TEXAS EDUCATION REVIEW

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Fall 2021: Volume 10, Issue 1

Special Issue: Critical Social Studies Teacher Education in Anti-Critical Times

Articles

Editorials

TEXAS EDUCATION REVIEW

Welcome to Volume 10, Issue 1 (Fall 2021) of the Texas Education Review (TxEd)

We are pleased to announce the publication of Volume 10, Issue 1 of the Texas Education Review, featuring a Special Issue on Critical Social Studies Education. The Special Issue examines problems related to anti-critical discourse in educational politics (Robinson); the emotional challenges experienced by critical social studies teachers (Joseph & Baker; Baker, Robinson, & Joseph); and the use of multimodal arts for teaching marginalized histories (Batt & Joseph). The issue also contains two open call articles: an analysis of the process of building a socially responsible Massive Open Online Course (Palacio & Sadehvandi), and an essay that problematizes the popular concept of growth-mindset (Schuetze).

Information for Contributors

The Texas Education Review is an independent, peer reviewed, student-run scholarly publication based at the College of Education at The University of Texas at Austin. The Texas Education Review was founded and is operated by doctoral students at The University of Texas at Austin's College of Education, which consistently ranks as one of the best public university graduate education programs in the United States. The Texas Education Review aims to advance scholarship by publishing an academic journal of the highest quality including works by graduate students, professors, and practitioners, focusing on education policy and related issues. This journal features articles, essays, notes, and reviews relevant to a national and international audience of scholars and practitioners.

The Texas Education Review focuses on analysis of education policy and related issues, with nonexclusive preference given to issues affecting the State of Texas. Each issue shall display unparalleled excellence in content and style. Further, The Texas Education Review fosters the academic and professional development of its members through participation in the editorial process and each member displays the highest standards of integrity and professional excellence in every endeavor. From Sweatt v. Painter and No Child Left Behind, to charter schools, curriculum policy, and textbook adoption, the State of Texas has played and will continue to play a critical role in shaping education policy in the United States. The Texas Education Review is located directly on The University of Texas's campus in the heart of downtown Austin. Its close proximity to the Texas Capitol, Texas Education Agency, and State Board of Education offers unparalleled access to the thought leaders, policy makers, and academics who are driving education policy in Texas.

Foreword to Special Issue: Critical Social Studies Teacher Preparation in Anti-Critical Times

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At times, our own light goes out and is rekindled by a spark from another person. Each of us has cause to think with deep gratitude of those who have lighted the flame within us. —Albert Schweitzer

Beginning this special issue with borrowed words of gratitude, along with my own, is wholly appropriate. Throughout the editing process, I relied on the sparks of each contributing author and the editorial staff of TxEd. Though it could be argued that the concerns surrounding this special issue should provide the only spark necessary to preserve the flame of justice-oriented, social studies teacher preparation research, such arguments screen a social reality whereabout all endeavors are made possible through webs of contribution and support from many others. Thus, I issue a heartfelt thank you to my fellow social studies teacher educators Joanna Batt, Michael Joseph, and Mathew Baker for their willingness to take on this project while balancing myriad responsibilities such as teaching, field supervision, coursework, qualifying exams, and dissertation proposals. It has been and continues to be an honor and privilege to work alongside and learn from three talented, passionate, and kind human beings. In addition to thanking the TxEd editorial staff for their efforts, I would also like to specifically thank co-editor in chief Alex J. Armonda for extending an invitation to contribute to TxEd. We are grateful for the opportunity to showcase our emerging research agendas in a respected academic space concerned with socially just and equitable educational arrangements. Thank you, Alex, for graciously shepherding us all through the process. Indeed, I have substantial cause to think with deep gratitude for working alongside such brilliant colleagues who never failed to share their flame in this endeavor.

This special issue brings together qualitative teacher education research focused on the preparation of critical, social-justice oriented preservice social studies teachers and the possibilities of enacting critical pedagogies in social studies classrooms. Situated by both historical and contemporary iterations of culture war struggles over social studies curriculum, this special issue highlights research at the intersection of the politics of education, humanizing social studies teacher education, and teaching difficult knowledge/histories. The authors presented here examine efforts of preservice social studies teachers (PSST) learning critical pedagogical approaches including methods of critical historical inquiry and critical multimodalities. Each piece moves to explore preservice teacher responses to humanizing social studies teacher education to extend research literature concerned with establishing dialogic classroom relations that value and include student experiences, facilitate a critique of dominant historical narratives, and introduce subjugated historical knowledge supporting the construction of historical counter-narratives (Blevins & Talbert, 2016). Our intent with this issue creates space to highlight methodological challenges concerning specific emotional, cognitive, and procedural issues preservice teachers and teacher educators confront when attempting to develop critical pedagogical approaches in the face of constraints ranging from culturally conservative political education policy, neoliberal information-based systems of education, and the personal emotional and cognitive aspects inherent to experiences of learning how to teach.

Over four decades, neoliberal education reforms have normalized competition, pathology, and pessimism in public schools (Cornbleth, 2015). Codifying neoliberalism's ethos of competition in schools

has, as De Lissovoy (2018) argues, effectively re-formed educational landscapes to produce topographies of anxiety whereabout students and teachers are positioned as rugged individuals, solely responsible for the destinies they cultivate for themselves— purportedly through personal choices made within a free market. Navigating this school geography, students and teachers, as well as other stakeholders, confront a cycle of pathology and pedagogical pessimism which myopically reduces education to individualistic activities marked by success or failure. As a result, many school classrooms increasingly instantiate what Cornbleth (2015) has described as "drought-stricken climates" wherein "the prospects for meaningful learning and critical thinking are slim" (p. 219).

Multiple generations of public school students have cultivated notions of citizenship and civic practices in this climate. Socialized upon topographies of anxiety, in and out of school, these same students, many of them now adults, are addressed by a basic social condition which figures citizenship and civic practices in terms of autonomy and "liberation from the claims (and guarantees) of society itself" (De Lissovoy, 2018, p. 196). Grounded in the neoliberal notion of freedom, this figuring, according to De Lissovoy,

> works as an ideological fantasy which at once fetishizes the proliferation of communication and consumer/lifestyle choices that we confront while obscuring our actual relationship to capitalist society (p. 193).

Sitting in the wake of the Trump presidency, appeals to decidedly anti-democratic citizenship figurations are potent enough to cede power to individuals and groups willing to incite violence and terrorism at home and abroad. Less often acknowledged, this figuring also contributes to ubiquitous daily practices, again, both home and abroad, which weaken foundational democratic faiths in human worth and civic responsibility. Tragically, this abandonment of democratic ideals provisions the expansion of a moral geography wherein enabling and supporting human flourishing exclusively among a privileged minority has become common sense.

Despite the pervasiveness of neoliberalism's citizenship imaginary, and despite social studies education's contribution to its reproduction, social studies classrooms remain potential sites of disruption and even transformation. Neoliberal hegemony is, as De Lissovoy (2018) argues, an "ideological victory" secured through "our surrender, in practice, to its inevitability" (p. 202). Neoliberalism, as many other scholars also argue, has effectuated widespread ideological surrender through its core message: "*there is no alternative to its organization of society*" (p. 202). Disrupting this ideological dissimulation in the social studies classroom can and must begin via critical inquiry-based instruction rooted in a democratic social education curriculum vision. Of course, much more than this must be done to challenge neoliberal hegemony, but social studies teacher educators must play their part in contributing to the necessarily collective movement to re-establish democratic aspirations and practices in social studies classrooms.

Current calls from social justice-oriented scholars to reimagine the field of social studies in response to neoliberalism's anti-democratic figures and figurations are not only urgent and timely, but they are also necessary reminders that "democracy is not self-winding" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 246). Emphasizing this point, Bullough (2021) reminds us,

> democracy is not natural; although often taken for granted, its processes and manners, ways of thinking and being, must be acquired and cultivated. As unnatural and learned, democracy

is fragile and in need of constant tending, as the events in Washington, D.C. of January 6, 2021, demonstrate. (p. 571)

In addition to the January 6th insurrection, responses to COVID-19, far-right political movements, and expanding social injustice magnify the perennial imperative to question the social vision manifesting from social studies curriculum (Ross, 2014). Presently, waves of bad faith political arguments linked to anti-CRT legislation have moved across the nation, helping Republican-controlled state legislatures cast a thoroughly neoliberal social vision upon social studies curriculum. For example, the Texas Legislature's passage of HB 3979 narrowly circumscribes the ways in which students and social studies teachers may engage historical study and current events, specifically when topics such as racism and sexism are involved. The legislation states, among other things, that,

> A teacher… may not: require or make part of a course the concept that: …(vi) an individual, by virtue of the individual's race or sex, bears responsibility for actions committed in the past by other members of the same race or sex; (vii) an individual should feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, or any other form of psychological distress on account of the individual's race or sex. (H.B. 3979, 87th., R.S., Tex, 2021)

These two provisions are crafted to curtail historical and social analyses and discussions that could lead teachers and students to raise critical questions concerning the conditions and institutions organizing contemporary social relations. Such questions might also lead to a re-imagining of social arrangements, and significantly, make space for cultivating democratic citizenship imaginaries and civic agency. Of course, legislation like HB 3979 is designed to prevent the cultivation of democratic civic agency, as it also explicitly prohibits social studies courses from generating opportunities for students to participate in social or public policy advocacy (see subsection h-3 in H.B. 3979, 87th., R.S., Tex, 2021). Indeed, the social vision cast by many conservative state legislatures is a vision for maintaining a neoliberal citizenship imaginary of "no alternatives."

Thus, an anti-democratic storm surge threatens to wash away democratic visions and possibilities in social studies education. Contributors to this special issue see teacher preparation for social transformation as both a bulwark for stemming this tide and an avenue for transformation. This transformative stance is informed by social studies education research and scholarship which seeks to move social studies classroom activities away from neoliberal, information-based systems of education (IBS) to curriculum enactments instantiating democratic social education (e.g., Blevins & Talbert, 2016). Across each piece, notions of democratic social education are expressed through social justice in education perspectives (e.g., Adams, 2014) and curricular practices promoting critical multicultural citizenship education (Castro, 2013). Through these frameworks, the authors position their qualitative studies to contribute to transforming deeply inequitable and unjust social, political, and economic relations through social studies teacher preparation.

More specifically, the three qualitative studies presented move to extend research concerning methodological challenges, specifically emotional, conceptual, and procedural, facing teacher educators as they attempt to develop preservice social studies teacher (PSST) capacity to enact critical social studies pedagogies rooted in democratic social education curriculum perspectives. Each study focuses on PSSTs working in an urban teacher preparation program created specifically to help achieve greater educational equity and social justice in urban schools, communities, and beyond. Centering critical teaching methods, the urban teacher preparation program generates potential spaces for transforming IBS social studies curriculum. However, as each study highlights, participant responses to

learning critical teaching methods indicate that much more consideration and attention must be given to supporting preservice teacher emotional responses to learning instructional methods centering difficult knowledge, conceptual (mis)understanding of critical social studies teaching pedagogy, and procedural practices that make enacting critical social studies pedagogy possible.

In the first study, Joseph and colleagues examined emotional responses of PSSTs learning critical historical inquiry teaching methods. Critical historical inquiry (CHI) represents an instructional design positioning students and social studies teachers to engage in an explicitly critical form of document-based historical thinking and analysis. Through inquiry, students examine the influence of race, gender, sexuality, and other often excluded social phenomena upon historical events. Not only does this method position students as active constructors of historical knowledge, but it also creates space for students to challenge dominant historical narratives which typically go unchallenged in drought-stricken social studies classrooms.

Teaching PSSTs how to engage in CHI themselves, while simultaneously helping them learn how to use it as a critical teaching method is a complex activity which stretches preservice teacher capacity. Thinking historically and engaging students in historical inquiry is recognized as a cognitively and emotionally complex activity (Wineburg, 2001). Extending research literature concerned with preparing preservice teachers to teach historical inquiry/thinking, this qualitative study examined the emotional navigation of five preservice teachers engaged in learning how to design critical historical inquiries. Paying particular attention to the incorporation of counter historical narratives into the inquiries they developed, findings suggest that public or intrinsic discussions regarding emotion do play a role in preservice teachers' decisions to accept and then infuse such narratives. Joseph and colleagues assert that creating opportunities for preservice teachers to reflect and examine their emotional positions while engaging in new pedagogical practices like CHI will potentially lead to more integration of historical counter narratives, thus enhancing potentially transformative and social justice-oriented teaching.

In the second study, Baker and colleagues examined PSST responses to learning methods of critical historical inquiry, but in this instance, focused on participant conceptual understanding of the critical teaching method itself. To do so, the authors focused specifically on two foundational components of CHI: difficult history and historical perspective recognition (HPR). To engage CHI (as a student or teacher) and achieve its pedagogical goals, a conceptual understanding of difficult history and HPR is assumed necessary. For instance, CHI positions students to engage difficult histories which can be emotionally triggering and lead students to resist and/or avoid learning alternative perspectives concerning historical events. This is detrimental to the pedagogical goals of CHI given that this approach seeks to position students to engage in HPR in order to cultivate an empathetic stance conducive to democratic social practices.

Study results detail specific participant conceptual (mis)understandings with CHI, difficult histories, and HPR limited production of critical social studies curriculum. Findings highlight the significance of preservice teacher epistemic cognition when learning CHI while also underscoring the importance of addressing preservice teacher historical positionality and political clarity when teaching critical methods like CHI. Baker and colleagues assert that in the absence of deeper conceptual understandings of CHI and a concomitant epistemic stance, preservice teachers are unlikely to overcome institutional and political barriers or strategically navigate curricular constraints which inhibit critical multicultural education in social studies classrooms.

And in the third study, Batt and Joseph examined how one PSST engaged with another critical social studies teaching method (i.e., critical multimodalities) and focused specifically on their attempts to enact this method in a social studies classroom. As a method, critical multimodalities refer to the use of visual/aesthetic media to mediate instructional efforts aimed at dismantling inequitable power structures via artistic storytelling and the fostering of a more just understanding of the past and present (Garrett & Kerr, 2016). While emotional and conceptual considerations still factor into this examination, particular limitations concerning participant procedural practices are highlighted to emphasize practical challenges that manifest when learning how to enact critical social studies pedagogies. Here, it emerges that using critical multimodalities in social studies learning spaces has powerful utility in teaching towards history with social justice--but specific practical challenges underscore that PSST emotional commitments to and conceptual understanding of critical multimodalities as a transformative pedagogy can be undercut by a lack of concrete support from teacher educators and programs who de-emphasize content knowledge acquisition, offer limited critical/subjugated curricular resources especially concerning art, and, perhaps most importantly, provide few opportunities for preservice teachers to consistently practice implementing critical social studies teaching methods.

Critical, social justice-oriented teacher educators and programs of teacher preparation represent one of the few remaining institutional sites where responding to calls for democratic social education is possible. Transforming IBS social studies curriculum requires collective action across multiple institutions and teacher education programs committed to democratic social education must play their part in disrupting social injustice in social studies classrooms. As these studies underscore, playing this part requires adjusting critical teacher education pedagogies to address specific methodological challenges inhibiting preservice teacher learning.

No doubt, such adjustments may appear inconsequential in the face of institutional barriers and entrenched anti-democratic views and perspectives. Still, as social studies teacher educators committed to democratic social education, we believe that these adjustments can contribute to larger, necessarily collective efforts across education to stand up to those who claim that no alternatives to the current social arrangement exist. As Dewey (1916) argued, "education means the enterprise of supplying the conditions which insure growth, or adequacy of life, irrespective of age" (p. 61). Teachers and educators are stewards of this enterprise, and our actions, regardless of their perceived scale, cumulatively generate classroom climates which influence student growth potential. With this belief in mind, the contributors to this special issue present the following research seeking contribution to collective, social justice-oriented efforts to change the climate across social studies classrooms.

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"It's only right that you should play the way you feel it": Examining the Fleeting Emotions of Preservice Teachers' Navigation of Critical Historical Inquiry

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Introduction

As major 2020 events like the Black Lives Matter movement and the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic have shown, *all* educators must examine the ways in which they teach, not simply from a curricular framework, but with awareness of the emotional nuances that influence their students as well as them as educators. Scrolling through their social media feeds and watching television, millions of students across the United States have seen how Black Lives Matter protest marches have stoked political change and challenged officials and leaders to rethink the nature of policing. Months of learning online using platforms such as Zoom have not only highlighted the value of physical interactions within classroom spaces, but also the troubling emotional side effects of an all-digital education (i.e., depression, anxiety, etc.) (Medina, 2021; Taboada, 2020; Thakur, 2020). Sheppard et al. (2015) assert the field of social studies has been curious about the role of emotion within curricular and pedagogical discourses, yet there remain opportunities to expand the literature. Justice-oriented educators believe that social studies should open windows for students to hear diverse perspectives and grow in their civic-mindedness to become more active and socially-just participants in the communities they inhabit (Banks, 2014; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Gutmann, 1994; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This requires examining and incorporating emotional aspects into teaching practices and should be a central tenant in pre- and in-service teacher pedagogical endeavors.

Reidel and Salinas (2011) support this by positing that positioning emotions as an asset to learning about diverse perspectives "can help students and teachers move out of their comfort zones and begin the hard work of re-examining ideas, values, and beliefs presumed to be common sense" (p. 8). The "common sense" that Reidel and Salinas (2011) mention can be seen in the dominant narratives that infest social studies curricula, pedagogy, and practices. These dominant narratives often present simplistic, nationalistically progressive, and white male-framed histories as means to fashion a "common sense" (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Epstein, 2009; Santiago, 2019). Due to political, social, and economic forces in and out of educational spaces, the stories and voices of historically marginalized communities have remained truncated or muted, limiting the opportunities for teachers and students to grow in the understandings necessary to flourish in diverse linguistic, racial, cultural, and gendered societies (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Trouillot, 1995; Tyack, 1974). Currently, the social studies field has seen a rejuvenated attack by conservative-leaning institutions on Critical Race Theory and other entities that challenge hegemonic and assimilationist logic (Chute & Méndez, 2021; Lopez, 2021; Sawchuk, 2021). These brazen attempts through legislation and lawsuits look to silence historically marginalized voices and promote a singular, "unified" history that does little to account for the diverse racial, social, political, and gendered dynamics of the United States. In social studies teaching, engaging in critical historical inquiry gives students and teachers enormous power and agency to challenge dominant historical narratives that have long served to fashion an "American" history, voice, and identity (Apple, 2000; VanSledright, 2008; Wertsch, 2002).

Critical historical inquiry enables teachers to delve into and challenge dominant narratives permeating official social studies curricula (Blevins & Salinas, 2012; Blevins et al., 2020; King, 2017; Parker, 2003; Rodríguez, 2018; Santiago, 2019) while also providing moments to learn counter narratives that expand accounts and challenge (mis)representations, myths, and/or inaccuracies. Crowley and King (2018) note critical historical inquiries, "rely on teachers who question the common-sensical ways the world works and how social studies knowledge is presented" and "should be designed to identify and to challenge master narratives that legitimate systems of oppression and power" (p. 15). Critical historical inquiry allows for participants to engage in Seixas and Peck's (2004) concept of historical thinking and the six elements that comprise it – significance, epistemology and evidence, continuity and change, progress and decline, empathy, and historical agency. Yet, there is still a need to expand the scope of critical historical inquiry and strengthen its transformative capacity by considering the importance of emotions within the process. The instructional gatekeepers of knowledge and content (Thornton, 1991), teachers intent on infusing this practice into their toolkit need to delve into their own emotions whilst engaging in critical historical inquiries.

In 1996, Jennifer Nias claimed,

> Since the 1960s teachers' feelings have received scant attention in professional writing. At present, they are seldom systemically considered in pre- or in-service education. By implication and omission teachers' emotions are not a topic deemed worthy of serious academic or professional consideration. (p. 293)

Nias' proclamation still rings true in more contemporary times. Sheppard and Levy (2019) assert that the ever-changing political and social climates of education calls for "an increased need for emotional research to help make sense of the emotional dimensions of teaching social studies" (p. 193). Emotions, according to Denzin (1984), are a form of consciousness that can be lived, sensed, and experienced. Zembylas (2004) elucidates, "emotions and teaching are deeply interrelated in complex ways, both epistemologically and constitutively" (p. 198). Day and Leitch (2001) posit that teachers' feelings about their work affect how they conceptualize and perform their duties. With the power emotions possess in shaping how preservice teachers view themselves and the ways in which they teach, White (2009) contends that preservice teacher education must expand beyond purely educational pursuits. Emphasizing this point, White (2009) adds, "If I want my preservice students to engage critically with important educational issues, then I need to engage their emotions as well as their intellects" (p. 13). Sheppard and Levy (2019) as well as Zembylas and Barker (2002) stress the need for preservice teachers to have spaces individually and/or collectively to partake in safe reflection so they can share their emotions and the positives and negatives of engaging in new pedagogical practices. As teacher educators, we also believe that preservice teachers, individuals completing the necessary state-mandated coursework and fieldwork requirements in order to obtain a teaching license, deserve an opportunity to explore their own emotions when working with and developing critical historical inquiries. Traversing critical historical inquiries as participants and creators, preservice teachers offer a unique perspective in relation to emotion because they are learning what critical historical inquiries are and the challenges in building their own. Previous research has delved into how both preservice teachers have infused critical historical inquiry into their teaching practices from pedagogical content knowledge and positionality perspectives (Blevins & Salinas, 2012; Blevins et al. 2020; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Salinas et al., 2016). For example, Blevins et al.'s (2020) study focusing on two early career teachers concluded that political and ideological beliefs heavily influence the enactment of critical historical inquiries into teaching practices. Blevins et al. (2020) suggest that developing teachers' perceptions of efficacy and their pedagogical content knowledge can lead to infusing

more critical pedagogical practices like critical historical inquiry. Seeing how a teacher's beliefs and content knowledge impact their teaching, an opportunity to study how emotions play a role in the critical history inquiry process offers another unique pathway to explore. We, the researchers and authors of this project, assert that examining how preservice teachers emotionally navigate and understand critical historical inquiry as a means to disrupt dominant narratives, as both participants and designers, the social studies field can learn what attributes either support or hinder their incorporation of counter narratives into their pedagogical practices.

Using a critical qualitative case study framework (Denzin, 2015), we worked with and learned from five preservice teachers to explore how they emotionally grappled with critical historical inquiries as students and creators in a semester-long social studies methods course. We begin by explaining critical historical inquiries and the power of emotions in the social studies field. Next, we explain the study's context and critical historical inquiry practices the participants engaged in as well as our analysis procedures. Our findings suggest that critical historical inquiry is a complicated and nuanced emotional endeavor for our preservice teachers due to feelings of frustration, hope, and apathy. Finally, we share our discussion and implications for the social studies field and beyond. We hope that this paper and study shed light on how we can continue to dismantle educational structures of oppression and inequality constraining the power and agency of students, (preservice) teachers, and schools.

Frameworks

Critical Historical Inquiry

Critical historical inquiry allows for teachers and students to examine primary sources to further expand upon their understanding(s) of eras, events, places, and people. Through these sources, the process challenges all participants to construct historical knowledge beyond dominant narratives and view how race, gender, sexuality, and other facets converge to fashion new understandings (Blevins et al., 2020; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Salinas et al., 2016; Santiago, 2019; Schmidt, 2010). As Blevins and Salinas (2012) state, "in conceptualising a more critical notion of historical inquiry we situate teachers' understandings of their content within two important bodies of knowledge": official knowledge and subjugated knowledge (p. 24). Creating official knowledge is "always a political process" and can come in the form of state-mandated curriculum, can be seen in commercialized textbooks, and focuses on promoting a hegemonic/assimilationist (i.e., "common sense") historical narrative (Apple, 2000, p. 92). Subjugated knowledge is knowledge (personal stories, counter narratives, etc.) that has been restricted by social and/or political forces from being found in educational spaces (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). These two knowledges can enhance or hinder the accessibility and criticality of historical inquiry. If thoughtfully and intentionally structured to challenge oppressive narratives, critical historical inquiry allows teachers an opportunity to disrupt the essentializing and limited scope of curricula and learn about the complex racial, social, and political nuances of systematically marginalized people and communities (Epstein, 2009; Fránquiz & Salinas, 2011). Although critical historical inquiry has the power and ability to disturb banal curricula, Blevins et al. (2020) remind us that teachers enact historical inquiry with varying levels of success due to their own teaching beliefs and the knowledges they possess.

To better leverage the disruptive potential of critical historical inquiry, historical thinking skills must be developed for students to partake in this worthwhile practice. Countering the mundane practices of rote memorization of facts or the coloring of maps that have plagued the social studies field for

generations (Parker, 2015), Seixas and Peck (2004) propose historical thinking as a different method of examining history. Seixas and Peck's (2004) six elements that comprise historical thinking provide students a framework in which to look at pictures, letters, newspaper articles, etc. from a perspective they may not have considered prior. By asking teachers and students to immerse themselves in thinking historically while working with primary sources, it challenges them to consider the complicated and nuanced facets of people, places, and/or events. Expanding Seixas and Peck's (2004) historical thinking framework, Salinas et al. (2012) push that *critical* historical thinking "acknowledges and makes transparent the ends, purpose, and values embedded in the master historical narrative" (p. 25). According to them, two things must happen in order for critical notions of historical thinking to occur, teachers must 1) "reflect upon the intersection of their knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values and their pedagogical content knowledge with regard to the pedagogical and curricular choices they make in their classrooms" and 2) examine how they communicate content to their students, for that determines if it essential (continuously taught) or peripheral (hardly or never taught) knowledge (Salinas et al., 2012, p. 26). If teachers are to engage in critical historical thinking and critical historical inquiry, they must be cognizant of their own knowledge and intentionally incorporate counter narratives into their pedagogical approaches. By no means an easy task, this reflective practice serves to push teachers to actively think about which dominant narratives exist within their curricula and ways in which critical historical inquiry can remold, raze, and/or correct those accounts. This research further stresses the importance of working with preservice (and in-service) teachers to develop their historical thinking skill sets and offer them spaces to reflect on their emotions so they can support their students in their own critical historical inquiry journeys.

The Power of Emotions

Emotions in educational spaces have the capacity to extend knowledge, build community, and allow for teachers and students to express their true selves. Yet, the opportunity to share one's emotions publicly is not always available or permitted. As Arth and Whittemore (1974) claim, "public school curriculums suppress the right of the student to be emotional and provide no avenues for the understanding of those basic emotions that form the basic nature of human interaction" (p. 2). However constrictive curricula and administrative policies can be, emotions will always manifest within teachers and students, especially in relation to topics that personally impact them. These topics, regardless of eliciting positive or negative emotions, serve as opportunities to expand beyond prepackaged knowledge (i.e., standardized curriculum and textbooks) and push into territories previously unexplored by teachers and students. Knowing that emotions play an integral role in both teaching and learning, educational spaces must continue to develop platforms to allow for teachers and students to infuse their feelings. If teachers are to build the "whole child," as John Dewey (1916) once proposed, neglection of emotions leads to failure in that creation. In conjunction with the process of "forming" students, teachers must also be attuned to their own emotional states because of its interconnectedness to their actions as educators. Echoing this proclamation, Hargreaves (2000) notes, "Teaching, learning and leading may not be solely emotional practices, but they are always *irretrievably* emotional in character, in a good way or a bad way, by design or default" (p. 812).

Teacher emotions have an impact on what is presented within the classroom, potentially impacting the infusion and effectiveness of historical inquiries into teaching practices. Many historical inquiries contain difficult knowledge, with an example being the death and destruction found in photographs and firsthand accounts about the Syrian Civil War. Britzman, one of the originators of the concept of *difficult knowledge*, suggests that what makes knowledge "difficult" is twofold: how curricula show traumas and a person's interaction with them in pedagogical pursuits (Pitt & Britzman, 2003).

Therein lies the importance of emotion in critical historical inquiry endeavors. For critical historical inquiries that might contain traumatic or controversial issues (Busey & Mooney, 2014; Byford et al., 2009; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Zembylas, 2020) that include difficult knowledge, teachers must consider their own emotions when determining if and how to present these critical historical inquiries (Sheppard & Levy, 2019). In failing to examine their own emotional understandings in relation to difficult knowledge and critical historical inquiries, teachers have the potential to unknowingly inflict harm on their students. There are no truly "safe" classrooms due to various political and power dynamics within educational spaces (Boler & Zembylas, 2003; Zembylas, 2015). For example, a harm-inducing misstep such as misrepresenting a historically marginalized group by using dominant group-generated propaganda by a teacher could destroy the classroom community. Building upon research involving critical historical inquiry and on teachers' emotions, this study examines preservice teachers' emotional navigation of historical inquiries as student participants and as developers of historical inquiries.

Methods

In the Spring of 2021, we initiated a semester-long qualitative, critical case-study (Denzin, 2015) examining how the emotions/emotional responses of preservice teachers influenced their understanding of critical historical inquiry tasks. Knowing the value and power of emotions in teacher decision-making (Day & Leitch, 2001), our research focuses on *preservice* teachers because they are beginning their journey as educators and our research positions allow us to watch their growth throughout the semester. Our guiding questions for this project were:

1) When first encountering critical historical inquiry as a student participant in a social studies methods course, what emotions emerged while engaging in this practice?
2) When creating a critical historical inquiry project, what emotional navigation occurred while being involved in this production?

The goals of this project are to expand upon critical historical inquiry literature already produced by adding an emotional element into the discourse, to continue to learn how to disrupt dominant narratives found in social studies curricula using critical historical inquiries, and to provide additional insight into ways to support preservice teachers as they grow in their pedagogy and practice.

Study Context

Participants for this case study were purposefully selected (Merriam, 2009) preservice teachers enrolled in a master's plus certification program for social studies at a large, public university in the southwest. In order to be accepted into the program, participants had to demonstrate a willingness to engage in discussions and teaching around race, gender, class, and other topics associated with critical social studies pedagogies. The second semester of a two-year program, Spring 2021, the participants already took a methods course the previous fall focusing on themes such as intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Crenshaw, 1991), (anti-)colonialism (Grande, 2015; Lomawaima, 1993; Shear et al., 2018), and textbook (mis)representations of people, communities, and historical events (Brown & Brown, 2010; King & Simmons, 2018; Loewen, 2007). Developing the preservice teachers' historical thinking and inquiry skills in their Spring 2021 social studies methods course, their curricular readings consisted of works by Barton and Levstik (2004), Blevins and Salinas (2012), Drake and Brown (2003), Seixas (1993), Seixas and Peck (2004), and others. The course featured three main historical inquiry activities, two of which will be briefly described due to their value in

providing the framework for the interview questions and other data sets. The first engagement the preservice teachers had with historical inquiry was the various representations of Rosie the Riveter used throughout World War II via propaganda posters and archival photographs. In the next class session, the preservice teachers undertook an examination of the Longoria Affair, an event involving Beatrice Longoria, the widow of U.S. Army Private Felix Longoria Jr., who was denied funeral arrangements for Private Longoria at their local funeral home due to her late husband being Mexican American. Later in the semester, the preservice teachers used primary source documents furnished by our institution's Latin American History department to fashion their own critical historical inquiries. These projects were designed with the intention of sharing them online so that secondary social studies teachers could incorporate them into their curricula.

We chose five preservice teacher participants to learn from due to our positions as teaching assistants supporting them in their methods course and having built a rapport with them the previous fall semester. Out of the five, two of the participants (pseudonyms) identified as white women – River and Audre, while two of the three men identified as Asian - Leland and George, and one as white – Dave (See Appendix A).

Researchers' Positionalities

As teacher educators, we recognize the value and power our own voices possess, but also those of the preservice teachers we teach and learn from in our program. We are two, cisgender men (one Arab-American/white-identifying, one white-identifying) and our experiences are not only distinct from each other, but also from our participants. Although both researchers spent at least six years in social studies classrooms before joining the university's PhD program, each individual brings a different lens to the project based on their personal and professional experiences. Our preservice teacher participants also come from various political, social, and economic backgrounds, thus serving as a constant reminder at the unifying power of education. Yet, we would also be remiss to ignore the power dynamics between us as researchers/teaching assistants and our preservice participants and the potential for this imbalance to impact our findings (Banks, 1998). Delving further, as Love (2019), states, "too often...our allies are eager White folx who have not questioned their Whiteness, White supremacy, White emotions of guilt and shame…" (p. 117). We acknowledge that most university spaces are made for white, male students and there has often been a complicity in buttressing white supremacy in educational spaces. Consequently, while revealing the complexity of engaging in historical inquiry for preservice teachers, our positionality also makes clear the importance of individual and communal reflection through discursive practices. Finally, we intend for this paper and research to reflect the voices and agency of our participants in a dignified and respectful manner.

Data Collection & Analysis

In addition to a digitally recorded, semi-structured, 60-minute interview with participants, data also included observations from the semester-long university social studies methods course, and student-generated artifacts, such as written reflections and historical inquiry projects. Serving simultaneously as field researchers and teaching assistants, our observations largely consisted of field notes taken during the entirety of five three-hour methods class sessions that focused on the preservice teachers' historical thinking, questioning, and acceptance or rejection of the narratives presented in the historical inquiries. The five sessions were specifically chosen because they were the participants' first forays into interacting with historical inquiries, thus providing opportunities to gain data as they developed their knowledge about critical historical inquiry. At the midway point of the semester, we asked

the preservice teachers to ruminate on their experiences as participants of the two aforementioned historical inquiries by writing a few paragraphs and sharing them with us. As the semester came to a close, we interviewed each preservice teacher separately to gain insight into their understandings of historical inquiry, as participants and creators, while paying close attention to their reflections on emotions and their navigation of those emotions. Individually, we manually coded transcripts of the interview and data and analyzed them by noting patterns and themes, arriving at comparisons and contrasts, and determining conceptual explanations of the case study (Miles et al., 2020). Returning together, data was then analyzed again focusing on the codes that emerged through the comparative process. The patterns, themes, and comparisons of interviews, observation, and artifact data led to the findings included in this paper.

Two major themes emerged indicating the complexity of both understanding the exercise and counter narratives presented in critical historical inquiries and in developing critical historical inquiries that yielded counter narratives.

Findings

Participants' reflections offered a snapshot into how they emotionally navigated the complexities of engaging in the critical historical inquiry process and fashioning their own critical historical inquiry projects. As preservice teachers develop their identities, emotions play a considerable role in the way they define their own successes and failures both inside the classroom and in their education courses, and the pedagogical and curricular decisions they make (Day & Leitch, 2001; Matias & Zembylas, 2014; Schutz, 2014; Zembylas, 2007; Zembylas & Barker, 2002). In our analysis, two major themes emerged in relation to critical historical inquiries: 1) emotional reactions as participant learners and 2) emotional reactions as inquiry creators. These offered deeper insight into the ways in which preservice teachers' emotions informed their understandings of critical historical inquiry's counter narratives and its effectiveness as a teaching tool to expand their own pedagogical approaches.

Theme One: Emotional Reactions as Participant Learners

The first theme describes participants' emotional reactions of frustration and hope when learning and engaging with the critical historical inquiry process in their social studies methods course as students. For instance, River, reflecting on her initial experiences with the Rosie the Riveter historical inquiry, wrote that, "navigating through historical inquiry emotionally initially felt very frustrating, but it was through the primary sources of the counter narrative that made me find the light" (Written Reflection, March 10, 2021). This same sentiment resurfaced during her interview at the conclusion of the semester. When asked about her emotions when learning about the Longoria Affair, River mentioned,

> Frustration just at that situation, even if he wasn't a World War Two veteran. It just makes it so wrong to begin with and hearing these stories is important because it makes you frustrated and question and just paint a fuller picture of history. (Interview, May 28, 2021)

Like River, Audre remarked in her interview, "it's always frustrating learning about these struggles because it's like, 'are you kidding me?' It just seems so important to know where this history is...it's just crucial to understand and I'm excited to be learning about it" (Interview, May 30, 2021). The feelings of anger and hope expressed by Audre and River transcend historical proximity and

highlight the humanistic connections individuals can make when engaging in critical historical inquiry. The photographs, letters, and posters were no longer static objects, but near lifelike entities that carried an emotional gravitas that spurred an emotional response. During those two critical historical inquiries, Audre and River's emotional merger with the stories of Rosie the Riveter and Felix Longoria Jr. brought them deeper into the counter narratives and epitomized the power critical historical inquiry has on students' understandings of historical events.

Yet, Audre and River's statements contrasted with their colleague, Leland, who commented in his interview that when partaking in the Rosie the Riveter historical inquiry that "emotionally, it didn't really elicit any emotions...for me it was 'how am I going to answer these questions?'" (Interview, May 25, 2021). In examining his own emotions in relation to the Longoria Affair, Dave felt almost emotionally ambivalent like Leland. Dave said in his interview,

> It just didn't really surprise me that much because that time period is chock full of stuff like discrimination. I thought it was an interesting story to be honest. I couldn't connect to him, obviously, because of his Mexican background, because I'm not and I don't have that background. (Interview, May 26, 2021)

Emotional disengagement echoes a similar disposition Leland wrote about weeks prior in relation to critical historical inquiries and counter narratives:

> I also approach the push towards identifying and teaching counter narratives with caution. While the search for and teaching of the counter narrative in many cases is a good thing, we lessen the ability to understand how the narratives interrelate and therefore miss the most important lessons… (Written Reflection, March 9, 2021)

Leland's hesitation indicates that although counter narratives often cause ruptures to the dominant narratives found within social studies curricula (Loewen, 2007; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Salinas et al., 2016; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Takaki, 2008), they also run the risk of feeling detached from those dominant histories as a whole. In this sense he is uncomfortable with resisting the dominant narrative (Wertsch, 2002).

Further, in that same writing, Leland mentioned, "I really enjoy historical inquiry because it allows me to learn about new topics I had never thought of, but I worry that I don't even know the dominant narratives enough to get the most out of this process" (Written Reflection, March 9, 2021). He is referring to a lack of mastery that deepens his doubts and perhaps emotional responses (Wertsch, 2002). Leland understands that critical historical inquiry opens the door for him to learn counter narratives he may not have originally known, but he still feels he lacks enough knowledge about the dominant narrative to fully appreciate the exercise.

The apprehension Leland experienced also relates to Shulman's (2004) focus on teachers' pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). According to Shulman (2004), PCK is the knowledge teachers use when refashioning their subject matter so that students can learn and understand the content. PCK pushes teachers to think not only about what they know about a particular topic, but what funds of knowledge (González et al., 2006) their students bring and what possible misconceptions may need addressing (Shulman, 2004). Preservice teachers who believe they lack the foundational critical knowledge required to teach dominant narratives express "fear" when deciding to delve into an even

more complex PCK that requires them to synthesize dominant and counter narratives into a cohesive educational tapestry (Wertsch, 2002).

Conversely, while building their own informational base, Audre's emotional frustration switched to a more astonished disposition. In her reflection, she mentioned, "I have definitely been on a rollercoaster of emotions when processing the new information I've gained throughout my inquiry, just based solely on the shocking information that one finds when engaging in the critical part of a historical inquiry" (Written Reflection, March 7, 2021). In a similar vein, the act of learning about histories that countered dominant narratives amazed Dave in our interview. He shared, "when she (the course instructor) showed the, I guess what you call the 'counter narrative', I was a little bit surprised that it revealed some stuff I never knew" (Interview, May 26, 2021). Learning more about and from the critical historical inquiry process led them to an emotional conclusion that is common for those studying and valuing counter narratives (see Salinas et al., 2016). As the preservice teachers learned counter narratives through critical historical inquiry, the emotions they felt, positive and negative, largely stemmed from their prior knowledge and personal connections with the accounts presented in the inquiries. This in turn played a role in their desire to infuse these counter narratives into their own critical historical inquiry projects.

Theme Two: Emotional Reactions as Inquiry Creators

The second theme centers on preservice teachers' emotional attitudes towards designing their own critical historical inquiries and incorporating counter narratives into those projects. Even though learning about the process in their methods course posed a challenge and induced feelings of frustration, caution, and apprehension, the majority of the participants felt invigorated, curious, and excited when sharing their thoughts about creating and enacting critical historical inquiries in their teaching placements. In her written reflection, Audre expounded, "Although, I have found that through continuing to develop my inquiry skills, I have been better able to access topics that I might not usually find so fascinating which shows some development in those skills" (Written Reflection, March 7, 2021). Frustrated initially when fashioning critical historical inquiries due to counter narratives being less prevalent and more challenging to find than dominant narratives, River noted in her interview, "it's rewarding to put the pieces together and dig deeper and realize there is no perfect way to define history. But realize that it's also a set of stories, so you feel agency by creating them" (Interview, May 28, 2021). River's statement reflects the messiness of historical representation through critical historical inquiry. The troubling of dominant narratives shows the layers and multiple stories that comprise historical events as well as the power the narrator possess. In another written reflection, George commented that although historical inquiry at first seemed hard, "after seeing it and doing it a few times, I'm eager to try it with my students. Even if I have to simplify or change it a little for them" (Written Reflection, March 10, 2021). While discussing how to bring historical inquiry into his classroom placement, Dave wrote, "I would say that one of the biggest emotions I am feeling through historical inquiry is curiosity. It has been fun learning about how to put together compelling questions/DBQs and seeing how they can transform historical learning" (Written Reflection, March 10, 2021). Audre voiced a similar excitement about using unique primary sources, "I thought they were so cool and things I haven't seen before. So, anything new is exciting and I felt like, 'oh, this is stuff I think kids are gonna want to see and explore I hope'" (Interview, May 30, 2021). The participants' sense of enthusiasm ties to Bloomfield's (2010) research on preservice teachers' emotional navigation of the profession and "about the excitement and exhilaration of new learning, about being found as credible in teaching, about the joy of connection with children…" (p. 232). The

preservice teachers' thrill shows just how rewarding critical historical inquiries can become because of the opportunities to learn new narratives and the various ways of examining historical events.

When reflecting on his experience creating a critical historical inquiry, Leland remained hesitant to infuse too much of a counter narrative into his project. His feelings of trepidation and reluctance show that critical historical inquiries are not always met with ardor or inquisitiveness. He understood that he was not like most of his peers in regard to creating critical historical inquiries, and although the process was worthwhile from a pedagogical standpoint, Leland expressed a few critiques during his interview:

> We miss the power of the counter narrative when we start directing an inquiry towards a certain direction. Okay, because what that does is now we're proselytizing. I think it's really counterproductive to what we want to do...if we just push that narrative, it doesn't solve the deeper issue. And we miss getting at the root cause. We miss actually diving deep and teaching the real issue and helping our kids. We're talking about agency and citizenship and understanding, where the real issues are so they can solve them well. We just focused on one narrative, even if it's a counter narrative, it is one narrative. We fail to tie those two together and we send them off and what gets done, nothing. I mean, think about it, the Civil Rights Act was passed in '63. Where are we today? (Interview, May 25, 2021)

Leland's viewpoints suggest the challenges teachers face when generating critical historical inquiries that center counter narratives. The dominant narrative, perceived to be an essential element when knowing what is traditionally taught in social studies contexts, has the potential to be overshadowed by the infusion of counter narratives. When the dominant narrative becomes a subsidiary to the counter narratives, it can cause emotions of uneasiness, resistance, and/or a pedagogy of discomfort (Boler, 1999; Boler & Zembylas, 2003). However, in many ways, this is one goal of critical historical inquiries. Critical historical inquiries encourage teachers and students to delve into the complexities of histories and difficult knowledges (Garrett, 2011; Pitt & Britzman, 2003; Zembylas, 2014) to see a deeper picture. The boundaries of classical stories centered around individuals, communities, and events we believe we know are pushed, urging us to expand not only our intellectual states, but our emotional ones as well. By no means an easy task for participants and creators alike, the power of critical historical inquiries to disrupt dominant narratives and amplify the voices of historically marginalized peoples must become or remain a central component of (preservice) teachers' practices.

Over the course of learning about critical historical inquiry, acting as participants in the process, and then developing their own, most of the preservice teachers' emotions shifted drastically. Although initially apprehensive and frustrated with critical historical inquiry due to it being a new practice, most participants' reflections suggest that with more time partaking in the activity, feelings of curiosity and excitement arose. Allowing the preservice teachers reflective spaces open to sharing their emotions, both through writing and orally, aided in their grappling with this new pedagogical endeavor. By challenging them to delve deeper into their own emotional understandings, not simply cognitive or ideological understandings, course instructors/assistants center emotion as a viable part of teaching and learning.

Discussion

In examining the emotional reactions of preservice teachers engaged in critical historical inquiry, we found a range of responses that reflect the complexity of engaging in dominant/counter narratives

and difficult knowledges (Garrett, 2011; Pitt & Britzman, 2003; Zembylas, 2014). First, we contend that our participants' emotional responses served as evaluative gauges of both the dominant and counter narrative (Zembylas, 2004). Their emotional stance can promote/diminish the use of critical historical inquiry. As some of the preservice teachers' stances suggest, the infusion of counter narratives into dominant narrative discourses can amplify or curtail the power of adopting critical historical inquiries. As participants, the emotional weight of learning about counter narratives served as a gauge for them on their acceptance or rejection of critical historical inquiries into their pedagogical practices. For Audre and River, the feelings of anger and hope they experienced while partaking in critical historical inquiries during their social studies methods course fueled their passion to craft inquiries that students would connect to intellectually and emotionally. Their responses also suggest a desire to make critical historical inquiries a part of the pedagogical practices long after they leave their teacher education program. Leland troubled this notion due to his emotional apathy as a student taking part in these exercises. His emotionally reticent stance and desire to remain "impartial" influenced the construction of his own inquiries (Banks, 2014; Journell, 2016; Kelly & Brandes, 2001). Although not addressed directly, Leland's comments hint at his future pedagogical decisions in relation to critical historical inquiries.

Second, we contend that more political or ideological responses were not explicitly labeled through emotional discourses. The challenge at hand, then, is that emotion was not always seen as a viable means to express the adoption or rejection of disruptive pedagogies. Emotional discourses, an element heavily focused on during this study, were not essential elements when students initially examined dominant or counter narratives *during* critical historical inquiries as participants. Upon their reflection *after* engaging in and developing their own critical historical inquiries, they shared their emotional navigation, but throughout the actual processes, they did not take into consideration their own emotional conditions. Although the majority of preservice teacher participants expressed excitement about bringing these practices into their pedagogy, they largely turned to lack of pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 2004) and difficulty in finding counter narratives as potential barriers. While this shows how important the development of pedagogical content knowledge and availability of counter narrative resources is for teacher education programs intent on instilling disruptive pedagogical practices like critical historical inquiry, it also highlights the negation of emotional discourse in preservice teacher training. Although directly focused on for our research project, the participants involved in critical historical inquiry would likely not have independently reflected on how their emotions played a role in their conceptualization and fashioning of the inquiry process and creation. Seen in the preservice teachers' responses, strategic discourse around emotions served as a catalyst for the potential of deeper personal connections to counter narratives as well as a reexamination of their own pedagogical practices. Failure to offer preservice teachers a space to ruminate on their emotions not only limits opportunities for them to delve into the complexities of critical historical inquiries, but also the deeper impact such a venture might have on the emotional wellbeing of themselves and their students when enacting such a process.

Implications

As this study exemplifies, social studies education, and teacher preparation programs in particular, do not delve enough, if at all, into the emotional navigation preservice teachers go through *while* partaking in new pedagogical processes that have the potential to disrupt dominant narratives. Zembylas (2004), notes, "emotions and teaching are deeply interrelated in complex ways, both epistemologically and constitutively" (p. 198). Sheppard and Levy (2019) echo Zembylas' claim by stating, "Teachers are making pedagogical decisions based on their beliefs about emotions; it is crucial that

they are given the opportunity to reflect on their emotional experiences with students, content, and the community in productive, collaborative spaces" (p. 202). Preservice teachers do not grow in closed conditions, they are influenced by political, social, and economic discourses within their university courses and teaching placements. Yet, teacher preparation programs rarely delve into the emotional factors that influence teacher development and decision making. The failure to examine emotional components with educational practices at the preservice level can lead to detrimental results once those teachers enter their own classrooms. We assert that in examining preservice teachers' opportunities to reflect on and express their emotions while participating in a venture like critical historical inquiry, educators and teacher preparation programs dedicated to supporting the emotional facets and critical dispositions of their own preservice teachers can continue that engagement.

One possible suggestion for teacher preparation programs to address the emotional aspects of engaging in new teaching practices, and critical historical inquiry in particular, is to designate time in methods courses to partake in sequential restorative circles. Although typically viewed as means to address disciplinary issues, sequential restorative circles allow for participants to immerse themselves in reflective dialogue. The act of rumination offers individuals an opportunity to examine their own emotions and consider others as well. As a collective endeavor, these circles build connections through the power and relatability of emotions. Future research looking to expand upon emotions and historical inquiry might delve into how in-service teachers' emotions influence their curricular and pedagogical decisions. Differing from their preservice counterparts, many in-service teachers are held accountable not by their preparation program, but by rubrics designated by their state and evaluated by the performance of their students on standards-based examinations. Critical historical inquiry often challenges these content standards through the presentation of counter narratives. Understanding this, examining how in-service teachers use their emotions to justify their decisions can further social studies discourse in relation to emotions and pedagogical practices. In conclusion, emotions remind us, especially in the education field, that we are intrinsically linked together in the struggle to better humanity for our students, their families, and the communities they inhabit.

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Appendix A

Study Participants

Participant (Age)	Racial Identification	Gender Identification	Originally From	Previous Occupation(s)	Reason to Pursue Teaching Certification
River (25)	White	Female	Connecticut	Undergraduate college student; AmeriCorps member; Lacrosse coach	To support students in their journey to become lifelong learners
Audre (29)	White	Female	New York	Nanny; ESL teacher abroad (Thailand); Assistant Office Manager at Youth Summer Camp	Teacher preparation program; Passion for working with children
George (25)	Asian	Male	China/ California	Undergraduate college student; Part-time National Guard member	Love for spreading knowledge and working with children; being a mentor to students and sharing life experiences
Leland (43)	Asian	Male	China/ Alabama	Financial Advisor; U.S. Marine Corp Officer	To teach students the foundational principles of money in order to empower them to reach their life goals
Dave (26)	White	Male	Pennsylvania	Undergraduate college student; Language Assistant	Mentorship; Community service

The Fear of Harm: The Challenges Preservice Urban Teachers Have with Historical Perspective Recognition When Discussing Difficult Histories

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Introduction

Calls for inquiry-based education have consistently emerged from progressive scholars across historical debates over social studies/history curriculum. In 1910, John Dewey released *How We Think*, which challenged the positivist-dominated discourses (Kliebard, 2004) through its promotion of inquiry-based curriculum. Over 100 years later, advocacy for inquiry-based practices still exist in social studies/history education (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Grant, 2013; Salinas et al., 2012; Seixas & Peck, 2004; Wineburg, 2001). Scholars in the present argue that Inquiry-based curricula allow for teachers and students to extend beyond the basic facts and figures that dominate textbooks and reinforce hegemonic principles in state-mandated standards (Busey & Walker, 2017; Loewen, 2009; Shear et al., 2015; Vasquez-Heilig et al., 2012; Vogler & Virtue, 2007). Further, inquiry-based curricula present opportunities to hear muted voices, read silenced stories, and see opaque narratives in a clearer light.

Extending this line, critical social studies scholars have called for and developed critical historical inquiry (CHI) (Martel, 2013; Santiago, 2019). Blevins et al. (2020) define CHI as:

> A 'critical' conceptualization of historical inquiry includes an explicitly conscious examination of the dominant, yet often, erroneous metanarratives found within school curriculum as well as an interrogation of the ways in which structures of power continue to reproduce oppressive, nation-building narratives in the school curriculum (p. 37).

Moving from a critical multicultural citizenship frame (Castro, 2013), CHI seeks to advance students' understanding of the raced, classed, and gendered constructions of history and extends historical inquiry to focus on relations of power linked inequities. Research on CHI has shown the importance of recognizing the pervasive nature of dominant historical narratives, the ways in which they are used to justify and perpetuate inequities, and how to disrupt dominant historical narratives in order to recognize and honor cultures and communities different from the dominant whitestream (Blevins et al., 2020; Fránquiz & Salinas., 2011; Salinas et al., 2012).

However, literature also points to barriers and challenges constraining potential enactments of CHI in classrooms. In addition to institutional constraints which steer social studies decision-making toward covering standards and preparing students for high-stakes tests (Blevins et al., 2015; Segall, 2003), research highlights particular characteristics associated with teacher capacity (Grant & Agosto, 2008) which are identified as necessary for enacting CHI. Identifying the significance of teacher capacity (e.g., positionality, disposition, knowledge, and skills) to potential CHI enactments,

researchers specifically highlight teacher political and ideological clarity (Blevins et al., 2020; Magill & Salinas, 2019), subject area consciousness and content knowledge (Blevins et al., 2020; Salinas & Blevins, 2013), and source selection (Salinas et al., 2011). In recognizing external barriers and teacher capacity, the literature encourages critical social studies teacher educators to focus preparation efforts on developing instructional approaches which support preservice social studies teachers (PSSTs) learning CHI. For instance, Salinas & Blevins' (2014) study of PSSTs focused on the kinds of historical narratives produced when tasked with developing historical counter-narratives challenging dominant historical narratives. While this study provides valuable insight into the possibilities and challenges of teaching CHI, more work must be done further specifying specific challenges preventing PSSTs from learning and eventually enacting CHI in classrooms.

Following this line, we move to extend this research by focusing on PSSTs' engagement with specific conceptual components informing CHI in order to better position PSSTs to learn and subsequently enact CHI. As teacher educators and researchers working in an urban teacher program which promotes CHI, we also draw on our personal experiences working with PSSTs learning this method as a warrant for this study. These experiences offered opportunities to observe particular challenges associated with learning CHI. Therefore, we move to examine specific instances of engagement with concepts we believe to be potential sources of difficulty preventing PSSTs from learning and enacting CHI in social studies classrooms. We identified two potential sources of struggle in PSSTs encounters with difficult histories and historical perspective recognition (HPR). Following literature which recognizes preservice teacher resistance and discomfort with difficult histories (Boler & Zembylas, 2003; Castro, 2010) and the challenges of teaching historical thinking skills (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Maggioni et al., 2009; Wineburg, 2001), our experiences observing PSSTs' encounters with both concepts also led us to this research focus.

In this study we examined PSSTs' engagement with CHI which included methods course discussions and performance tasks where participants attempted to demonstrate understanding and application of CHI. We attended to specific challenges expressed or articulated by participants as they encountered difficult histories and attempted to practice historical thinking skills like HPR. In doing so, we attempted to address the following research question: What are the challenges preservice social studies teachers perceive with difficult history and HPR as they learn critical historical inquiry?

Conceptual Framework

Drawing on a critical sociocultural theoretical framework (Epstein & Peck, 2017), this study relies on critical historical inquiry (CHI) as a conceptual lens (Blevins & Salinas 2012; Salinas & Blevins, 2014). Grounded in critical pedagogy (McLaren, 2003), CHI is a method concerned with justice-oriented citizenship education emphasizing the political nature of history/social studies curriculum (Salinas & Blevins, 2014). Moving from a critical multicultural citizenship education frame (e.g., Castro, 2013), CHI positions students to understand, disrupt, and challenge official curriculum (Apple, 2000), and explore new and diverse perspectives that recognize and honor the unique experiences of linguistically and culturally diverse communities (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2011). CHI brings together critical pedagogy and historical inquiry/thinking skills to generate explicit examinations of dominant historical narratives promoted in official curriculum and interrogations of the power structures which reproduce said narratives in schools and society at large (Blevins et al., 2020). Participating in critical examinations and interrogations involves two additional concepts framing this study: Difficult Histories and Historical Perspective Recognition (HPR).

Difficult Histories

Broadly, the concept of difficult history applies to historical events which, when encountered by learners, may trigger negative emotional responses and/or psychological discomfort (Goldberg, 2020; Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021). According to Goldberg (2020),

> Difficult histories expose learners to historical suffering and victimization that constitute a collective trauma. The difficulty stems from the strong emotional reactions or ethical responses learners may evince, undermining their trust in security and morality in the world (p. 130)

While this seems commonsensical, it becomes less so when asking, "difficult for who?" and "what makes it difficult?" Perspectivity and positionality structure the concept, making questions like "difficult for who?" and "what makes [difficult history] difficult?" crucial to analysis (Goldberg, 2020). For instance, one person's difficult history may just be factual data to another (Gross & Terra, 2018). The emotional reactions linked to collective trauma and/or ethical responses distinguish what might appear factual to one learner while difficult to another. Historical positionalities linked to race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, and social location all intersect and may generate potential difficulties when interpreting and understanding complex histories (Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021). The differing standpoints these positionalities create lend different emotional and ethical responses to the histories being learned about.

An example of a difficult history in the United States' context would be racial slavery. In many settler colonial contexts, including the United States, histories connected to the institution of racialized slavery evoke emotional and psychological responses associated with difficult history. It is a history of brutality and subjugation perpetrated primarily by white Europeans against Indigenous peoples marked outside the boundaries of personhood (i.e., whiteness) with little restitution in the aftermath. Debates over historical representations of slavery and racism in social studies curriculum provide just one of many examples emphasizing the ongoing struggle in US society over the historical institution of racial slavery and how it influences culture, society, and institutions today (Horton & Horton, 2006; Kelley, 2014; Tyack, 1974). Recent efforts by politically and culturally conservative state legislatures to pass policies limiting or banning classroom discussions concerning this history and its influences in the present attest to one significant aspect of this ongoing struggle (Kim, 2021).

Together, politicized debates and policies move to classify racial slavery as a particularly controversial difficult history which effectively leads some teachers to avoid it altogether (Zou & Kao, 2021) or continue sidestepping, sanitizing, or over-simplifying the topic in classrooms (Swalwell et al., 2015). Although slavery is often taught in reductive ways to avoid expounding on the mistreatment of enslaved peoples and its influence upon present social relations, social studies teachers do a disservice to students in obscuring the linkages to the current structural inequalities fashioned by the institution of slavery. We agree with King and Woodson (2017) who assert that teachers can still educate their students about slavery "in ways that honor the humanity of the enslaved, that respect our students' emotional needs, and that support our students' ability to use the lessons of slavery to make sense of contemporary race relations and human rights debates" (p. 3).

The teaching of difficult histories has major potential in social studies education (Epstein & Peck, 2017). If we accept the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) assertion that social studies education be used to promote competent citizenship, then difficult histories must be a core part of

the curriculum (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Goldberg, 2020; Zembylas, 2017). Students who have worked with difficult histories in scaffolded, appropriate fashions tend to better empathize with marginalized peoples (Miles, 2019), better understand who is included and excluded from historical narratives (Blevins & Salinas, 2012; Camicia, 2016), and critically discuss past and ongoing structures of oppression (Hess, 2004). Empathy, critical structural analysis, and deliberation are critical skills that the competent citizen needs to operate in a multicultural democratic society (Castro, 2013; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Historical Perspective Recognition

Historical perspective recognition (HPR) is a concept advanced by Barton & Levstik (2004) to help students develop the requisite skills for participatory democracy. HPR draws on notions of empathy to make sense of different viewpoints on the past in order to recognize the potential logic and coherence of a particular historical perspective (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Sticking with our previous example of racial slavery, HPR would task students to empathize with the plight of enslaved peoples to better understand the decisions they made in a particular historical context. Slavery is often taught from a detached, "objective" viewpoint to sidestep controversy but this comes at the cost of complete, humanizing narratives (Brown & Brown, 2010). This "objective" approach to history masks its political nature and ultimately serves to buttress the dominant narrative (Loewen, 2018; Wineburg, 2001). HPR would have students take the perspective of the enslaved and build the narrative from there. This challenges the dominant narrative (slavery as a necessary but unfortunate economic reality) and humanizes it (Bartolomé, 1994) so the standpoint of the enslaved people is centered.

Continuing with NCSS' notion of social studies for citizenship, HPR helps develop the exposure, empathy, and critical reasoning necessary for competent citizenship. HPR exposes students to different worldviews and opinions outside of the dominant whitestream. Exposure is an important facet of citizenship as it opens up minds and demystifies "others" which can empower deliberation across differences (Parker, 2008). Empathy closes the gap between people as it offers the opportunity to see things from another's perspective (Seixas & Peck, 2004). Critical reasoning is crucial for a competent citizen as it enables them to look at the options, consider their potentialities, deliberate with others, and take informed action (Knowles & Clark, 2013). HPR has the potential to develop students' capacity for tolerance and recognition, two key aspects for a justice-oriented citizenry (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

We believe that difficult history and HPR are good components for social studies education and, by extension, developing the dispositions for critical multicultural citizenship. There has been some great work on in-service teachers handling of difficult history (Garrett, 2011; Zembylas, 2017; Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021) and also research on the preservice teacher affective responses to difficult history (Sheppard & Levy, 2019; White, 2009; Zembylas & Baker, 2002). Moving from this and other related lines of literature, we move to better understand the challenges social studies preservice teachers perceived with difficult histories and historical perspective recognition. Our hope is that this will better illuminate obstacles or resistances to difficult history and HPR in the process of teaching PSSTs CHI.

Method

Setting & Procedure

We chose teacher education programs because they are influential to the dispositions, pedagogy, and beliefs of future teachers (Fairbanks et al., 2010; Karagiorgi & Symeou, 2005). Using a qualitative

case study methodology (Denzin, 2015), we worked with five preservice social studies teachers in a master's plus teaching certification program in a large university in the southwest United States. An emphasis of the program is multicultural teaching centered around social justice. The convenient sample (Miles et al., 2020) was taken from a methods course in which a cohort of five participants was required to take. The classes took place over Zoom as the university (prudently) opted for remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Observations, semi-structured interviews, and artifact analyses served as our data sets. We used three different sources to triangulate the data to minimize the influence from a single input, find connections between each set, and support our findings (Maxwell, 2005). All contact was made virtually through emails and Zoom meetings due to the pandemic. Over 45 hours of observations were made of the virtual classroom setting and the researchers were reactive observers (Streib, 2011). All fifteen classes were observed in their entirety and recorded through Zoom. We actively took notes during these class sessions and re-watched the Zoom recordings to supplement our observation notes.

We also conducted artifact analyses with three lesson plan units created by study participants which focused on Spanish colonization of the Americas. These lesson plans gave us an insight into how PSSTs were applying the concepts of difficult history and HPR to their practice. Lastly, we interviewed the five participants. The interviews were semi-structured and revolved around the themes of difficult history and HPR (Merriam et al., 2001; Miles et al., 2020). In the interviews, we included questions about the unit projects, discussions, and readings we had in class. Afterwards, we transcribed the interviews for later coding and analysis.

Once we collected a piece of data (e.g., a lesson plan from their unit), we read through it once to identify broad themes. Individually, we developed a coding strategy based on the broad themes we found from our initial reading. Coming together, we compared our codes, consolidated them, and re-worked our codebook in order to have a more consistent lens to our analysis. We coded together manually to establish consistency and find patterns in the data. Using our collaborative codebook for our second reading, our refined analysis led to the emergence of two themes which will explicated in the results section below.

Participants

We had five participants total. Three of them identified as male and two identified as female. One of the males and two of the females were White and the other two males were of Chinese descent. Both of the Chinese-American participants immigrated to the United States as young children. Below is a short table of the participant demographics to help establish their positionalities.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Name	Racial Identification	Gender Identity	Socioeconomic Status	Place where they grew up
Albert	Asian	Male	Middle	China & Southeast US

Hannah	White	Female	Upper-Middle	Northeast US
Jean	Asian	Male	Middle	China & Western US
Simone	White	Female	Upper-Middle	Northeast US
Soren	White	Male	Upper-Middle	Northeast US

Note. All names have been changed to protect the identity of the participants.

Positionality

Establishing where we stand in relation to the "other" (Merriam et al., 2001) is an important part of our qualitative study. All three of the researchers identify as cis gendered, heterosexual males. Two of the researchers are white and the other is Arab-American and white. All three were former social studies teachers in urban settings among a diverse population of students.

We fall into a couple of different quadrants in Banks' Typology of Cross Cultural Researchers (1998). In some regards, we are indigenous-insiders in that we have been teachers, part of teacher preparation programs, and, depending on the researcher and participant, have some overlap in race, gender, and class. In other regards, we are external-outsiders along racial, gender, and class lines depending on the combination of participant and researcher. Throughout this research project we acknowledged our positionalities and how they give us different perspectives on teaching, difficult history, and HPR than our participants.

Results

Two themes emerged from our analysis underscoring important conceptual (mis)understandings among PSTs as they learned CHI. We organized themes under this umbrella phrase to highlight how both misunderstandings and understandings among participants generated specific limits to potential CHI enactments. First, participants' misunderstanding with the concept of difficult history, along with misunderstanding of epistemological underpinnings of CHI and HPR, limited and in some instances prevented CHI enactments. And second, participants' concern for potentially doing harm to students from historically marginalized groups with CHI represented another limiting conceptual misunderstanding.

Misunderstanding Critical Historical Thinking and Difficult History

Through the process of learning CHI in their second social studies teaching methods course, participants encountered recurring course themes and texts purposefully selected to build upon work started in their first methods course. There they were exposed to concepts of difficult history, historical thinking, and critical pedagogy which positioned them for pre-planned engagements with CHI in the second methods course. Of the five participants, two demonstrated adequate conceptual understandings while the other three demonstrated conceptual misunderstandings. Characterizing the latter group as the "objective history camp" and the former as the "multiple histories camp," each camp's respective conceptual (mis)understandings influenced their perceptions concerning possibilities for including difficult history and potentially enacting CHI.

The objective history camp consisted of three male participants, Soren, Jean, and Albert. As indicated in this group's moniker, participants articulated epistemological stances framing historical knowledge as an demonstrable series of events, and although they acknowledged different interpretations of historical events exist, they believed that what ultimately happened in the past is immutable. For example, Albert, when discussing the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Americas, explained:

> You have the Spanish explorers who didn't necessarily set out to conquer people, they set out to find new land. I think the first thing we need to really analyze critically is why the Spanish set out in the first place. And we have to ask the question, did they expect to find people there, or did they not [as was the case with] Christopher Columbus. And this is a dominant narrative for sure, right? And it's probably very well true because there [are] documents, right? I don't think there should be a counternarrative to this. [They were] trying to find India...and if it is the truth, then, OK, fine. Nobody else is harmed by saying [they] were just trying to find India. (Albert, Interview 1, 4/12/2021)

Running counter to epistemic stances grounding sociocultural (Barton & Levstik, 2004) and critical approaches to historical thinking (Epstein & Peck, 2017; Salinas & Blevins, 2014), this camp hesitated and/or resisted historical thinking perspectives that, in their view, violated disciplinary-based historical thinking methods (e.g., Wineburg, 2001). For example, the three male participants believed including notions of care and emotion (e.g., Barton & Levstik, 2004) in historical thinking would taint or produce misleading conclusions about historical events. Though they understood that interpreting historical events usually evoked emotional responses, they were concerned with avoiding negative consequences stemming from emotionally compromised reasoning and judgment. Expressing this view in interviews and as group members collaborating on their CHI unit plans, they argued that if people get angry at the Spanish for their violent colonization of America, then anger guides thought, leading people in the present to magnify relatively unimportant phenomena while simultaneously minimizing crucial ones. For instance, when sharing his hesitation surrounding colonialism counternarratives, Soren stated:

> Maybe we focus too much on these topics, rather than the present, getting hung up on them and internalizing them... I can see how [overemphasizing victimization] could be a problem, especially when you bring in more, again, I'll go to slavery, that's a hard history. Especially people affected by slavery, Black people, not seeing themselves in that position. Not seeing themselves as victims of this history. (Soren, Interview 1, 4/16/2021)

Additionally, this camp struggled to articulate adequate conceptual understandings of difficult history and HPR. Responses to interviewer and methods course instructor questions pertaining specifically to definitional and general understandings of difficult histories and HPR further indicated conceptual misunderstandings. During interviews, each participant requested clarifying definitions and attempted to extrapolate based on the information provided by the interviewer. For example, when Jean was asked to explain HPR he responded,

> I can't pull [the definition] off the reading, but I do remember it from our class and maybe [my professor's] class about historical empathy, I think it was historic empathy... So I think, for example, say we're teaching history about Nazis. We all recognize that it is wrong...but back then, people thought differently. So I think historical perspective recognition is understanding the perspectives of those who lived back then and think like them, and not using

our modern perspective or use our modern moral standards to judge the actions of those in the past. (Jean, Interview 1, 4/14/2021)

In drawing historical connections and demonstrating a basic understanding of presentism, Jean articulated a broad conceptual understanding of HPR. However, this articulation lacked critical depth and nuance which may explain limited and inadequate demonstrations of conceptual understanding in performance tasks and unit plans. Jean's response conveyed an objective historical view in his example about the Nazis that, among other things, failed to include multiple perspectives and narratives of resistance. In other words, he mistook HPR as replacing one singular view with another rather than troubling the singular view and adding nuance through multiple viewpoints on a historical event or phenomenon. Along with Jean, Soren and Albert's conceptual misunderstandings reflect what scholars conceptualize as taking an additive approach to history education (Banks, 1994; Dilworth, 2012). Here, attempts to explore how historical events may be constructed differently by the subaltern are eschewed, while dominant historical narratives remain uncontested and merely appended with a marginal viewpoint. In preferring an additive approach, they expressed beliefs that straying too far from that narrative would be fabricating facts. Across all three participants, there was a firm assertion that it would be a disservice to students to dilute the "facts" or distract from "what actually happened." This, of course, assumed the accuracy of the dominant narrative while further marginalizing the narratives of subjugated peoples.

Significantly, members from the multiple histories camp, along with their counterparts, also mistakenly believed they were enacting HPR when in fact their curricular decision was additive. For example, early in the unit planning process, both groups struggled to develop historical inquiries supporting the construction of historical counternarratives centering indigenous perspectives on Spanish colonization. Participant struggles appeared to stem from efforts to evaluate and assess relationships between dominant and subjugated historical narratives. However, by the end of the assignment, only the objective history camp stuck with the dominant narrative of Spanish colonization as a seemingly natural and logical product of historical development. Indigenous perspectives were included but, as perhaps expected, as an addition to the dominant narrative, not as a different, unique construction of the historical events.

(Mis)understanding CHI, Doing Harm, & Emotion

The study's two female participants, Hannah and Simone, provided data leading us to place them in the multiple histories camp. Both believed that there is not a hard and true objective history but a history whose narrative is molded by those constructing it. They argued that historical narratives were in fact social constructions dependent upon particular standpoints of those constructing histories. Hannah also shared how it is important to "shift perspectives" in order to better understand the plight of people outside of the dominant group via historical counternarratives. Emphasizing this point, Hannah explained:

> I think it's about exercising that empathy and kind of really putting yourself there and being able to shift perspectives and out of your own bubble, like, I think when we learn about the past, it's so easy to just rattle off facts and dates. And I think that it's really important to... to imagine what it would have been like for those people in those times, but not just one group really across the board. (Hannah, Interview 1, 4/13/2021)

However, despite articulating epistemic stances conducive to potential enactments of CHI, Hannah and Simone, along with the other three participants all expressed concerns over potentially harming students, particularly students from historically marginalized groups, with CHI and difficult histories. More specifically, participants were concerned about potentially harming students emotionally and damaging classroom relations with ham-fisted or ill-conceived attempts to include difficult history and/or CHI. In interviews, participants expressed concern for students' emotional, psychological, cultural well-being as they emphasized wanting to avoid hurting students with exposures to difficult histories and/or traumatizing students through their own mishandling of CHI.

In the multiple histories camp, participants articulated understandings concerning the relationship between trauma, difficult histories and how empathy can affect the empathizer. Hannah and Simone were cognizant that if they taught the material insensitively, it could cause harm or exacerbate trauma. Teaching the material insensitively tended to be expressed in terms of not knowing enough content knowledge in order to competently address difficult histories. They repeatedly shared their anxiety in this regard and feared their perceived lack of knowledge would result in generating what they hoped to combat—namely, dehumanization. Accordingly, both expressed this fear while sharing their desire to create an inclusive, critical, and humanizing social studies classroom environment. From their perspective, if, as future social studies teachers, they were to somehow perpetuate the traumas many students embody from erasure or marginalization of subjugated histories, then they would be working against purpose driven, ethical visions for teaching. Reflecting this rationale, Simone stated,

> I think that when we can understand history, that it's not just cut and dry facts, but it's made up of stories. A lot of times we are focusing on individual stories perhaps. When we can think about it as these are actual humans, the stories of humans, I think it allows us to have more empathy. (Simone, Interview 1, 4/16/2021)

In comments like this, both participants conceptualized empathy as crucial to sound historical study and humanizing pedagogical approaches that are culturally responsive to student perceptions of history.

In the objective histories camp, participants also articulated concerns regarding the potential harm difficult histories could do to students in social studies classrooms. Expressing his hesitations with difficult history in the classroom, Albert described an encounter he observed in the field as a pre-service teacher intern where he believed difficult history negatively impacted a student of color. Albert explained,

> I was actually helping my [cooperating teacher] teach about the evolution of the abolitionist movement and just last week and with the abolitionist movement, obviously slavery is inherent in that… And then you have this one Black female all the way up front. And you can tell, I mean, you could just straight up tell she was having an incredibly difficult time with this topic. I mean, really, really hard time. I mean, it's... I can't even describe her body language. The look on her face. I mean, it was heartbreaking. (Albert, Interview 1, 4/12/2021)

Albert's resistance to including emotion in historical study permeated this account, which, significantly, was told primarily from a sympathetic stance rather than an empathic stance. Albert's sympathy for this student's "heartbreaking" response to a classroom engagement with difficult history left him stuck in an egocentric interpretive frame of reference. His own emotional response seemingly

positioned him to double-down on emotion-free history education. Articulating this view, Albert explained,

> I think, though, that we're prone to... I think one of the things that we ought to take from history is the negative impact of emotions and feelings. Okay? So I've had a lot of mind sharpening, I've had a lot of critical thinking skills, and then in the Marine Corps, you have to think critically and dispassionately, right? I think you really gain a lot of perspective when you take emotion out of it. And that's very relevant today, where you have two sides not meeting in the middle because they're so emotionally charged. It's incredibly difficult for people to meet in the middle, and that's a very dangerous place for us to be. (Albert, Interview 1, 4/12/2021)

Again, participants in the objective histories camp shared a similar fear of harming students with the multiple histories camp. However, this shared fear diverged according to participant conceptual (mis)understandings. For the multiple histories camp, conceptual understandings reflected in CHI-appropriate epistemic stances led Hannah and Simone to take up ideological stances conducive to CHI (Magill & Salinas, 2019). However, their understanding led them to believe in and want to enact CHI, but ultimately concerned over their lack of knowledge and skill to appropriately carry it out. In contrast, the objective camp articulated their fears primarily in terms of avoiding students becoming overly-emotional in the classroom, inhibiting sound historical study, and preventing consensus-oriented citizenship education. For Jean, "emotions always cloud judgement," and social studies teachers should attempt to be objective and limit the role of emotion. Extending this stance, Albert argued that emotion not only muddies historical analysis, it also makes history polarizing, and sows disunity. Going even further, he also argued that if the teachers fall into this trap, then the disservice to students is two-fold: not only are they modeling poor historical thinking but they are also contributed to a [ideological] divide that is not desirable and may not be bridgeable. Thus, the epistemic and ideological stances communicated by the objective camp not only threw their conceptual misunderstandings into relief, they also positioned Jean, Albert, and Soren to hesitate and/or resist potentially infusing CHI methods into their instructional repertoire.

Discussion

Exploration of themes identified in our examination of PSST engagements with CHI led to the emergence of two findings which corroborate and extend prior research. First, participant misunderstandings surrounding CHI indicated that PSST ideological clarity and epistemic cognition are specific aspects in the process of teaching CHI that teacher educators must explicitly address during methods course instruction. Second, conceptual (mis)understandings demonstrated the significance of PSST historical positionality, political clarity and subject area consciousness to the process of learning and teaching CHI.

Cultivating Critical Postures: Addressing Ideological Clarity and Epistemic Cognition

Rooted in critical pedagogy (McLaren, 2003), CHI requires teachers to take up a critical stance with regards to ideology and epistemology. Following Magill (2019), this critical stance may also be conceptualized as a critically civic ontological posture which represents a teacher's multirelational understandings and embodiment of ontology, ideology, and praxis (p. 2). Accordingly, "critically civic teachers understand, not only the curriculum but also each of their own actions and pedagogy as oppressive and alienating or liberating and transforming" (p. 4). Participants' conceptual

misunderstandings exposed their inability and/or unwillingness to engage ideological analysis and historical inquiry through a critical lens.

Demonstrating a lack of ideological clarity (Bartolomé, 2004), participants in the objective histories camp tended to eschew ideological analysis and generally felt comfortable perpetuating dominant ideologies through curriculum decision-making. According to Bartolomé (2000):

> ideological clarity requires that teachers' individual explanations be compared and contrasted with those proposed by the dominant society. It is to be hoped that the juxtaposing of ideologies forces teachers to better understand if, when, and how their belief systems uncritically reflect those of the dominant society and support unfair and inequitable conditions. (p. 168)

Collectively, Jean, Soren, and Albert not only expressed discomfort and confusion when asked to engage in ideological analysis, they also resisted opportunities, through avoidance and vocalized opposition, to consider how their beliefs might be linked to unjust social relations. We argue that this finding serves as an important reminder of the significance of attending to preservice teacher ideological postures, even in contexts like the urban teacher program under study here, which presumably hosts preservice teachers who identify with critical ideological stances reflected in CHI. Additionally, we argue that this study also positions teacher educators to further explore possibilities for cultivating critical postures via ideological clarity among resistant PSSTs.

Relatedly, this camp's epistemic stance toward the study of history reflected lower levels of conceptual understanding concerning the relationship between evidence, the past, and history (Lee & Shemilt, 2003). Instantiated in claims like Albert's when he pointed to source documents as evidence purportedly proving that the original motive for Spanish colonization was the search for a water route to India, he demonstrated an epistemic stance which assumes evidence—i.e., primary source documents—to be a direct source to the past (Lee & Shemilt, 2003; Maggioni et al., 2009). Accordingly, source documents are unquestionably assumed to be factual information, leading to a problematic conflation of the past and history. Following Maggioni et al. (2009), this view evinced epistemic cognition demonstrating a belief that history simply reflects the past, "like the calm surface of a beautiful mountain lake would reflect the surrounding peaks" (p. 194). While the objective histories camp occupied stances reflective of disciplinary perspectives on historical thinking (e.g., Seixas & Peck, 2004; Wineburg, 2001), their own limited historical thinking skills inhibited their ability to carry out historical thinking as students and likely prevent possible future engagements with (critical) historical inquiry when they begin teaching in classrooms.

Historical thinking literature consistently underscores the role of education in facilitating students' historical thinking skills (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Van Sledright, 2002; Wineburg, 2001). Accordingly, historical thinking entails interpreting evidence, accounts and causation through a deliberate and patient effort to construct historical knowledge. Research at the intersection of epistemic cognition and historical thinking education supports arguments that the act of doing history is "unnatural" (Wineburg, 2001) and requires facilitating the development of epistemic cognition (VanSledright & Maggioni, 2016). Referring to individualized cognitive processes which provide a particular frame of reference for assessing knowledge in terms of criteria, limits, and certainty, epistemic cognition offers a conceptual lens for analyzing the relationship between history teacher decision-making and their epistemic stance (Maggioni et al., 2009). Drawing on this lens, participants from both camps demonstrated divergent epistemic stances with regard to CHI which supports prior research drawing important connections between historical thinking, epistemic cognition, and teacher decision-

making. Given our study's concern with explicitly critical methods of historical thinking, this finding extends research by linking up with calls to explore connections between historical thinking, epistemic cognition, teacher decision-making and a teachers' ontological approach to human relation (Magill & Salinas, 2019).

Corroborating & Extending CHI Research

Scholars of CHI have previously identified key considerations for the development of teachers capable of enacting CHI. Notions of historical positional, political clarity, and subject area consciousness have all been described in empirical literature detailing efforts of PSSTs and inservice teacher attempting to enact CHI in classrooms (Blevins et al., 2020; Salinas & Blevins, 2013; Salinas & Sullivan, 2007). Our study corroborates previous study findings while also extending the literature by specifying challenges teacher educators may face when teaching CHI, difficult history, and HPR.

Participant historical positionality influenced decision-making and conceptual (mis)understandings surrounding CHI, difficult history, and HPR. Salinas, Blevins, and Magill (2020) assert "Regardless of the potential for critical historical inquiry to create more inclusive and just representations of the past, a teacher's identity, dispositions, historical positionality, and historical stances often inform if and how this pedagogical tool will be used in the classroom" (p. 37). Whether it be participants explicitly referencing their military background as influencing their thought processes or the two female participants drawing on feminist standpoint theory when explaining their understanding of historical thinking, historical positionality influenced their receptivity and approaches when learning CHI, difficult history, and HPR. While the literature recognizes the significance of historical positionality (e.g., Salinas & Blevins, 2013), it has yet to highlight instances of historical positionalities generating specific resistances to CHI. Furthermore, the literature has not empirically explored how teacher educators might address such resistances in order to shift critically civic postures and epistemic stances in the process of preparing PSSTs to create inclusive, justice-oriented social studies classrooms.

Our study positions future research to extend this and related lines of literature concerning historical thinking education and preservice teacher resistance and discomfort. Notions of political clarity (Bartolomé, 2004) were also observed to be crucial to PSST conceptual (mis)understandings. Bartolomé defines political clarity as "the ongoing process by which individuals achieve ever-deepening consciousness of the sociopolitical and economic realities that shape their lives and their capacity to transform such material and symbolic conditions" (p. 98). Participants in the multiple histories camp demonstrated political clarity when articulating the significance of empathy to historical thinking, describing their fear of harming marginalized students, and through their unit plans which demonstrated conceptual understandings surrounding counter-narratives. Conversely, the objective histories camp did not demonstrate political clarity as their frames of reference remained within whitestream hegemonic notions of truth and history (Urrieta, 2004).

In both cases, participant camps offer important insights positioning future studies to focus on political clarity development oriented toward cultivating preservice teacher ideological postures conducive to critical/humanizing pedagogy (Bartolomé, 2004; Magill, 2019). Also noted in prior CHI research, participants in this study also expressed anxiety around their own perceived lack of content knowledge they believed necessary to responsibly and competently enact CHI. Scholars of CHI have previously discussed the relationship between the notion of subject-area consciousness and pedagogical content knowledge, and enactments of CHI (Blevins et al., 2020; Magill & Salinas, 2019).

According to Blevins et al. (2020),

> To effectively nuance an oppressive historical narrative requires teachers to know where to obtain materials and resources, understand how to read difficult texts, recognize how to analyze mysterious artifacts and resources, and most importantly, be proficient in their translation of these skills to students. (p. 39)

Our study adds to this discussion by underscoring how conceptual (mis)understandings surrounding CHI inhibit PSSTs attempts to locate appropriate sources and organize curriculum in ways supporting the construction of historical counter-narratives.

Conclusion

Enacting CHI methods that include difficult histories make possible humanizing social studies pedagogy which centers dialogic teacher-student relations where marginalized student experiences are valued, official curriculum is critically engaged, and subjugated forms of knowledge are included (Blevins et al., 2015). CHI offers a method for enacting critical and multicultural citizenship education which supports, "the quest for critical inquiry and awareness with actions necessary to increase access to democratic ways of life in a diverse society" (Castro, 2013, p. 222). However, this study underscores important considerations for critical social studies teacher educators seeking to prepare PSSTs to enact CHI. Conceptual (mis)understandings like the ones explored in this study must be addressed through pedagogical decision-making which attends to notions of preservice teacher epistemic cognition and historical positionality, while also devising related methods cultivating both political clarity and subject-areas consciousness.

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"The work of art is a scream of freedom": The power of multimodal arts and humanities in teaching marginalized histories

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"The work of art is a scream of freedom": The power of multimodal arts and humanities in teaching marginalized histories

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Introduction

For too long, social studies education has reproduced dominant narratives from hegemonic texts, which have attempted to silence the voices and narratives of historically marginalized groups (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Schmidt, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). This case study examines how one preservice teacher understood and then enacted the pedagogy of critical multimodalities towards counter-storytelling in social studies education. The study firstly asks, how does a preservice teacher conceptualize the use of critical multimodalities as pedagogical tools to represent historically marginalized voices and disrupt dominant narratives (counter-storytell) in social studies education? Secondly, it asks, how does said preservice teacher actually take up and engage with these critical multimodalities in order to counter-storytell in their social studies student teaching experience?

Answering these questions takes teacher education down a path of using the arts critically in social studies to challenge the well-worn historiographies, power narratives, and ahistorical national memories that can be all too ubiquitous in history classrooms, texts, and standards nationwide (Levy, 2014, 2017; Lowenthal, 1998; Thelen, 1989; Trouillot, 1995; Wertsch, 2002). Engaging in such pedagogies can not only influence perspectives and practices of preservice teachers, but also possibly lead to increased engagement in history content for students in classrooms across the country (Garrett & Kerr, 2016). These pedagogies have always been a matter of imminent importance for teachers and students alike, and for the histories each deserves to co-learn. Furthermore, looking closely at counter-storytelling tools that can encourage and support more equitable education in social studies has never been more important than it is right now. We are amidst an ongoing battle to teach an unvarnished, productive history of our nation that strives to better itself by learning from what *actually was*, instead of wielding white privilege with aims to warp selective nostalgia into historical remembrance—or even no remembrance at all (Brown & Brown, 2010; Epstein, 2010; Loewen, 2008; Scott, 2019; Zou & Kao, 2021). This study aims to show how utilizing counter-story art in social studies preservice teaching can be an effective tool in supporting the former.

We begin by sharing our theoretical frame, researcher positionalities, and existing literature in the field surrounding counter-storytelling in social studies via the arts. We then move into the conceptualizations and lived practice experiences of one preservice teacher, tracing the transfer of pedagogical knowledge shared in a teacher education setting to its embodiment in student teaching practice. We end with implications that this study holds for current social studies teachers and their classrooms, as well as the teacher preparation programs who have the duty to support preservice teachers in their social justice education journey.

Theoretical Framework

The term *critical multimodalities* refers to visual/aesthetic arts such as portraits, murals, sculpture; media such as films, music and television; and spoken word poetry, theater, and more that, in both its artistic authorship and message/objective, aims to dismantle inequitable power structures via artistic storytelling and foster more just understandings of our past and present through art (Garrett & Kerr, 2016). We situate this definition of critical multimodalities in Critical Race Theory (CRT), believing this can amplify learning that encourages greater reflection for students and also deeper pedagogical praxis for teachers, both current and preservice (Collins, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Freire, 2018; Grande, 2004; Kumashiro, 2002). Specifically, within CRT, we position the arts in this study as vital tools of counter-storytelling which challenge hegemonic curricular voices past and present, for "storytelling is racialized, gendered, and classed and these stories affect racialized, gendered, and classed communities", and *counter*-storytelling is a "tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, pp. 31-32). These counter-stories exist and transform not only in written narratives, but powerfully in artistic and visual realms as well (Marshall, 2016).

We come to CRT as people who live in a world governed by a racial contract (Mills, 1997). We come to it as authors who grew up and have existed on the side of whiteness in a systemically racist society, a side which historically and currently reaps property rewards, cultural legitimacy, and much, much more to remain productive in its white supremacy (Bery, 2014; Harris, 1993; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Leonardo, 2013; Mills, 1997). Many works by artists we use in the study, as examples of what transformative, counter-story multimodal humanities can be, delve urgently and meaningfully into race, class, gender, and other identities that we have never and will never experience (Garrett & Kerr, 2016; Marshall, 2016; Soden & Castro, 2013). To anchor our positionalities and methods when it comes to both the sources used and the participant that we co-learned with, we rely deeply on the sentiments and lived lens of standpoint theory (Harding, 2004). These multimodalities offer a richer, more equitable pathway towards listening to voices of those who have materially struggled against historically embedded structures of sexism, racism, colonialism, nativism and more, and thus hold wisdom and experiential knowledge no other curricular source can provide (Au, 2012; Collins, 2004; De Lissovoy, 2008; Hartsock, 2004; Sabzalian, 2018). It is our position that using multimodalities can privilege the voices of those historically marginalized, those with standpoints of *having lived the experiences* that educators topically teach. Multimodalities can center artists of historically marginalized groups as the "subjects of knowledge," as transformative authors of canons of knowledge themselves (Banks, 1993; Harding, 2004, p. 4). We aim to give these artists and creators that respect and role in this study, knowing their experiences are not ours, and also knowing that we need to listen to them as a collective education community who must move forward towards thoughtful, transformative social justice teaching (Collins, 2004; Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Researcher Positionality

We conducted an intrinsic case-study (Stake, 1995) on how preservice teachers use multimodal counter-storytelling to push back on dominant historical narratives in social studies teaching (Barton & Levstik, 2004; King, 2016; Miles, 2019; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Shanks, 2018; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). A contextual examination of our positionalities here, especially in regard to what social justice truly means to individuals like ourselves, is tied to the research we conduct, oceans-deep, and in need of much explanation.

As researchers, one of us identifies as a white woman, and the other as a biracial white/Arab man. These identities are undoubtedly at play as we convey the stories, lived experiences and memories of the preservice teacher who is the focus of this study. We will also be using CRT's tenet of counter-storytelling to share our findings and shape implications and future steps forward in a field of education that is Eurocentric, Westernized and white-majority (Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). We aim to share these stories and truths in a way that is deeply worthy of our participant's and artists' personhood, being and voices. We recognize we can never fully know nor understand their experiences, nor many of the artists whose work is utilized in the study, especially in regard to their race, culture and gender identities. This study is not to 'other', or evoke pity, or claim allyship. It is to truly let the voice of one preservice teacher speak when it comes to their own educational experiences, and hopefully to listen and make changes to the field according to findings that emerge. If we have the privilege of being in an academic space with the power to raise awareness around issues of social justice teaching in social studies, and how preservice teacher voices deserve a place in that realm, then we must—all while mining our own privilege, prejudices, and blind spots. Our work there is never done (Picower, 2009).

We extend the same respect and place for our participant who exists in societal, political and economic place that we can never know in an embodied, physical, and emotional sense: they are now an early-career teacher who holds unique experiential knowledge that we do not. We do not posit here for our own expertise, but rather understand gravely our responsibility to share their voice and agentic growth with justice and clarity on this platform of power that we have been given (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

For both researchers, the intention of all educational research, and this piece in particular, is not to simply share the valuable words and insights of preservice teachers. It is rather to work *with* them as co-conspirators (Love, 2019) to dismantle the barriers that hinder individuals' potentials, stymie their voices, and/or quell their actions. We wish for this piece to serve as an addition to the powerful research scholars have already conducted, and, most importantly, as an opportunity for the participant to share their histories, beliefs, and experience with all who read this.

Literature Review

There is a valuable canon of literature surveying student teacher responses to social justice-driven teaching resources that challenge dominant narratives in history and social studies teaching (King, 2016; Martell, 2017; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Salinas et al., 2016; Shanks, 2018; Vickery & Salinas, 2019). There is also a rich tradition of research on the power of the arts in teaching as a general field, and in teaching the humanities especially—in language arts, ethnic studies and other school courses (Diaz, 2019; Eisner, 2002; Greene, 2001; Mills & Doyle, 2019). There is a smaller sector of deeply valuable work, especially empirical research studies, on how multimodalities—or the use of the humanities and arts like film, music, spoken word and written poetry, literature, theater, performance, gallery and street art, visual online spaces, and more—have indelible power in developing a critical consciousness and challenging dominant narratives for both students and teachers in social studies (Garrett, 2015; Garrett & Kerr, 2016; Mccall, 2004; Pellegrino et al., 2013; Stoddard & Marcus, 2010).

Some studies even attend to this concerning preservice teachers and social studies. For example, Mccall's (2004) study found that poetry serves as a more accessible means for students to learn about current issues and cultural facets in social studies contexts. In relation to preservice teacher education, Mccall asserts poetry, "captures the attention of preservice teachers and motivates them to think about multicultural, social reconstructionist ideas" and makes "abstract issues of cultural diversity and racial, economic, and gender injustices real" (p. 176). Less research attends to the overlap of the two spheres of social studies and more visual arts outside of literature and poetry. Moreover, there is an even smaller subset of research on where preservice teachers fit in this overlap (Lenski & Thieman, 2013). There is a dearth of research on how preservice teachers in the field, who are actively teaching and learning, both interact with and then teach critical multimodalities towards counter-story representations of historically marginalized groups, especially in social studies.

Our study looks to fill this gap by examining how a preservice teacher initially interacted with critical multimodalities as pedagogical tools towards social-justice-centered social studies teaching in their coursework. This inquiry also explores how a preservice teacher actually takes up and engages with critical multimodalities, as a means to disrupt dominant narratives in social studies education and center long-silenced historical voices in the curriculum and their own pedagogy. Studying the intersection of how preservice teachers think about and then engage with disruptive artists and their aesthetic materials in social studies teaching has the potential to foster deeper understandings of social justice and more inclusive, agentic pedagogy for future and current educators.

Dominant Narratives and their Power in the Social Studies Teaching World

Research on systems of oppression shows that education, including social studies education, has both unwittingly and wittingly legitimized and reinforced said oppressions via the teaching (or *not* teaching) of race, culture and gender in all subjects (Vinson, 2006). This is deeply embedded in the tenets of CRT (Bell, 1995; Crenshaw, 2011 Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Solórzano and Yosso (2002) highlight how counter-storytelling can be a valuable tool for deconstructing the systemic oppressions that lie in race, culture and gender power dynamics in U.S. schooling. Yosso (2005) explains how upon hearing counter-stories and learning curriculum that exposes and goes against the dominant narrative, students—especially students who have been racialized as BIPOC (i.e., Black, Indigenous People of Color)—"become empowered participants, hearing their own stories and the stories of others, listening to how the arguments against them are framed and learning to make the arguments to defend themselves" (p. 75). CRT has been shown to give both preservice teachers and students tools to do just this; our study hopes to inspire greater attention on how these tools can be taken up pedagogically in history classrooms (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Marx & Pennington, 2003).

Many studies focus on the ways traditional social studies curriculum and its accompanying pedagogies forefront and prioritize white, cis-gendered, male, colonizing narratives and fail to honor the intersectional voices of women, people who have been racialized as BIPOC, the LGBTQ2IA+ community, and other marginalized groups, all of which can exist in constant identity intersection (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Brown & Au, 2014; Busey, 2017; King, 2016; Rodríguez & Kim, 2018; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Vickery & Salinas, 2019). Besides silenced voices, other studies have dug into how certain histories have been left out for fear that they are too raw, real, and "difficult" to teach, or are not included lest they upset a broad national memory or accepted version of past events (Britzman, 2000; Epstein & Peck, 2017; Garrett, 2011; Gross & Terra, 2018; Pitt & Britzman, 2003; Rodríguez, 2020; Wertsch, 2002).

Moving from this literature, scholars have also looked at how curricular silence and exclusion affects preservice teachers who are agentic participants, yet still visitors in a school setting that is not entirely under their curricular or pedagogical jurisdiction (Blevins & Salinas, 2013; Gore & Zeichner, 1991; Kwok, 2021; Souto-Manning & Martell, 2019; Vadas, 2007). Specific barriers such as textbook-heavy curricular training and pressure-cooking, time-dominating state standards upon which cooperating teachers' job securities and a school's financial wellbeing may rest also affect preservice teacher experience (Brown, 2010; Loewen, 2008). These studies and theoretical explorations have argued that neither excluding diverse, intersectional voices, nor shying away from difficult histories helps students engage critically with history itself, and the ways it has systematically reinforced inequities that affect lives today.

Numerous scholars have argued that history is a terrain of many silenced, difficult voices that remain dangerously unuttered and unlearned in classrooms. Histories of BIPOC people, women, immigrants, LGBTQ2IA+ individuals and more, and all their intersections, have been brutally silenced by white, cis-gendered, male, and upper-class narratives, with classroom teaching too often neglecting "a multicultural consciousness that recognizes and confronts the historical and institutional roots of oppression" (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002, p. 281; Hawkman & Shear, 2020; Mayo, 2013; Rodríguez, 2018; Schmidt, 2012). Also, scholarly work has shown that the way we treat groups in their historical retelling can dangerously transfer to how we presently treat groups in the classroom and beyond, for "traditional curriculum (which) prepares students of color to serve upper- and middle-class interests...[can] simultaneously uphold white privilege" (Yosso, 2002, p. 96). Particularly, when scholars have looked at how preservice teachers take up these pedagogies of social justice in their social studies teaching, findings show that even among the well-intentioned, dominant narratives are in danger of persisting unless they are met with active vigilance, deep understandings of racism, sexism and more, and a constant critique of the dominant historical narrative (Martell, 2017; Salinas & Castro, 2010; Shanks, 2018; Vickery & Salinas, 2019).

But…Critical Art and *its* Power in Counter-story Social Studies Teaching

Scholars such as Maxine Greene (2001) and Elliot Eisner (2002) argue for using various art mediums for engaged, emotionally open educational experiences. This has been referenced as aesthetic education, which according to Greene, represents, "…an intentional undertaking designed to nurture appreciative, reflective, cultural, participatory engagements with the arts" (p. 6). Eisner states that multimodalities can pull the learner into sensory-heavy, deepened perceptions due to the qualities of sound, sight, taste and touch inherent in the arts. Greene argues that when we open ourselves to encounters with the arts, we are awakened and prepped for a deeper, different kind of living that puts our imagination to work and thus simultaneously, our transformation as humans as well.

In social studies education literature, Garrett and Kerr (2016) make the case for using aesthetic materials to teach critical and multicultural social studies education, arguing that "engagement with...works of art promote(s) connections and critical engagements with the social world" and that such engagements can introduce "multiple perspectives and historical empathy" (pp. 506, 508). Studies have argued that multimodalities such as poetry, music, and film are underutilized teaching resources in enhancing understandings of social studies (Burstein, 2014; Burstein & Knotts, 2010; Pellegrino et al., 2015; Vitulli & Santoli, 2013). Other studies have furthered that multimodalities are uniquely positioned both in their variety, and their power to engagingly tackle difficult histories around race and gender, thus exposing students to a topic's multiple perspectives (Soden & Castro,

2013; Wright & Garcia, 1992). Many scholars argue that utilizing the arts in social studies educational spaces, versus a textbook, for example, allows students to use their own voices and engage with content in a way that is more wholly alive and contextualized (Epstein, 1989; Marcus et al., 2018; Miles, 2019; Moats & Poxton, 2011; Stoddard & Marcus, 2010). In teaching a historical topic, aesthetic materials that speak to the experiences of marginalized groups can be transformative because they can challenge other systemically racist, sexist, classist and homo-and-trans-phobic recordings of the topic (Bell, 2019; Garrett & Kerr, 2016). When it comes to preservice social studies teachers and critical multimodalities specifically, we look to contribute to the rich legacy of how multimodalities can inform social studies pedagogy—especially since little research attends to critical, disruptive multimodalities being used by preservice teachers to center voices and stories of those historically marginalized.

Method

Data collection for this intrinsic case study began in the fall of 2019. Intrinsic case study methods enabled deep immersion when collecting and analyzing one preservice teacher's learning experiences with multimodalities (Stake, 1995). We chose this method of study because critical multimodalities are profoundly important to us as educators, researchers, and preservice teacher educators, and we are intrigued by how preservice teachers incorporate them into their teaching. Our guiding research questions were: 1) How does a preservice teacher conceptualize using critical multimodalities as pedagogical tools to represent historically marginalized voices and disrupt dominant narratives (counterstorytell) in social studies education? 2) How does said preservice teacher actually take up and engage with these critical multimodalities in order to counter-storytell in their social studies student teaching experience?

Study Context

Eva (participant-chosen pseudonym) was a preservice teacher at the same large Southwestern university where we are both pursuing a doctorate in Curriculum and Instruction. Conveniently sampled as a member of the university's social studies Master's program that we as PhD students worked with, she volunteered to take part in the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The professional development sequence designed by the college places preservice teachers like Eva into secondary social studies classrooms full-time during the fall semester of their second year. This allows them greater opportunity to build semester-long relationships with their students, craft multi-day lesson plans, attend professional learning community (PLC) meetings with their cooperating teacher, and most importantly, grow in their practice. The data collection for this study revolves around our experiences working with Eva in this fall semester.

Eva engaged in one social studies methods class themed on how to use critical multimodalities in social studies teaching aimed towards social justice transformation (Bell, 2019; Garrett & Kerr, 2016). Indigenous history in the 1800's, a topic often silenced and deficit-framed in much teaching of U.S. history curriculum, was used in class as an example of how to engage with critical multimodalities and their power to counter-storytell (Sabzalian, 2019; Shear et al., 2015; Shear et al., 2018; Urrieta & Calderón, 2019). This particular topic in U.S. history was chosen for its egregious roots in what Grande (2004) calls the "whitestream imagination" (p. 106). The teaching of America's West in the 1800's is notorious for its uncritical examination of various concepts. These concepts include but are not limited to manifest destiny and westward expansion, with very little awareness—let alone push back—on banal yet dangerous mythical narratives such as the land being empty for the taking,

immigrants getting a fresh start, farming proliferating, and Indigenous peoples conveniently disappearing in flight and disease (Journell, 2009; Krueger, 2019; Loewen, 2008; Shear et al., 2015, 2018; Tuck & Yang, 2012). In fact, the West was and is Indigenous land; many immigrants such as the Chinese, Irish and Mexicans were exploited in the building of railroads and more (Chang, 2019); the environment was raped by the industry of farmers whose tactics literally planted seeds for future environmental disasters such as the Dust Bowl (Worster, 2004); and while it was yet another chapter in the violent displacement and deliberate genocide of Indigenous peoples, there was little in the way of victimization and much in Indigenous historical displays of agency, resistance and rich cultural lives lived in the midst of such oppression (Calderón, 2014; Grande, 2004; Lomawaima, 1993; Miranda, 2012; Tuck & Fernandez, 2013). It should be noted that while all Master's students in the cohort received this lesson, Eva was the only one to take it further via lesson implementation in her preservice teaching. This, combined with her voluntary action, meant she became the case study's participant.

1800's Western America is thus a chapter of United States history intensely ahistorical in the ways it can be and often is taught, robbing Indigenous history not only of its agency and tribal diversity, but silencing it altogether. Thus, teaching Indigenous history within this topic is primed for the use of critical multimodalities to deeply and evocatively push back on the dominant narrative with a counter-story voiced by those who have been historically marginalized. Critical multimodalities can center Indigenous authorship of these narratives and can offer a deeply textured, complex reality of the history (that most textbooks do not) in order to help students know, feel and understand what happened in the past (Garrett & Kerr, 2016).

Therefore, the Master's students, including Eva, were given a methods lesson in their university course with this context and choice of topic in mind. After a brief refresher lesson on Indigenous history and the necessity for counter-storytelling within that subject matter (which delved into the social justice implications not only for Indigenous peoples themselves, but also the students who are receiving such hegemonic history teaching over time), preservice teachers were presented with a variety of critical multimodalities based on Indigenous histories challenging dominant narratives (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Sabzalian, 2019). These included a piece of poetry, a street art mural, a documentary film excerpt, and a film excerpt all dealing with different aspects of Indigenous history in the 1800's. Preservice teachers experienced the critical multimodality as a group, and then were guided through answering question prompts, making their own sets of historical inquiry tools to mine information further, questioning their own socialized assumptions, and recording notes on how they might use this material in future critical teaching (King, 1995; Peck & Seixas, 2008; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; VanSledright, 2010).

While we were never directly responsible for grading their work in a classroom environment, we did operate in other supervisory roles, as well as in a general mentorship capacity, which could be construed as positions of power over their scholarship and work. Even though we worked assiduously to remind the participant of the voluntary nature of the study and reiterated that no difference in treatment would occur based on their participation, elements of power, age and imagined outcomes assuredly affected the study's data (Merriam et al., 2001).

We recognize the Westernized, Eurocentric standards which might say this topical situation is too close to the researcher, that too much emotion is at play, and that preexisting social and power relationships can cloud outcomes and clarity in the research itself (Banks, 1998; Haraway & Goodeve, 1997). There are disadvantages to closely knowing your participants, to be sure. But rooted in our

complex identities, as a woman and bi-racial man respectively, we feel and know that there are deep advantages, and trusts, connections and thus eminent truths in the data that come from preexisting relationships as well. The fact that we knew this preservice teacher before the study, and continued to know them afterwards, means some tension. But it also means that there is long-standing respect and connection between us, which only made our conversations around social studies pedagogy and the difficulties of challenging the dominant historical narrative richer (Acker, 2000). It is our hope that we share the participant's stories and truths in a way that honors their personhood even more so because of this relationality.

We want to collectively say in this section that we proudly approach this research from the lived reality and honor of having been, and always thus being, teachers. One of us taught high school in Buffalo, New York prior to her PhD candidacy, and it influences her work daily. Particularly, in this context it informs her insider understanding and knowledge of what preservice teachers are doing/trying to do—but she is also an outsider, no longer teaching in the high school classroom, nor a preservice teacher herself (Collins, 2004; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). She comes to that position with humility and much self-mining, trying to channel Tuck and Yang (2014) who remind that cold objectivity is a myth not worth chasing, and that the real work lies in relentless interrogation of power and privilege. We attempted to address this via multiple rounds of member-checking with our participant at each stage of our analysis, writing, and editing.

The other member of our research team is fully aware that his experiences differ from the participant. He comes to this work knowing others' interpretations of current and historical events largely shape their understandings and teaching decisions. Yet, he would be remiss not to highlight the power and agency every individual possesses to change systems of oppression influencing educational spaces and beyond (Wade, 2003). As a former teacher from Dallas, Texas, and current teacher-educator, the work he engages in individually and with others must always be grounded in the continuous hunger and desire for equitable change.

Data Collection and Analysis

Eva's written notes and thoughts from this class day were collected, and her printed lesson plan was saved for future analysis. Following the class session, we conducted a one-hour semi-structured interview on how she thought about the use of critical multimodalities in social studies teaching, and how she might take them up in her own student teaching towards amplifying historically marginalized voices and speaking a counter-story to hegemony. Eva was also member-checked afterwards with additional questions, clarifications, and follow-ups concerning the first interview. After this initial interview, we then observed Eva teach one, 50-minute lesson utilizing critical modalities in her seventh-grade Texas History class student-teaching field placement. Observation notes focused primarily on how Eva incorporated critical multimodalities. An additional 30-minute post-observation semi-structured interview was conducted in order to explore Eva's perspective regarding her use of critical multimodalities in support of counter-storytelling. Both interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed, and stored securely. We first read the interviews, observations notes and artifacts separately, taking notes on themes while paying particular attention to the participant's use of critical multimodalities. We then analyzed and coded all data according to patterns and themes together, comparing notes throughout (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). We then triangulated themes with interview and observation codes, which were member-checked afterwards (Merriam et al., 2001; Miles et al., 2020; Stake, 1995).

Findings

In this study, themes emerged that deepen ideas around how one preservice social studies teacher *conceptualizes*, and then *takes up and engages,* the use of critical multimodalities as pedagogical tools to represent historically marginalized voices and disrupt dominant narratives in social studies education. The three themes of this case study that emerged were: multimodalities as access for counter-story teaching, a lack of curricular support, and the necessity of content knowledge.

The first theme illuminates how critical multimodalities were productive and dexterous pedagogical spaces from which Eva conceptualized the use of counter-storytelling in social studies teaching, and also actually put into practice teaching the counter-story in hopes to center historically marginalized voices and enact transformative social justice teaching (Au, 2009; Banks, 1998; Tyson & Park, 2006; Wade, 2003). However, this pedagogical practice was not without challenges. The second theme, lack of curricular support, displays how difficult it was to do this counter-story work via critical multimodalities when it was not supported by national and state standards and classroom resources that enforce, normalize and re-entrench the majoritarian story (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris & Alim, 2017; Stanley & Longwell, 2004; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Lastly, the theme of the necessity of content knowledge came through strongly, showcasing that as powerful as critical multimodalities can be in teaching a social-justice-oriented counter-story, it must sit on a rich understanding of the overall historical content knowledge of the topic at hand, including its dominant narrative—which is tiered, deep, and taxing work to resource and do alone, especially as a preservice teacher (Reisman & Wineburg, 2008; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Shulman, 1986; VanSledright, 2002).

Multimodalities as Access for Counter-story Teaching

Across the data we identified numerous indications that multimodalities can serve as avenues to teach historical counter narratives. Eva was open to using critical multimodalities in teaching Indigenous history throughout. In her words, this implementation elicited robust student feedback, showing that critical multimodalities were an engaging way to bring students into a socially just teaching of history. While language around offering Bishop's (1990) idea of mirrors/windows/sliding glass doors in curriculum is usually framed around elementary literacy learning, after her teaching experience our participant Eva argued that this can be true—and needs to be—for secondary social studies learning as well (Purnell et al., 2007).

Reflecting on her curriculum decision-making, she described how using works of critical art created by members of the very historically marginalized group discussed was a powerful and effective way to disrupt the dominant narrative about Indigenous histories, in all their complexity and agency, with her students. Emphasizing this point, Eva shared,

> I wanted to do a lesson on...gathering information that we know and disrupting it, so that we could then go into learning about more specifics on Texas Native Americans. I think art was a really natural way to do that (Eva, Personal Interview, November 19, 2019).

She explained that using multimodalities allowed her teaching to begin with an image that all of her students recognized—the Disney cartoon depiction of Pocahontas—in order to problematize how dominant historical narratives depict Indigenous peoples. Starting on the problematic but common ground of this image allowed her students to access the topic, relate, and then jump into more challenging territory, Eva explained. She then asked her students why the image was familiar, why it

slotted in with what they had previously been taught about Indigenous peoples, and then took them into a thorough examination via visual literacy of the 1760 portrait of Pocahontas, based on the 1616 engraving. This elicited questions regarding race, skin color, context, clothing and more, which together with questions that Eva had scaffolded, led to a rich discussion around stereotyping, problematic pop culture representations of historical figures, and why students had not previously known the engraving.

Eva commented that having both Pocahontas images side by side was powerful, because she thinks of art as "an entryway that everyone can kind of have some initial comfort with, and then even if you don't at all...there is no background info that you need in order to start analyzing a piece of art" (Eva, personal interview, November 19, 2019). Eva is describing that multimodalities were a place to begin a sophisticated critical inquiry of history's dominant narratives. She also explained that pedagogically, it dislodges the top-down idea of history as an objective fact that only the teacher can lecture on, and instead invites anti-banking, participatory discussion and student observation into social studies education (Freire, 2018).

For this type of teaching to truly disrupt the counter narrative, however, Eva knew that she "didn't want to just include white artists and white painters from the past", and not simply images that all students would recognize either, but multimodal works from Indigenous artists as well. This not only deconstructed monolithic ideas of historically marginalized groups such as Texas tribes like the Apache, Caddo, Comanche, and Kiowa (e.g., Grande, 2004), but also pushed her as a teacher to "find out history I hadn't known" (Eva, personal interview, November 19, 2019). Eva is describing the true authenticity of a counter narrative. It affects not only the students who get a telling of history that centers the historically marginalized groups who the history is happening *to* and *with* (a story authored by those who actually experienced the oppressions in the lesson and responded with incredible agency), but also pushes the teacher. Eva realized her lesson could not be a story of a historically marginalized group in a way that was told *for* them by another source, but that was told *from* them, from their standpoint and perspective, tapping something Garrett and Kerr (2016) call 'otherwiseness' (Collins, 2004; Sabzalian, 2018). For Eva, in order to problematize the depictions of Indigeneity from the white gaze, including Indigenous artists as original authors was a must (Grande, 2004; Lomawaima, 1999; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Shear et al., 2018).

This is, thus, a multimodal exercise in standpoint recognition for historically marginalized identities such as the Indigenous tribes of Texas (Hartsock, 1998). It is a monumental pedagogical endeavor to bring teachers and students in touch with something that allows for a window into another's life without actually *othering*. Eva's infusion of critical multimodalities into her practice of challenging dominant narratives echoes the experiences of preservice teachers in Salinas and Blevins' (2014) study focusing on critical historical inquiry. These scholars assert that teachers learning about counter narratives can "develop a deeper understanding of othering, or the process in which groups of people are marginalized based on race, class, gender, sexuality, etc." (p. 45). Multimodalities and their humanity therein are ripe for the kind of pedagogical work that encourages *context* and *contact* with this otherwiseness, pulling students closer to a shared humanity that respects differences of a life in another space and time that is not their own (Garrett & Kerr, 2016). Eva shared that delving into the rich primary sources that multimodalities can be, instead of peering behind a fictitiously objective magnifying glass of history, left students alive and engaged with other parts of the world (Eva, personal interview, August 14, 2019).

A Lack of Curricular Support

While using critical multimodalities has the potential to engage students in past worlds with historically marginalized groups through that groups' own voices, it is difficult work without strong curricular support—especially for preservice teachers. We found this to be even more true concerning the teaching of Indigenous histories. Eva's responses frequently expressed concern regarding the challenge of sustaining a pedagogy rooted in the narrative of counter-story. Specifically, these concerns included: majoritarian-heavy state standards, an overall school learning culture that did not support such work with linked resources or overall encouragement, and a general sense of intimidation concerning curricular silences on the same historically marginalized groups the rest of the year (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris & Alim, 2017; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

A recurring comment Eva made in pre and post interviews was that existing curriculum standards give little to no room for this kind of work—work with a counter-story message, a multimodal format, and thematic recurrences throughout the year. She shared that all the work and research she did around the topic required support from her education school colleagues or was independently developed and thus extremely time-consuming (Eva, personal interviews, August 14, 2019 and November 19, 2019). Expressing this point, Eva shared, "It's these empty Google searches or emails [for help]," plus many nights in research "rabbit holes" that extended lesson preparation time in a way that was somewhat sustainable for one lesson, but not for all future ones (Eva, Personal Interview, November 19, 2019). Moreover, while this lesson happened in October, relatively early in the school year, Eva expressed frustration that once Indigenous voices were heard, there were no other standards that easily connected to this topic in subsequent units of study. In other words, it was a 'stand-alone;' after they were mentioned in the beginning of the school year, Indigenous voices faded out from the texts and standards. While Eva personally fought for moments in the curriculum to teach Indigenous histories where they weren't explicitly encouraged, she said "I don't feel like there's been a lot that we can tie it back into throughout the year" (Eva, Personal Interview, November 19, 2019; Lesson Observations throughout 2019).

Eva's school also favored discipline of students over critical, creative pedagogy. She spoke of being forced to adapt classroom management styles that were 'top-down' and not her own when being observed by school personnel, which strained her ability to fully be present with her students and their active, anti-banking learning (Lesson Observation, October 30, 2019). This highly disciplinary attitude that dominated school culture was counter to the pedagogy of exploration that critical, liberatory work with history requires. Eva thus shared that when students were presented with this kind of learning that asked them to get in touch with their own emotional reactions and funds of knowledge, instead of rote memorization practices and 'right answers,' they were often unfamiliar with how to engage in this praxis, because it was not something modeled in previous grades or other classrooms (Batt, 2021; González et al., 2006; Sheppard & Levy, 2019).

Furthermore, getting students more familiar with this type of liberatory praxis required extra time—time Eva did not necessarily have due to the state requirements she felt pressured to checkmark. "I feel like this lesson could have taken a whole week, could have been *fully cool*," she expressed (Eva, Personal Interview, November 19, 2019). She wished there had more time for the lesson so students could have revisited their discussion after gaining confidence and dexterity with both the content materials of critical multimodalities created by Indigenous artists, and with a dialogic pedagogy that didn't have them memorize answers but reflect, engage, and seek them collectively.

Lastly, even when Eva went the extra mile of creating a counter-story lesson plan complete with critical multimodalities in a very sophisticated way, there was tension in finding majority Indigenous authors (Lesson Observation, October 30, 2019). Eva was torn between offering more white-authored pieces that would be familiar to her students and thus readily accessible, such as the photographs of Edward Curtis or Gast's *American Progress,* versus finding Indigenous artists like Wendy Red Star who were less familiar to her students and thus more deserving of 'unpacking' time, which was difficult due to the tight class schedule they had (Eva, Personal Interview, November 19, 2019). This catch-22 of the dominant narrative staying familiar and thus dominant was only strengthened by how difficult it was for Eva to find Indigenous, counter-story voices in the maze of state-sponsored materials and less-than-neutral internet search bases (Noble, 2018). The majoritarian story was embedded both in Eva's own K-12 experience, and in the readily available resources she looked to for support before deeper digging—which was, of course, more labor intensive (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

The Necessity of Content Knowledge

The final theme shows that finding multimodalities without deep historical content knowledge about the topic was an uphill climb for Eva, as it is for most preservice teachers (Reisman & Wineburg, 2008; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Shulman, 1986; VanSledright, 2002). Eva shared that using critical multimodalities "helped me feel a little more excited about teaching social studies, and competent in being able to do that [even if] I don't have a degree in history" (Eva, Personal Interview, November 19, 2019). But finding multimodalities without deep historical content knowledge of the dominant narrative (in order to disrupt it) is a difficult enterprise (Murray, 2012). Eva's responses reflected this difficulty as she struggled to find critical multimodality resources on a topic where she lacked extensive historical knowledge. Eva's frustration mirrors the challenges Gudmundsdottir and Shulman's (1987) novice teacher faced. She was not an expert in critical multimodalities or Indigenous history, yet tried tirelessly to think about the subject matter in a unique fashion in order to educate her students. Thus, limitations here are not her own, but lie in the education system that did not amply prepare her with Indigenous history content knowledge in the first place—an issue that acted as a challenge as she simultaneously tried to create and enact a lesson to ensure her students did not suffer a similar fate.

Eva commented repeatedly that without explicit mentorship and teacher preparation program supports which cracked open the metaphorical door for lesson plan leads, she would not have found these resources with the same success. However, she also noted that once she received assistance, this created a pedagogical pathway to follow lesson plan ideas and hone an emerging reflex to dig into the counter-story more. In fact, during interviews, Eva shared resources, previously unknown to us, featuring brilliant critical Indigenous artists that we then incorporated into future professional developments in social studies consortiums, teacher trainings, and more (Lesson Observation, October 30, 2019).

Discussion

The mere use of critical multimodalities towards social justice teaching will not battle a majoritarian story to pedagogical perfection, nor amplify historically marginalized voices to the pitch that teaching today demands (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Instead, such a philosophical practice must be nurtured and strengthened over time, with fellow teachers, education program participants and other educational mentors aiding preservice teachers in their journey of using critical tools to counter the dominant narrative and teach towards transformation and social justice (King, 2016; Martell, 2017;

Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Salinas et al., 2016; Shanks, 2018; Vickery & Salinas, 2019). Furthermore, the practitioners who must work alongside preservice teachers cannot stand alone in teaching and deepening such work. This is often the case, as national and state standards around education are still wedded to preserving the majoritarian, white-streamed story of history which privileges the voices (both in authorship of history, and who is starred in the history itself) of white, cis-gender, wealthy, straight men over all other groups and identities (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Salinas & Blevins, 2014; Salinas & Castro, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). This has never more been true than in the current moment and in a state like Texas, wherein critical race theory and other equity-minded approaches to teaching social studies are under attack from various political and parental organizations (Chavez, 2021; Méndez, 2021). Using critical multimodalities must be contextualized in what it means to truly teach a counter-story narrative in social studies (Salinas & Blevins, 2014). It must also be added that when this is done via visual literacy, some linguistic challenges that might stop some students from engaging with written historical material are lessened as learning obstructions (Fránquiz & Salinas, 2011). But this type of pedagogy has to come in the form of both knowing deeply the historical content you are teaching, and in knowing its dominant narrative well, so the counter-story teaching can successfully subvert and even supplant the majoritarian story and its values (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

However, teacher coaching/mentoring/training in what the counter-story is, looks like, and can do is not enough. There has to be a greater emphasis, both in social studies teaching programs and teaching institutions in general, that a counter-story is nothing if it does not champion and frame the history it teaches *from the voices* of those who have been oppressed. Teaching, for instance, about the Trail of Tears from a non-hegemonic text that discusses Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole peoples in this genocide, with real attention to social justice and reparations, is indeed a step forward from damaging rhetorics of the past on display in many a social studies textbook. However, even though these materials are more readily available in some cases, especially to preservice teachers who are not yet teaching daily or not yet submerged in their content matter, they do not fully deliver a counter-story from the *perspective* of anyone Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole (which of course would expand beyond trauma as the frame through which so much Indigenous history is seen in the average textbook, and introduce resistance, agency and more in addition) (Urrieta & Calderón, 2019). This authorship struggle must be amended. It is not only about greater access to primary sources authored by those who have been historically marginalized, but about these sources being abundant in mainstream state curriculums and textbooks, and aligned with social studies standards. If these sources are continuously too difficult for preservice teachers to find, it will be too difficult to integrate them into curriculums, especially for new teachers. Teaching transformative social justice social studies shouldn't be something any teacher has to fight to seek, hone and practice—the tools for this kind of teaching must be out in the open, plentiful and shared often by educational programs and schools at large.

It also must be stated that the necessity for content knowledge is less about sharing a specific source or having all the answers. Most of what we heard Eva searching for was about knowing she was not alone in this work. She sought both positive pressure and support as she engaged in counter-story-telling history teaching that sought to center historically marginalized voices and root students in an engaged understanding of social justice (Lesson Observation, October 30, 2019; Eva, Personal Interview, November 19, 2019). It is no small feat to do so, and requires much support—from the schools that host student teachers, to the programs that train them, to the colleagues that learn alongside them.

Additionally, the pedagogy that best undergirds social justice social studies teaching with critical mul-timodalities is one firmly rooted in what Freire (2018) would call liberatory praxis. Freirean under-standings of this kind of pedagogy support critical multimodal teaching in social studies because of the very discussion and anti-banking learning that it thrives on. This too must be centralized in pre-service teacher training and school cultures, or else early teachers such as Eva will have a challenging time getting students to share, speak out, and identify just what moves them in an image that was selected to get them talking and out of their seat to touch a gallery wall, instead of staying in chairs as they memorize yet another historical timeline. A dogmatic school culture—one that seeks to con-trol young people instead of encouraging them to engage in learning built to care about their funds of knowledge and feelings as they connect to the stories we share as a community—runs opposite to the kind democratic praxis necessary to support students' liberatory, agentic exploration of multimo-dalities (Cornbleth, 1984; Giroux & Penna, 1979). Unless education's culture changes in tandem with teaching philosophies such as utilizing critical multimodalities, such ways of learning will be hard-pressed to flourish pedagogically in a landscape of undemocratic schooling.

This also holds true for teaching social studies towards social justice in a sustained, supported way. For example, one isolated lesson that frames the fight for women's rights in multi-ethnic feminist voices, with primary-source poetry authored by women such as Audre Lorde, Gloria Anzaldúa and Rupi Kaur, can be a fantastically impactful lesson. But if that is the one time in the semester that BI-POC and Asian women's voices are raised, and they are silent through the historical teaching of other topics where such women were certainly present, then a great disservice has been done to not only the voices of those historically marginalized, but to students who will seemingly learn that cer-tain groups are only around at certain times, and that single issue stories are the norm (Lorde, 1982). This type of work isn't just for a critical multimodality lesson. In fact, it is never done, because the historical oppression and agency that it brings to life for learners goes on, too. Teaching in this vein must be sustained, constant work.

Implications

Preservice teachers, and every other teacher alongside them—whether years into the field or step-ping into the classroom for the first time—need and deserve support from teacher education pro-grams, state standards, administrators, mentors, and overall school culture when it comes to trans-formative social justice teaching. Moreover, *students* deserve this. The use of critical multimodalities is just one way to help arm teachers' minds and hearts for the fight to teach transformative social stud-ies that challenges the hegemonic story and shares the voices of those historically marginalized, a learning right students should always be able to access.

Although Eva faced the challenge of working within the framework of state standards intent on evaluating students and maintaining cultural and political hegemony (Apple, 1971), she still saw the benefit of incorporating critical multimodalities into her teaching. Critical multimodalities such as music and artworks allow teachers and students opportunities to learn beyond information solely found in textbooks. Through their integration of diverse, international music and songs into social studies practices, Pellegrino et al. (2015) assert "effective social studies teachers do far more than ask students to read from a textbook or passively listen to a lecture filled with names and dates" (p. 67). In addition, Mccall's (2004) infusion of poetry into their teacher preparation program helped their preservice teachers develop a more social justice-oriented lens to their pedagogies and most appreci-ated "the engaging language, personal tone, and deep emotions found in poetry that are missing from social studies textbooks" (p. 176). However, these nuanced and exploratory means of learning

must contend with obstacles in the ever-evolving politics of teaching. Social studies teacher preparation programs looking to subvert oppressive structures found within educational spaces should expand beyond the confines of their discipline and potentially reach out to departments and community organizations already engaged in the fight for social justice and equity.

What could this look like? On a very basic level, more time in social studies preservice teacher methods classes to teach the benefits of multimodal arts is a necessary start. One class session was not enough, and a reinforcement throughout the semesters on utilizing aesthetic materials in concrete lesson-planning examples where students take the lead is needed—one cannot teach Freirean pedagogy via a banking lecture model. Perhaps in conjunction with art education and/or bilingual education programs, preservice social studies teachers could be given the opportunity to deeply delve into non-Eurocentric multimodalities and how they might be used to teach counter-stories. For instance, this could be done with the cross-disciplinary assistance of theater, film and fine art departments in colleges and universities who would maybe offer internships for such collaborations. Moreover, the connections and communities outside of college gates cannot be undervalued. From museums and galleries to local artists and collectives, by resourcing work and finding artistic, inspirational value equally in paid admission spaces and public street art alike, relationships can flourish between teacher education programs and the communities they serve and are actively a part of—all while supporting local, BIPOC artists. Lastly, the more preservice teachers that are exposed to this pedagogy, the more past graduates can visit as guest speakers and share how this type of critical work has been wielded in school settings with difficult environments relating to cultural responsiveness, time, testing and more.

We hope the importance of critically using multimodal resources helps teachers and students engage in different perspectives than their own, explore historical empathy with emotionality, and connect with the world at home and at large through artistic engagement, all in a way that reaches the eyes and hearts of educators and education policy makers. We even and especially wish this for those who have no experience in such educational fields, yet serve on boards that make sweeping educational decisions with national repercussions (Thurman, 2013). If we are to outgrow national traumas of genocide and slavery, sexism and racism, homophobia and transphobia, xenophobia and colonialism, and much, much more, we must *learn better*. Critical multimodalities are a path to that learning, a way to support preservice teachers in taxing classroom environments and express and perhaps achieve, as artist Christo once said, a loud and defiant freedom. But we must journey there together. As is the case in so many other teaching practices working towards equity, teachers such as Eva, her colleagues and her students should not have to—and perhaps cannot sustainedly—do this work alone.

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Creating an International Collaborative MOOC on University Social Responsibility

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Institutionalization of University Civic Engagement

Universities' missions of producing graduates and human capital, as well as conducting research and producing knowledge have remained constant over time, however how universities engage socially or focus on what is usually referred to as the university's third mission, is a rather new phenomenon. Historically, higher education institutions have made outstanding social contributions through teaching and research, however in the last few decades, two new imperatives have been added to the universities' mission: the need to give back to society and having efficient management to address their operations effectively (Vallaeys, 2009).

Tetrevova and Sabolova (2010) and Chen, Nasongkhla, and Donaldson (2015) suggest that University Social Responsibility or USR is emerging to describe these kinds of engagements more systematically. Citing Reiser (2008), Vasilescu et al. (2010) define USR as "a policy of ethical quality of the performance of the university community (students, faculty and administrative employees) via the responsible management of the educational, cognitive, labor and environmental impacts produced by the university, in an interactive dialogue with society to promote a sustainable human development" (p. 4178).

For Shek and Hollister (2017) USR refers to the shared responsibility universities have to address challenges and to advance societies. They believe USR-related policies must permeate all the missions of the university to reinforce their social roles. Similarly, Alzyoud & Bani-Hani (2015) hold that universities should create programs that raise ethical standards and encourage engaged citizenship among graduates and researchers. Vasilescu et al. (2010) argue that social responsibility overcomes traditional philanthropy, as it includes civil citizenship, engagement, and voluntary contributions of academia as steps toward sustainable development and proactive solutions to social and environmental challenges.

Along with these emerging ideas, universities are expanding their civic engagements beyond traditional academic work. Examples vary, but they include mobilizing volunteers, collaborating with governments, or addressing disasters (Shek & Hollister, 2017). Moja, Luescher, and Schre (2015) argue that student activism is pushing university leaders to reconsider their social roles and addressing social justice. In fact, it is through these initiatives that universities are working to overcome the image of the ivory tower, where only intellectuals create and profit from knowledge. Authors like Goddard and Kempton (2016) still argue that universities remain inward-looking and socially disconnected. Similarly, Hersh and Schneider (2005) maintain that even if universities mention in their mission statements their commitment to educating morally responsible and intellectually competent individuals, in reality, their focus on equipping students with intellectual skills usually surpasses that commitment. However, Benneworth (2013) believes that this pessimism may stem from the limitations in rigorous analysis of activities conducted by universities as social agents and therefore the mixed data produced.

The University Social Responsibility Network (USRN) was established in 2015 (see USRN website) as an initiative of The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, congregating universities committed to making the world more just and peaceful; to making societies more inclusive, and to contributing to sustainable development through producing more engaged research, and providing an education that enhances a civic sense, for instance through Service-Learning. According to Hollister et al. (2012), the Network is a platform to boost cooperation among universities from around the world to consolidate and expand the action and impact of the two traditional missions of universities (i.e., education and research).

Universities' Consortia and the Rise of Online Education

Durkheim's (1964) idea that interactions in a network overcome individual actions and result in a new and different phenomenon validates the notion that universities can be nodes that interact with each other, with other organizations, with society at large, and within their own structures. As of December 2021, the USRN consists of 19 institutions[1] with well-established USR records bridging academic knowledge and social demands, promoting accessible and relevant research, and continuing to steer the global discussion about USR (Shek & Hollister, 2017). The network promotes a proactive mindset on how they can give back to society and the understanding that although the main beneficiary of USR is society, universities gain positive reviews that affect recruitment of students and researchers, foster and empower partnerships, and strengthen the universities' case when applying for funding.

Kyoto University and The Hong Kong Polytechnic University as members of the USRN affiliated with edX proposed a Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) to introduce USR in a comprehensive yet easy-to-understand manner, to raise visibility of the USRN, and to showcase good practices, because as stated by Peterson (2014), MOOCs are a relatively new model of online learning that are offered online mainly through video lectures and are intended for a large number of learners without geographical boundaries and ubiquitous access.

Pathak (2016) argues that because higher education is an information-centric sector, developments in communications and information technologies (IT) have a direct impact on it, making it inevitable for the education sector to become increasingly digitized. Although many may disagree and assert that presential education will remain the main form of delivery, such as Nash (2015), who believes that the trend will continue to grow and eventually, most higher education will be offered online.

According to Hood and Littlejohn (2016), MOOCs show how technological advancements changed traditional higher education, the conventional format of classes, their contents, interactions, and evaluation methods. MOOCs are making it easier for educational collaborations to happen and literature accounts are being compiled. Sammour, Al-zoubi, and Schreurs (2019) suggest that joint MOOCs may lead to enriched educational outcomes as they rely on the expertise of all parties involved. Joint MOOCs may enhance learning, help raise international visibility and enhance quality assurance by sharing quality content among universities in different alliances. Examples of this are the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Network of Massive Open Online Courses strengthening regional

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[1] USRN members: Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan; Ateneo de Manila University, The Philippines; Beijing Normal University, China; Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, U.K.; Kyoto University, Japan; Peking University, China; Rhodes University, South Africa; Sichuan University, China; Simon Fraser University, Canada; The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong SAR; The University of Iceland, Iceland; The University of Manchester, U.K.; Tufts University, U.S.A.; University of Haifa, Israel; University of New South Wales, Australia; University of Pretoria, South Africa; University of Sao Paulo, Brazil; Washington University in St. Louis, U.S.A.; Yonsei University, S. Korea.

cooperation, in political, economic, socio-cultural and educational dimensions (Asia-Europe Meeting: ASEM Education, 2017) and the UNA Europa's "Joint-micro credentials" helping to make transitions from Bachelor to Master for those switching study fields (Futures, 2020).

In a study on the effect of MOOCs on teachers' and students' skills development, Viswanathan (2012) concluded that MOOCs can be utilized as a means of teachers' professional development, and it meets the demands of the constantly changing knowledge base in specific areas. Similarly, Florentine (2015) argues that MOOCs can make a difference in professional development due to cost-effectiveness and ease of access. In this sense, MOOCs function as hubs or floors where educators share their experiences and learn from one another because exchanges and interactions are easier and less costly.

The joint MOOC on USR, which is extensively discussed later in this paper, served as a vehicle to boost universities' social engagement, helping them to showcase good practices, to enhance ways to complement one another and to address social demands in a way that is easily communicated. Palacio and Choy (2019) assert that universities are called to "do the work", "show the work", and "work the show", implying that, although universities have done their work and accomplished their mission, (e.g., providing education and producing research), they are compelled to show and publicly disseminate what they do and accomplish to remain socially and financially accountable. University rankings push universities to rethink their visibility strategies, how they gather internal data through institutional research, and how they share this information in a way that is understandable, useful and connected to the reality of their social contexts. In doing so, universities strive to meet the increasing demands from governments and funding institutions in relation to the social impact of their work. Marginson (2013) states that universities need to be strategic to maximize institutional positioning because rankings serve as a source for comparison that influences the decisions of prospective students, their families, the university leaders and faculty, governments, and investors in higher education. In this sense, rankings are pushing universities to develop new strategies to "work their show."

Research Purpose and Objectives

This paper is a descriptive account of the experience of how a multilateral joint MOOC on USR was envisioned, designed and produced. Although other collaborative MOOCs have been created, there is no previous research reporting on their creation process, especially those created in the context of university networks. Furthermore, research on leveraging MOOCs for purposes other than subjects taught in higher education, although emerging, is still scarce in the literature and this article aims to address this gap. The paper depicts the process of creating a MOOC in the context of the USRN network, introducing the theory and practice of USR through short lecture videos, reading materials, quizzes and discussion, organized in four weekly sessions (or modules).

The course was officially launched in February 2021 during the USRN Summit organized by the University of Pretoria and covered by the University World News (Kigotho, February 3, 2021). Unlike others, this MOOC is unique because it builds on multiple contributions from the USRN and 13 of its members. The course introduces these universities' policies and programs, highlighting the diversity of their engagements internally and with surrounding communities, and how their work contributes to making relevant social differences.

The objectives of this paper are to:

- Describe the production of a cooperative MOOC in the USRN context,
- Demonstrate that even if universities have unique approaches to USR, there is agreement that USR exceeds academic outputs and that there exist common elements such as policy motivations and implementation,
- Share challenges faced in the process and how they were overcome, and
- Provide suggestions for success for similar cooperative projects

Method

Network Theory and Joint MOOC Creation

The premise guiding this paper is that regardless of each university's approach to USR and its distinctive settings, institutions participating in the MOOC share the idea that universities must give back to society, and that this motivation needs to be embedded in their institutional policy. At the same time, this MOOC proves that when universities cooperate in the context of networks, they can boost complementarity.

The network theory was considered appropriate to analyze the interactions among the USRN Secretariat, member universities, and the organizations within them to explain the creation of the MOOC given that the interactions described in the paper are, in essence, what the network is about. Of particular interest is the work of Boccaletti et al. (2014), who characterize interactions in a system as different from the interacting elements themselves, and as multilayered networks where membership to a group and partnerships represent a completely new phenomenon.

Beerkens and Derwende (2007) argue that globalization and regional integration have made international cooperation among universities a central institutional goal in higher education, which renders inter-organizational interactions a key element of how universities engage with others, mainly through consortia. Of interest for this paper are the similarities and differences among partners, and levels of complementarity and compatibility. By looking at how the MOOC was created, this paper validates the role consortia of universities can have in synergizing the diversity and commonalities of how universities understand and implement USR.

Based on that idea, this paper shows that even if USR is unique to each university, its essential core, being socially responsible, is what connects the USRN members. The interactions observed in the process of creating the MOOC represent a phenomenon larger than the sum of their contributions to the course. This is particularly true if one considers that the examples of policy and activities that universities submitted for the course are not an exhaustive representation of these universities' engagements. They represent demonstrative instances of their USR work.

Research Data, Data for the MOOC, and Content Creation Process

Two types of qualitative data were collected: (a) the materials shared by universities to describe their approach to USR (information shared by each university describing its USR work, compiled as a quilt of experiences and practices), and (b) the interactions in the process of creating the MOOC (e.g., emails, minutes) among the USRN Secretariat, the production team in Kyoto University and other contributors.

To create the contents of the MOOC, the production team in Kyoto University developed the guidelines clarifying technical aspects on how information by each contributing university needed to be shared. However, universities were given freedom to decide and choose their most representative projects, ensuring that validity of the data and the veracity of the stories relied on the decisions made by each individual university.

Gathering of materials for the MOOC took place in two phases: the USRN Secretariat requested that members share their institutional take on USR and good practices. Then follow-up meetings between contributors, the USRN Secretariat, and the production team in Kyoto University were held to adjust and connect the contents to the overall MOOC and to synchronize formats according to edX's requirements.

The materials shared by each university with the production team were secondary data which was collected from different sources in each institution including management and academic units, who shared their projects, adding diversity to how they address real-world problems. The only primary data that corresponds to USR initiatives in Kyoto University were collected by the authors of this paper, as staff of Kyoto University, who had direct access to those in charge of the representative projects.

Materials in the MOOC consist of qualitative accounts in the form of videos, websites, fliers, texts describing each university's case, and presented as stand-alone units in the course from the following universities: Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan; Beijing Normal University and Sichuan University, China; University of Haifa, Israel; Hong Kong Polytechnic University; Kyoto University, Japan; University of Manchester, UK; University of São Paulo, Brazil; University of Pretoria, South Africa; Tufts University and Washington University in St. Louis, USA; and Simon Fraser University, Canada. The variety of initiatives and locations of contributing universities renders the MOOC an entirely global experience.

The fact that most of the materials for the MOOC are secondary means that researchers had no control over what universities (other than Kyoto University) brought to the course, how that information was selected, gathered and shared. This shortcoming represented a challenge at the time of equalizing the projects in such a way to be representative of all forms of USR as well as of geographical locations.

Collaboration and Production of the MOOC

During the 2018 USRN Summit at the University of Haifa, members of the USRN agreed to foster cooperation to raise visibility of the network and its achievements. To do it, a joint MOOC would be produced to share experiences and strategies, based on the agreement that the definition of USR varies depending on universities' institutional priorities. The MOOC was envisioned as a feasible project that would accommodate the members' diverse approaches to USR, their regional distribution and priorities.

The MOOC is an answer to the call for universities to continue doing their work and contributing to society or what Palacio and Choy (2019) refer to as "do the work". It also helps raise visibility of the achievements that these universities have had through their social engagement or "show the work;" the MOOC also offers opportunities to strategically consider ways to portray those achievements. In

turn, this process makes the USRN more visible and contributes to raising awareness of the USR movement or "work the show."

With the leadership of Kyoto University and Hong Kong Polytechnic University, as edX partners, USRN members agreed to share their USRN experiences for a joint MOOC aiming to (a) increase awareness of USR, (b) gain support for the USR movement, (c) foster universities' civic engagement, (d) disseminate successful practices and strategies, and I promote international exchange and collaboration.

Special thoughts were given to the expected audience of the MOOC and, although enrollment would be open to the general public, unlike other MOOCs targeting traditional learners, this one targets university managers, staff and those designing and implementing institutional policy, which led to the decision of designing the evaluation of the course through quizzes oriented to reinforce understanding of concepts rather than to check on knowledge retention.

## Enacting the Collaboration in USRN

Drafting the Overall MOOC

The USRN Secretariat, as the focal point, had a key role in igniting the project, recruiting the contributors, ensuring their commitment, managing logistics and distribution of tasks, ensuring consistency of data provided by universities, coordination with the production team in Kyoto University, and supporting interactions with edX.

Following Munsayac's (n.d.) notion that clusters of common interest within networks tend to intensify communications, it became clear that during the production of the MOOC three levels of interaction happened among the contributing universities, the USRN Secretariat and the production team. (See Figure 1).

Figure 1

Types of interactions
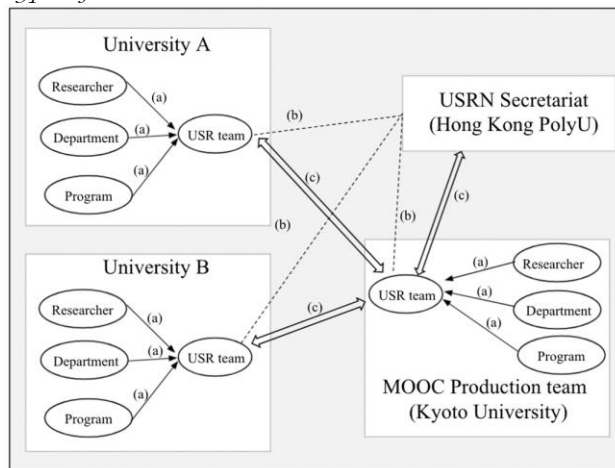
Note. Lines marked (a) indicate internal interactions. Lines marked (b) indicate interactions with USRN Secretariat. Lines marked (c) indicate interactions with MOOC production team.

As shown in Figure 1, interactions among contributors to the project were multilayered, and took place both among and within institutions themselves. The complexity of these communications are represented in the graph as: (a) researchers, program managers and the teams in charge of gathering information on what USR projects to share in the MOOC in each university; (b) the teams in charge of gathering information and the USRN Secretariat; and (c) all the aforementioned parties with the production team in Kyoto University. Eventually, these interactions boosted new connections among managers of the universities in the network as it became evident during the 2021 USRN Summit organized by the University of Pretoria and new joint projects, including a second collaborative MOOC, were proposed by USRN members.

The production team at Kyoto University drafted the structure for the course, containing: (a) a theoretical introduction to USR, (b) good practices and policy by contributing members presented as university cases or mini cases, and (c) strategies for success in design and implementation.

To ensure consistency, a guideline was shared containing details of the MOOC; explanations about the format of the contributions by members, time allotments, the tentative structure of each case (introduction, core USR, outcomes), and technical specifications regarding quality of videos and other materials. A suggested structure to guide members on how to organize and present their materials as cases and mini cases was included (See Figure 2). Cases consist of 40-minute-long lecture videos and other materials are presented in English and showcase broader approaches to USR (policy and activities) while mini cases consist of materials portraying more in-focus stories (specific programs or activities) displayed in approximately 15 minutes.

Figure 2

*Suggested structure for cases and mini cases*

Balance among the Contributions

When developing the structure of the course, it was important to balance these universities' take on USR and how they portray their stories. The MOOC is organized as a four-week course, each weekly lesson (80-90 minutes) containing learning units presented through videos. The first week introduces the history, the underpinning theory and manifestations of USR, and background of the USRN. The second and third weeks showcase example practice of USR as cases and mini cases. The fourth week contains one more mini case and strategies for success in the design and expansion of

USR as part of the theoretical approach, giving the visual idea of a sandwich. In other words, weeks one and four, are theory-based and wrap over weeks two and three that showcase practices. (See Figure 3).

Figure 3

Sandwich (theory-practice-theory) structure of the MOOC
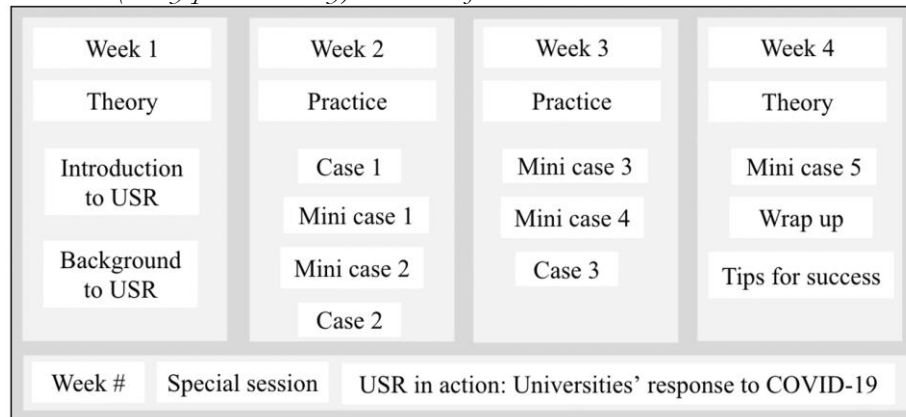
Cases include (a) Mandatory Service-Learning program at Hong Kong Polytechnic University, (b) University of Manchester's decision to make USR a core institutional priority and its flagship programs, and (c) Kyoto University showing a multidisciplinary and multi-layered approach to USR ranging from individual programs, department-level programs, multi-department level programs, university-wide programs with international and multilateral collaboration.

Mini cases consist of contents submitted by (a) University of São Paulo on its strategy for social inclusion through arts and culture, (b) Simon Fraser University on engagement with local communities and revisions of their institutional procedures in procurement and purchasing, (c) University of New South Wales on policies for gender equity and contracts, and (d) University of Pretoria's student volunteering program in Engineering. Other universities mentioned in this paper contributed not as cases or mini cases in the main body of the MOOC but through sharing their experience in the Special Session on Universities Response to COVID-19.

Diversity and Unity of USR Approaches

As mentioned, individual universities have their own understandings of what USR is, and there is no universal agreement among scholars on how to define it. For the MOOC however, it was agreed that contributing universities would accept Shek and Hollister's (2017) definition when they stated that:

> USR is a wide-ranging and evolving concept, which is open to interpretations, we propose, in its broad meaning, that university social responsibility could be understood as the responsibility shared by universities in contributing to social betterment through the integration of social responsibility policies into institutional management, teaching, research, services and public activities. (p. 13)

Addressing the diversity of approaches brought by all contributors to the MOOC was challenging because each university's policy and programs depend on their priorities and contexts. What they do have in common, however, is the fact that all endeavors are motivated by a proactive decision to contribute to the betterment of society; and it is in this sense that the MOOC brings that diversity in USR into a coherent phenomenon.

To ensure consistency, the first draft of the materials and proposals for cases and mini cases were shared with and reviewed by the production team and the USRN Secretariat to verify the relevance and uniqueness. The production team then made suggestions and upon this feedback, each contributing university made final edits and proceeded with producing their own materials.

Once all cases and mini cases were ready, the production team at Kyoto University created a series of videos to connect all the pieces. These videos help the learners navigate the MOOC and facilitate the transitions between all learning units. These short videos not only create internal connections among the pieces but also make the course more meaningful by pointing out commonalities in USR policy and implementation.

Evaluation Procedures in the Course

Because of the targeted audience of the MOOC, evaluation of learners was designed as quizzes meant more to reinforce understanding of concepts. Different from other contents of the MOOC (videos, websites and reading materials), that were produced by each university, quizzes for the evaluation were produced by the production team at Kyoto University and confirmed with each contributor. Quizzes consisted of questions presented in different formats, including multiple choices, true and false statements, and connecting clauses of statements.

Aiming to assure a unified approach to the quizzes format according to edX's requirements, the production team drafted the quizzes based on the contents provided by each contributor. The Hong Kong Polytechnic University team suggested improvements and added variety to the formats of the quizzes to encourage the engagement of the learners. Once the drafts were ready, they were shared with each contributing university to solicit feedback and suggestions.

Distribution and Accessibility

The MOOC is hosted on edX, an open-source platform that welcomes learners at a global scale and that accommodates courses from a large number of universities and other providers. Partnering with edX meant a valuable opportunity to make the course accessible beyond the USRN including staff and senior management who are interested in USR in different institutions and geographical regions. As a regular procedure, the MOOC also needed to be co-hosted by its producers, and hence respectively presented both on Kyoto University's KyotoUx, and Hong Kong Polytechnic University's PolyUx sites. Because this was the first time for edX to co-host a course, a special website had to be created within edX showing the names of both organizations providing the course jointly; this meant that the name of the course itself was coded to allow both universities to host it on their respective sites.

Promotion and dissemination of the MOOC started by using a trailer created by the Kyoto University team as a YouTube video, the websites of the USRN as well as those of each individual contributing university. Dissemination was conducted through newsletters, internal mailing systems and

networks, social media, the USRN itself, and other related organizations such as ministries of education.

Implementation and Outcomes of the MOOC

Learners' Demographics

The MOOC was first launched in February 2021 and for the first run, 248 learners registered, a seemingly low figure compared to other massive courses, however, the analysis of participants' profiles and their engagement revealed reassuring outcomes. For example, more than half the learners (51.9%) were 41 years old or older, and learners had high educational backgrounds: bachelor's degree (19.4%), master's degree (38.9%), and PhD (30.6%) clearly related to the target audience.

Surveys with learners revealed that over 76% of learners watched all videos, 69% completed all quizzes, and more than 70% asserted they were very satisfied because they became familiar with the theory and practice of USR, as well as with strategies to envision their own USR schemes. Respondents mentioned being inspired to apply the knowledge they gained in their own workplaces, that the course is a useful toolkit to guide policy-making and activities in their own institutions. 71% of respondents agreed that they would like their institutions to join the USRN. According to 12% of learners, the MOOC could have a better theory-practice balance, showing more connections to activities in their own institutions, and allocating time to address feminism, strategies for advocacy and negotiation with governments and other institutions. This information is of much relevance at the time of considering revisions to the MOOC as well as to possible upcoming similar experiences.

Challenges and Lessons Learned

Due to its joint nature, the production of the MOOC faced several challenges at the network and human levels, and because of the wide dispersion of materials used. The following paragraphs describe some of the most important difficulties addressed in the process.

At the Network Level

Deciding the targeted audience, after having members agree on the goals and expected achievements of the project, the next step was agreeing on the audience of the MOOC. Soon, it became clear that the MOOC would be targeting university managers, faculty and academic staff, and the challenge would be how to gain their interest and maintain the engagement from this typically busy audience.

One of the interesting aspects of the project is its collaborative nature built on a broad range of available, yet very diverse, resources (materials on USR). As in a potluck, each contributing university designed and produced its own piece, providing its own content and resources. The USRN Secretariat's leadership brought those individual contributions together, and the production team at Kyoto University organized and stitched all the pieces together.

Although collaborative MOOCs have been produced in the past, they have typically been bilateral efforts. This project gathers 13 universities and the USRN; this variety of stakeholders made it challenging to decide who should lead negotiations and exchanges with edX and who should host the course. It was agreed that Hong Kong Polytechnic University and Kyoto University as edX members and course providers on the platform should take the lead. This resulted in an integrated

approach from the USRN where Kyoto University acted as the representative of the network in the exchanges with edX.

The diversity of contents in the materials shared was one of the most thought-provoking challenges faced. To address these differences, the production team needed to fairly address the contrasting ways universities understand USR. A list of areas describing kinds of approaches to USR and initiatives helped put the constellation of contributions in an understandable frame for the MOOC as a whole.

The USRN has members from all continents and this global representation was to be shown in the MOOC. Some of the problems that universities address through their USR engagement are of global relevance, while certain initiatives address issues of local importance. Hence planning the allocation of time to each piece in the structure of the course was sensitive, yet essential. To address this problem, contributions were organized and grouped based on the relation among their contents. The Hong Kong Polytechnic University and the University of Manchester shared cases portraying engagements of more global nature; while University of São Paulo, University of Pretoria, Simon Fraser University and New South Wales University shared initiatives with a local focus. Lastly, Kyoto University opted for a mix blending regional and local activities.

To address the issue of internal balance in the MOOC, depending on the nature of each contribution, cases and mini cases were grouped to support and to serve as examples to each other, by showing USR activities of similar nature. The challenge here was how to embed cases and mini cases in a way that would preserve the balance within the course. For example, some of the mini-cases contained a brief description of the university's USR activities while demonstrating the uniqueness and significance of what they do.

Some members raised concerns about the copyright and ownership of the materials shared through the MOOC. Although initially not considered a major problem, in a few cases these issues resulted in some members having to drop out although they had originally been expected to participate. The overall solution found among the contributing parties later was that information presented in the MOOC would belong to the USRN and edX. To this end, the USRN requested all contributing universities to sign an agreement stating that they waive the copyrights to the USRN and edX only for the materials presented in and formatted for the MOOC.

At Human Level

Reaching out and engaging both internally and externally with colleagues to gather necessary information and materials for the MOOC was particularly challenging in some of the universities and it required more networking efforts than initially expected. This became evident, for example, when needing to explain the project to researchers, program managers or administrative staff who were unfamiliar with USR or MOOC. Delivering the message and inviting people to produce and share materials was also time-consuming for the Kyoto University team and the representatives. Producing the Guideline mentioned in the section (Enacting the Collaboration in USRN, and Figure 2), helped not only spread awareness on the relevance of the project but also thoroughly explained why this was important and what was expected to be done.

Most member universities announced their interest at the start of the process, stating that they would share their unique USR perspectives or programs. However, it became clear that not all

participants could actually participate and share the necessary information, mainly due to the limited time and resources to produce video materials. Hence, there was a need to compensate for these dropouts, which proved challenging in terms of the balance of the whole structure and specifics for each kind of USR activity. Examples of topics that were withdrawn include universities' approaches to SDGs, engagement with indigenous communities, or conflict management and peacebuilding. One more factor that affected the project was the spread of the COVID-19. The pandemic had a deep impact on all aspects of the production of the MOOC since universities were overwhelmed by addressing lockdowns and other protocols.

Personal and institutional commitment to the project among participants was also diverse. Partners like The Hong Kong Polytechnic University showed full support to both the network and the course whereas in other universities there were active and engaged individuals, who, however, lacked support from their own faculties or universities. In the middle, some institutions offered support through specific departments but not the university as a whole. Managing the diversity in commitment and support required an extra effort from the production team of the course. A solution to this was being flexible and allowing each participant to contribute with their available resources and experiences.

Although guidelines were distributed to ensure consistency among all the contributors, once all materials were gathered a great dispersion among the materials submitted (contents and formats) became evident. This led to new rounds of negotiations to reformulate and re-accommodate contributions in a way that would fit the whole structure of the course.

Pace of production was also challenging because even if there were initially agreed timelines, actual submissions were made over a considerably longer period of time. This delayed the entire project, which was even further affected by the outbreak of the pandemic. Another problem was the diversity in the quality of the materials presented, both in terms of contents and formats. Clearly, what defines quality across universities is not always consistent. Although the production at Kyoto University shared the guidelines with all contributing universities at the start of the project, what was received as finalized materials, differed from the initial expectations. Through a series of follow-up meetings with each contributor, eventually a new consensus on quality could be reached and applied to the course.

With the video production, also, the technical aspects required key efforts to communicate issues with all parties. This refers to the consistency of video formats, how these videos were submitted, and the quality of the videos in terms of content or length. In some cases, language proved a difficult barrier since some of the staff involved in the production could not communicate in English.

Other challenges related to cooperation from internal and external stakeholders of each contributing university, in sharing data or offering visually appealing and learner-friendly materials, such as photos, videos, or other supplementing information.

At times, some partners shared materials through external websites, such as YouTube, rather than making the original data directly accessible or downloadable. This, in turn, affected the quality of some of the videos used in the course.

Another glaring problem was the provision of scripts for video subtitles. Although the contributing parties had initially agreed to share the scripts of their videos, only some did. The fact that the team

had to transcribe the videos together with the COVID-19 pandemic hindered the production. The pandemic also impeded internal communication in contributing universities as lockdowns were put in place. Contributors got increasingly busy by the sudden shift to online mode, social distancing, and other protocols. Thus, they became less responsive.

Suggested Strategies for Building a Collaborative MOOC

Building a joint MOOC is an exciting process, however, there are always unforeseen challenges. Based on the experience described in the previous pages, the next section of this paper offers suggestions for those who decide to embark on similar endeavors. Two levels of engagement will need to be considered throughout the collaborative process: (a) challenges faced by all contributing members and (b) the difficulties faced by members leading the process.

Suggestions to all for Contributing Members

Being responsible for one's own commitments is key. As a contributor to a collaborative project, individuals and institutions should remember that their timely response is essential in the process. Individual delays in delivering tasks hinder the pace of the whole project. Collaborative efforts depend on everyone's prompt responses and inputs.

The initial excitement of the project may lead to unrealistic expectations. Thus, it is crucial to consider the feasibility and review one's capacities in offering contributions before committing oneself or one's institution to a collaborative project. Good communication within one's institution is key to setting up the framework and conditions to assure that tasks can be delivered, while also being transparent with the external stakeholders.

Once a commitment to a project has been made, the institution should develop its strategy to mobilize staff and resources to design, create and share necessary data. Contributors should be certain about the capabilities and willingness of their staff to participate in the project. They should gather their data and share it in a timely form.

Suggestions for the Leading Members of the Project

Collaborating partners may have different ideas about what is expected of them. Thus, a clear message is essential. The overall vision will give a sense of shared direction, while a clear understanding of small deliverables and tasks will lead to concrete steps and achievements. A comprehensive and clear guideline at the beginning of the process is helpful.

Similarly, time management should be taken into consideration. The leading partner should consider the following levels in relation to the goals and tasks required for the leading team: (a) setting up agreed timelines with external partners to clarify when individual contributions should be expected and (b) benchmarking the processes at the individual, partner, and whole-project levels.

The nature and hence the responses from partners can be different, hence engaging in effective dialogue with all stakeholders is an essential communication strategy. Colleagues in the academic world, for example, think and function differently from people working in the public sector or the media. Therefore, an approach that includes common methods of correspondence (e.g., emails, calls, online meetings), as well as a personalized approach to each counterpart (e.g., in the time allocation) to meet the needs of partners in different time zones are vital.

In terms of organizing the contents and messages, a clear agenda of topics, goals and expected decisions is a key to success and these need to be delivered beforehand. Preserving records and sharing the outcomes, through minutes or briefings is an effective way to track the process and maintain accountability.

However, sometimes in collaborative projects like the one described in this paper, it is usually the case that unexpected issues will arise as original plans unfold. Although sharing and distributing tasks with partners is typically a core part of a collaborative project; as the leading member, one should be aware that motivation tends to wear out as time passes, especially when requests are always changing. Having a cheerleading role and investing additional time to mobilize and inspire partners is essential to keep the momentum alive.

Last, but not least, sometimes partners are or become unresponsive, even if they committed to supporting the project at first. Although the motivation may decrease as other priorities arise in contributing institutions, it is important to stay connected and constantly follow up with the partners and to re-engage with them. In some extreme cases, the leading team may decide to substitute a given part of the project as the partners opt-out mid-way through.

Conclusion

IT solutions have made communications and international academic cooperation easier and faster; they have also increased the social expectation that universities must step out of their comfort zones and not only do their work, but they also need to show their achievements and in a socially understandable way. Understanding how universities approach and enact USR brings to light not only their motivation to contribute to society but also shows that these contributions go beyond traditional academic activities and that these contributions can complement and boost the work of other universities.

The creation of this MOOC confirms Munsayac's (n.d.) view that formal communications take place in existing networks and these interactions may create and develop new connections within and amongst members of the network. Some universities in the USRN have long histories of bilateral cooperation, while for others, membership to the USRN is the only point of connection. When considering that one of the goals of the MOOC was introducing USR and that these universities have different understandings of what that means, it became clear that cooperation for the MOOC would bring a stronger sense of partnerships and belonging to the USRN as well as a renewed feeling of belonging and partnership.

By applying the network theory in the creation of this MOOC, this article describes types of connections happening at different levels: (a) in each university at the time of deciding what USR activities represent them best, (b) among the members of a consolidated network, like the USRN, through a central mechanism, in this case, the USRN Secretariat and (c) engaging with other organizations outside the universities and the network, in this case for example with edX. More significantly, this paper shows that these connections can lead to new and more fruitful ones, as well as new potential areas of cooperation among universities.

Although the synergies created through the connections forged in the context of the MOOC cannot be tested in this research, this paper corroborates Carpenter, Mingxiang, and Jiang's (2012)

proposition that dissimilarities and the complementarities brought these partners closer. In the process of creating the MOOC, it was exactly the differences in approaches and understandings of USR that made it possible for these universities to cooperate.

USR is challenging traditional paradigms of how universities engage with society, overcoming the traditional notion of the university as an ivory tower. This debate promotes an organic connection between society's needs and universities' capabilities, bridging actual problems with solutions emanating from academic strengths. Emerging from why USR should be a priority in higher education; the paper provides an account of the steps the USRN took to produce this joint MOOC through an inclusive process that respects regional representation, diversity in meanings, implications on what USR is and how it is implemented.

As an endeavor with global scope, the importance of the MOOC described in the previous pages lies in the fact that it brought together a range of universities to collaborate, and mainly because this course is the first attempt to provide an agreed framework that contains and portrays the so-called third mission of the university, the ways it functions and how effective strategies can be designed to promote the social impact of universities.

Historically, universities have done their work. They have made conscious efforts to accomplish their missions through the provision of education, preparing human resources to function as human capital in their communities while enshrining knowledge and producing innovative research outcomes. Emerging evidence, as portrayed in this MOOC, suggests that these missions have grown to include management and administration, inspired by the notion of giving back to society.

Although the teaching and researching missions are essential, recently universities are becoming aware that doing the work is not the same as showing their work, that is, making society aware of their contributions, and bringing their knowledge out of the academic realms to make it accessible and usable to society.

Universities are increasingly aware that they need to 'work their shows'. Making their achievements socially visible and understandable to the general public is crucial, and for this reason, strategically putting their contributions at the center of the public scenario is a way to, not only maintain their legitimacy but also to ensure their own sustainability into the future.

A decisive factor here has been the role university rankings play in shaping social perceptions of universities. This new factor clearly compels universities to display what they do (i.e., to show the work) in such a way that society at large can shape, own and utilize the information. University managers are increasingly conscious of the need for their organizations to (a) gather and make their own internal data (academic achievements) permeable from and understandable to society, (b) be transparent so as to ensure their own institutional accountability, and (c) understand that if they cooperate with their partners, they can obtain larger and unexpected positive outcomes.

In this sense, the work conducted by the USRN in general, and specifically through the Introduction to USR MOOC enhances synergies leading to the promotion of universities' responsible branding. The goal of the MOOC described in this paper relates to how universities in the network are working to bridge this gap.

This initiative served as a platform to accommodate a wide range of universities to share their own USR experiences; the project proved to be an effective medium to disseminate what universities do to achieve their missions, to produce synergy in promoting collaboration among members of the network, and as such to work the show.

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The Research-Practice Divide
Is Not Only an Issue of Communication,
but of Values: The Case of Growth Mindset

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The Research-Practice Divide Is Not Only an Issue of Communication, but of Values: The Case of Growth Mindset

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Thousands of educational research papers are published each year and many of them do not have much impact outside of a small circle of academic readers (Hurd, 1986; Tucker, 2016). Yet, there are a few, select findings from social science that gain outsized influence among teachers, administrators, and policymakers alike (Hess, 2020). Different explanations have been proposed for how and why this academic research successfully crosses the research-practice divide. Many social scientists (at least implicitly) argue that the issue preventing research from crossing the divide is a lack of communication—that scientists need to simply communicate more clearly and more frequently to relevant educational stakeholders (Nisbet & Scheufele, 2009). However, this does not explain why some ideas capture the attention of educators more than others in cases when the science communication is comparable. Rather, as will be discussed in this paper, values-alignment is an important predictor of whether research crosses into mainstream practice. That is, when an idea aligns with the existing values of educators, the research will feel more intuitive, because it fits their existing classroom practices and beliefs about pedagogy (Luong et al., 2019). This values-alignment helps bring ideas from research into practice, but it is a double-edged sword: it also comes with the risk of (a) proliferating research ideas before they have been sufficiently demonstrated to be effective or fully understood, and (b) leading to the adoption of select parts of the research that happen to fit pre-existing beliefs.

Growth mindset research (and the accompanying misunderstandings concerning this theory often termed *false growth mindset*) is one example of a research idea that has been quickly adopted into educational language and can be used as a case study to provide insight into the unique issues associated with the translation of social scientific research into K-12 settings. This case study will explore how alignment of values between existing K-12 pedagogical practice and growth mindset theory partially explain why this theory so readily crossed the research-practice gap, though empirical evidence fails to find large effects of growth mindset interventions (Sisk et al., 2018) and academic researchers only endorse a relatively narrow conception of growth mindset (e.g., Dweck, 2017). The lesson for social scientists and educational researchers from this case study, then, is that how educational theories are framed might work for or against their popularization and broader impact (Bryan et al., 2019; Mansfield & Volet, 2010). To believe that education research is value-free (Kuhn, 2012/1962) or that theories succeed purely on the merit of their evidence base is to misunderstand how educational research becomes pedagogical practice (Fendler, 2012; Kahan, 2010; Schneider, 2014).

The Academic History of Growth Mindset as a Motivational Theory

Growing out of educational psychology in the 1980s and 1990s (Dweck 1986; Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Mueller & Dweck, 1998), the fundamental claim of growth mindset research (also known as mindset theory) is the following: students who endorse a stronger belief in the ability to change one's intelligence will be motivated to study more strategically and achieve higher grades (Dweck & Yeager, 2019). That is, if a student agrees with statements such as "No matter who you are, you can significantly change your intelligence level" they exhibit a growth mindset (Midkiff et al., 2017, p. 169) and will be more likely to be motivated to put effort into their schoolwork (Blackwell et al., 2007). Crucially, growth mindset is not the same as self-esteem theory, which posited that students' achievement was boosted when they felt confident about themselves (Humphrey, 2004).

Despite a large body of growth mindset research (Sisk et al., 2018), mindset theory continues to be described by most, if not all, researchers in this field as a theory of achievement motivation (Dweck & Yeager, 2019). That is, growth mindset attempts to narrowly explain why students are driven to engage with academic material; it does not prescribe broad recommendations about pedagogy or education. Additionally, most mindset researchers, themselves, do not see growth mindset as a totalizing theory of motivation, but rather one component of a larger approach to student motivation centered around implicit theories, meaning systems, and action-tendencies (Dweck, 2017).

Rigorous large-scale studies have either shown statistically significant, yet small, effects of growth mindset (e.g., Yeager et al., 2019) or null results (e.g., Ganimian, 2020; Li & Bates, 2019), indicating the effects of growth mindset are limited and variable across contexts. Meta-analytic evidence supports this notion of the limited scope of the growth mindset construct, with Sisk et al.'s (2018) synthesis of 273 studies across a wide array of K-12 and post-secondary contexts (Total N = 365,915 students) estimating that the correlation between growth mindset and achievement was small (r = 0.10, p < .001). Put otherwise, even when not controlling for potential confounders, growth mindset only explains approximately one percent of the variance in educational outcomes (R^2 = 0.01). Altogether, mindset theory occupies a position in educational psychology as a relatively constrained theory of student motivation. Furthermore, the empirical evidence does not support the use of growth mindset as an overarching theory of education or pedagogy (Burgoyne et al., 2020; Moreau et al., 2019).

Views of Growth Mindset in Educational Settings

Although growth mindset began as an academic theory, its public influence far exceeds many other similar research agendas in motivation science and educational research writ large. Its originator, Carol Dweck, frequently ranks as one of the most eminent education researchers of the twenty-first century (Hess, 2020). Dweck's (2006) popular press book *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success* boasts more than two million copies in print; one of her keynote speeches has been translated into 43 languages and viewed over 13 million times (Dweck, 2014). With widespread popular interest in growth mindset, however, comes a cost, that being the increasingly high chance of losing control of the message and being misinterpreted by the popular audiences reached by these efforts. Witness the litany of results that show up in a Google search of "false growth mindset" (currently numbering over 12,000 as of November 2021).

Acknowledging the proliferation of misunderstandings related to growth mindset, Dweck and other mindset researchers have attempted to reconcile the mixed narratives of growth mindset through a series of blog posts aimed at popular audiences (e.g., Briceño, 2015; Dweck, 2016) and journal articles aimed at motivational researchers (e.g., Dweck & Yeager, 2019). In Dweck's (2015) own words, "[my fear is] that the mindset concepts, which grew up to *counter* the failed self-esteem movement, will be used to *perpetuate* that movement. In other words, if you want to make students feel good, even if they're not learning, just praise their effort!" (n.p., emphasis in original).

Expansive and overly positive notions of growth mindset were also reflected in a recent qualitative survey, administered to K-12 teachers in a school district in the southwestern United States, with one teacher defining growth mindset simply as: "To think as positively as possible." Others saying: "Growth mindset is a state of mind [where] one feels positive about learning new material and feels encouraged to do so;" "having an open mind and willingness to go out of our comfort zone;" and "we can accomplish ANYTHING, we just have to believe that we can" (Schuetze & Yan, 2021).

Similarly, Patrick and Joshi's (2019) interviews of teachers in a large urban school district in Pennsylvania found that growth mindset is frequently associated with "relentless positivity" (p. 161). Journalists, too, have misinterpreted growth mindset, with a headline in *The Guardian,* stating: "New test for 'growth mindset', the theory that anyone who tries can succeed" (Rustin, 2016).

The prevalence of misunderstandings associated with growth mindset has been further supported by Rissanen et al.'s (2018, 2019) qualitative research on teacher interpretations of mindset theory in Finnish elementary schools, which shows that growth mindset is often construed as a totalizing theory of pedagogy, rather than a relatively constrained theory prescribing one of many ways to increase student motivation. Totalizing understandings of growth mindset can also be seen in teacher development materials, such as Brock and Hundley's (2016) *The Growth Mindset Coach: A Teacher's Month-by-Month Handbook for Empowering Students to Achieve*. This book instructs teachers on a variety of topics, not traditionally associated with the motivational theory of growth mindset, ranging from goal setting to relationship-building. Perhaps not the fault of the authors, themselves, a larger indictment of the overbroad interpretations of growth mindset stems from their book's back cover, which claims that a growth mindset will allow teachers to "motivate students to believe in themselves and achieve anything."

This qualitative evidence showing the divergence between teacher and researcher conceptions of growth mindset has been corroborated by recent quantitative evidence from surveys of teacher understandings of growth mindset. Buttrick (2020) found that 38 percent of teachers surveyed in a nationally representative sample of American schools endorsed a "false" growth mindset, whereas 39 percent endorsed a "true" growth mindset, and 22 percent endorsed a fixed mindset (p. 2). Interpreted differently, this data reveals that, of the teachers who endorse a growth mindset, nearly fifty percent of these teachers endorse an unduly optimistic understanding of the phenomenon.

Despite Dweck's (2015, 2016) efforts to raise alarms about false mindsets half a decade ago, this evidence further confirms Dweck and Yeager's (2019) reflection on the contemporary state of growth mindset showing that the popular and academic conceptions of growth mindset have yet to be unified: "we have learned that it is too easy for people to implement a growth mindset poorly" (p. 482; see also Yeager, 2019). Taken together, it is clear that growth mindset is often seen as an all-encompassing fuzzy "open-minded or positive outlook" (Hattie, 2017, n.p.), largely unconnected to the narrow claims of the original academic work of Dweck and colleagues.

Why are misunderstandings about growth mindset so pervasive?

Given that there are clear and widespread misconceptions concerning growth mindset (Dweck & Yeager, 2019), the intuitive follow-up questions are "why do these misconceptions exist?" and "why are they so widespread?" Previous answers to these questions have mostly surrounded the need for increased communication between researchers and teachers. Nevertheless, the present paper draws on research concerning other instances of science communication failures to assess potential other reasons for the gap between research and practice.

Social scientists see growth mindset misunderstandings as an information deficit

Social scientists researching growth mindset tend to interpret these incorrect or "false" understanding of mindset theory primarily as a result of a lack of information on the part of teachers (e.g., Briceño, 2015; Denworth, 2019; Dweck & Yeager, 2019). For example, Yeager (2019), writes "If

scientists want to break the hype cycle and help students in a lasting way, we need to change our practices. The most important thing we can do is to conduct studies showing where our ideas don't work, as well as where they do. And then we need to spread the word responsibly about how to make our ideas work reliably" (n.p.). Here, social scientists' message is that with enough research and responsible communication to the public, the misunderstandings related to growth mindset can be resolved.

However, such a view misses out on the larger social environment within which the communication of scientific findings occurs. Work in the academic field of science communication—which focuses on the best ways to communicate scientific findings to non-scientists—has identified issues associated with so-called *deficit theories* of science communication (deficit theories of science communication should not be confused with broader deficit theories in education), which are commonly held by social scientists. Under deficit theories, discordance between the scientific evidence base and (educational) practice are explained by a lack of knowledge (Nisbet & Scheufele, 2009; Reincke et al., 2020). That is, to improve science communication, scientists simply need to communicate their findings more frequently and more clearly to the public. Then, scientific theories can be translated into practice based on the strength of their scientific evidence.

Such deficit theories of science communication have been found to be insufficient to explain the gap between scientific findings and popular understandings of science (Nisbet & Scheufele, 2009; Washburn & Skitka, 2018). Though factors, such as access to information, undoubtedly influence the adoption of educational research in schools and other applied settings, a deficit-based conception of science communication leaves out equally important factors: values and social context (Bucchi, 2008; Feinstein & Waddington, 2020; Lewis & Wai, 2021; Zengilowski et al., 2021). Recent work has shown that values and social context often determine which information is integrated into an individual's or community's belief system (Brossard et al., 2009; Luong et al., 2019). That is, information that is incongruent with a community's belief systems will be filtered out before it can lead to meaningful change in behavior (Mansfield & Volet, 2010; Nisbet & Scheufele, 2009).

One classic example of this phenomenon relates to the difficulties in convincing people of the importance of climate change due to the perceived effects mitigation measures will have on the economy (Thagard & Findlay, 2010). Similar trends have been seen with vaccine hesitancy (Amin et al., 2017) and evolution (Dunk et al., 2019). In the case of evolution, Weisberg et al. (2018) showed that religious beliefs and values accounted for 38 percent of the variance in the endorsement of the scientific understanding of evolution, while scientific knowledge only predicted an additional five percent.

In cases, such as climate change mitigation, vaccination, and evolution, the scientific evidence has been clearly and repeatedly conveyed, but resistance to the scientific evidence remains staunch (in at least some groups of people). When science communication fails, lack of information may be part of why people resist the scientific consensus, however, values and politics are clearly modulating the uptake of scientific information (Brossard et al., 2009). Indeed, it seems most high-profile conflicts between scientific consensus and popular opinion rest at least partially on some other foundational conflict between communities that hold different values (Washburn & Skitka, 2018). For this reason, scientists cannot rely on a mere increase in communication frequency to improve the uptake of scientific knowledge, rather they must understand the underlying values that are causing divides between scientific and popular understandings.

Perceived alignment with existing educational values hastened the adoption of growth mindset

Misunderstandings related to growth mindset may appear relatively benign compared to those associated with political issues such as climate change. Nevertheless, educational researchers can still learn lessons from the failure of information deficit models in these high-profile instances of science communication failure. Indeed, these science communication failures have made it clear that researchers in the social sciences must avoid an information deficit-based approach to the communication of their science. Rather, social scientists must understand the values and views of the educational professionals they are trying to reach when they share their results of their studies.

Therefore, to understand the issues associated with false interpretations of growth mindset outside of the domain of motivation research, one must begin with the complex, murky, and contradictory sets of values underlying teaching and learning. Indeed, there is a chronic under-conceptualization and lack of agreement concerning the purpose of schooling and education (Bass, 1997). What is it, then, that teachers believe the purpose of pedagogy and education? Given that, as Kincheloe (2004) acknowledges, teachers and teacher education programs are far from a monolith in and of themselves, it is almost easier to answer the converse question: "What do teachers and teacher education programs disavow?"

If a generalization can be made, Hansen (2008) argues teacher education programs tend to endorse transformative constructivist pedagogy (as opposed to more traditionalist pedagogy), where social justice and the socio-emotional needs of students are increasingly seen as legitimate educational concerns (see Bursztyn, 2004; Krahenbuhl, 2016). In a similar vein, Hey and Leathwood (2009) note the existence of a general movement to a student-centered social justice orientation and the associated "affective turn" towards creating supportive learning environments starting in the latter half of the twentieth century (see Noddings, 1992).

In line with this affective turn, teachers are encouraged to be concerned not only with intellectual development, but also with molding, inspiring, and caring for their students (Clegg & Rowland, 2010) — or what might summarize in one word as the "growth" of students (cf. Sockett, 2008). Given this increasing emphasis on creating a positive classroom environment where students feel valued, the present paper argues growth mindset transferred so readily across the research-practice gap, not because it challenged or innovated upon prevalent teacher philosophies or practices, but because it meshed with and reinforced existing understandings of the purpose of education.

Empirical data supports this notion, with Mansfield and Volet (2010) finding generally that teachers adopt pedagogical strategies that reinforce existing views of education. More specifically to growth mindset, Nestor's (2017) study of elementary school teachers in Pittsburgh found that 75 percent of teachers reporting strong integration of growth mindset into their classroom practice. Interestingly, both Yettick et al. (2016) and Nestor (2017) found that teachers did not see a strong link between growth mindset and students' grades, suggesting they were incorporating these practices into their pedagogy for largely non-achievement-related (i.e., socio-emotional) reasons. A similar focus on the perceived socio-emotional and inclusion benefits of growth mindset-infused pedagogy, even when admitting only small effects on course grades, can be seen in Burgasser's (2019) meditation on the use of growth mindset pedagogy in undergraduate astronomy courses.

It may also be helpful to think about the success of growth mindset in terms of a counterfactual: Imagine in an alternate world, Dweck had discovered that inducing fixed mindsets, that is coldly reminding students of their innate ability, was the best way to encourage students to persist, particularly high achieving students. Imagine that meta-analytically derived average effect sizes were twice as large ($d = 0.20$, $p < .001$). Would such an idea have caught on in the same manner as growth mindset? Under the present framework, it would not have. The alternative theory of fixed mindset does not mesh well with the teaching profession's social justice and affect-oriented ethos. This counterfactual suggests that it is not the strength of scientific evidence behind the growth mindset that makes it broadly popular. Rather, it is the high degree to which growth mindset matches and reinforces the existing pedagogical practice that makes this theory broadly popular with educational practitioners. In short, growth mindset has become synonymous with "good teaching" as defined by the teacher-endorsed pedagogical theories discussed above.

Growth mindset has become a new label for pre-existing practices

One might argue that the pedagogical theory of growth mindset even preexisted the motivation theory of growth mindset. In fact, Patrick and Joshi's (2019) interviews of schoolteachers in a large southwestern urban school district found that "[m]ultiple teachers explained that learning about growth and fixed mindsets merely gave them a new language to talk about something they already believed or supported" (p. 162). Broader survey evidence also backs this notion of growth mindset-supportive practices existing prior to the adoption of "growth mindset" as a pedagogical label. Yettick et al. (2016) surveyed 600 teachers across the United States, finding that a strong majority of teachers wanted to learn more about the academic theory of growth mindset (85%, p. 20).

Yet simultaneously, these same teachers reported already using five queried growth mindset supportive practices (e.g., "Encouraging students who are already doing well to keep trying to improve") much more frequently than the four queried non-growth mindset supported practices (e.g., "Praising students for their intelligence"). The average growth mindset supportive practice was employed "every day" by 56 percent of teachers, while average non-growth mindset supportive practice was only reported to be used every day by 27 percent of teachers. Similar results were found by Nestor's (2017) survey of elementary school teachers in Pittsburgh. Though more research needs to be done on representative samples of teachers concerning their pedagogical beliefs, this initial evidence suggests that the adoption of growth mindset did not greatly change pre-existing practice.

In terms of students' beliefs, evidence from McPartlan et al.'s (2020) study of first-generation and low-income students at UC Irvine reveals that even the most disadvantaged first-year undergraduate students reported relatively high growth mindsets. Sun et al.'s (2021) analysis of 2018 PISA data found that most (68%) United States students report a growth mindset, and that this rate was significantly and substantially higher than that of comparison students in China ($d = 1.07$).

Thus, it seems there is evidence to believe that the United States school system, in terms of both students (McPartlan et al., 2020; Sun et al., 2021) and teachers (Patrick & Joshi, 2019; Yettick et al., 2016), may already be defined by high levels of growth mindset, even if teachers, themselves, may not always recognize this to be the case. This is to say, when an educator adopts "growth mindset" into their pedagogy, this terminology functions as a pithy phrase referring to a pre-existing affect-oriented and student-centered pedagogy; this pedagogy shares some overlap with the academic theory of growth mindset, but is simultaneously much more expansive and optimistic than is warranted

by the social scientific evidence underlying mindset theory (i.e., growth mindset does not mean that anyone can achieve anything just because they believe their intelligence is malleable).

Conclusion

As has been argued throughout this paper, the issues associated with translating growth mindset (and educational research broadly) into schools stem not just from a lack of information on the part of educators and contextualized science on the part of the researchers (cf. Yeager, 2019). Rather, the potency of growth mindset language stems from a superficial overlap and values alignment between commonly held views of teaching and public understandings of growth mindset. This has led to a situation where certain psychological theories are almost *too amenable* to pre-existing views of pedagogy commonly found in schools. These research-practice-philosophical gaps and overlaps between educational stakeholders help explain why some psychological theories and constructs are readily (yet superficially) integrated into the professional vocabulary of K-12 education (Brossard et al., 2009; Mansfield & Volet, 2010). For example, theories, such as self-esteem theory (Humphrey, 2004), the theory of multiple intelligences (Gardner & Hatch, 1989; Schneider, 2014; Warne & Burton, 2020), and growth mindset have all been integrated into educational practice; while other (potentially more robust) strands of educational research fail to find the same level of popularity in applied settings, such as effective study strategies (Agarwal et al., 2012; Dempster, 1988; Morehead et al., 2016) and cognitive load theory (Zhang et al., 2021).

This case study of the complexities associated with translating psychological research into the classroom should amplify existing calls for educational researchers not only to clarify their constructs, theories, and philosophies, but also to attend to the complexities of teacher experience (Chase, 1998), schooling contexts (Hattie et al., 2020; Murphy & Alexander, 2000), and the "webs of meaning" (Berliner, 1992, p. 143) pedagogical practices inhabit (Fendler, 2012). Acknowledging that scientific knowledge and interventions are not value-free (Kuhn, 2012/1962; Prinzing, 2020), deficit theories of scientific communication must be avoided; rather science communication must be conceptualized as an ongoing and reciprocal dialogue where both values and access to information matter.

If researchers assume that teachers' professional commitments, meaning systems, and school contexts do not predispose them towards or against certain pedagogical stances, educational researchers are destined to continue making similar mistakes. Though the current paper may appear critical on the surface, the intention is to enable educational researchers to think with, learn from, and communicate more clearly with educators about the use of research in educational settings. Particularly, researchers and educators must be attentive to when and why they might be talking past one another due to differences in values and educational perspectives.

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