effects of Prejudice	2.1	3.6	2.3	3.8
k	Recognizing and combating prejudices in schools and society	2.1	3.4	2.1	3.4

1	Individuals' roles and responsibilities in a democratic/multicultural society	1.8	3.1	1.8	3.1

Reflective Essay Findings: Understanding Human Behavior

Participants wrestled with the complex nature of human behavior, while studying genocides. When participants were given examples from the "Some Were Neighbors" exhibit by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, they wondered what prompted individuals to make choices about being silent or being a collaborator with the Nazis. One participant struggled with this and stated, "Human Behavior fascinates and terrifies me…I couldn't grasp how someone could go from being a neighbor, friend or pastor one day and on the next day, willingly commit murder against another."

Moreover, participants referred to the bystanders' roles multiple times in their responses, and reflected upon various reasons for this behavior. Fear, intimidation, prejudice, and a quest to gain material benefits (e.g. confiscated property or jewelry) were identified as some reasons for this behavior. Participants explained that fear of being judged or being different was often a major reason for people to hesitate to stand up against injustices. Intimidation was understood in context of the authoritarian tactics used by a person in power to discourage people from opposing her/his actions. Prejudice, discrimination, and propaganda were also identified as major reasons for bystander behavior. It encouraged participants to avoid classifying people as bystanders, perpetrators, upstanders (active advocates), and victims; rather, it prompted them to ask how and why an individual may be a friend or an advocate in one situation, but the same person may choose to be silent in another situation. Was that choice a result of one's fear, expected political or social gain, prejudice, propaganda, or something else? These findings demonstrate the importance of exploring "counter-narratives," as discussed by Schneider (2014), because the process enabled the participants to examine the complexity of human behavior, the influence of manipulation and political power in a society, and one's susceptibility to such influence in certain situations.

Reflective Essay Findings: Understanding Pedagogical Approaches

There were no survey items to identify participants' growth in this area; however, participants' reflective essays demonstrated their knowledge about various pedagogical approaches to implement genocide education. When the participants' change in knowledge of pedagogical approaches was analyzed, it was noticed that students often drew their analyses from the principles of multicultural education. For example, some principles of multicultural education include the consideration and acceptance of diverse groups and perspectives; and standing up against prejudice. Participants pointed to the importance of using topics of diversity and racism to facilitate discussions on genocides, and the need to treat others respectfully. They discussed how crucial it is to understand racism and imperialism, to be compassionate of others, and to preserve the history and culture of oppressed people. Other ideas that echoed the principles of multicultural education were the necessity to embrace differences and protect human rights.

Affective Domain

Reflective Essay Findings: Willingness to Incorporate Genocide Education in Curriculum and Connect with Students

Students reported how they would use genocide studies to connect to their students (especially those from oppressed groups). They reported how important it was to advocate against prejudice and instill respect for those who are different. One student reported how crucial it is to teach children to analyze all perspectives of an event, "I intend to encourage students to 'see beyond' the information initially presented. I want my students to take initiative to learn about the world…and question what can be done to improve it."

This example provides an insight into how the principles of MCE, such as an analysis of diverse perspectives and challenging the status quo, are integrated into this participant's thinking pattern. This finding is significant in the context that many national organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center advocate for anti-bias and anti-racist pedagogy and curriculum. Both organizations explain the importance of applying multicultural philosophy to reduce biases such as racism. Multicultural curriculum encourages a deep understanding of social problems and stresses social activism. An informed knowledgebase on issues and their underlying causes is a mandatory starting point for the teacher who wishes to be a critical multicultural educator.

Survey Findings: The Contributions of the GSU to Participants' Attitudes

As previously mentioned, participants' attitudes were measured based on their perceived level of preparation to introduce genocide studies to their students and their confidence levels to teach and advocate in this area. Their reflections demonstrated self-awareness of their own aptitude for Holocaust/genocide pedagogy (reflective domain) as well as their confidence-level to integrate that pedagogy (affective domain). Because the findings provided more insight into the affective domain (i.e. the emotional impact), it is discussed in this section. The following table indicates participants' confidence levels in teaching some of the topics of genocide studies, before and after the GSU:

Table 5

	Survey Items	Fully online		Face to Face	
		Before	After	Before	After
8e	Root causes of genocide	1.5	3.1	1.6	3.2
8f	Stages of genocide	1.6	3.2	1.6	3.2
8g	Causes and effects of prejudice	1.8	3.2	2.0	3.3
8h	After-effects of genocide	1.6	3.1	1.8	3.2

8k	Recognizing and combating prejudice in schools and society	1.8	3.1	2.0	3.3
8l	Individuals' roles and responsibilities in a democratic/multicultural society	1.7	3.0	2.1	3.2

Though the survey findings helped to identify participants' attitudinal shifts in terms of their confidence to teach this subject matter, the findings from the reflective essays enhanced the researchers' understanding of other areas as well. For example, the reflective essays shed light not only on participants' confidence levels with teaching certain topics, but also with their concerns and willingness to teach. These are discussed in the following sections.

Reflective Essay Findings: Self-Reflection on One's Knowledge-Gap

When asked to think about the gaps in their prior knowledge, participants expressed the need for more pedagogical knowledge of how to provide a historical context when teaching about genocide. They wanted to know how to choose age-appropriate resources, how much detail should be provided, and how to form a safe classroom environment to navigate genocide studies. One student reflected, "I was never given the opportunity to understand the 'why' behind it, nor was I challenged to critically analyze the impact genocide had around the world." Students also asked about how to teach the role played by prejudice or discrimination in individuals' choices (e.g. bystander attitudes). They reported how important it was for them to conduct background research and to understand curriculum guidelines to implement genocide education.

This is an interesting finding, because though participants' survey responses indicated that they felt moderately confident about teaching some of the above- mentioned topics, they also felt the need for more knowledge and guidance in this matter. This echoes Bartlett's (2009) finding regarding preservice teachers' concern to mediate through difficult and controversial topics, and offers implications in terms of designing more opportunities, where participants could practice these skills.

Reflective Essay Findings: Teaching Concerns

One of the major concerns among students was how to approach this topic in an age-appropriate manner. The overwhelming majority of these students were enrolled in an elementary education degree program, so their strong concern in teaching this subject matter to young children was clearly evident. Some students felt that it was important for them as teachers to hold back emotions and to reflect on their own prejudices in order to create a safe environment for learning and to facilitate discussions. Other concerns included how to handle disagreements among students due to diverse perspectives, and how to address genocide denial.

Data were collected before the final session on curriculum and pedagogy of genocide studies. Based on students' questions gathered in previous components, researchers were able to ascertain what students needed or what their concerns were in implementing genocide education and these concerns were incorporated into the final component of the assignment. Part III of the GSU

entailed collaboration among the instructor, the school district's multicultural department's professional staff, and the CHHRE staff who jointly presented grade-appropriate curriculum resources and pedagogical methodology to inform the participants of approved curriculum and methodology for implementing Holocaust education in early grades. The session also included multiple activities including a case study and discussion opportunities where students navigated different approaches to teaching about genocides in age-appropriate ways. The survey data indicate that the case study approach was very well received with 89% of participants rating it very useful with the remaining 11% rating it moderately useful in developing an understanding of genocide.

Active Domain

Reflective Essay Findings: Attitudes in Context of Human Behavior

Students frequently expressed their bewilderment at the atrocities, the lack of compassion, and bystander attitudes. They expressed moral outrage and found it difficult to understand inhumane behavior. Their emotions ranged from compassion to anger. They referred to empathy, ethics, and respect as important aspects of a society. One of the participants expressed, "It upsets me because sometimes the ignorance of people is a choice. This ignorance and choice to not at least acknowledge this event makes it worse because it shows that they still don't care about the Armenians." Though this is not a direct indication of their willingness to act on behalf of others (or the vulnerable groups), it is indicative of their willingness to engage in conversations around advocacy and solidarity.

Reflective Essay Findings: Attitudes in Context of Empowerment

These findings reflect participants' readiness to become advocates for justice, shedding light on their responses in the active domain. Many scholars agree that the central tenet of critical multicultural education is identifying, exposing and challenging "isms" (racism, antisemitism, etc.) and the hegemonic undercurrents which cause oppression, while also empowering a citizenry that will actively work to prevent systemic injustices and bring about a transformation of society. It is imperative that classroom teachers conceptualize the broader vision of multicultural education as creating bastions of social justice (Schoorman & Bogotch, 2010). Here lies the overlap of genocide studies and multicultural education. To learn about a historically oppressive event such as the Holocaust, requires the learner to engage with the same issues. The participant added, "The most important lesson I learned is to stand up for what you believe."

The study yielded findings that reflected students' emerging empowerment and willingness to be a voice for those who could not speak for themselves. A strong personal desire to become advocates was evident in their reflective essays. Further, participants also expressed an imperative to teach their students the importance of advocacy, activism and social justice.

Their statements reflected commitment to advocacy and the prevention of injustice and prejudice. Empowerment was also reflected in their statements about teaching for activism and advocacy. Some students reported that they would teach students to be involved and to question injustice. They referred to anti-bias education to help students become advocates of justice.

> …events such as the [H]olocaust are too gruesome to teach children, but this genocide studies unit has brought a new light. I have now realized that teaching genocide is a form of preserving the identity, culture, and history of those oppressed people.

These findings reaffirm the principles of critical multicultural education and Holocaust education as having a mitigating effect in reducing prejudice and bigotry (Anti-Defamation League, 2013; Marttila 2011; Shoham, Shiloah, & Kalishman, 2003).

The Differences between Face-to-Face and Fully On-line Delivery Format

Another area of interest to the researchers was whether the participants' knowledge and attitude scores were mediated by the delivery format – Face-to-Face (F2F) and Fully-on-line (FOL). It is important to note that the FOL content delivery was accomplished during weekly, real-time (synchronous) sessions on the Blackboard Collaborate platform. This delivery platform allows for live verbal discussions that imitate a F2F classroom setting. Data were collected in a survey which measured participants' overall satisfaction with the GSU and included questions on teaching methodology and professorial support. Due to a small sample size, it was difficult to run t-tests with statistically significant findings; however, in conducting a comparison of mean scores, there appears to be a slightly higher satisfaction level in the F2F format on survey items related to content knowledge. It was striking that in the category of confidence to teach about genocide, students in the FOL format reported higher confidence levels compared with students in the students in F2F format. At this point, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions in terms of the role of the delivery format in mediating these scores. However, knowing that any effective delivery system whether it be FOL or F2F, requires best practices such as providing students with comprehensive and multi-dimensional learning opportunities, social interaction, real-time feedback, validation and empowerment (Woodley, *Hernandez, Parra, & Negash,* 2017) and we see no reason why these strategies cannot be incorporated in a synchronous online course.

In examining the individual components of the GSU, the mean score on every item was slightly higher (indicating *very useful*) within the F2F group when compared with the FOL group. Although one cannot conclude that the difference in the instructional format is significant, it may be useful to explore ways to make the FOL format even more effective.

Conclusion

The findings of the study show that there was a remarkable gain in students' attainment after completing the GSU. On a four-point scale where cognizance of topics was rated as 1=being completely unaware, 2=slightly aware, 3=moderately aware and 4=extremely aware, reported knowledge gains almost doubled from 1.8 (prior to GSU) to 3.5 (subsequent to the GSU). The overall awareness of the topics was between moderately and extremely aware following the GSU intervention. Interestingly, compared with other topics, there was greater awareness of human rights and individual responsibilities before the Unit (above 2), but this also increased after the GSU.

With reference to the first research question, the survey items mainly focused on content knowledge. For future research, it is recommended that the items on pedagogical knowledge (e.g. instructional strategies) be included in the survey. With reference to research question two, it is recommended that statements reflecting participants' attitudes towards genocide education be included in the survey. Also, more than 60 students were enrolled in the GSU study; however, fewer than 30 students responded to the survey. The small sample size limited the statistical significance of the findings. The researchers had to stick to the mean scores to report findings. Going further, the researchers may consider offering an incentive to the participants to complete the survey in

order to increase the response rate. The other recommendation is to offer some class time to the participants to complete the survey.

In addition to the survey findings, participants' reflective essays also demonstrated their increased knowledge of the historical events surrounding the genocides (cognitive domain). Furthermore, their responses showed how principles of multicultural education were evident in the ways in which they analyzed their case studies (reflective domain), how they reacted to the information (affective domain), as well as how they drew conclusions about implementing genocide education (affective domain). For example, Stanton's Ten Stages of Genocide were referred to during implication of the GSU in order to explain the process of genocide. This included multiple references to prejudice in society, denial of such acts and its repercussions, and using topics of diversity to facilitate discussions on current issues. Within the affective domain, there was strong emphasis on the importance of reducing prejudice and protecting human rights. Similar to what Byford et. al. (2009) found in their study, the participants in this study also reported that the incorporation of such challenging topics was valuable and important in a pedagogical and humanistic sense. Finally, within the active domain, participants showed commitment to advocacy and anti-bias education. This is an important finding which reflects the potential of genocide studies and critical multicultural pedagogy to not only stimulate effective teaching practices among new teachers, but to create opportunities to engage in conversations around creating an inclusive society.

Implied within the four domains is the issue of moral/ethical understanding. In the tenuous political climate of 2017 dubbed the "post-truth" era (Lewandowsky, Stephan, et. al., 2017) by academics, it becomes even more imperative to explicitly incorporate moral reasoning across the domains in this course. Recent researchers have compiled many instruments to assess levels of moral/ethical values thinking, decision-making and action (Vaisey, n.d.). Future research should incorporate this body of research to measure the extent to which Genocide Studies impacts moral/ethical behaviors of teachers.

Our qualitative analysis not only reflected the participants' growth in the above-mentioned four domains, but also areas where participants may need more direct instruction or guidance. These areas are: misconceptions or misinformation about historical events, surface level analysis, overgeneralization, and vague or simplistic solutions. The following statements by some of the participants illustrate their misconceptions:

> *Victims were taken straight to the crematorium upon arrival to camps.* (Holocaust/Shoah)

> *Hitler killed all the Jews*. (Holocaust /Shoah)

> *Germans divided people, and favored those with lighter skin.* (Rwandan Genocide)

In other instances, some participants' comments were vague:

> *Terrorist groups come in and are train(sic) and plans are put in place to get rid of certain groups of people or to exterminate them.*

> *To me it (genocide) was all about hate, but there is so much more involved in this…*

These responses reflect the need to modify the GSU to include more opportunities for formative assessments to address these issues.

It is vital that teachers acquire the content knowledge and pedagogical skills to be able to effectively handle sensitive or even controversial content to not only meet the objectives of mandated Holocaust and genocide instruction, but also to contribute to the broader mission of encouraging citizens who are concerned about human rights and who work to ensure equity for all people regardless of their diversity. These findings reaffirm previous findings that those who receive professional development in Holocaust education are more likely to implement it (Ellison, 2002 and Shah, 2012).

The GSU design could serve as a model for designing units, interconnecting the principles of multicultural and genocide education. At the same time, it is clear that teacher- educators and trainers need to enhance and sometimes adapt conventional Holocaust and genocide education to invigorate the goal of using the lessons of history to improve our ability to effectively respond to contemporary situations that threaten democracy. Teaching to change the world by recognizing the injustices of the past should never cause "fatigue" if done well.

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Appendix A

Required readings, videos, and links, taken from the syllabus for the Genocide Studies Unit (GSU).

Mindes, G. (2005) *Social Studies in Today's Early Childhood Curricula. Beyond the Journal – Young Children on the Web.* http://ocw.umb.edu/early-education-development/eec-pre-school-learning-standards-and-guidelines/social-science-readings/Social%20Stud-ies%20in%20Early%20Childhood%20Curricula.pdf/at_download/file.pdf

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European Antisemitism: https://www.ushmm.org/antisemitism/what-is-antisemitism/why-the-jews-history-of-antisemitism

What is Ethnic Cleansing? http://www.history.com/topics/ethnic-cleansing

What is Genocide? http://www.history.com/topics/what-is-genocide

Appendix B

Suggested Curricular Resources for the Genocide Studies Unit

Grade Level	Themes	Suggested Books	Author
Kindergarten	• Understanding similarities and differences • Respecting differences • Finding commonalities	• Bread, bread, bread • I'm like you, you're like me • It's okay to be different • The peace book • The ugly duckling • We're different, we're the same	• Ann Morris • Cindy Gainer • Todd Parr • Todd Parr • Hans Christian Andersen • Bobbi Jane Kates
1st - 3rd Grade	• Empathy • Self-reliance • Being a change agent/advocate • Overcoming prejudice	• Big Al and Shrimpy • One green apple • Molly's pilgrim • Spaghetti in a hot dog bun: Having the courage to be who you are • The name jar • The brave little boat • crayon box that talked • The sneetches and other stories	• Andrew Clements • Eve Bunting • Barbara Cohen • Maria Dismondy • Yangsook Choi • Stephen Ollendorff & Kenneth Sawyer • Shane Derolf • Dr. Seuss
4th-5th Grade	• Being an up stander • Rescue • Standing in solidarity with victims • Providing safe haven to refugees	• Hannah's suitcase: The quest to solve a Holocaust mystery • Half spoon of rice: A survival story of the Cambodian genocide • Listen to the wind: The story of Dr. Gregg & three cups of tea • Number the stars • Terrible things: An allegory of the Holocaust • The bracelet • The harmonica • Who belongs here? An American story • Wonder	• Karen Levin • Icy Smith • Greg Mortenson • Lois Lowry • Eve Bunting • Yoshiko Uchida • Tony Johnston • Margy Burns Knight • R J Palacio

Peer Bullies and Victims' Perceptions of Moral Transgression versus Morally-Aimed Dishonesty

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Abstract

Previous studies suggest that people judge moral violation (interpersonal injustice of unprovoked harm) to be more serious, wrong, and punishable than acts of dishonesty and lying, thus classifying morality as a super-ordinate principle to acts of honesty. The present study examined whether or not the observed pattern of subordination of honesty to the moral principle of interpersonal harm would remain the same or change among aggressive (peer bullies), passive (bully victims) youths and those who are neither bullies nor bully victims. Two questionnaires were administered to examine the reasoning of 166 adolescents (9th to 12th grades), with self-identified experiences of having been peer bullies, bully victims, or neither bullies or victims, about moral transgressions (MT, involving gratuitous and deliberate harm to others) and morally-aimed dishonesty (MAD, involving lying or breaking promises to prevent unprovoked harm to others). Adolescents altogether viewed moral transgressions (MT), in comparison to morally-aimed transgressions (MAD), as less right and less subject to personal autonomy. Regression analysis, however, revealed that bullies more positively endorsed MT as a right act and judged MT acts to be subject to greater personal discretion of the protagonist. By contrast, victims more positively endorsed MAD as a right act, but victims' judgments of MAD being subject to the protagonist's personal discretion were nonsignificant. The results imply that the bullies minimize the inherent consequential harm in the straightforward moral transgressions and overextend protagonists' discretion in the transgressions. Victims, on the other hand, minimize protagonists' personal realm of legitimate autonomy utilized in judging multi-faceted moral dilemma.

Keywords: adolescents, moral judgments, moral transgression, morally-aimed dishonesty, bullies & victims, social domain theory

The present study examined how adolescents, who self-identified as having been peer bullies, victims, or neither a bully nor a victim, reason about the acceptability and personal right/discretion of moral transgressions, involving unprovoked, gratuitous harm to others, versus acts of dishonesty, involving dilemmas that entail prevention of harm to others by means of lying. Social-cognitive domain theory,[1] upon which the present study is based, has empirically defined morality as

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1. Refer to "New Direction for Moral Education with a Theorized Morality" (Hasebe, 2021 In print) for the more detailed descriptions about 1. Domain theory of Social and Cognitive Development, 2. The empirical definition of morality (versus non-moral domains) and 3. The analyses of the premature support of the dualism from the

matters pertaining to welfare and gratuitous harm (e.g., slander, unprovoked violence) in interpersonal relationships embedded in the principle "gratuitous harm to another is wrong." (Helwig, Tisak, & Turiel, 1990; Turiel, 1983, 2015). Domain research has found that people distinguish moral (i.e., welfare and harm on others) from conventional (e.g., dress codes, courtesies), personal (e.g., choice of friends), and prudential domains (i.e., acts involving consequential harm to the person such as substance abuse) when reasoning about social matters (Nucci, 2001; Turiel, 1983, 2006). More recent domain studies have found that people view acts of honesty differently from acts of moral and personal concerns for interpersonal justices and inequalities (Perkins & Turiel, 2007). People view morality as absolute, universal, non-contingent on contextual or authority variation versus acts of honesty as relative to context, subjective, and alterable. People judge moral matters to be more important, and moral violation to be more serious, wrong, and punishable than acts of dishonesty and lying, thus classifying morality as a super-ordinate principle to acts of honesty (Perkins et al., 2007, Turiel, 2015).

In the context of moral/character education in general, however, honesty and truth telling are emphasized as the hallmarks of an individual's *moral* probity. Youth and adults are encouraged to be honest and truthful to be trustworthy individuals in line with societal moral standards. In this absolute view of honesty, acts of dishonesty are overall considered morally wrong and truth-telling as morally right. However, these educational frameworks and absolutism of honesty are out of alignment with empirical studies. Studies involving both real-life and hypothetical scenarios suggest that people do not regard all lies as categorically wrong and consider lying as acceptable and even preferable in some situations but as wrong in other situations. Medical doctors judge that lying to insurance companies to secure treatment for patients, which the patients would otherwise be unable to afford, is acceptable to prevent harm to patients by securing payment for necessary medical treatment (Freeman, Rathore, Weinfurt, Schulman, & Sulmasy, 1999). Children, college students, and adults also judged that lying to prevent psychological harm to another is acceptable but lying for personal gain is unacceptable (Lindskold & Walters, 1983; Peterson, Peterson, & Seeto, 1983).

Judgments regarding the acceptability of deception is domain-specific. Children and adolescents judge withholding information through non-disclosure to parents as more justifiable, particularly over personal domain matters (e.g., secrecy of the content of a diary), than moral (e.g., gratuitous harm to another such as slandering) and prudential domain (e.g., substance abuse) activities, which they normally view as subject to parents' legitimate authority (Smetana, Metzger, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2006). While adolescents regard lying to parents as more acceptable than lying to peers (owing to greater coercive power of parents), they consider lying to parents about prudential issues (e.g., use of illegal drugs) as unacceptable (owing to legitimate parental authority to regulate prudential issues for parental protection of children's safety). Adolescents avoid parental directives that are in conflict with a moral principle (e.g., causing gratuitous harm to others) or viewed to be imposing on their privacy (Perkins, et al., 2007). These studies suggest that although people value honesty and regard lying as unacceptable in certain situations, they do not view honesty as an absolute imperative that transcends context, as they do moral violations concerning interpersonal injustices and inequalities that involve unprovoked harm to others. These previous studies, however, have not fully examined whether or not the observed pattern of subordination of honesty to the moral principle of interpersonal harm remains the same for diverse

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aspects of cognitive psychology and traditional pedagogical mistakes common in Education system and classroom practices.

groups of people and when multiple, competing moral considerations are involved in a given situation. Are there variations in social contexts (i.e., situations involving clear violation of straightforward morality such as gratuitous harm to another versus complex situations that involve violation of acts of honesty, such as telling the truth, to uphold moral principle to prevent gratuitous psychological harm on another) and individual characteristics (i.e., being a bully or victim) that may affect adolescents' moral judgments and how different moral factors are coordinated and given primacy? Could some groups judge honesty as super-ordinate to moral consideration of preventing gratuitous harm? In studies on prosocial behaviors, considerable evidence suggests that aggressive and passive youths display idiosyncratic perceptions of autonomy and interpretations of social-interpersonal matters (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004), both of which are vital factors that affect their moral judgements. Therefore, in the present study, two types of youths were included, bullies (aggressive) and victims (passive), to compare how their potentially opposite beliefs about personal discretion and interpersonal propensities may affect their judgements of moral transgression and acts of dishonesty.

Individual Autonomy versus Social Regulation in Moral Judgements

Examining how a person judges and reasons about the limits and boundaries of his or her autonomy and responsibilities and obligations to external/social/interpersonal regulations is important for understanding a person's moral judgements. As stated earlier, a moral principle of interpersonal fairness ("gratuitous harm to another is wrong") is a universally supported concept with a consensus. People's interpersonal-moral judgements, however, vary among individuals because moral judgements are influenced by and interplay with the ways an each person views and interprets the occurrences of the multiple domains in a life (personal, prudential, conventional domains). The ways s/he views and demarcates rights of the self and others and balances personal freedom with social-interpersonal responsibilities for the conduct of each domain likely vary among individuals. These variations, in turn, diversify each person's moral judgements that contain judgments of what is fair or unfair for people.

Social domain researchers have found that people's judgments of individuals' freedom and social obligations are not random but are systematic, domain-specific, and involve different reasoning that corresponds to the different domains of social interactions (Turiel, 2015). In particular, people normally view the conduct of personal domain (e.g., choice of friends, clothes) as matters subject to individual discretion and personal autonomy (individual action that is unregulated) where conduct should be up to the individual. People view the prudential (a person's welfare), conventional (social rules), and moral domains (welfare and interpersonal harm) as matters subject to social regulation and therefore, can be legitimately regulated by authorities (e.g., parents, teachers, lawmakers). Furthermore, "overlapping" issues are matters that do not fit precisely into a single domain (e.g., personal domain) and have multiple features. For example, a youth's decision to pierce his or her body has both personal and conventional aspects simultaneously, or wearing a coat on a very cold day has prudential and personal aspects, and so on. Decision-making regarding overlapping issues involves conflicts and compromises as the conduct involves dual aspects of personal discretion and social responsibility, and the boundary may not be always agreed upon (Nucci, 1996; Nucci & Smetana, 1996; Smetana, 2000).

Complexities arise from other aspects of social situations as well as how people with different life experiences and beliefs coordinate and reason about the complex nature of social situations. To repeat, individual freedom to act in moral situations is universally agreed upon and prescribed and proscribed in clear ways when gratuitous harm to others is involved (Nucci & Turiel,

1993). However, judgments are likely to vary about individual freedom and social obligations in specific contexts involving complex and multi-domain issues. Judgments, even within the normative pattern of what is to be personal and what is to be regulated, also vary by people's differentiating beliefs about the areas/degrees of freedom granted to the self and others in accord with specific features of a given situation, by people's personal experiences and social expectations and their views of effects of moral decisions on self and others (Sorkhabi, 2012; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994).

Domain studies have found that variations in these normative patterns of reasoning about the four domains and overlapping issues diverge when examining the reasoning of aggressive youth with externalizing problems and youth with internalizing problems (Hasebe, Nucci, & Nucci, 2004; Nucci & Herman, 1982). This is not to suggest that aggressive and depressed youth do not make domain distinctions. Tisak & Jankowski (1996) found that like normative samples, adolescent criminal offenders (e.g., those with felony, misdemeanor) judged moral violations as most wrong, conventional violations as second most wrong, and violation of personal matters as least wrong. Nevertheless, adolescent felons did reason that personal rules are more important than moral or conventional rules and regarded violation of conventional rules as more deserving of punishment than moral violations. Furthermore, adolescents with both felony and misdemeanor provided justifications for their reasoning that diverged from normative samples. For example, only 33% of adolescents with criminal offenses utilized moral justifications (e.g., wrong to harm or cause gratuitous pain to others) for moral violations. The remainder of them utilized conventional justifications or justifications from several domains for moral violations. These findings suggest that in comparison to non-aggressive youth, aggressive youth do not reason about moral issues based solely on the deductive moral principles of preventing gratuitous harm and promoting human welfare.

By contrast, youth within the normative range distinguish between personal discretion and freedom in the personal domain versus social regulation and control in the moral, conventional, and prudential domains. Aggressive youths' expression of autonomy extends beyond the personal domain to include the three socially regulated domains (Nucci, et al., 1982; Tisak, et al., 1996). Adolescent criminal offenders interpreted conventional matters not only in conventional terms but also in personal terms such that 77% of those considered a decision to 'march in line' (which was intended as a conventional act in the study) to be personal (Tisak et al., 1996). Illicit drug use, which non-aggressive adolescents view as a prudential matter (Hasebe et al., 2004) was considered a personal matter among adolescents who use drugs (Nucci, Guerra, & Lee, 1991) and who approve of drug use (Tisak, Tisak, & Rogers, 1994). Previous studies, however, have not fully examined the ways in which aggression and passivity affect adolescents' judgments of acts of dishonesty versus moral transgression.

Adolescents who have been experiencing either long-term under- or over-controlling parenting display an atypical pattern of expression of personal discretion by either over-extending their personal freedoms into the socially regulated conventional, prudential, and moral domains or, conversely, truncating the typical areas of personal discretion that most adolescents claim (Hasebe, et al., 2004, Hasebe, 2011). This non-normative pattern of autonomy may well fit the participants of this present study in excessively over-extended autonomy associated with peer bullies and excessively truncated autonomy with victims. Several bully studies (Arsenio & Gold, 2006; Bandura, 1986) support the findings of domain theory in suggesting that aggressive, passive/reticent, and nonaggressive children differ in social skills (Crick & Dodge, 1994) and ways of perceiving social events and interpersonal communication (Huesmann & Guerra, 1997). Studies also support that both bullies and victims display problems in autonomy expression. Coercion and

domination are associated with bullies (Boldizar, Perry, & Perry, 1989; Gilbert & McGuire, 1998), and reflect bullies failure to circumscribe their arena of autonomy to curtail infringement on others' autonomy. Victims' problems with autonomy expression involves their incapacity to be self-reliant and to assert their legitimate independence, which may stem from their low self-esteem and self-efficacy (Boulton & Smith, 1994). However, as Arsenio & Lemerise (2004) suggest, these studies have not examined bullies' and victims' moral judgments within a theoretical paradigm that empirically defines morality as a distinct domain from other social domains. Therefore, studies that do not distinguish the moral domain from other domains of judgment and action have not offered sufficient, systematic explanation for how bullies and victims' moral decisions are considered atypical. Hence, it is important to apply the social domain distinction to understand how bullies and victims reason about and coordinate individual right to act freely with prevention of harm and promotion of others' welfare that undergird their moral judgments. It is also important to understand the manner in which bullies' reasoning in these aspects diverge from that of victims and those who are neither bullies nor victims (Henceforth, this group is referred to as Neithers).

Present Study

In the present study, we employed social domains to examine the judgments of bullies, victims, and neithers, regarding hypothetical scenarios that depict moral transgressions (protagonist causes gratuitous and deliberate harm) and morally-aimed dishonesty (protagonist lies or breaks the promises to prevent harm).

Multifaceted social issues involve instances where several considerations simultaneously impinge on a particular situation such that an actor may violate a principle no matter what action he or she takes. To compare youths' views of dishonesty in reference to their views of moral transgression, we presented scenarios in a way that multifaceted issues involved the choice and dilemma between being honest versus preventing gratuitous psychological harm on another. If the actor is honest, he or she will cause psychological harm (e.g., a person walks into a room and finds that everyone is laughing/giggling and is told that people were just ridiculing him prior to his entrance). Alternatively, if the actor prevents psychological harm, he or she will have been dishonest (e.g., a person walks into a room and finds that everyone is laughing/giggling and is told that people are laughing about the contents of a book they read). Dishonesty in order to prevent physical and psychological harm, or property damage/financial loss to another human being is referred to as a morally-aimed dishonesty in the present study. In the morally-aimed dishonesty scenarios, the protagonist violates the subordinate virtuous principle of honesty to uphold the more super-ordinate moral principle of preventing gratuitous harm.

With respect to the first question of differences among judgments of bullies, victims, and neithers, hypothetical vignettes involving clear moral transgressions (e.g., causing unprovoked harm such as peer bullying) versus hypothetical vignettes involving morally-aimed dishonesty (e.g., breaking a promise) done with the aim of upholding a super-ordinate moral value (e.g., ensuring safety and preventing physical harm to others) were used to examine whether participants in the three groups distinguished between the two types of transgressions. Participants' moral judgments were examined by asking them whether they thought the two types of transgressions, moral (henceforth referred to as MT) and morally-aimed dishonesty (henceforth referred to as MAD) were right or wrong. Their judgments were examined in a second way by asking them whether the protagonist is personally entitled or has a right to take the action in the scenario.

Hypotheses: Bullies

MT Scenarios

Bullies would be more likely than the other two groups to positively endorse violations in the MT scenarios and to ascribe a personal right to the transgressor, because they are more inclined to engage in antisocial acts that cause interpersonal harm than the other two groups.

MAD Scenarios

Endorsement of MAD scenarios would be negatively related to bully status, because bullies have been found to ignore or minimize harmful outcomes to victims and to focus on conventional rules intended for social-organization and punishments intended to maintain such order. Although importance of conforming to social conventions and the principle of honesty are not isomorphic, they are both taught socially and in current character education, through a method of indoctrination, and emphasized by authorities (e.g., parents, teachers) as important values and behaviors to which all must conform (Perkins & Turiel, 2007). Therefore, we reasoned that bullies would more easily identify violation of the principle of honesty which is socially emphasized than moral transgression that involves complexity of discerning different types of harm including psychological harm, coordinating the higher principle of harm with the principle of honesty, and finally subordinating honesty (a much taught value) to uphold the principle of refraining from causing psychological harm to others. Furthermore, bully status may not be significantly related to judgments of personal right or entitlement of the transgressor to engage in morally-aimed honesty violation, because of bullies' lack of concern for preventing physical and psychological harm to others.

Hypotheses: Victims

MT Scenarios

Victims lack a clear sense of agency, boundary between self and other, and assertiveness. Therefore, our hypotheses are exploratory with respect to how victims may judge moral violation in MT scenarios or the extent that victims will accord personal entitlement/right to the transgressor in MT scenarios.

MAD Scenarios

Victim status was expected to be positively related to endorsement of violations in the MAD scenarios because victims would be more sensitive to the higher moral principle of physical and psychological harm prevention compared to the subordinate acts of honesty. Hypotheses regarding judgments about the personal right/entitlement of the transgressor in MAD scenarios was exploratory because of victims' diminished sense of agency and lack of self-reliance and assertiveness.

Method

Participants

Adolescents (*N* = 166, Male = 91, Female = 74) in grades 9 and 12 (*M* age = 16.0 years, *SD* = 1.26 years) were selected from four classrooms (40 students from each class) in a high school in an urban city in Illinois. Ethnicity of participants were 88% European American, 9.8% Hispanic, 0.9% multi-ethnic, 0.6% African American, 0.4% Native American, and 0.3% Asian. Graduation rate for the high school was 90%, and 20% of the students were receiving free or reduced price lunch.

Instruments

Bully-Victim Questionnaire

Adolescents responded to a self-report questionnaire that assessed their experiences of having been victimized by their peers or having bullied their peers. Questions are "How often have you been bullied by your peers in the past of couple years?" and "In the past couple of years, how often have you taken part in bullying other students or peers?" Adolescents' rated their experiences on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = 'not at all' and 6 = 'all the time'). Self-assessments of bully and victim status are common in similar studies (e.g., Olweus, 1989). Self-assessment in the present study was proper because the aim of the present study was to identify adolescents' self-perceptions of their status. Direct questions regarding bully or victim status have been effectively used in past studies (e.g., Fandrem, Ertesvag, strohmeier, & Roland, 2010).

Moral Transgression and Dishonesty Questionnaire

Hasebe (2021) devised a questionnaire with 8 hypothetical vignettes to assess adolescents' judgements about moral dilemmas involving interpersonal conflict. Five of the vignettes depict moral transgressions (MT) or behavior that involves an intentional breach of a moral principle (i.e., unprovoked harm such as bullying or stealing). Three of the vignettes depict acts of dishonesty aimed for prevention of harm to others (i.e., telling a white lie to prevent psychological harm to another person; breaking a promise because of safety considerations) which we will refer to as Morally-aimed Dishonesty (MAD). Adolescents answered two questions for each vignette that assessed (1) whether the adolescents thought that the protagonist's action was correct or right from a moral standpoint and (2) whether the protagonist had the right to act, as he or she had been depicted. The adolescents answered the two following questions: (1) "Is the person's act right to do?" (Act-Rightness) and (2) "Does he or she have a right to do the act?" (Personal-Right) and recorded their answers for each question on a 5-point Likert scale (1 ="the act is absolutely wrong" or "the person has absolutely no right to do that," and 5 = "the act is absolutely right" or "the person absolutely has the right to do that").

Procedures

Parents' and adolescents' written consent was obtained, as well as that of school administrators and classroom teachers. Questionnaires were administered in the classroom by their teach-

ers. Their teachers read a script, written by the first author, to the participating adolescents regarding the proper completion of the questionnaires and their rights as participants. Adolescents' responses to the questionnaires were anonymous.

Results

Table 1

Scenario Act-Rightness and Personal Right Descriptive Statistics for Victims, Bullies, and Total Sample

Scenario	Transgression Type	Act-Rightness *M* (*SD*s)		
		Victims	Bullies	Total
1) Teasing	MT	1.18 (0.40)	2.11 (0.96)	1.55 (0.70)
2) CD money	MT	1.45 (0.93)	1.72 (1.02)	1.35 (0.70)
3) Letter	MT	1.64 (0.92)	2.28 (1.02)	1.80 (0.86)
4) Sneakers	MT	1.18 (0.40)	1.67 (1.03)	1.27 (0.67)
5) Car defect	MT	1.27 (0.47)	2.61 (1.50)	1.72 (0.96)
6) Car	MAD	4.27 (1.27)	4.17 (1.29)	4.17 (1.25)
7) T-Shirt	MAD	2.64 (1.03)	2.67 (1.14)	2.79 (1.17)
8) White lie	MAD	3.55 (1.04)	2.94 (1.39)	2.84 (1.18)

Scenario	Transgression Type	Personal Right *M* (*SD*s)		
		Victims	Bullies	Total
1) Teasing	MT	1.73 (1.27)	2.28 (1.13)	1.77 (1.00)
2) CD money	MT	1.55 (1.04)	1.83 (0.99)	1.34 (0.71)
3) Letter	MT	1.55 (0.93)	2.39 (1.24)	1.86 (1.02)
4) Sneakers	MT	1.18 (0.40)	2.00 (1.28)	1.31 (0.72)
5) Car defect	MT	1.73 (1.27)	2.89 (1.81)	1.99 (1.28)
6) Car	MAD	3.73 (1.35)	3.89 (1.45)	4.08 (1.29)
7) T-Shirt	MAD	2.45 (0.93)	2.83 (1.42)	2.91 (1.22)
8) White lie	MAD	3.18 (0.87)	2.94 (1.39)	2.82 (1.33)

As displayed in *Table 1*, adolescents reported being a bully ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 1.13$) somewhat more often than being a victim ($M = 1.82$, $SD = 0.94$). Adolescents' reports of being a bully or a victim were largely uncorrelated, $r = .14$, $p = .08$, and no adolescent reported being *both* a bully and a victim often (score of 4 or greater for each). Because few participants scored 4 or greater on being a victim ($n = 9$, 5.4%) or a bully ($n = 13$, 7.8%) which would signify 'often' or 'all the time', response distributions were positively skewed and a log transformation was applied

to improve distributional properties of these ratings for all subsequent analyses. Overall, adolescents were more likely to endorse Act-Rightness and Personal-Right for the 3 MAD vignettes than the 5 MT vignettes.

This finding suggests that when a virtuous transgression takes place to prevent harm, adolescents endorse such an act as morally correct and as within the individual's right to act. However, when an act is a moral transgression that causes harm, such acts are not endorsed as morally correct or as within the individual's right to act. It should be noted that the mean averages for bullies for both Act-Rightness and Personal-Right on the MT vignettes was higher than that of victims, which indicates that bullies appear to endorse moral transgressions more than victims do. However, the bullies' mean averages for Act-Rightness (2.08) and Personal-Right (2.28) reflect overall relative disapproval of bullies for moral transgressions.

Victims' and Bullies' Perceptions of MT and MAD Vignettes

A pair of hierarchical regression analyses was used to predict victim and bully status based on the Act-Rightness ratings for MT and MAD vignettes (Blocks 1 and 2, respectively), the Personal-Right ratings for MT and MAD vignettes (Blocks 3 & 4, respectively). The overall regression model for (log of) victims' ratings with Act-Rightness and Personal-Right as predictors was significant, $R^2 = 16$, $F(6, 149) = 1.74$, $p = .045$. As can be seen in *Table 2*, ratings of Act-Rightness of MAD vignettes explained a significant amount of unique variance in victimness status, Block 2 $\Delta R^2 = .09$, $\Delta F(3, 157) = 5.19$, $p = .002$. None of the other three blocks were significant.

Table 2

Hierarchical Regression of Victims' Experiences on Moral Transgression and Morally-aimed Dishonesty and Act-Rightness/Personal Right Ratings by Predictor Block

Block	Ratings	Predictors in Block	ΔR^2	ΔF	p
1)	*MT Act-Rightness*	*5*	*.04*	*1.42*	*.22*
2)	*MAD Act-Rightness*	*3*	*.09*	*5.19*	*.002*
3)	*MT Personal Right*	*5*	*.02*	*0.83*	*.53*
4)	*MAD Personal Right*	*3*	*.01*	*0.32*	*.81*

Note. n = *166.* MT = *Moral Transgression,* MAD = *Morally-aimed Dishonesty*

The overall regression model predicting (log of) bullies' ratings with Act-Rightness and Personal-Right was significant, $R^2 = 17$, $F(6, 149) = 1.88$, $p = .03$. Act-Rightness of MT was significantly related to bulliness in Block 1, $\Delta R^2 = .10$, $\Delta F(5, 160) = 3.55$, $p = .004$, but none of the other three blocks were significant. Although Block 3, which was marginally significant ($p = .07$), explained 6% of the variance in bulliness ratings.

Table 3

Hierarchical Regression of Bullies' Experiences on Moral Transgression and Morally-aimed Dishonesty and Act-Rightness/Personal Right Ratings by Predictor Block

Block	Ratings	Predictors in Block	ΔR^2	ΔF	p
1)	MT Act-Rightness	5	.10	3.55	.004
2)	MAD Act-Rightness	3	.01	0.48	.70
3)	MT Personal Right	5	.06	2.10	.07
4)	MAD Personal Right	3	.00	0.12	.95

Note. n = *166.* MT = *Moral Transgression*, MAD= *Morally-aimed Dishonesty*

Bullies, Victims, and Neither Group's Ratings of MT and MAD Vignettes

Discriminant function analysis was utilized to examine the pattern of responses to the various vignettes between the groups of bullies, victims, and neithers. Three subgroups were formed to compare responses on Act-Rightness and Personal-Right ratings: (1) Victims, who rated being victimized two or more units more than bullies on the 6-point scale ($n = 11$), (2) Bullies, who rated bullying their peers two or more units more than victims on the 6-point scale ($n = 18$), and (3) Neithers, who reported equally low victim and bully experiences (Rating of 1 = not at all or Rating 2 = a little bit; $n = 61$).

Table 4

Group Means and Discriminant Function Loadings for the MT/MAD and Act-Rightness/ Personal Right Ratings

Scenario	Scenario Type	Question Type	Mean Rating Victims	Neithers	Bullies	F(2, 87)	Standardized Loading Func. 1	Func. 2
Sneakers	MT	Personal	1.18	1.15	2.00	11.45*	.58	.04
Car defect	MT	Act-R	1.27	1.59	2.61	10.94*	.55	-.22
Teasing	MT	Act-R	1.18	1.41	2.11	10.55*	.54	-.23
CD money	MT	Personal	1.55	1.16	1.83	7.79*	.43	.38
Letter	MT	Personal	1.55	1.60	2.39	5.83*	.41	-.04
Letter	MT	Act-R	1.64	1.57	2.28	5.72*	.41	.06
Teasing	MT	Personal	1.73	1.51	2.28	5.20*	.38	.16
Sneakers	MT	Act-R	1.18	1.15	1.67	4.22*	.35	.04

Car defect	MT	Personal	1.73	1.93	2.89	4.13*	.34	-.10
CD money	MT	Act-R	1.45	1.23	1.72	3.89*	.31	.22
White lie	MAD	Act-R	3.55	2.70	2.94	2.29	.04	.44
T-shirt	MAD	Personal	2.45	2.92	2.83	0.70	-.00	-.25
Car	MAD	Personal	3.73	4.15	3.89	0.60	-.07	-.20
White lie	MAD	Personal	3.18	2.77	2.94	0.50	.04	.20
T-shirt	MAD	Act-R	2.64	2.79	2.67	0.12	-.04	-.08
Car	MAD	Act-R	4.27	4.16	4.17	0.04	-.01	.06

Note. Group sizes were n = 11 Victims, 61 Neithers, and 18 Bullies. The function loading with the highest absolute loading is shaded. MT = Moral Transgression, MAD = Morally-aimed Dishonesty; Act-R = Act-Rightness; Personal = Personal Right. *p* < .05.

Two discriminant functions were significantly related to membership in the bully, victim, and neither groups, *Wilks' Λ* = .44, χ² (32) = 64.67, *p* = .001. Function 1 correlated strongly with the 10 MT vignettes and accounted for 75% of the between-group variance. After the removal of Function 1, no significant relations between group membership and the predictors remained, *Wilks' Λ* = .79, χ² (15) = 18.58, *p* = .23. Function 1 was the primary source of mean differences across the bully, victim, and neither groups with bullies' ratings being the highest for all of the 10 MT vignettes (see Table 4). Function 2 loadings, which correlated highly with the 6 MAD vignettes, were inconsistently patterned across groups, and no significant differences emerged.

Figure 1

Scatterplot of Victims (n = 11), Bullies (n = 18), and Neithers (n = 61) on two discriminant functions derived from the 16 morality items. Function scores were standardized to facilitate comparison. Function 1 was the primary source of discrimination between groups (75% vs. 25% for Function 2).
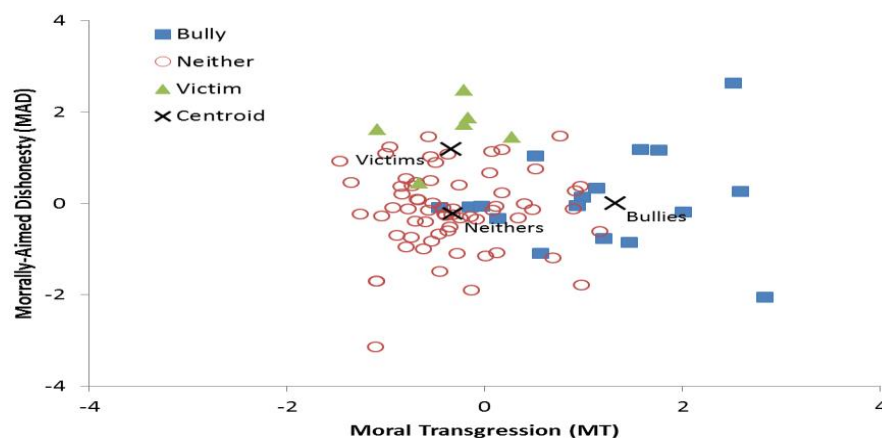
Reflecting their consistently higher MT ratings, bullies' Function 1 mean score was 1.65 *SD*s greater than that of the neither group and 1.66 *SD*s greater than that of the victim group (see Figure 1). Function 2 differences were also notable, with victims scoring an average of 1.41 *SD*s greater than neither group and 1.19 *SD*s greater than the bully group. Of the 90 total cases, 82% were correctly classified from their discriminant function scores (vs. 57% chance level agreement). Accuracy was satisfactory for bullies (67%) but was substantially lower for victims at 36%. All 16 misclassifications involved the neither group; no victims were misclassified as bullies or vice versa. As can be seen in *Figure 1*, the most notable differences were between bullies and the other two groups; discrimination between victims and neithers was less clear.

Discussion

Overall, adolescents irrespective of bully or victim status judged violations in MT scenarios as more wrong than the violations in MAD scenarios and conferred less personal right or entitlement to the transgressor in MT scenarios than MAD scenarios. These findings suggest that all participants, irrespective of bully or victim status, subordinate dishonesty to the super-ordinate moral principles of preventing physical and psychological harm (see Nucci, 1982; Tisak et al., 1996 for conceptually similar results). Despite this general pattern, the judgments of bullies and victims did significantly differ.

Bullies

Moral Transgressions

As hypothesized, bullies in comparison to victims and neithers judged that moral transgression that causes clear harm to others is alright (act rightness). This result is concordant with previous research on the cognitive precursors of aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1986), which suggests that those who are aggressive use rationalizations to justify or legitimize their aggressive behavior. Bullies also granted greater personal freedom (personal right) to the transgressor— indicating that a moral transgression that will cause harm to others is within the realm of personal jurisdiction of the aggressor. This result is concordant with previous studies that suggest that aggressive youth reason about socially regulated conduct (i.e., conventional, prudential matters) in personal terms (Tisak et al., 1996). Bullies' attribution of personal autonomy to actions that are not within the realm of individual discretion because they entail harm to others may reflect their expansive sense of personal rights that may be insufficiently inclusive of consideration for others' needs, rights, and perspectives.

Morally-Aimed Dishonesty

Our hypothesis that level of being a bully would be negatively related to endorsement or affirmation of morally-aimed dishonesty was not supported. Level of being a bully was not significantly related to either judgments of act correctness or personal right to transgress in MAD scenarios. Our hypothesis was based on previous studies that found that bullies have tendencies to fail to identify the moral significance of moral events (e.g., gratuitous harm). For example, bullies judge the wrongness of moral events by focusing on violation of societal rules and accompanying punishment than on violation of moral principle by commission of harm (Tisak, et al., 1996). Although social conventions and honesty are not conceptually the same, they are both subordinate to

super-ordinate moral principles. Social conventions and honesty have been and continue to be the aim of socialization efforts as ends rather than moral implications of interpersonal harm and welfare that involve concrete observable outcomes, especially for older children (Nucci & Turiel, 2009).

However, it is important to note differences in judgments of bullies between MT scenarios and MAD scenarios. In MT scenarios, harm is directly and deliberately caused to another. In MAD scenarios, harm is prevented, and consequently, benefit is derived by another. Bullies' responses are clear and statistically significantly in MT scenarios, because they focus on the aggressor causing harm and having the freedom to behave like a bully, but they disregard or fail to take the perspective of the victim who sustains harm. However, in MAD scenarios, the transgressor is not behaving like a bully but is attempting to prevent harm to a potential victim— a moral perspective the bully tends to ignore. Thus, bullies' judgment about correctness of the act and the right of the transgressor to prevent harm is diluted and not clearly adjudicated in MAD scenarios, but clearly done in MT scenarios. The non-significance could also imply that bullies are uncertain and find it difficult to coordinate two conflicting principles (harm prevention and dishonesty) simultaneously to arrive at a conclusion regarding correctness of an act and the transgressor's right.

Victims

Moral Transgressions

We did not find an association between adolescents' victim status and their judgments of correctness of moral transgression that causes gratuitous harm to another or the personal right of the transgressor to cause harm. These nonsignificant findings may suggest victims' inability to clearly judge and evaluate gratuitous and deliberate interpersonal harm, which individuals in normative samples readily identify. However, victims who are subject to persistent relational maltreatment (e.g., parental psychological abuse or peer bullying) may have a diminished sense of autonomy of their personal domain (Hasebe, 2011) and may be hindered in clear cognitive interpretation of an abusive act as abusive or comprehension of abusive relationship contexts (Hasebe, 2011).

Morally-Aimed Dishonesty

As hypothesized, the regression analyses revealed that victims significantly endorsed the correctness of morally-aimed dishonesty by the protagonist to ensure interpersonal welfare and to gratuitous unprovoked harm. However, bullies did not. Bully status was not significantly related to endorsement of act correctness in MAD scenarios. With respect to whether the protagonist had a personal right to engage in morally-aimed dishonesty, victim status was not significantly related to personal right of the protagonist in MAD scenarios. Because victims may lack initiative to claim personal discretion over acts they view affirmatively, in this instance, they may have similarly not endorsed the personal right of the protagonist to take personal initiative even though they approve or accept the protagonist's action.

However, the discriminant function analyses, where the three groups of bullies, victims, and neither were directly compared, revealed no significant differences, among the three groups' endorsement of act-rightness or personal-right of the protagonist in MAD scenarios. These results suggest that all groups were capable of identifying and affirming the moral benefits inherent in

preventing harm in MAD scenarios. Similarly, Nucci (1982) and Tisak et al. (1996) also found that participants could identify the moral dimension of harm prevention.

The present study sheds light on how adolescents, who have potentially experienced different home environments and types of parenting and self-identified as having bullied or been victimized may reason about and ultimately act or fail to act to prevent harm to others. In the home, children's interactions with parents include moral, conventional, personal, and prudential matters. How parents behave in relation to these domains and the consequences that children sustain can contribute to how children reason about the role of authority figures, the extent of their own personal autonomy and that of others, and the moral problem of inaction in the face of harm. Educators in school settings might consider exploring how adolescents think about their relationships to their peers, friends, and adults in the school setting to prevent and ameliorate the harm associated with bullying and victimization.

The present study has the following limitations. All data were obtained from the same source; therefore, shared-source variance may explain some of the significant findings. The cross-sectional nature of the design precludes any causal conclusions about the experiences of the bullies and victims and their judgments about actual moral transgressions. Furthermore, the findings may not be generalizable to diverse ethnic and social-economic groups.

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Student Teachers of Literacy in Different Preparation Models: Does a Teacher Residency Provide an Advantage?

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Abstract

This parallel mixed methods study explored self-efficacy and competence for literacy instruction among student teachers (STs) in three models of teacher preparation, including a residency model. Qualitative interviews were conducted with STs, mentor teachers, and supervisors. Quantitative data were collected using a pre-/post-survey design using the Teachers' Sense of Efficacy for Literacy Scale (TSELS). Mentor teachers and supervisors completed a modified TSELS on STs' abilities. Data were analyzed using meta-inferences between strands. Results revealed Residency Model STs held higher levels of self-efficacy for literacy instruction. Mentor teachers and supervisors reported Residency Model STs outperformed other models.[1]

Keywords: *teacher residency; literacy instruction; self-efficacy; teacher preparation; student teaching*

Introduction

A vital element in childhood teacher preparation programs is knowledge of important components of literacy instruction. Research reviews and meta-analyses in reading research (NICHHD, 2000; NRC, 1998; Stanovich, 2000) identify five major components of reading: phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency, vocabulary, and reading comprehension. In addition to reading, writing instruction is also essential at the elementary level (Spear-Swerling & Zibulsky, 2014). Research shows that explicit and systematic instruction in each of these areas is beneficial to students, particularly to those who struggle with literacy development (NICHHD, 2000; Foorman et al., 2016). Research reveals gaps in teacher knowledge of the aforementioned evidence-based literacy instructional practices (Cohen, Mather, Schneider, & White, 2017; Kilpatrick, 2015; Seidenberg, 2017). Some of these gaps are traced, in part, to teacher preparation programs, where there is, perhaps, a lack of coverage of important concepts, under-equipped teacher educators, or disconnected field placements that do not link course content to opportunities to practice with pedagogy (Ciampa & Gallagher, 2018; Cunningham & Zibulsky, 2009; Spear-Swerling & Zibulsky, 2014).

In addition, research indicates the importance of effective teacher preparation for reading teachers (Kilpatrick, 2015; Moats, 2020; Joshi & Wijekumar, 2019; Washburn, Binks-Cantrell, &

Joshi, M., 2013). In fact, Husbye et al. (2018) state, "As teacher educators, we want to ensure that our students are able to leave our courses with the content and pedagogical knowledge to teach literacy effectively in their classrooms; as we continue to explore ways to connect knowledge to practice in school contexts, we must inquire into the pedagogies and methodologies that support those competencies" (p. 199). A body of research is unambiguous about the crucial role teachers play in providing children, especially those who struggle with learning to read, with effective reading instruction (Snow, Griffin, & Burns, 2005; Torgesen, 2005). In response to the literature on underprepared teachers, various models of teacher preparation are increasingly being explored. The strong, connected partnerships with public schools that are developed in a teacher residency model have potential to support the development of new teachers that possess strong knowledge of literacy.

Teacher Preparation Models

Teacher Residency Model

In many teacher preparation programs there is mounting effort to increase clinical practice time and foster deeper connections between coursework and clinical practice. Teacher residencies are one way in which this can occur (AACTE, 2018). These residencies are an immersion model of teacher preparation which affords the pre-service teachers with opportunities to engage for one school year in a K-12 experience and complete integrated academic coursework. Residents work with "mentor teachers" who have a deeper, more connected role in guiding residents than the traditional "cooperating teacher." Mentors also engage in professional development connected to supporting the residency (ESSA, 2015-2016). Traditional models of teacher preparation have been criticized for not sufficiently preparing pre-service teachers for the complex task of teaching (Alter & Naiditch, 2012; Peercy & Troyan, 2017). Today's classrooms are diverse learning spaces with a wide range of student strengths and needs which require teachers who are well-trained to provide instruction and support (Aceves, & Orosco, 2014; Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2014). New teaching conditions require new ways of thinking about what it means to student teach, be a mentor teacher, share teaching, participate in a mentoring relationship, collect data for instructional decision making, be a student teaching supervisor, structure university literacy coursework, and most importantly focus on student (P-12) learning (Berry, Montgomery & Snyder, 2008; Burns & Badiali, 2016; Burns, Jacobs, & Yendol-Hoppey, 2016). For STs to understand the complexities of instruction, including literacy instruction, a paradigm shift in teacher preparation may be required (Alter & Naiditch, 2012).

This paradigm shift could be met through a teacher residency model (RM), where teachers are trained more like doctors through an immersion experience, with experts consulting and supervising decision making (Gatti, 2016; Guha, Hyler, & Darling-Hammond, 2007). The development of residents occurs over time. Residents take courses concurrently with the enactment of practice. They begin the school year by participating in district professional development and immersing in the school culture and classroom set up before students arrive. There is opportunity for a gradual transition to teaching through extensive mentoring and modeling (Leon, 2014). There is opportunity for planning, teaching and delivery of content alongside an experienced mentor. The richness of blended learning through differentiated instruction is commonplace in classrooms with residents because a consistent, invested candidate is eager to implement theory into practice. Res-

idents and mentors are supported by university faculty and supervisors for professional development and the linking of theory to practice (Berry, Montgomery & Snyder, 2008; National Center for Teacher Residencies, 2020). University faculty have opportunities to clarify and communicate with the mentors and residents to ensure common goals of student learning are achieved.

Learning Community Model

The Learning Community Model (LCM) is a clinically rich experience with a field placement in a Professional Development School (PDS). There has been a movement in teacher preparation in response to the Clinical Practice Commission (AACTE, 2018) to explore more clinically rich options for preparation, one being connected work with a PDS. The LCM provides pre-service teachers opportunities to experience coursework and field experiences simultaneously and with intentional connections between research and theory with onsite coursework (Parker, Groth, & Byers, 2019). Pre-service teachers in the LCM have the opportunity to apply university-based coursework to school-based practices (Hammerness & Kennedy, 2018; Koerner, Rust, & Baumgartner, 2002). Darling-Hammond (2014) contends that time and quality are essential aspects of clinical experiences; therefore "the most powerful programs require students to spend extensive time in the field, examining and applying the concepts and strategies they are simultaneously learning about in their courses alongside teachers who can show them how to teach in ways that are responsive to learners" (p. 551).

Traditional Student Teaching Model

In traditional models of teacher preparation (TM), the student teacher gradually assumes instructional responsibilities over the course of a prescribed time-period while being evaluated by the mentor (Fraser & Watson, 2014; Garza & Werner, 2014). Teacher candidates have varied lengths of time in their student teaching experience, but historically have engaged in "a period of a few weeks to several months spent observing and then taking responsibility for leading a classroom under supervision" (Fraser & Watson, 2014, p. 1). In this model, the student teacher, "exchanges places with the cooperating teacher who then exits to the staffroom" (Clarke, Triggs, & Nielsen, 2014, p. 8). This environment fosters a hurried transition to teaching, often prior to candidates understanding the assets and learning needs of the students (Wasburn-Moses, 2017). Due to time constraints, there is often limited mentoring and modeling enacted by the mentor before the candidate is required to teach independently (Hoffman, et al., 2015). Planning and delivery is typically done mostly by the student teacher (ST) with limited support or supervision (Guise, Habib, Thiessen, & Robbins, 2017). STs are typically finished with their university courses before student teaching and have limited interactions with course professors during the student teaching experience. In this traditional model, teaching theory is presented before practice.

In traditional teacher preparation models, professional development around mentoring candidates is limited for mentors. Mentors participate in district or building mandates for professional development, but there is limited room for sharing of knowledge around program goals, structures and requirements (Hoffman, et al., 2015). Communication between mentors, supervisors and STs is limited due to time constraints and limited opportunity to establish collaborative relationships. Both mentors and candidates may have little time to reflect during the placement (Hoffman, et al., 2015). Within this model, the ST is sometimes placed in a sink-or-swim experience that could

defeat developing teaching competence and confidence that novice teachers need to move toward proficiency (Tschannen-Moran, Hoy & Hoy,1998).

Literacy Instruction and Self Efficacy

Since the literature emphasizes that content knowledge of how to teach literacy effectively is essential, exploration of how that knowledge is fostered is needed. A key interaction exists between pre-service teacher ability to effectively teach literacy and their beliefs or self-efficacy about literacy instruction (Barr, Eslami, Joshi, Slattery Jr., & Hammer, 2016; Knoblauch & Woolfolk Hoy, 2008). Self-efficacy is an assessment of an individual's belief of one's capabilities to attain a desired level of performance in a given endeavor (Bandura, 1997). In this case, the focus of beliefs is on one's ability to teach literacy. Often when STs possess a strong sense of self-efficacy in literacy instruction, they are more fortuitous in their efforts to help children learn (Reynolds, et al., 2016). It is important to understand that self-efficacy is a self-perception of ability, rather than actual competence. This is an important distinction because individuals could under or overestimate their ability, but the self-perception of their ability still results in more or less effective teaching (Tschannen-Moran, Hoy, & Hoy, 1998).

The self-efficacy beliefs of teachers in teaching literacy are foundational to their developing skills to teach literacy effectively (Linnenbrink & Pintrich, 2010). The RAND (1976) studies fostered interest in examining teacher self-efficacy beliefs, and over the last several decades, teacher self-efficacy has proven to be an important construct relating to teacher behaviors, teacher motivation, and ultimately student outcomes (Knoblauch & Woolfolk Hoy, 2008; Reynolds, et al., 2016; Tschannen-Moran & Johnson, 2011). Mentor teacher quality and interaction with STs has been shown to affect the development of ST self-efficacy (Knoblauch & Woolfolk Hoy, 2008).

Tschannen-Moran & Johnson (2011) examined self-efficacy beliefs of teachers in literacy instruction using the Teacher Self Efficacy of Literacy Instruction (TSELS) instrument for data collection. The results of their work indicated that future research exploring specific dimensions of university teacher preparation leading to higher levels of self-efficacy in literacy instruction is needed (Tschannen-Moran & Johnson, 2011). More recently, Ciampa & Gallagher (2018) used the TSELI, a more recent version of the TSELS, to explore pre-service teacher self-efficacy in literacy instruction before and after a literacy methods course in two North American universities. They recommend that further studies should explore self-efficacy with a field observation measure. Kyungsim & Szabo (2011) found that STs in a yearlong student teaching experience had increased levels of self-efficacy for teaching reading, but these measures were not compared to actual outcomes of effective literacy practices.

Literature Gap

Within the literature around teacher residencies, there is a dearth of studies examining how residents engage in literacy instruction. The International Literacy Association and National Council of Teachers of English (2017) stress the need for a research focus on how pre-service teachers are prepared for teaching literacy, both in program design and collaboration among various stakeholders. Ciampa and Gallagher (2018) call for studies that explore self-efficacy with a field observation measure. Our study responds with examination of how models of teacher preparation may affect the development of self-efficacy and ability for effective literacy instruction.

Methods

This mixed methods exploratory study reports on phase one of a two-phase study examining how ST self-efficacy in literacy instruction varies in different teacher preparation models. Observer perspectives measuring competence from mentors and supervisors were also used to determine differences between ST perceptions and observer perspectives.

Research Questions

1) Do STs in the Residency Model (RM), Learning Community Model (LCM) or Traditional Model (TM) feel most prepared to teach literacy at the end of their student teaching experience?
2) How do STs' perceptions about their ability to teach literacy change across the student teaching quarter when participating in different teacher preparation models?
3) What alignment exists among mentor teacher, supervisor, and ST perceptions of STs' ability to teach literacy?

Study Design

This study uses a convergent, parallel mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) examining three different teacher preparation models. Qualitative and quantitative data were concurrently collected and analyzed. The qualitative portion was the dominant methodology employed; the quantitative portion played a secondary role. This design was selected to more deeply understand the full spectrum of issues by integrating qualitative and quantitative data related to the different models of student teaching and self-efficacy in literacy instruction to demonstrate convergence or divergence of data around the research problem (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Methodological triangulation was used to combine and compare multiple data sources and multiple methods to study the research problem (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

Three Conditions

Traditional Model

In the TM, undergraduate pre-service teachers began their senior year in a practicum setting spending 1½ days a week in a Fall practicum and continued with the same mentor for quarter (Q) 3 of student teaching (7 weeks). These pre-service teachers were initially placed in rural contexts with a professor as liaison to the field placements during the practicum. The study data is from the final quarter of student teaching in a new context with a seven-week experience and new mentor teacher.

Learning Community Model

Undergraduate pre-service teachers in the LCM participated in a clinically-rich and flexible experience. They began a practicum with their mentor teachers in the second semester of their junior year spending 2-4 days a week in the classroom. Pre-service teachers were encouraged to

spend as much time as possible in the schools. During their senior year, pre-service teachers continued with the same mentor 3-5 days a week for practicum, and Q3 of a seven-week student teaching placement. The group was a cohort, and coursework was completed onsite in the schools. The schools were Professional Development Schools and there was intentional collaboration between the university and the schools. The study data is for the Q4 student teaching placement, in which the pre-service teachers are with a new mentor teacher in a new urban school context.

Residency Model

In the residency model, pre-service teachers were immersed five days a week in urban placements during Fall and Spring semesters. Each semester the residents moved to a different grade level and school. Coursework was concurrently completed in a cohort model with innovative instructional practices and designs. The pre-service teachers participated in school based professional development at the beginning of the school year with mentors and remained in the same placement for the entire semester. The pre-service teachers in the RM were seeking initial certification in Childhood Education, but were at the graduate level. The candidates held a bachelor's degree in another field and were novice to childhood pedagogy. The study data is from the final quarter of their residency.

Setting/Participants

Participants for this study include: pre-service teachers (*N=29*), mentors (*N=21*), supervisors (*N=7*). Pre-service teachers seeking initial certification in Childhood Education (Elementary) from the same institution were enrolled in their final student teaching placement. The STs were from three student teaching models, a traditional model (*N=11*), a learning community model (*N=7*), and a residency model (*N=11*) based on course sections. Students in the traditional and learning community model were undergraduates. Students in the residency model were graduate students.

Table 1.0

Comparison of Condition Features: TM, LCM, RM

	TM	**LCM**	**RM**
Practicum Time Fall 2017	2 x a week	3-5 days a week	5 days a week merging with ST
Practicum Mentor (Q2) Same as Q3 ST Mentor?	Yes	Yes	No
Q3 Mentor Same as Q4 Mentor	No	No	Yes
ST Time	Two 7-week placements	Two 7-week placements	Two 16-week placements

Supervision	University Supervisor	University Supervisor	University Supervisor
Coursework	Completed Prior ST; campus	Completed Prior ST; onsite	Integrated during ST
Mentoring	Mixed, no PD	Intentional with PD	Intentional with PD and Funded
University Faculty Visiting Schools	No	Yes	Yes
School/ University Partnership	Local Schools	PDS Schools	Strong Partnerships
Cohort Model	No	Yes	Yes
Funding for Mentors	$200	$200	$1,400
Funding for STs	No	No	Yes

Data Collection

All data were collected across the final quarter of student teaching in Spring 2018. Twenty-nine qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain perspectives from STs ($n=13$), mentor teachers ($n=6$), and supervisors ($n=7$), to provide insight into the self-efficacy and literacy instructional practices of the STs in each model. Purposive sampling was used to select the mentor teachers and student teaching supervisors that were connected to the STs whom were randomly selected (Lavrakas, 2008). Concurrently, quantitative data were collected from all STs, mentor teachers, and supervisors using a pre-/post-test design from STs with the TSELS (Johnson & Tschannen-Moran, 2003). To triangulate STs' perspectives, mentors and supervisors completed a modified TSELS on STs' ability to apply effective literacy instructional elements.

Quantitative Data Sources

Student Teaching TSELS. The quantitative instrument selected to determine ST self-efficacy in teaching literacy was the *Teachers' Sense of Efficacy for Literacy Instruction Scale* (TSELS) (Johnson & Tschannen-Moran, 2003). The TSELS was developed to understand the self-efficacy of teachers to teach various elements of literacy (Shaw, Dvorak & Bates, 2007). The reliability of the TSELS instrument produced an overall alpha coefficient of 0.96. A reliability analysis of the subscale, sense of efficacy for integrating the language arts, produced an alpha coefficient of 0.96.

TSELS uses a Likert scale on a continuum from 1-9 with a score of "one" labeled "None at All," through a score of "nine" indicating "A Great Deal." There were 22 questions about various aspects of literacy instruction. Questions examined perceptions of STs in their ability to use

literacy assessment, feedback, motivation, differentiated instruction, reading skills and literacy strategies (see Appendix A). STs completed a TSELS at the onset and conclusion of the seven-week experience, along with a general demographic survey.

Mentor/Supervisor Modified TSELS. Mentors and supervisors completed an electronic, modified TSELS at the conclusion of the semester. Questions were formatted to focus on the abilities of STs to implement the literacy instructional practices. The TSELS was modified to gain the perspectives of observers (mentors and supervisors) regarding abilities of STs by slightly altering the wording of the probes, e.g. "To what extent can *the student teacher*..." As previously stated, measures of ability for teaching are interconnected with beliefs about competence for instruction (Korthagen, 2004; Poom-Valickis, 2013).

Qualitative Data Sources

A semi-structured interview approach was employed (Bogden & Biklen, 2007). Beginning in the 6th week of student teaching through four weeks after student teaching ended, STs, mentors, and supervisors were each asked broadly about literacy instruction and the model of student teaching as they experienced it. Four of five randomly selected STs from each condition participated in qualitative interviews. Eleven mentors and six supervisors who were purposively matched with the interviewed STs were also interviewed, bearing perspectives across all three models of student teaching. Sample questions include: "Tell me about your decision-making process for literacy instruction?" and "Tell me about the successes and challenges you have faced in teaching literacy to your students." Additionally, mentor and supervisor interviewees were asked about the ST's preparedness for the role of literacy teacher. Subsequent probes were asked based on the participants' responses to delve further into the content of the conversation.

Data Analysis

The qualitative analysis was an inductive and creative synthesis (Patton, 2002) that led to themes and development of theory, which was grounded in data that developed a deeper understanding of self-efficacy and competence in literacy instruction related to various models of teacher preparation (Charmaz, 2000, 2005; Patton, 2002). Using NVivo 12, the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was utilized to compare incidents using the unitizing process, by dividing narrative data into its smallest meaningful units then comparing them to form categories (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Consensus was reached between the researchers after they independently coded the transcriptions of the interviews and collaboratively determined themes.

Quantitative analysis was conducted using descriptive statistics, ANOVA, and post hoc tests in SPSS 25 (Coe, 2002). Although the two sets of qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed independently, they were linked with meta-inferences utilizing strategies of discussion and matrix through integration to examine convergent and divergent results (Plano Clark, Garrett, & Leslie-Pelkey, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Discussions were merged through presenting results from quantitative data with an immediate comparison of the qualitative findings connected to quotes or themes that developed.

Results and Discussion

The results were organized around each research question. Quantitative and qualitative data were examined separately for each question, then we determined if there was convergence or divergence between strands (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018).

Question 1

Do STs in the Residency Model (RM), Learning Community Model (LCM) or Traditional Model (TM) feel most prepared to teach literacy at the end of their student teaching experience?

Quantitative Results

Initially, a One-Way ANOVA was conducted on the Pre-Q 4 TSELS data to determine if there were significant differences between groups. No significant differences were found between groups in Pre-Q4 analysis, F (2,26) = .771, p =.473. The descriptive statistics display Pre/Post-Questionnaire data, Pre- (M=6.30, SE= .18, SD= .96); Post- (M=6.97, SE= .19, SD = .99), demonstrating an increase in the mean over Q4 for the collective group of STs.

Question #1 was quantitatively explored through descriptive statistics with a mean comparison across conditions based on data from the 22-question TSELS instrument (Johnson & Tschannen-Moran, 2003); (RM (N= 11, M= 7.25, SD= .86); LCM (N=7, M= 7.03, SD= .88); TM (N=11, M= 6.54, SD= 1.23) The data display that STs' perceptions about their ability to teach literacy increased across Q4 in all three conditions. RM candidates expressed the greatest self-efficacy in their literacy instruction in Q4 (See Figure 1.0).

Qualitative Results

Qualitative data also indicated that STs in the RM felt most prepared to teach literacy, followed by the LCM and TM. Perspectives for these other models were mixed, but RM STs reported higher

Figure 1.0
Pre-Post Test TSELS Likert Means
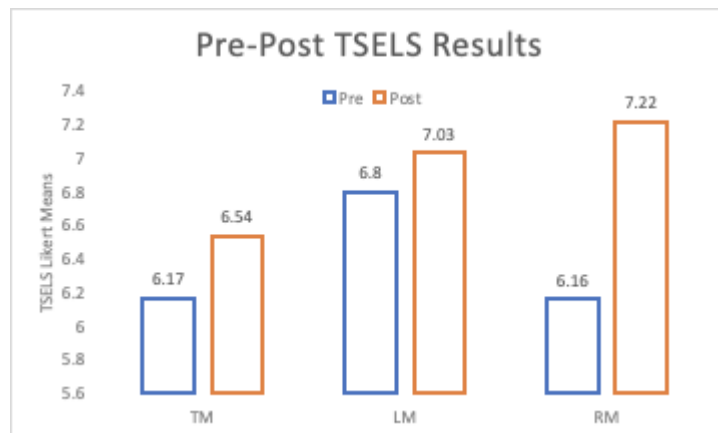
levels of self-efficacy. For example, one RM student said "[I] feel comfortable being my own teacher knowing that I can make my own decisions without a host teacher by my side." Another discussed her ability to work with students of varying needs. She said, "I was more confident in what I could teach them based on what I knew already and then based on the resources that I have here." Conversations with RMs showed increases in their abilities to think critically about literacy instruction and differentiation.

STs prepared in this model reported close observation of students' literacy learning through examining formative data and making critical decisions for instruction. For example, one resident commented, "I made notes so that I could remember who was having problems with what, and that way, if they were still continuing to have those problems, I could go back to it the next day and make sure that it was focused on again for the student." Another RM ST discussed her planning for intervention, stating, "I then pull those kids more for intervention so I can target those specific skills." Another resident discussing her views on literacy instruction explained, "I believe that the teaching needs to be very explicit but I also believe they need the time to practice it at that block of time…[when that] opportunity is not there, I don't think they can improve."

Although students in the RM reported higher levels of self-efficacy for teaching literacy, they also reported the need for continued experience in teaching literacy as well. In discussing a student with possible dyslexia, one ST said, "I still feel like there's so much confusion when it comes to struggling readers that I don't know."

Question 2

How do STs' perceptions about their ability to teach literacy change across the student teaching quarter when participating in different teacher preparation models?

Quantitative Results

Quantitative data for Question #2 displayed that the RM had the greatest increase in self-efficacy for literacy instruction, RM (N=11, M= 1.12, SD= .86); TM (N=11, M= .44, SD= 1.10); LCM (N=7, M= .32, SD= .70). Due to the small sample sizes in each condition, a Wilcoxon matched pairs signed rank test was conducted to examine the median difference between the conditions and the change score. There was significance, r = -.351; p =.014; Eta squared = .144 with a moderate effect size (See Figure 1.2).

Figure 1. 1

Results of Wilcoxon Matched Pair Signed Rank Test

Qualitative Results

   Residency Model. Qualitative data confirmed that RM students had the highest self-effi-cacy for teaching literacy at the end of student teaching as well as the greatest increase in their perceptions about their abilities to teach literacy over the course of the student teaching quarter. One student discussed how initially she was "nervous" and felt "inferior" to her mentor teacher, but as the residency continued, her confidence increased substantially. She said, "I feel great about it, and I wouldn't have felt that way if I didn't have 15 weeks last semester too." Another RM ST shared:

>   This semester I feel that I'm much better prepared than I was last semester…I think that things go a lot smoother…We are able to get through a lesson, ask questions and go back and forth on things a lot smoother now than when we were in the first part of the semester and I think it's more because I know which questions to ask when it comes to ELA, where I wasn't really sure at the beginning of the semester because I hadn't really had that expe-rience.

   Our qualitative analysis allowed us to ascertain why these quantitative results occurred. When speaking on this topic, RM STs discussed the support and preparation they were provided related to their success. One RM ST stated, "Usually the special education teacher and I collaborate and figure out what needs to be done next for the group." An additional RM ST described school supports that were readily available for her growth, "I feel that it's not just one person I can go to about my questions and concerns. I'm not just left alone. I feel like part of the community…" In keeping with the trend of support and collaboration, another RM ST shared, "Sometimes there are situations that come up, and I'm not really a hundred percent sure, so that's when I go to the special ed. teachers and my cooperating teacher, and I [ask] what would you do?"
   STs in the RM also attributed their confidence to the amount of time they had to develop their literacy teaching skills in the classroom, which was substantially more than the other models. One student said, "It's really nice with the residency program that I had another ten to eleven weeks to really feel comfortable being my own teacher." Another student explained:

>   I don't think I could have gotten as far as I got or have a relationship with the kids if I wasn't in the building from the beginning...You almost have to do the residency because you want the kids to know you, you want to build that sense of community with the staff, and get to know the logistics of what's going on in the school.

   Traditional Model. The STs in the TM reported the second highest level of change in their self-efficacy for literacy instruction, though they were far behind the RM STs. These STs described growing; however, their responses displayed that they weren't as confident in their ability to teach literacy as the RM STs, and they were less likely to offer specific information about their growth. For example, when asked about how her field experience helped her plan and teach literacy one TM ST replied, "I feel like the practicum did help; however, I do believe the student teaching helped a little bit more." She also stated, "Seven weeks is not long enough." The finding that STs need greater time for self-efficacy to develop is consistent with other studies (Dorel, Kearney, & Garza, 2016). Another student responded, "I'm definitely getting better at projecting to a larger crowd, [and]... can attempt to target all of the students." Their more general comments reflect that

the TM STs were still in the fledgling stages of a growth continuum. Words such as "a little bit," "getting better," and "can attempt" are not indicative of the stronger levels of self-efficacy demonstrated by the RM STs.

It is important to note that one of the TM STs did feel confident to teach literacy. She said, "I feel like I have enough resources to handle my own classroom and even people to reach out to. I could reach out to my cooperating teacher right now, two years down the line and say 'I need help.'" This, however, was an exception to the trend.

The majority of STs in the TM reported having less support from mentors than those in the RM. In fact, according to the STs, mentors in this model appeared to take a different approach to mentoring: one of a sink-or-swim approach. For example, one ST explained, "I was kind of ... forced to jump in but it was kinda like he really just told me he was throwing me to the wolves, and he was letting me figure it out, and I'm not gonna lie it was really rough the first week. I was stressed out." Another said, "just being thrown into a classroom is, like, I was just really anxious and, like, nervous all the time." One mentor shared, "What I would do is I would sit at my computer desk or I would sit at my teacher desk, and I would just write down notes and I would just, you know, say, 'here, read these real quick, and then we'll talk about it as we are walking the kids to gym class.' Cause that's really the only time we have." According to Knoblauch & Woolfolk Hoy (2008), supportive, verbally engaging and encouraging mentor teachers are essential in the development of STs' self-efficacy. If the STs are not supported, it is reasonable to conclude that those benefits will be less likely to be observed.

Students in this model also reported fewer opportunities to work with students with higher levels of need in literacy as well or teach literacy at all. For example, one student stated, "I would have liked to have seen Tier 2 or Tier 3 instruction...to see what type of activities they're doing to bring kids up to level."

Learning Community Model. The STs in the LCM, reported the least growth when compared to the other models during Q4. This may have been due to a ceiling effect (Fields, 2018) since the previously reported self-efficacy was rated relatively high at the onset of Q4. It seems the primary growth occurred for the LCM STs during the semesters prior to Q4. When asked about their learning experiences, they often spoke of the benefits of the learning community. A LCM ST commented, "[The LCM] was all worth it, because it made me better... I'm pretty knowledgeable." Another LCM ST provided additional evidence with her comments, "I feel like it was definitely worth it because block three I went four days a week when I really didn't have to, but I wanted to ...I feel like the [learning] community prepared me for student teaching more than most other people."

According to both the STs the change from Q3 to Q4 in the level of support they received from professors and mentors was noteworthy. STs reported having substantial support within the LCM setting, but once they began Q4, the reduced support left some STs feeling underprepared and less confident in their abilities to teach literacy. For example, one student said, "So it was really, well, it was definitely a challenge. I really appreciated the [learning community] program, it was awesome, but I feel like it was kind of a disadvantage just because I got so used to my teacher and the fifth grade…"

Another ST taking part in the LCM stated that there were many positives about the depth of the program in terms of learning to teach literacy during the practicum blocks, yet there was difficulty related to the switching of placements in Q4.

> There are definitely more positives than negatives to that program and especially in terms of literacy. I was able to see the curriculum, I was able to read with the kids from the first day from block two and really because in first grade it really is a literacy base ...but then, like I said, the downfall is coming here, like it was a different world, it really was.

The LCM STs shared perspectives of extensive support within the learning community. However, when they left for Q4, they expressed a reduced sense of confidence in their ability to teach literacy. Growth appeared to level off once LCM STs left the support structure of the learning community and moved into a more TM, with a separate seven-week, disconnected placement. At the end of Q4, some LCM STs reported feeling better equipped in their abilities to teach literacy, while others' reported diminished confidence after their Q4 experience as the following interactions demonstrate:

> **Interviewer:** How did you feel coming out of the [learning community] experience with being equipped to teach compared to how you feel now?
> **LCM ST:** I would say I felt more equipped to teach then than I do now, honestly.

Some LCM STs did feel as though their Q4 experiences were helpful for their growth, however. For example, one ST shared the following,

> I definitely think that it made me grow because I was able to see an older grade. I was at first [grade] for block two/three of my first courses in teaching. So it was definitely, like, a big change, that was the only downfall at being at [LCM], I didn't get to see anything else...Then I came here, obviously and it was almost like a breath of fresh air. And the way I really liked the older grades and the older kids…And I definitely did feel support all throughout Q4, everybody shares and are friendly, welcoming of me.

Both quantitative and qualitative data suggest that the STs in the RM far outpace the perceived growth in the other two conditions. There was convergence between the data from the two research strands in the TM and LCM as well, especially in terms of the lack of growth in Q4 for STs in the LCM. There was a minimal change score in the quantitative data in the LCM, and the qualitative trends spoke to minimal growth in Q4, with the most growth occurring during the learning community experience in previous semesters (See Figure 2).

Question 3

What alignment exists among mentor teacher, supervisor, and ST perceptions of STs' ability to teach literacy?

Quantitative Results

Quantitative data for this question displayed that when perspectives from all STs, all mentors, and all supervisors were considered, there was alignment between the perspectives of the STs and mentors, but the supervisors held significantly different perceptions. Quantitative data was explored through a Means comparison between groups, STs ($N=34$, $M= 7.06$, $SD= 1.19$); Mentors ($N=20$, $M= 6.89$, $SD= 1.32$); Supervisors ($N=29$, $M=5.98$, $SD= 1.17$). An ANOVA was conducted

on the main effect of role and demonstrated a statistically significant difference between groups, $F(2,82) =6.78$, $p= .002$, effect size Cohen's d, 0.83, Large. Using Gabriel's post hoc examination, the supervisor group was significantly lower than the ST and mentor groups.

Qualitative Results

Alignment between Student Teachers and Mentors. The qualitative data provided confirmatory evidence that there was alignment between the perspectives of the STs and mentors, in most cases (i.e., when the STs expressed preparedness, or disconnected relationships, the mentor teachers most often confirmed those perceptions during their interviews). For example, when interviewed separately, the mentor and the LCM ST shared the same feelings about the LCM ST's ability to teach in fourth grade:

> **Interviewer**: How are you making decisions about what to do to help [students]? How equipped or ill-equipped do you feel to teach literacy?
> **LCM ST**: I guess not extremely equipped, which is why I want to look into getting my Masters in [literacy]. (LCM ST Interaction)

> **Interviewer**: Exactly how do you see the ST growing in her ability to teach literacy?
> **Mentor**: I will say this. She was very confident in lower grades. She had no confidence or very little when it came to fourth grade. We had to do a lot of planning and instruction ahead of time and practicing to get her to the point where she could take over because she was not comfortable with the fourth grade. (Mentor Interaction)

Below is another shared perspective between a RM ST and her mentor about the ST's ability to differentiate literacy instruction during reading groups:

> **RM ST**: I got more into differentiating instruction with [my mentor teacher] in the groups... seeing a lot of what I have to do as far as the lessons and my approach with these kids and what I have to put into planning their lessons because it has to be different, and I have to do follow up.
> **RM Mentor**: She (resident) would, even before she took over groups, would dive right in and she would see a student that was struggling while I'm working with somebody else. She was able to break down the questions, "Why are you thinking that?" She knew how to scaffold it together. (Residency Interaction)

In the RM there was a pattern of mentors reporting that the STs were able to use data to differentiate instruction, which aligned with the RM STs' views of themselves. According to the mentors and RM STs, much of the literacy instruction occurred in the context of a small group based on student data.

Differing Perspectives of Supervisors. Overall, there was less alignment between the perspectives of the supervisors when compared to the mentors and STs. When discussing the above Residency Model Interaction, the RM supervisor reported very different information about the group's ability to differentiate, stating, "But things like differentiating, the ones at [RM] ...had no clue what differentiating was. Had no clue what lesson plans were, assessments were. They knew what assessment was but [not] how to apply it."

As the above quotes demonstrate, this supervisor's perspective did not align with previously discussed mentor and RM ST perspectives, and this was a pattern that showed up often in the qualitative data. One of the reasons for this could be that the supervisors did not have the opportunity to observe much literacy instruction. Some reported only observing one literacy lesson. Another reason for the lack of alignment could be that some supervisors demonstrated a different knowledge base for literacy than what was expected in coursework, thus possibly resulting in a lower scoring of TSELS items. For example, one supervisor was asked if any of the STs were teaching students how to use comprehension strategies. The supervisor responded, "As far as…? Give me an example." Not only was this lack of knowledge out of alignment with the teachings of the university, it was insufficient to support knowledge around teacher certification requirements. This finding is in alignment with the findings of other studies (Burns & Badiali, 2016; Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005) that found, "supervisors may lack a strong supervision knowledge base and skill set in supervision and teacher education" (Burns, Jacobs, & Yendol-Hoppey, 2016). Burns et al. (2016) also suggest that supervisors need the "knowledge, skills, and dispositions" to provide support to STs.

Mentor views of literacy teaching ability in RM. In discussions with mentors, patterns arose around the literacy teaching ability of STs in two of the conditions (TM and RM). RM mentors held positive views about the preparedness of RM STs to teach literacy. One said:

> The second [resident], she was amazing. Teacher-wise it was amazing the things she would come up with and the ideas that she did share were really, really good. The first one, this was new to her so she would learn, and we would give a suggestion, and she did exactly what you want a ST to do, which was amazing. You could see the growth all the way around.

Another mentor explained:

> I could give them some feedback...with any feedback I gave them, it was a pretty immediate turn around, and they would apply it. Even if the students had five minutes to do a partner work or small group work, she would come back and do a quick check in with me, tweak it, and "say this instead or something," and immediately would go back and do that. Both of my residents have done that.

Mentors in the RM viewed STs more as equals than those in the other models. For example, one mentor referred to the resident as her "residency partner" that she was able to parallel teach with for small group instruction. The mentor further commented, "we have co-taught when we taught ELA and social studies together. I've done more co-teaching with my resident."

Mentor views of literacy teaching ability in TM. In contrast, TM mentors spoke in a manner that suggested their STs were in earlier stages of development in regard to their ability to teach literacy. They are definitively referred to as "students," as the following interaction depicts:

> **Interviewer**: Did you feel as though she was someone that you could kind of co-teach with or did you feel more like she's definitely a student here?
> **TM Mentor**: She's definitely a student here.

This is noteworthy when juxtaposed to the RM, where the mentors described the residents as active, reflective, co-educators, albeit, still learning. Furthermore, when asked about the influence the TM ST had on literacy instruction in the class, one mentor stated, "I haven't really noticed that it influences how we instruct in terms of literacy." She went on to say that the ST didn't have any gaps in her literacy knowledge, but her presence in the classroom did not lead to the same types of changes and student growth seen in the RM condition. Another TM mentor discussed her ST's lack of readiness to teach:

> I was really pushing for her to look at a teaching assistant job first… Then you don't have the force on your back of having to write lesson plans and things like that. So I talked about that a little bit with her because, personally, I don't see her walking into a classroom. It wasn't, it wasn't bad, but it wasn't stellar.

Additional Quantitative Finding

In this mixed methods study, the qualitative pattern of the elevated RM STs ability to teach literacy caused us to further explore the quantitative data. While the modified TSELS response for the LCM Mentors was low (therefore not reported here), the data for the other two models produced interesting information, RM (*N =10, M = 7.58, SD = .32),* TM (*N =8, M = 6.36, SD = .53).* Mentors in the RM rated the STs with a higher ability to teach literacy, according to observational data from the modified TSELS (See Figure 1.2).

Figure 1. 2
Mentor Rating of TM and RM Ability to Teach Literacy
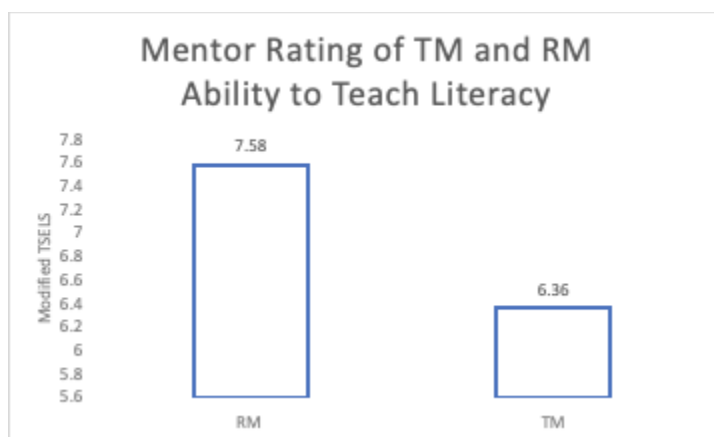
Conclusions

The intensive nature of the Residency Model and the Learning Community Model fostered a context that developed more confident and knowledgeable literacy teachers. The highly effective support structures and increased time, compared to the Traditional Model, may have provided greater opportunity for student teachers to grow. This finding is in alignment with the perspective that a paradigm shift in teacher preparation is necessary to sufficiently prepare pre-service teachers

(AACTE, 2018; Darling-Hammond & Oakes, 2019; Peercy & Troyan, 2017) and that traditional models are less effective (Peercy & Troyan, 2017).

In this study, the RM was the superior context for the development of STs' self-efficacy for teaching literacy. Mentor teachers rated RM STs higher for literacy teaching abilities than STs in the other models. The amount of time that RM STs had in their placements allowed for an increased depth and breadth of opportunity to develop their abilities than would have been possible in a seven-week experience (TM). STs in the RM had broad opportunities to administer assessments, examine student data, provide explicit instruction based on the data, teach whole and small group lessons, and participate in and contribute to building data meetings. STs in the RM spoke with understanding about school structures of support (e.g, collaboration with specialists within school teams), professional development, and community involvement in a way that suggested readiness to engage in school systems. In contrast, the reports of mentors and STs in the TM revealed that STs focused mainly on planning and implementing their lessons.

This study provides further support for the importance of the mentor role around the development of STs' literacy instruction (Clarke, Triggs & Nielsen, 2014), but uncovered beneficial practices specific to literacy. In the TM, STs and mentors more often spoke about a sink-or-swim perspective to their student teaching placements when compared with the other two models. In contrast, STs in the RM more often discussed a collaborative approach from their mentor teachers with an eye toward growth and independence. Mentors in the RM often made use of apprentice type co-teaching, common planning, in-depth conversations that foster reflection, and intentional plans for improvement that were collaboratively developed between mentors and STs. Mentors in the RM were invested in the mentoring process and acknowledged STs as co-educators that were still learning. This finding is in line with other studies showing the benefits of residency programs' in-depth, collaborative, and supportive approaches (Darling-Hammond & Oakes, 2019).

The mentoring structure of the LCM model allowed for STs in this condition to develop similar ultimate self-efficacy for literacy instruction as the RM. The LCM appears to be a good model for teacher preparation in terms of literacy instruction. However, at Q4, STs in this model left the LCM to complete an isolated student teaching experience, identical to the TM. This shift may be the reason why the LCM had slower growth in Q4 and were often rated below the RM STs. Further, although mentor and faculty support appears to be beneficial, there was evidence to suggest that there may have been too much support in the LCM condition. Although mentors took a lot of ownership, they were more protective of their STs and reticent to release responsibility to STs when the time came.

Based on these findings, the mentoring of STs to teach literacy should include rich and varied opportunities to assess students, examine data, and design data driven instruction, as well as opportunities for frequent collaborative dialogue with mentor teachers about student literacy learning needs and evidence-based approaches to instruction. The sink-or-swim approach to mentoring is not effective. In addition, mentors must not only provide the above opportunities and support, but also a gradual release of responsibility (Pearson & Gallagher, 1983) toward independence in teaching. Too much support, without a focused trajectory toward release, undermines STs' development of skills and sense of self-efficacy. A Residency Model is conducive to providing these experiences due to the extended time and relationships developed in these settings. The LCM had this potential as well, as it shared many of these aspects, but due to the issues described, it was outperformed by the RM.

This study also provides preliminary evidence that a mismatch of perspectives between supervisors and institutional philosophies can be problematic. Institutions may want to consider

this when hiring and training supervisors. Alignment of perspectives between evaluative stakeholders may be more conducive to growth for student teachers.

Limitations and Future Research

The results of this study are important, however, like all studies, there are limitations to consider. This study was conducted at one university with a pilot teacher residency program.

In the TM, all student teachers were undergraduate and in the RM all were graduate. An analysis was conducted to ensure parity between groups finding no difference in the variables. While there may be differences between the perspectives of graduate and undergraduate students, the measures used in this study do not appear to be sensitive to those differences.

Additionally, two of the researchers were professors of literacy coursework in the programs, we do not consider this a conflict of interest, as this is common practice in educational research.

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Appendix A : Demographic Survey and TSELS (Johnson & Tschannen-Moran, 2003)

Survey for the Literacy Classroom: Teachers and Pre-service Teachers

1. **Which describes you?** (Please select and describe all that apply)

   a.   **Teacher resident:**   ____ **undergraduate** ____ **graduate**

   b.   **Student teacher:**   ____ **undergraduate**   ____ **learning community**   ____**graduate**

   c.   **Classroom teacher:** ____   **grade: _____;**   **Years employed as a teacher:** ____

   d.   **Student teaching supervisor:** ____

   e.   **Other: _____**

2.   **Please specify your ethnicity.**

   ____**White**   ____ **Hispanic or Latino**   ____ **Black or African American**

   ____ **Native American**   ____ **Asian/ Pacific Islander**   **Other (Please Specify)_____**

3.   **Gender _____**

4. **Age:**

   ____**20-25**   ____**26-30**   ____**31-39**   ____**40-49**   ____**50-59**   ____**60+**

5. **Which best describes your school?**

   ____ **urban**   ____**rural**   ____**suburban**

Teacher Beliefs - TSELS

This questionnaire is designed to help us gain a better understanding of the kinds of things that create challenges for teachers. Your answers are confidential.

Directions: Please indicate your opinion about each of the questions below by marking any one of the nine responses in the columns on the right side, ranging from (1) "None at all" to (9) "A Great Deal" as each represents a degree on the continuum.

Please respond to each of the questions by considering the combination of your *current* ability, resources, and opportunity to do each of the following in your present position.

		None at all		Very Little		Some Degree		Quite A Bit		A Great Deal
1.	To what extent can you adjust reading strategies based on ongoing informal assessments of your students?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
2.	To what extent can you use a variety of informal and formal reading assessment strategies?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
3.	To what extent can you integrate the components of language arts?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
4.	To what extent can you provide specific, targeted feedback to students during oral reading?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
5.	To what extent can you adjust writing strategies based on ongoing informal assessments of your students?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
6.	To what extent can you use a student's oral reading mistakes as an opportunity to teach effective reading strategies?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
7.	To what extent can you model effective writing strategies?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
8.	How much can you do to meet the needs of struggling readers?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
9.	How much can you do to get students to use independent reading time productively?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
10.	To what extent can you implement word study strategies to teach spelling?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
11.	To what extent can you get children to read a wide variety of genres?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
12.	To what extent can you help your students figure out unknown words when they are reading?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
13.	To what extent can you use flexible grouping to meet individual student needs for reading instruction?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
14.	To what extent can you model effective reading strategies?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
15.	To what extent can you get students to read fluently during oral reading?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
16.	To what extent can you use students' writing to teach grammar and spelling strategies?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
17.	How much can you do to get students to use independent writing time productively?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
18.	How much can you do to provide appropriate challenges for high ability readers?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
19.	To what extent can you get children to talk with each other in class about books they are reading?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
20.	To what extent can you provide children with writing opportunities in response to reading?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
21.	How much can you do to adjust your reading materials to the proper level for individual students?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨
22.	How much can you do to get children to value reading?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨

Teacher Educator Perceptions of Characteristics of Self-Efficacy

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Abstract

This study seeks to clarify teacher educator definitions of self-efficacy, how it is manifested in students, and ways it is taught in preparation programs. Data was collected through an electronic survey administered to teacher educators from three universities in the Midwest, Mid-South, and Northeast. Five key characteristics of Confidence/Self-Empowerment, Commitment, Ability to Meet Challenges, Innovative Thinking, and Facilitation emerged. The characteristics of Commitment and Confidence/Self-Empowerment surface as highly valued by teacher educators when describing self-efficacy. Modeling, individual and class discussions, and reflections on real-life teaching are the most common methods employed to develop self-efficacy in teacher candidates.

Key Words: *self-efficacy, teacher characteristics, educator preparation*

Introduction

Zimbardo (1985) discusses the idea of locus of control where a person either has an internal locus of control and believes outcomes are related to their actions or has an external locus of control and believes outcomes are based on events outside their control. Those with an internal locus of control take responsibility for their actions, feel confident when facing challenges, and tend to be less influenced by outside opinions. They have a belief in their own ability to exercise control over life circumstances. Those with an external locus of control often blame others for their circumstances, frequently feel powerless in difficult situations, and credit luck for successes. This idea of locus of control can be related to the ideas put forth by Bandura (1977, 1994) that perceive self-efficacy as an individual's belief in their ability to reach a desired level of performance to accomplish a task or reach a goal. Individuals with a strong sense of efficacy possess characteristics of resiliency, perseverance, and motivation. They demonstrate creativity and curiosity when faced with challenges and believe failure can be surmounted by skill-acquisition or further investigation to increase their knowledge base. In contrast, individuals lacking a strong sense of efficacy tend to avoid tasks or goals they perceive as challenging. Failure is perceived as personal weakness with a focus on what they cannot accomplish (Bandura, 1994). This idea of holding the belief that skill acquisition or knowledge is inherent in self-efficacy is reinforced by Hattie (2012) who describes self-efficacy as having confidence, or a belief in yourself, that you can make things happen.

Findings from the above works (Bandura, 1977, 1994; Hattie, 2012; Zimbardo, 1985) form the basis for the conceptual framework of this study. Individuals, and in the case of this study, specifically teachers, who are able to thrive on challenges and contribute to the success of students and colleagues are highly successful and self-efficacious (Polka, 2010). As a teacher's self-efficacy increases, their belief in their students' abilities and confidence in their own teaching practices also increases. Highly efficacious teachers can create learning environments where they help students and colleagues succeed and, in turn, enable efficacy in others (Ergun & Avci, 2018). Teachers with high self-efficacy are more willing to try new instructional methods and engage in professional dialogue with colleagues regarding curriculum in order to best meet the needs of their students (Fullan, 2014). The characteristics of self-efficacy are factors that contribute to documented successes associated with innovations in organizational contexts, including schools (Ying-Kai, Wann-Yih, Rivas, & Ju, 2017).

Additional research postulates a connection between teachers' self-efficacy and their belief in their ability to influence student achievement (Bandura, 1986, 1997; Dragunic & Zvizdic, 2017; Perera, Granziera & McIlveen, 2018; Schwarzer & Hallum, 2008; Woolfolk-Hoy & Hoy, 2004). Hattie (2012) relays that self-efficacy accounts for an effect size of .63 in operative teaching, well above the .40 effect size threshold for measuring impact of teaching on student learning. Moreover, a teacher's belief in their ability to make an impact in their classroom and positively control the learning context must stay strong in light of rapid-fire changes in mandated standards and assessments, increased accountability for differentiation, and discussions on who bears responsibility for the widening achievement gap (Marzano & Toth, 2014; Minjong, 2016; Voltz, Sims & Nelson, 2010)

According to the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (2014), the annual attrition rate for first-year teachers has increased over 40% in the past twenty years. Factors such as "poor working conditions, lack of support and autonomy, isolation, and lack of collective teacher influence" (p. 1) are cited. Because K-12 classroom teachers face multiple challenges daily, the need for a strong sense of self-efficacy seems to be evident. In this era of accountability, educator preparation programs face a barrage of criticism, especially the accusation that teacher candidates graduate from programs under-prepared to face the challenges inherent in 21st century classrooms including content knowledge, classroom management, and cultural sensitivity. These are all factors inherent in a person's beliefs regarding their ability to be successful, or self-efficacious, in the classroom (Crowe, 2010).

Purpose of the Study

There is a need to focus research on defining self-efficacy for education preparation providers so they can better identify and support teacher candidates in developing a strong sense of efficacy. Currently, a large body of research exists regarding teacher efficacy, defined by Zeichner and Conklin (2005) as "the degree to which students can be taught given such factors as family background, school conditions, and so on" (p. 660) and how teacher self-efficacy influences teacher confidence in the use of effective, innovative teaching practices and the value teachers place on their own beliefs about teaching (Hattie, 2012; Makhalemele & Payne-van Staden, 2018; Scherer, Jansen, Nilsen, Areepattamannil, & Marsh, 2016; Uibu, Salo, Ugaste, & Rasku-Puttonen, 2017; Zee, Koomen, & Jellesma, 2016;). However, limited research exists regarding how teacher educators, as a collective body, define self-efficacy and, most importantly, how they identify and support self-efficacy in teacher candidates.

The Association of Teacher Educators formed a national commission to investigate research related to self-efficacy in teaching, learning, and schooling to determine its impact on teacher candidates as they develop their own sense of professionalism and confidence in their beliefs about teaching. During planning of this investigation, discussion among commission members unveiled varying definitions of self-efficacy. Members wondered if other teacher educators had considered self-efficacy in sufficient depth to formulate a definition and if their definition aligned with concepts relayed in the literature. The researchers, with input from other commission members, decided to investigate self-efficacy components from a teacher educator perspective. The purpose of this study is three-fold: (a) to explore how teacher educators define self-efficacy, (b) to determine the characteristics of teacher self-efficacy according to teacher educators, and (c) to ascertain how teacher educators perceive they develop self-efficacy in their candidates.

Method

This qualitative study utilizes survey research in order to measure the attitudes and opinions of a group of teacher educators with regard to their perceptions on the definition and teaching of teacher self-efficacy. An electronic survey instrument was developed by the researchers to determine definitions and practices of self-efficacy as reflected in contemporary educator preparation programs. Face validity was established by the containment of questions relevant and meaningful for the purpose of the study such as determining the definition, characteristics, and methods of developing self-efficacy as viewed by teacher educators. Two variables influencing face validity of a survey were met, namely, (a) the topic was of interest to the participants and they were knowledgeable on the topic, and (b) the survey protected the participants' anonymity (Ayr, Jacobs, Sorenson, & Razavieh, 2012). Researchers decided face validity was sufficient as questions were designed in a manner to solicit the desired information and to give optimum free expression in open response questions. Purposive sampling of teacher educators at three universities in the Midwest, Mid-South, and Northeast was used as these were home universities for the primary researchers and all had nationally accredited educator preparation programs. In addition, purposive sampling met the needs of this study, as it is a sampling technique in which researchers use their own judgment to obtain a representative sample of a population to participate in a study (Research Methodology, 2011). The survey response rate was 63% reflecting 114 responses from 180 surveys distributed.

Participants

Participants were 114 faculty at three universities located in three states consisting of 26 full professors, 28 associate professors, 15 assistant professors, 11 other full time teachers, 23 part-time adjuncts or lecturers, 6 supervisors, and 5 administrators (see Table 1). Teaching experience among the participants varied. Seventeen respondents reported teaching from one to five years, 19 reported teaching 6 to 10 years, 14 reported teaching 11 to 15 years, 14 reported teaching 16 to 20 years, 14 reported teaching 21 to 25 years, and 36 reported teaching over 25 years. All were currently teaching in educator preparation programs (see Table 2).

Data Collection

The survey was comprised of four questions intended to gather demographic data and seven open response items designed to elicit participant perceptions of self-efficacy (see Appendix). Data was reported in the aggregate by institution and was further aggregated by combining responses from all three institutions to develop the total data set used for this study. All researchers reviewed this data.

Frequencies and percentages were calculated for the first four survey questions that recorded demographic data of the participants (see Tables 1 and 2). All three researchers read responses to the seven open response items to establish the content of the responses and to get a better understanding of what the research data meant, language common across responses, and characteristics mentioned. Following the reading, researchers met to organize their individual notes on the open response statements and their subsequent categories based on the frequency and commonality of language used to describe self-efficacy. These categories were then discussed and compared by the three researchers in order to determine reliability on interpretation of the data and categories selected. This constant comparative method was instrumental in the analysis and refinement of the open response statements into categories (Patton, 2015). Upon thorough examination and discussion among the researchers, five personal characteristics for self-efficacy emerged: Confidence/Self-Empowerment, Commitment, Ability to Meet Challenges, Innovative Thinking, and Facilitation.

The characteristic of Confidence/Self-Empowerment includes confidence, decision-making, and internal motivation coupled with the belief he/she can make an impact on student learning. Comments leading to the characteristic of Commitment include a sense of responsibility to students and a continuous striving to improve education. Ability to Meet Challenges is having confidence in his/her own ability to overcome difficult situations and to meet challenging goals. The characteristic of Innovative Thinking is comprised of creativity, the ability to apply knowledge, and use new approaches, while Facilitation is a willingness to help others succeed.

Results

The purpose of the study is to determine if teacher educators had considered self-efficacy in their candidates with sufficient depth to formulate a definition relatively common across the participants, to determine the characteristics of teacher self-efficacy according to teacher educators, and to ascertain how teacher educators perceive they develop self-efficacy in their candidates. However, survey results show teacher educators define self-efficacy by identifying characteristics they observe in candidates and teachers, and by what they feel is valuable to include in their own courses. Therefore, a formal definition was not derived. The results that follow share the characteristics of self-efficacy communicated by teacher educators. Direct quotes from participants are in quotation marks.

Definition and Key Characteristics of Self-Efficacy

Illustrative comments from the first two open-response questions on the administered survey are categorized according to the identified characteristics of Confidence/Self-Empowerment, Commitment, Ability to Meet Challenges, Innovative Thinking, and Facilitation (see Table 3). Question 1 asks participants to define teacher self-efficacy, and Question 2 asks for input on key

characteristics of teacher self-efficacy. Comments from questions 1 and 2 are combined since participants often interwove their responses.

Confidence/Self-Empowerment

Self-efficacious teachers are described as having a strong knowledge base in their content, the ability to apply pedagogical knowledge in their classrooms, and the ability to engage in professional decision making regarding student needs, learning needs, and classroom management. One participant responds, "Self-efficacious teachers have the confidence to make instructional decisions in their classrooms without the constant use of basals based on their own professional knowledge." Another remarks, "These types of teachers have the ability to control their classrooms without indecision."

Not only are self-efficacious teachers described as having the ability to make professional decisions, but also they do so with confidence and a belief they can impact student learning. They engage in consistent professional development and reflect on their practice in order to meet goals they have set for the learning outcomes of their students. They are described as "reflective learners" and "able to monitor their own progress." These teachers are viewed as confident, resourceful, and "intrinsically motivated to improve themselves both personally and professionally." These characteristics are in accordance with Zimbardo's (1985) discussions on locus of control, mentioned earlier.

Participants, to describe characteristics of self-efficacy in teachers, use words such as empathetic, genuine, hard working, team player, and lifelong learner. Comments also include the view that self-efficacious teachers see themselves as professionals and hold the belief they can contribute to their profession. As one participant shares they "feel they are instrumental in the learning process." Another participant describes self-efficacy as "self-confidence but not boastfulness, and self-assurance but not superiority. It is being calm and measured with behavior ruled by careful thought."

Self-Empowerment, in the form of confidence, is the ability to make decisions, successfully work within or change the environment, and positively affect outcomes through behaviors and attitudes and is highly cited by participants. A participant notes "within the classroom, a self-efficacious teacher feels empowered to determine the learning environment" and another responded, "Self-efficacious teachers have a can-do attitude." One participant describes teacher self-efficacy as "the state of monitoring and mediating one's competence as a teacher. It manifests itself as teachers see the positive effects of their teaching and sense that their professional work counts for success." The concept of Confidence/Self-Empowerment appears as a characteristic in 111 of 114 comments.

Commitment

Teachers with high commitment are described as having a sense of responsibility and a continuous striving to improve education. It is apparent that participants believe a commitment to the field of education and success of students is paramount in teacher self-efficacy. One participant relays "Commitment is a continuing dedication to the field of education and to student success."

Responsibility is mentioned in participant comments such as, "sense of responsibility to students", "shows a high degree of responsibility to their profession", and "responsibility to sup-

port educational goals." Highly self-efficacious teachers have a "determination to guide their students to success." They are described as "having an internal locus of control, intrinsically motivated, and driven to succeed." An additional comment shares the belief that self-efficacious teachers are "continuously striving to improve themselves both personally and professionally." Willingness to grow as a professional, along with professional development is also mentioned. "Consistent professional development, working on mastery, and self-evaluation on their practice" is reflected in participant comments. Another comment puts forth the view that self-efficacious teachers have a "general drive toward meeting and exceeding goals in instruction."

Participants also mention active involvement in education. Self-efficacious teachers are described as, "Someone who is an active participant in the subject they are teaching," and "A teacher who is open to constructive criticism for the sake of growth in their teaching. They take personal fulfillment in the success of their students." One participant portrays teachers with high self-efficacy as willing to "seek consistent professional development, work to mastery, and engage in reflective practices. They have a general drive to not just meet but to exceed goals in instruction." The concept of Commitment appears as a characteristic in 109 of 114 comments.

Ability to Meet Challenges

The characteristic of Ability to Meet Challenges communicates the confidence of teachers in their ability to observe difficulties as opportunities to accomplish goals. It describes a teacher's belief in his/her own ability to overcome difficult situations and see them as prospects to change, grow, or improve their practice rather than as problems. One participant describes self-efficacious teachers as "Confident in his/her own ability to overcome adverse situations." This is mirrored in the comment, "Difficult situations are approached as challenging opportunities – not problems." This ability to positively meet challenges describes teachers who feel they have a considerable degree of control over the quality of the teaching-learning process. Another participant describes teachers in this category as "A teacher who believes in his/her own capabilities to achieve goals/outcomes/success. They are confident in his/her own ability to overcome adverse situations." One participant relates comments directly to teaching. "Teacher self-efficacy is the ability to engage in reflective practice and consistently evaluate one's efficacy in relationship to identified goals. They exhibit an ability to meet defined goals related to teaching, including best practices in the field." The concept of Ability to Meet Challenges appears as a characteristic in 102 of 114 comments.

Innovative Thinking

The ability to view difficulties as growth opportunities is also connected to the characteristic of Innovate Thinking. One participant describes this as "envisioning optimal experiences and new approaches to situations, regardless of the difficulty." Teachers in this category are viewed as critical thinkers and problem solvers. They utilize creativity in their ability to apply knowledge and make professional decisions. One participant relays that self-efficacious teachers are "Independent thinkers who are engaged in planning, initiating, and evaluation in their classrooms." Another participant describes the characteristic of Innovative Thinking in self-efficacious teachers as, "They hold the belief they can impact student learning through effective planning, delivering, and assessing instruction. They have a belief they make a difference in the lives of students." The concept of Innovative Thinking appears as a characteristic in 89 of 114 comments.

Facilitation

The characteristic of Facilitation is found in teachers who care about both co-workers and students and exhibit the willingness to help others succeed. Teachers possessing this characteristic are likely to volunteer for committees, organize school and classroom functions, and epitomize team spirit. Participants classify them as often the ones "who embrace and implement new processes the most quickly." One participant describes facilitating teachers as "having strong self-esteem and a willingness to help others succeed." They are also described as "honest with themselves and others." Another participant suggests several adjectives to relay the essence of facilitation such as "empathetic, genuine, patient, resourceful, hopeful, hard-working, smart, team player, and lifelong learner." The concept of Facilitation appears as a characteristic in 70 of 114 comments.

Teaching Self-Efficacy

Open-response Question 3 asks how instructors in educator preparation programs develop the characteristics associated with self-efficacy. Related to this, Question 4 asks what method or strategy works best to develop these characteristics in teacher candidates. Identifying the characteristics of self-efficacy is beneficial, but the practical application of how to foster and develop these characteristics in teacher candidates is equally as important.

In participant responses, field based experiences emerge as a primary environment for developing self-efficacy, especially when there is a collaboration with university faculty, cooperating teachers, field supervisors, and school principals. This is in support of a study conducted by Yost (2006) of 10 second-year teachers from the same educator preparation program that revealed "successful field and student teaching experiences connected to coursework built teachers' confidence and self-efficacy, thus encouraging a higher level of competence in the first year of teaching" (p. 65). As teacher candidates face real-life classroom situations, they are asked to reflect on various responses and outcomes. One participant remarks that candidates in their program "are guided as they learn to model being supportive and relating to individual students. This guidance helps them develop confidence in their decisions. Reflections help us see this process of growth." Engaging in reflection helps teacher candidates develop self-efficacy as they take responsibility for their choices and their subsequent consequences. Increasing exposure to diverse and unique experiences while being cautious and reflective allows teachers to face future challenges by referring to previous successes and building upon them (Bravena & Stara, 2018; Groschner, Schindler, Holzberger, Alles, & Seidel, 2018).

Furthermore, participants share that in their teacher educator preparation programs, teacher candidates are also encouraged to evaluate themselves on organization, lesson plan development, and classroom management. In addition, journals and discussion boards emerge as tools to develop, and in some cases, evaluate self-efficacy. Teacher educators respond that reflective journals documenting lesson successes, attendance at professional development activities, and self-determined areas of growth are means of developing and fostering self-efficacy in teacher candidates. Discussion boards are used to provide teacher candidates with scenarios that "required them to generate solutions to share with their classmates in order to build background and confidence in

addressing situations which may arise in their future classrooms." Less frequently mentioned is the idea that timely submission of assignments in accordance with a rubric provides documentation that a teacher candidate is self-regulated and organized. Ninety-six of 114 respondents feel the opportunity for teacher candidates to discuss personal events provides insight into the reciprocal causation of teacher behavior and the circumstances in which teaching occurs. One participant notes reflective journals often reveal a "candidate's developing belief about his/her own ability to impact student learning." Participants feel these insights foster the growth of self-efficacy as candidates think beyond their normal boundaries.

Several ideas are common to the majority of comments on how educator preparation programs introduce teacher candidates to the characteristics related to self-efficacy and to the methods and strategies used to help candidates acquire these characteristics. Modeling and discussion are key components along with reflection on actual teaching during field experiences. The use of scenarios and examples of teaching situations, which may be faced by candidates in the classroom, are also prevalent. Modeling, reflection and discussion on field experiences, and the use of scenarios to give candidates exposure to situations they may face in the future are threaded through 85 of the 114 responses received.

Additional Comments

In Open Response Question 5, researchers provide the opportunity for participants to share comments on issues, concerns, philosophies, or thoughts on teacher or candidate self-efficacy whose content may not fit within the prescribed questions. Specifically, Open-response Question 5 gave participants an opportunity to add any additional comments. Fifty-three participants shared comments containing a range of reiterations of previous question answers and personal and political perspectives.

The value of quality field experiences is again emphasized in responses to Question 5. Participants feel practicums, field experiences, student teaching, and internships are the application opportunities for teacher candidates. Participants believe supervisors need to develop "reflection in candidates on the effects they can have on student learning and how teacher actions have positive or negative effects on student performance and behavior." Several respondents feel university professors need to model self-efficacy to a higher degree so students see it simulated in their college courses. As one participant put it, "Professors should model do as I do, not as I say."

Some comments express dissatisfaction with teacher candidates' performance with regard to handing in assignments on time and cheating on assignments. One participant remarks on their "disappointment that teacher education students would rather receive a poor grade than take their time to produce quality work." This sentiment is reflected in 20 additional comments. Other comments share the viewpoint that participants feel they saw many more followers than leaders and feel students are hesitant to trust their own knowledge base or show initiative. The phrase spoonfed, as opposed to self-directed, is found in 17 of 53 comments.

Ten participants raise the issue of whether self-efficacy is present in some people to at least some degree before they begin their education courses. Self-efficacy was considered as personal elements of motivation, effort, and persistence that can be enhanced in college coursework "only if the candidate has energy and passion for their content area." Others describe self-efficacy, like teaching, as an innate talent enhanced by knowledge. One participant voices this sentiment as, "It can be improved upon, but not taught."

Comments regarding the American education system also surfaced. Four respondents feel politicians and state officials do not believe teachers are capable of independent decision-making, nor do they want them to be. One respondent comments, "If we groom them (teacher candidates) for the existing system, we might as well throw worries about self-efficacy out the door. States only want robotic, easily controlled teachers." Two participants wonder how a "single behaviorally difficult child would impact a new teacher's self-efficacy" and whether the "support systems offered for such situations is relevant to the perception of being able to exert any control or make any difference in the learning environment."

As mentioned above, the request for additional comments netted insights, ideas, and perceptions from teacher educators on varying topics such as best practices, politics, and views regarding candidate behaviors. In addition, the question of whether the characteristics associated with self-efficacy can be taught, whether they are innate, or whether teacher educators can only nurture the characteristics already present in their students is raised.

Participant Concerns

Open-response Question 6 invites participants to share concerns or additional ideas regarding teacher self-efficacy. This question received several comments addressing views on the evolution of self-efficacy and views on teaching.

Teacher educator participants describe self-efficacy as one of the most important components in a teacher. As one participant relays, "It keeps speed bumps from being seen as mountains or every set-back as monumental." Self-efficacy gives the ability to solve problems because there is belief that a solution can be found. However, self-efficacy is not a final state of mind that is reached, but rather a dynamic characteristic that changes over time and includes continuing development over a professional career accompanied by a relative uncertainty or questioning about effective practices and experiences with students and learning environments. One respondent shares a belief that was reflective of several comments.

> "Self-efficacy usually increases toward the end of a teacher preparation program as evidenced by pre-service teachers who feel they 'know a lot.' It then often dips during the first semester of the first year of teaching as they learn they really know so little compared to what they want to know to be a successful and experienced teacher. Experience is the key word because they want to teach like a veteran when they are a novice. Mentoring programs are key to addressing this issue. Pre-service teacher self-efficacy is important but, more important, is accurate self-efficacy to avoid the first year teacher dip. Emphasis on accurate and normal self-efficacy should be the goal. It's normal to go through these stages of self-efficacy, and it is hard to realize how much more there is to learn."

Limitations and Future Directions

This study should be interpreted within its limitations. Data was collected from a relatively small sample size of 114 participants in the educator preparation field from 3 university sites encompassing 3 states. A larger sample from additional states may have netted different responses. In addition, data was gathered via an electronic survey with several open response questions. Information provided may have been expanded upon if focus group interviews of a sampling of the

participants had been included and may have provided information for Open Response Question 7, asking for exemplary models of teacher self-efficacy.

While this study has attempted to define self-efficacy within a common framework for teacher educator discussions and to identify necessary characteristics in teacher candidates, it does not answer the question raised by participants of whether characteristics can be taught or whether they are innate personality characteristics. If it is possible to teach these characteristics, then it stands to reason a curriculum or set of strategies can be developed to facilitate their mastery. Logically following this line of reasoning, an assessment tool could be developed to measure how often and in what manner candidates display these learned characteristics in their practice teaching. If it is true these characteristics are innate, then developing curriculum and assessments would provide teacher educators with a framework for nurturing their growth.

Discussion and Conclusion

Teacher educators from 3 institutions in the Mid-West, Mid-South, and Northeast were asked to define self-efficacy, determine the characteristics in teachers, and share perceptions on how it is developed in educator preparation programs. Analysis of participant comments identified five personal characteristics necessary for self-efficacy in teachers as Confidence/Self-Empowerment, Commitment, Ability to Meet Challenges, Innovative Thinking, and Facilitation. Of these five characteristics, two emerged as crucial for a teacher to possess in order to feel competent in their classroom. In the eyes of teacher educators, the characteristics of Commitment and Confidence/Self-Empowerment are key in the development of self-efficacy. A commitment to students and the field of education is necessary to give teachers persistence in achieving learning goals, often in rapidly changing classroom environments. They strive to make the education system the best it can be for students. Not only do self-efficacious teachers strive to improve the education system, but they must also have a sense of Self-Empowerment. Self-Empowerment, in this instance, means teachers hold the belief their decisions and actions can positively affect outcomes. They believe they can make a difference through the decisions they make and enact. Confidence/Self-Empowerment also helps teachers cope with challenging and changing situations, whether the change lies in new school district policies, adapting curriculum to meet student needs, classroom management, or meeting ever evolving state and federal guidelines.

It is not enough to simply identify the characteristics found in self-efficacious teachers. Ways to develop these characteristics in teacher candidates must also be a discussion among teacher educators. Field experiences, modeling, class and individual discussions, and reflections on real-life teaching are the most common methods employed by study participants to foster the development of self-efficacy in their teacher candidates. Also of benefit is the use of scenarios that expose candidates to situations that may arise in their future classrooms. Allowing candidates to discuss different viewpoints, decision options, and actions provide them exposure to situations they have not yet had a chance to encounter. These comments by study participants are in line with research by Rabey (2014) on the benefits of mentoring, collaboration with colleagues, reflecting on observations and debriefing role-plays to facilitate the development of self-efficacy. According to Bandura (2012), mastery and vicarious learning can be accomplished through training programs and observation of effective veteran teachers and helps promote resilience as teachers overcome obstacles.

Identifying characteristics of self-efficacy, developing curriculum allowing candidates engagement in learning experiences related to teaching situations, and designing quality field experiences with discussion and reflection enables teacher educators to nurture self-efficacy in their candidates by cultivating the characteristics of Confidence/Self-Empowerment, Commitment, Ability to Meet Challenges, Innovative Thinking and Facilitation.

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Table 1

Academic Positions of Participants

Rank	Number	Valid %
1. Professor	26	22.81
2. Associate Professor	28	24.56
3. Assistant Professor	15	13.16
4. Other Full Time Teacher	11	9.65
5. Part Time Adjunct, Lecturer	23	20.18
6. Supervisor	6	5.26
7. Administration	5	4.39
Total	114	100.01

Table 2

Teaching Experience of Participants

Years	Number	Valid %
1-5	17	14.91
6-10	19	16.67
11-15	14	12.28
16-20	14	12.28
21-25	14	12.28
Over 25	36	31.78
Total	114	100.02

Table 3

Synopsis of Survey Comments on Characteristics of Teacher Self-Efficacy

Characteristic	Survey Comments
Confidence/Self-Empowerment is confidence, decision-making, and internal motivation coupled with the belief he/she can make an impact on student learning.	• Teacher self-efficacy is the state of monitoring and mediating one's competence as a teacher; It manifests itself as teachers see the positive effects of their teaching and sense that their professional work counts for success • Self-regulation and confidence in the classroom • A teacher's beliefs about his/her ability to impact student learning; Visible in reflections candidates provide following their assignments and field experiences • Teacher self-efficacy encompasses one's perception of him or herself as an effective educator; as someone who will/won't be able to handle whatever challenge arises in the classroom and his/her career • Belief in self; Resourceful; Reflective • Belief they can impact student learning • Belief they are effective in planning, delivering and assessing instruction • Belief they make a difference in the lives of students • Self-confidence but not boastfulness; self-assurance but not superiority; calm and measured; Behavior ruled by careful thought

Characteristic	Survey Comments
Commitment is a sense of responsibility to students and a continuous striving to improve education.	• Teacher that is able to drive self • Teacher that is able to determine direction of self and students • Teacher self-efficacy is the ability to engage in reflective practice and consistently evaluate one's efficacy in relationship to identified goals • Ability to meet defined goals related to teaching, including best practices in the field • Sense of responsibility to students • Openness to constructive criticism for sake of growth • Someone who is an active participant in the subject they are teaching • Consistent professional development, working to mastery, self-evaluation/reflection and practice

	• A general drive toward meeting and exceeding goals in instruction • Internal locus of control, intrinsically motivated, driven to succeed • Continuously striving to improve themselves both personally and professionally • Motivated to work at continuing professional development
Ability to Meet Challenges is the confidence to believe in his/her own ability to overcome difficult situations and to meet challenging goals.	• Difficult situations are approached as challenging opportunities - not problems • Confidence in his/her own capabilities to achieve goals/outcomes/success • They are confident in their ability to overcome adverse situations • Teacher self-efficacy is the ability to engage in reflective practice and consistently evaluate one's efficacy in relationship to identified goals • They exhibit an ability to meet defined goals related to teaching, including best practices in the field • Difficulties are opportunities and challenges to accomplish goals and grow in the profession

Innovative Thinking is creativity, the ability to apply knowledge, and use new approaches.	• Independence; Creativity • Planning; Initiating; Evaluating • Strong knowledge base; Ability to apply pedagogical knowledge • Professional decision making regarding student needs, learning needs, curriculum; classroom management • Develop effective time management skills and create ways to carve out time • Ability to view oneself as a professional; Make contributions to the profession • Reflective, self-monitoring thinking style
Facilitation is a willingness to help others succeed.	• Confidence; Willingness to help others succeed • Strong self-esteem • Honesty with self and others • Empathetic, genuine, patient, resourceful, hopeful, hard-working, smart, team-player, life-long learner • Someone who motivates others

Appendix

Teacher Self-Efficacy Survey

Part I: Demographic Data
The following data will help us identify relationships between the background of teacher educators and their perceptions about teacher self-efficacy.

Directions: Please select the appropriate response related to your specific demographics:

1. Current Academic Rank:
1) Professor
2) Associate Professor
3) Assistant Professor
4) Instructor, Clinical, Visiting, etc.,-full time
5) Adjunct, Lecturer, etc.,-part time

2. Total Years of Experience as a Teacher Educator (including the current academic year):

1) 1-5 years
2) 6-10 years
3) 11-15 years
4) 16-20 years
5) 21-25 years
6) more than 25 years

3. Average Number of Students (teacher candidates and classroom teachers) Taught Annually:

1) 50 or fewer
2) 51-100
3) 101 - 150
4) 151 - 200
5) more than 200

4. Estimated Percentage of Students Taught Annually Who you Believe Currently Demonstrate or Will Eventually Demonstrate Teacher Self-efficacy:

1) fewer than 15%
2) 16-30%
3) 31-45%
4) 46-60%
5) 61-75%
6) 76-90%
7) 91% or more

Part II: Qualitative Personal Perception Responses

This part of the survey provides you with an opportunity to respond based on your personal perceptions and experiences related to teacher self-efficacy:

1. Please define "Teacher Self-efficacy" from your perspective. What is it and how does it manifest itself? How do you know it when you see it in action?

2. What are the key characteristics/dispositions of "Teacher Self-Efficacy?"

3. How do YOU teach the above-cited characteristics/dispositions in your teacher education courses?

4. What seems to work BEST for you in teaching your students the above-cited characteristics/dispositions?

5. What additional comments would you like to share about "Teacher Self-efficacy" based on your knowledge and experiences?

6. What concerns would you like to share about "Teacher Self-Efficacy?"

7. Please identify a few outstanding teachers who you have personally observed in action and who you would consider exemplary models of "teacher self-efficacy" as YOU articulated it above. Please note that we may contact them and interview them as part of this study only if they so desire. These "exemplary self-efficacy teacher models" will be notified by one of the researchers that they were identified by a participant:

       NAME   **Grade Level**   **School Name & Address**