Empathic Framing during Concept Development in Book Club Discussions in a Service-Learning Teacher Education Class

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Abstract

This study investigates the emergence of empathic framing in a small group of university students' discussions of equity-oriented concepts in a service-learning course. Empathic framing refers to the making of emotional connections that enable one to experience the world from another's perspective, particularly when they are from different cultures, means of socialization, and life experiences. The study used collaborative coding for both concepts and empathic framing in six discussions of three scholarly books devoted to different equity concerns focused on the phenomenon of teacher-student reciprocal burnout, the differential experiences of affiliative or 'jock' students and disaffiliative or 'burnout' students, and African American speech and its political consequences. The findings identify examples of empathic framing in the six discussions, with most instances occurring in the two books that include narrative accounts of people experiencing oppression and inequity; the final volume, centered on textuality more than human action, produced a single instance of empathic framing recruited from outside the book's contents. The study suggests that empathy can serve as a beginning point to concept development toward more equitable teaching and school culture, and can be available for formal academic learning when it is combined with worldly experience such as that available in service-learning courses.
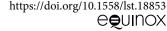
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INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes the speech of Teacher Candidates' (TCs) preparing for careers as English Language Arts teachers in a university class in which the campus-based sessions were devoted to book club discussions of diversity-oriented texts. We focus specifically on one dimension of their speech, *empathic framing*. We use this phrase to describe the manner in which the TCs responded emotionally to either textual examples, or examples they had personally encountered, of people whose socialization through home and community mediation produced an ill fit with school. This affective connection enabled them to see these 'characters' – either textual constructions of people by researchers, or personal constructions of people in their own imaginations – in ways that positioned them favorably and in need of respect and dignity in school and beyond.

These responses took place over the course of their semester-length development of educational conceptions related to teaching diverse students in US schools, with the mediational role of speech in six hour-long discussions serving as our data. We use the term 'speech' rather than 'language' to characterize its active, applied quality, an issue that has come up in translations of Vygotsky's (1934) *Myshlenie i rech': Psikhologicheskie issledovaniya* as either *Thought and Language* (1962, 1986) or what Van der Veer (1987) argues is more accurate because of its emphasis on the dynamic nature of verbally-mediated cognition, *Thinking and Speech* (1987a). Van der Veer asserts that none of these translations into English represents the original well, but that the 1987 version gets the title right and in general is superior to the prior efforts.

The participants whose collaborative speech we analyzed included four university students at a Southeastern US university with both Carnegie's highest research classification, and a community engagement emphasis. These discussions were conducted during campus class sessions in a teacher education course with a service-learning designation, i.e., an official status recognizing what Bringle and Hatcher (1995) describe as 'a course-based, credit-bearing educational experience in which students participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs, and reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of personal values and civic responsibility' (p. 112).

The book club setting was a deliberate design feature of the service-learning course, one that allowed TCs to discuss difficult issues of diversity, inclusion, equity, and other factors faced by educators, conducted without a professor orchestrating their discussion toward preferred ideologies and conclusions (see Smagorinsky, 2011a, 2014). Book clubs have fruitfully been employed by adults reading and talking for personal enjoyment and edification (Marshall, Smagorinsky, and Smith, 1995), in K-12 and college classrooms (O'Donnell-Allen, 2006), and no doubt in other sites where people gather to guide their own explorations and considerations of books they've chosen to read. In the setting of this study, the book club approach's open-ended design intentionally placed the professor in a background role. The students selected their own readings, determined how to go about discussing them, drew on their service-learning field experiences in the city's alternative school as they saw appropriate in enriching their understanding of concepts, marshalled their various experiences and understandings into a notion of how to teach effectively in classrooms of students representing pluralistic demographics, and led their classmates in discussions of the issues they found most salient in their reading.

Our analysis focuses on the TCs' shifts in discourse, perspective, and ideology, triggered by emotional connections with people from less advantaged social positionings than they had benefited from in life. These realizations became available through their engagement with the texts and the personal illustrations they recruited to inform their understandings. We explored the following research questions in relation to the group members' attention to diversity issues prompted by their reading and tutoring experiences:

1. What role did empathic framing play in the discussants' efforts to advance their conceptual understandings of educating secondary school students from diverse means of cultural mediation?
2. What first-hand (e.g., a specific real student) or second-hand (e.g., a text discussed in class) sources served as the basis for empathic framing in their discussions?
3. How did their emotional engagement with textual and corporeal illustrations of the life experiences of people from less advantaged people, or people employing discourse conventions in their everyday speech, produce linguistic shifts that appeared to encourage ideological changes in their perceptions of people from socialization and positioning with which they stated they were largely unfamiliar?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We frame our study with research on the role of emotions in human development. We review work in the relation between emotional speech and sociocultural theory, the role of affect in the framing of conceptual understandings, the fundamental relations between emotion and cognition, and the definitions and applications of the notion of empathy.

Emotional Speech and Sociocultural Theory

This study relies on the analysis of emotional language expressed in a series of self-directed discussions among four TCs engaging with 'characters' from social science and rhetoric scholarship texts that they selected to talk about and lead their classmates in explorations of. We use the term 'characters' consistent with Holley and Colyar's (2009) assertion that, especially in narrative presentations, research participants are constructed by authors of research papers to serve in dramatic roles. They are based on, but cannot fully represent, the participants themselves. Rather, they are depictions that the researcher creates based on what is available to them through data collection and analysis.

Holley and Colyar (2009) thus describe the presentation of research participants as similar to how authors of fiction create and portray literary characters, a process familiar to the TCs in this study as candidates for careers teaching literature, composition, and language. Either sort of character may promote a range of emotional responses in readers. From a literary standpoint, they serve as the stimulus for a reader's generation of images or evocations (Rosenblatt, 1978), which provide the basis for response rather than, as is often assumed, having the text itself provide the impetus for a response. This response is typically emotional as it finds resonance in the reader's own cultural experiences.

This phenomenon is related to what Vygotsky (1971), in his study of the psychology of art – to Vygotsky, largely art in literature or drama – calls a 'catharsis'. This process involves the confluence of emotion and imagination in which the imagination – the source of Rosenblatt's (1978) evocations – elevates the response to the level of 'intelligent emotions' (p. 212) involving 'an affective contradiction [that] causes conflicting feelings' (p. 213). This contradiction – in our study, a conception of other people's lives as more complex and dignified than previously believed – may then produce 'a complex transformation of feelings' (p. 214) that expand life's possibilities and serve as a medium through which one may anticipate a social future, perhaps following a new conceptual trajectory.

Emotional speech thus represents affective responses to the lives of characters available through one's engagement with texts and imaginative responses to them (Smagorinsky, 2001), with this speech situated within social contexts that promote and sanction particular sorts of thinking, speech, and actions. Vygotsky's (1987a) emphasis on speech as both representation of thoughts (the designative function) and vehicle for generating new thoughts (the expressive function; see Wertsch, 2000) suggests the importance of analyzing speech to identify both the symbolic and generative functions of speech. In this study, we analyze the TCs' emotional speech and its role in framing social concepts that were generated during their reading and subsequent discussions of the characters representing the experiences of research participants who had been immersed in cultural mediation different from what the TCs' own families and educational environments had fostered.

The Role of Affect in Framing Conceptual Understanding

The book club setting allowed the TCs' conceptions of diversity-related issues to be informed by both formal ideas and examples from their reading and tutoring, and any other knowledge or experience that they felt was germane to their discussions. Within the framework provided by the reading, and in relation to the ideas they identified as important in the texts, they engaged in *empathic framing*. Empathic framing occurs when, through making an emotional connection with a first-hand or second-hand personal situation of a person or people with different life experiences from one's own, a person or group of people views and talks about them with demonstrable understanding and efforts to feel or simulate their emotional and experiential perspective.

We adapt this notion from work in *reframing*, a process in which an individual experiences a shift in a 'conceptual and/or emotional setting or viewpoint in relation to which a situation is experienced and [places] it in another frame which fits the "facts" of the same concrete situation equally well or even better, and thereby changing its entire meaning' (Watzlawick, Weakland, and Fisch, 1974: 20). In our analysis we could not determine absolutely whether a concept was being framed or reframed. We therefore use the more cautious term *empathic framing* to account for shifts that, rather than being strictly cognitive and rational, follow from the TCs' feelings of connection with people from different experiential backgrounds from their own, leading to relational thinking that helped shift and redirect concept development.

Empathic framing involves an emotionally-motivated form of *repositioning*. Harré, Moghaddam, Cairnie, Rothbart, and Sabat (2009) describe positioning theory as

a contribution to the cognitive psychology of social action. It is concerned with revealing the explicit and implicit patterns of reasoning that are realized in the ways that people act towards others…. Positioning theory adds a previously neglected dimension to the processes of cognition – namely concepts and principles from the local moral domain, usually appearing as beliefs and practices involving rights and duties. (pp. 5–6)

Repositioning occurs when, in a relationship predicated on a power differential, a person's status is shifted by others to account for new information and perspectives and to view the person in a different way. Empathic framing, or reframing, involves such positioning or repositioning of others, yet via an emotional connection rather than a cognitive act of reasoning. This process appears to have played a role in how the TCs' speech illustrated the ways in which the diversity-related educational concepts under inquiry took shape. Imagining the world from another person's or social group's emotional standpoint can, as we will argue, help to initiate a conceptual understanding of worldviews to which their own experiences had never exposed them.

Relations Between Emotion and Cognition

Our work assumes that cognition and emotion are inseparable (Dewey, 1934; Gilligan, 1982; Haidt, 2012; Immordino-Yang and Damasio, 2007; Smagorinsky and Daigle, 2012; Vygotsky, 1971, 1987b, 1999). Keltner, Haidt, and Shiota (2006) describe what they call *social emotions* that include 'compassion, gratitude, love, and awe'. They argue that emotions, rather than being disruptive to clear thinking and irrational (cf. Jung, Wranke, Hamburger, and Knauff, 2014), are 'now viewed as a wellspring of social-moral intuitions. By this view, emotional experience guides moral judgment, assessments of current relationships, and preferences for punitive action in ways that contribute to the stability of the group' (p. 125).

The processes we document represent what Black, Choudry, Pickard-Smith, and Williams (2019) call 'the emotion–cognition dialectic (i.e., the unit of feeling and cognition in thought) in identity formation (or identification)' (n. p.). To Vygotsky (1994), cognition and emotion are inseparable aspects of human mentation. Vygotsky borrowed the construct of *perezhivanie* from Stanislavsky's (2007) approach to theater to consider the role of emotion in cognition and the development and performance of personality. Vygotsky, whose *Psychology of Art* was centered on literature (especially Shakespeare's *Hamlet*) and who was himself a prolific theatergoer and critic (Sobkin, 2016), adapted it from the theatrical stage to the drama of everyday life, with experiences 'refracted through the prism of the child's emotional experience' (p. 339) to help shape a developmental path. This phenomenon led him to

conclude that 'we are justified in considering the emotional experience [*per-ezhivanie*] to be a unity of environmental and personal features' (Vygotsky, 1971: 343). The insertion of [*perezhivanie*] in this quote provides Van der Veer and Valsiner's (1994) editorial clarification that 'Neither "emotional experience" (which is used here and which only covers the affective aspect of the meaning of *perezhivanie)*, nor "interpretation" (which is too exclusively rational) are fully adequate translations of the noun' (p. 354). As in a catharsis, *perezhivanie* involves both affective and rational means of making sense of experience; and appears in relation to contradictions whose resolutions may motivate development along particular pathways.

Our goal here is not to wade into the translational and interpretive disagreements surrounding Vygotsky's use of *perezhivanie*, which are illustrated in Van der Veer and Valsiner's (1994) rejection of a common understanding of the term as an emotional experience. Rather, we invoke it because it helps to clarify the relation between emotion and environment, and the role of emotions in shaping the development of personality and conceptual understandings that in turn frame new events as a function of emotionally-driven thinking (see Smagorinsky (2011b) for an interpretation of *perezhivanie* as *meta-experience*, or the manner in which experiences frame new experiences). That is, we see *perezhivanie* as having a role in emotional framing as documented in this study of how TCs in a course about educational diversity responded emotionally to accounts of lives experienced by people from less-advantaged backgrounds, and racialized socialization practices that were well outside their own experiences.

In this study, we anticipated that the TCs' tutoring of alternative school students, who typically seek this setting because they fit poorly with traditional schooling practices, would contribute to the empathic framing that the TCs would experience by providing first-hand exposure to youth whose frustrations with their surroundings have led them to leave conventional schools. Ideally, engaging with youth, in conjunction with reading and discussing the characters available through scholarship on cultural diversity and challenges facing schools, would open the possibility of advancing their development of a conception of how to teach equitably in pluralistic schools. As we will report, both the narrative illustrations provided in scholarly books and available through the students at the alternative school, and other experiences shared among group members, served as sources of empathic framing in the group's discussions and trajectories as educators working on behalf of an equitable society.

Empathy

Empathy refers to how people feel in relation to others. According to Brown (2013), empathy includes four dimensions: the ability to take the perspective of another person, the capacity to be nonjudgmental about other people, a recognition of other people's emotions, and the act of communicating emotionally; she later updated her conception to include what Smagorinsky (2002) has identified as *compathy*: the ability to feel *with* someone, a state that involves more than projecting and understanding. Brown (2013) views these dispositions as generative, with the capacity to disrupt power and create more humane relationships across people from social groups of different social status. Von Vugt and Van Lange (2006) have found that empathy has motivated altruism toward complete strangers (cf. Haidt, 2012). Yet for the most part, individuals are 'selective in who[m] they empathize with…. individuals empathize more with people who are similar to them' (p. 249). Understanding Brown's view that empathy may disrupt power, then, requires attention to how people who are disposed to empathize with people similar to themselves can feel across borders to take on the perspectives and be altruistic toward people of lower social status than they have, so as to produce greater equity.

This empathic disruption of power, this breaking away from kinship affiliation to embrace the experiences of others, has potential for cultivation in educational settings. Power and privilege based on social status can reduce a person's ability to understand and care about other people such that people with social and financial power read other people's emotions with far less accuracy than do people from lower SES groups (Castano and Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Dietze and Knowles, 2020; Kraus, Côté, and Keltner, 2010). Privilege thus potentially produces empathic failures, a problem that occurs when people with status demonstrate little or no concern for the interests and needs of strangers, and for their suffering (Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, and Keltner, 2012). People living advantaged lives – as is often the case among students attending selective universities – have little need to understand or care about other people's perspectives in order to survive and thrive. Rather, they not only have fewer struggles of their own, they can ignore those of people with less privilege, and often avoid guilt by blaming those struggles on stereotypical inadequacies of those who suffer. They thus may dehumanize and debase those already living stressed lives, assigning blame to those who suffer rather than the systems that deny them agency and opportunity. These less privileged people are often the population of interest in service-learning initiatives, with the service provided to them producing new learning among students, often of an affective, affiliative, and altruistic sort.

Zaki's (2019) finding that empathy may be learned and cultivated suggests that the sort of university student participating in our research – in general, those from the kind of privileged backgrounds typical of students at state namesake universities in the US, those from a demographic whose members may exhibit insensitivity toward others due to their advantaged position – may learn via service-learning how to overcome privilege and view people from other backgrounds with greater understanding and compassion. This relational thinking may help to disrupt larger power inequities in society if the commitment is developed and sustained.

Emotions help to produce "commitment-based analyses of emotion and relationships" (Keltner *et al.*, 2006: 119). We can't say if the instances of emotional framing that we report produce a long-term social commitment toward equity on the part of individual speakers or the group as a collective. It may, however, *contribute to development* toward such a commitment, if the stated empathic dedication is sustained over time. This emotional commitment may exhibit Keltner *et al.*'s conclusion that 'Compassion no doubt plays an important role in promoting cooperative relations among nonkin' (p. 119), a critical aspect of a commitment to diversity, inclusiveness, and equity toward people with whom the speaker does not share an experiential or cultural background. Shweder (1991) reports that 'Empathy links members of one's own kind' because of their shared socialization into ways of expressing and regulating their emotions (p. 247). The challenge for educators is to help people take empathic stances toward *people who are not of their own kind*. Delgado and Stefancic (2012) caution that simplistic approaches may produce the 'empathic fallacy – the belief that one can change a narrative by merely offering another, better one – that the reader's or listener's empathy will quickly and reliably take over' (p. 33). Rather, deliberate efforts are likely necessary to promote an empathic effort to relate to the circumstances of someone different from oneself.

Keltner *et al.* (2006) also assert that emotions may help individual people assume cultural identities. The discussions we analyze took place in a College of Education replete with the discourse of inclusion, equity, and diversity. It was a cultural site that approved of people who make a commitment to equity, or at least say they do within its classrooms. The TCs aspired, for the most part, to work in schools. Although schools typically produce diversity-centered mission statements, their lofty goals for inclusion and mutual respect are often undermined by a deep structure that enforces conformity to the dominant White culture's ways and means (Smagorinsky, 2020a, 2020b) of the sort that often produces disaffiliation among students who enroll in alternative schools. For the TCs, taking on the cultural identity as a caring,

compassionate educator allows for membership in the discourse widely circulated in Colleges of Education and in schools, if not necessarily practiced.

CONTEXT OF THE INVESTIGATION

We next describe the general outline of the service-learning course, the participants in the focal book club, and the books they selected to read and discuss during the semester.

Service-learning Course

Service-learning in English Education was an undergraduate elective that met on the campus of a Southeastern US university. The university carried Carnegie Classifications of *Research Universities (very high research activity)* and *Elective Classification for Community Engagement*, and also had been designated with both land-grant[1] and sea-grant[2] status, suggesting concomitant commitments to both research and community outreach in support of material and practical, as opposed to strictly intellectual, educational work. These points are relevant in that the university's namesake status produced a commitment to both public service and selective admissions, resulting in a student body likely to represent the affluence that, as we have reviewed, may include a limited capacity for empathizing with those less fortunate in society.

Service-learning deliberately engages the two conceptual planes identified by Vygotsky (1987a): those that are formal and involve abstractions taught primarily in schools (scientific), and those that are learned informally in everyday activity (spontaneous). He argues that scientific and spontaneous concepts must be put in dialogue with one another in order for abstractions to make empirical sense and for experiential knowledge to be adaptable to new conditions. In the current study, we consider campus-based discussions of scholarly books to have an academic emphasis, and the personal examples from the alternative school and other experiences to have an everyday character. Service-learning opportunities potentially integrate the two conceptual fields in ways that typically are not foregrounded in schools (Fyfe, McNeil, Son, and Goldstone, 2014) or practiced in universities (Hou and Wilder, 2015).

For the service-learning dimension of the course, each student spent a minimum of one hour each week in the university's 15-week semester system, working one-on-one with a student enrolled in the city's alternative high school. This school served students who were either involuntarily or voluntarily removed from one of the city's two mainstream public high schools, often following from difficulties fitting in socially or conforming to

the school's regulatory system. The service-learning course was designed to enable TCs to learn about teaching both from academic readings and from tutoring and mentoring students who were disaffiliated from conventional schooling. Rather than learning about school from mentor teachers invested in the system, as is typical in field experiences, TCs in this class learned about school from students whose enrollment suggested that they rejected its practices and structure, a design feature of the course whose intent was to provide TCs with an alternative perspective on how school should be conducted.

In the weekly campus sessions, the TCs formed book clubs that remained stable in membership for the semester. The book clubs met in three 4-week cycles. The TCs chose their books from a menu prepared by the professor (this study's first author). These texts were identified to engage the prospective teachers with a variety of issues affecting schools and communities, particularly those concerned with diversity, equity, and other factors that challenge status quo assumptions. The book club pedagogy allowed the TCs in this state in the US Deep South to explore topics of great sensitivity in light of the conservative political culture in which they had grown up, and to do so inductively without a university professor keeping their opinions in line with progressive ideology. The selections were considered by the professor to represent responsible scholarship, and thus did not include texts that he found intellectually dubious, racist, sexist, or questionable in any other way. Ideally, these books informed the TCs' tutoring and mentoring in the alternative school, although it was not possible to say in advance which issues would arise in their engagement with the school's students, and so alignment was not required.

In each cycle, the first week was devoted to a general discussion of the book. The second week continued that discussion and included attention to how to lead the other clubs in a discussion of their book. The third and fourth weeks provided opportunities for the four book clubs to lead their classmates in discussions of their books in sessions ranging from 60–80 minutes.

TCs also wrote papers for the course about their field experiences in relation to their book club experiences, writing either a case study of a single student, a paper summarizing their experiences across a range of students, a real-time blog in which they reflected on their experiences as the semester unfolded, or a creative work based on their experiences at the alternative school. The TCs' writing in their course projects is not part of the present study; the IRB consent covered the discussions but not their written work.

Participants

The focal book club included four students. (All names are pseudonyms.) Angela was the only African American student in the class and was a

second-year student of traditional college age. Hillary was a white second-year student of traditional college age. Colin was a 28-year-old white male in his final year before graduation. Jennie was a white third-year student of traditional college age.

Book Selections

We next summarize the three books that the focal group selected to discuss in their book club, presenting them in the order in which they selected, read, and discussed them.

LeCompte and Dworkin's (1991) *Giving Up on School: Student Dropouts and Teacher Burnouts*: The authors study the related phenomena of students dropping out of school and teachers burning out on their jobs, with 'burned out' defined as exhausted by, disconnected from, apathetic toward, emotionally spent in relation to, powerless within, and bereft of a future orientation as a result of. The authors find that even though both teachers and students hold the other accountable for their sour experiences with school, each is responding to the same root causes of disaffiliation from the school institution that are systemic and pervasive: a lack of agency, feelings of isolation, schools being held responsible for societal problems without being given support to address them, the impact of underfunding in terms of class size and access of teachers to parents and students, control of decision-making, the replication of social hierarchies in school structures such as tracking, and other issues related to feelings of exclusion from and being unappreciated in how the school is run.

Eckert's (1989) *Jocks & Burnouts: Social Categories and Identity in High School*: Eckert studied two groups at opposite ends of the high school social continuum. The 'jocks' felt a strong affiliation with the institution of school, such that their experiences could be categorized as a 'career', at times through sports but also available via participation in other school-sponsored activities. The 'burnouts' were typically from working class backgrounds who felt that schools were designed to hold them in subservient adolescent positions and who were oriented more to the adult world of work such that school's reward and punishment system gave them little incentive to attend, comply, or engage. This trajectory makes grades, school activities, and other school-oriented means of participation, reward, and punishment irrelevant to their own goals. Extracurricular school activities are often unavailable to them because they hold jobs after school.

Campbell's (2005) *Gettin' Our Groove On: Rhetoric, Language, and Literacy for the Hip Hop Generation*: Campbell, an African American professor of composition and rhetoric, was less interested in schools and more interested in African American speech in general. Campbell himself employs African American speech conventions in his diction throughout his scholarly analysis

of how its patterns function in society. The book's attention to matters of school affiliation and equity in a diverse society came primarily in terms of the absence of such opportunities in school. He also focused on the Oakland school Ebonics controversy in 1996, when the Oakland School Board recognized this speech genre as the primary language of African American students, creating a national controversy about linguistic variation.

METHOD

Data Collection

Data for this study consist of the audio-recorded book club discussions, with this group selected from among the four groups in the class for the first transcription because it was the most audible of the recordings. Recordings were available for each of the six book club discussions covering three books (two discussions per book). The recordings of the whole-class discussions they led were inaudible and thus not available for analysis.

Data Analysis

We developed the codes inductively through discussion of each statement in the transcripts. By discussing each code and routinely renaming and reorganizing codes and their overall scheme throughout the process, we were able to evolve our system as our insights about the discussions grew across the six discussions analyzed (see Smagorinsky, 2008, for a rationale for collaborative, recursive coding).

   We undertook two successive coding processes. First, we identified the concepts raised in each of the six discussions to get a preliminary understanding of the focus of their inquiries. We considered a topic to be a concept when it involved a generalization or abstraction such as *equity* that the group raised in their discussion. The second round of coding identified *empathic framing* as a means of prompting reflection that contributed to concept development during their discussions. We agreed that empathic framing had taken place when we observed three related phenomena, which we next define and illustrate with one example from the data, when Jennie stated of the dilemma posed in *Giving Up On School*: 'I just feel so hopeless when I read it. I know it's horrible but like for me it's just this cycle like of the burned out and the drop out you know like a never-ending cycle more, more [inaudible] you can't even stop it almost.'

(1) *a reference to a source exemplifying a concept relevant to their discussion*. In the example, the group was discussing an account in *Giving Up On School* about how teacher and student burnout produces a cycle of affective disengagement from school in which the conduct and perceptions of each group produce disaffection in the other.

(2) *speech that suggested an emotionally-driven recognition about the life experiences of people whose lives were affected by circumstances outside their own forms of socialization*. Jennie's statement that 'I just feel so hopeless' served as an indicator in our analysis that she was emotionally affected by her consideration of the topic, potentially triggering a way of framing the issue with understanding and compassion. Our analysis relied on our recognition of affective terms like *feel* and *hopeless* in sentence stems to indicate a possible instance of emotional framing.

(3) *a perspective that appeared to represent a view of other people's experiences and respect and appreciation for that person's circumstances and actions*. Jennie's statement suggests that her view of school became framed as *hopeless*ly bound in burnout cycles, allowing her an affective connection to people different from herself and her experiences. Although we cannot say with certainty that her recognition involved a *re*framing, we do see it likely that her conceptualization of schools took on complexity following her emotional relation to the plight of working parents and how they are constructed negatively and unfairly by teachers who judge them irrespective of their work obligations. This emotional response in turn suggested the beginnings of a new, more sensitive consideration of the lives of others and how to serve them academically and socially.

This study focuses on the second round of coding in which we identified instances of empathic framing of concepts that produced insights about people in light of the diversity issues raised in their discussions, based on their reading, mentoring, and other experiences.

FINDINGS

Our coding identified the concepts covered in each discussion, and the TCs' explorations of these concepts included empathic framing as a way to take on the perspectives of those affected by inequity and oppression. *Giving Up On School* discussions yielded attention to *teacher and student burnout* in school and how they reinforce each other, with such concepts as diversity, equity, alienation, and power serving as their focus. *Jocks & Burnouts* discussions included attention to *burnout* among working class students in contrast with the affiliative feelings among more affluent students, with such concepts as equity, burnout, and social group membership and reproduction drawing their attention. *Gettin' Our Groove On* produced considerations of African

American speech genres and practices and their role in education and society, centered on power, speech conventions, and hip-hop language and culture.

Each of the texts centered on populations whose demographic socialization was different in some or many ways from members of the book club. None of the TCs could be considered the sort of burnout who served as the focus of *Giving Up On School* or *Jocks & Burnouts*; the jocks in Eckert's book served primarily as the foil for her sympathetic view of students who rejected the school institution. Angela was a middle-class African American rather than a member of an impoverished, resistant, and activist culture of the sort associated with the origins of hip-hop (Lamotte, 2014), and Colin claimed extensive knowledge of hip-hop culture as a connoisseur without being a member of the genre's principal practitioners' racial or social group. The experiential distance between the students in the group and the people portrayed in the research thus created the conditions for the generation of an empathic connection across cultural chasms, and thus a conceptual refinement and possibly shift toward greater emotional resonance and understanding of people who are often pathologized among the TCs' familial and kinship groups.

We next detail the sources from which empathic framing emerged. We first review the different effects of the three texts, next provide examples of how the first two books produced what we coded as empathic framing, then consider the tutoring dimension and how engaging with disaffected youth produced empathic framing, and finally look at outside sources recruited to inform their exploration. Appendixes A and B provide charted illustrations of the discussion excerpts that we do not include in this analysis.

Book Club Texts: Comparative Frequency of Text Types

In relation to the first two texts, *Giving Up On School* and *Jocks & Burnouts*, the students exhibited empathic framing on multiple occasions, with 13 instances in *Giving Up On School* and six in *Jocks & Burnouts*. In discussing *Gettin' Our Groove On*, they did so once. We infer that the evidence of empathic framing in the first two books follows from the authors' focus on narratives of people, with many sympathetic characterizations of those considered burned out in school settings. The third book was more concerned with African American discourse in a broadly political context, so provided fewer personal illustrations of human inequity – that is, fewer characters with whom to resonate – through which to make an empathic connection than did the first two texts. It also was concerned with discourse more than schooling, which the service-learning course took as its site of focus.

Indeed, the only instance of empathic framing from the two discussions of *Gettin' Our Groove On* came from an example from outside the book. In exploring a tangent, Hillary drew on what we coded as a *projected teacher*

identity; that is, an imaginative sense of how she would teach in the future, generated in response to a text that argues for broader acceptance of cultural discourse genres in society. She said,

> Let's say you're having a discussion with the class and you're the kind of teacher that shuts a student down and says, 'That's not how you are supposed to say that.' That's going to shut down the person and they're not going to want to participate, or grow or learn. They're not going to be able to participate.

In framing reticent students as victims of teacher authoritarianism, Hillary depicted teacher-student interactions in terms of how students feel when shut down by teachers, thus using an emotional connection to see life from the standpoint of the belittled, hyper-corrected student. This framing, however, was not available through Campbell's book, which provided little in terms of sympathetic characters on whom to base understanding. We thus infer that the first two books' inclusion of narrative illustrations of characters based on real examples promoted the likelihood of engaging empathically in order to frame the concepts explored; and that the third book's less personal use of examples made empathic framing less likely.

Book Club Texts: Illustrations

We next illustrate empathic framing with excerpts from discussions of the first two books chosen by the group, *Giving Up On School* and *Jocks & Burnouts*.

Book 1: *Giving Up On School*
The two discussions of *Giving Up On School* produced 10 coded instances of empathic framing, four from the first discussion and six from the second. We excerpt discussion exchanges that show them taking empathic stances toward different stakeholders in the educational process, including parents, students, and teachers.

Parents. Working parents are often constructed by teachers according to their perceived lack of investment in their children's education (Skelton and Francis, 2009). They are often viewed as uncaring when they don't attend day-time conferences with teachers, leading to deficit conceptions of them and their children. *Giving Up On School* helped the TCs take an empathic perspective on the parents rather than adopting the debilitating assumptions of many teachers. Jennie said, 'We [the school] need the parents, but they [teachers and administrators] are *not respectful* of working parents. Some *parents are caring*, it's just that they are working.' Jennie rejected the deficit view of working-class parents, framing them instead as sympathetic people with many responsibilities and difficult work days that make it challenging to attend school functions of the sort expected by more advantaged people in schools.

Students. *Giving Up On School* included an example of a teenaged girl who dropped out of school when she became pregnant. Their discussion of this illustration included empathic connections developed through their adoption of the girl's perspective on how she was treated as an at-risk youth of questionable sexual morality and removed from the gifted program in which she had been enrolled:

Jennie: [The book] says, 'In her senior year, she became pregnant. She was transferred to a special school for pregnant teens where she was not granted to continue to work in her gifted program.' She was like in the gifted program, but because she was pregnant, she couldn't have that curriculum. *So, she was working in classes far below her grade level. And she dropped out because she was bored….*[3]

Angela: I underlined a lot of stuff on kids who have given up at school. And how schools make you at risk by placing you in these little categories.

Hillary: Right. Like that one example of that girl who got pregnant and had to leave school….

Colin: Being pregnant, it's not like she split her brain power and was no longer gifted.

Hillary: Just all that stuff. *It's so sad.*

The group members framed a girl considered an irresponsible, sexually-active, teen as a sympathetic victim of prudish school authorities who conflated sexual activity with low academic potential, worthy only of a remedial curriculum. By becoming pregnant, the girl was labeled as 'at-risk', a term with lasting powers of stigmatization (Ladson-Billings, 2007) that requires compassionate understanding to counteract and diminish (Toldson, 2019). The group framed the at-risk label as detrimental to students whose academic performance is belied by their curricular placement due to extracurricular sexual activity. The TCs found that the school's pregnancy policies resulting in this label and reassignment were insensitive to the student's life needs and potential for academic achievement. Although we cannot say conclusively that this conception was *re*framed, we see their empathic connection serving to provide a newly-developed frame for understanding and being simpatico with students to whom the at-risk label is applied for non-academic reasons. Ladson-Billings and Toldson are especially concerned with how this label is debilitating for African American students; *Giving Up On School* and the TCs find it similarly detrimental to students to whom the term is applied for other non-academic reasons.

Teachers. As prospective teachers, the TCs considered the emotional lives of those in the profession in relation to the issue of teacher burnout emphasized in *Giving Up On School*. Among the issues raised in the book was the problem that teachers often have of needing to care about their students

without getting too close to them, a challenge that is often new to preservice teachers and may have precarious implications (Johnson, 2008). The TCs explored this tension in relation to examples from the book as they were planning the whole-class discussion they would lead, using the concepts from the book to ask their classmates to formulate projected teacher identities that included a compassionate stance toward students:

Jennie: Just ask everyone [during the class discussion we lead], 'Do you think that you're going to be able to *get along with your students and start really genuinely caring about their lives…*. But when is enough enough?'

Angela: Like a blessing and a curse. How do you prepare for that? And also even though she constantly removed herself from being too nice to the jocks or the burnouts[4]. *How could we as teachers contribute to that alienation?* Like when you talk to another student, other students will look at them and say 'goody-goody student' and their peers will end up hating them. *Like you think you're helping, but you're really hurting.*

The TCs considered a tension that appeared new to their experience, the teacher whose excessive care could produce dissonance in the student's efforts to develop relationships with peers. Here they expressed empathy toward both the teacher caught between overtly caring for a student to the point of social exclusion, and the alienating feelings that could follow from being ostracized as a 'goody-goody student'. Their references to possibly 'hurting' students through excessive attention and care suggest that they had developed a new frame for understanding teacher-student relationships, one that could serve them emotionally as teachers and help them avoid positioning students in ways that lead to their rejection.

Book 2: *Jocks & Burnouts*

During the second discussion of *Jocks & Burnouts*, the TCs considered Eckert's account of cafeteria seating tendencies, which manifested the presence of social cliques of different school and societal status. This topic generated a discussion that involved the TCs' offering of examples from their own schooling experiences that helped them relate to the effects of cafeteria life's reproduction of social hierarchies, especially on those with the lowest status:

Angela: Chapter 4 [revealed] the heightened visibility of lunch time. *You can be alone in the hallways, but come lunchtime, if you're lonely that's when you become more insecure….*

Jennie: Yea. I mean *I can think of people who would sit alone at lunch.*

Angela: *… That's interesting how they sit together, what effect that has on the student. Just really emotional….* You could go to any old high school and all the basketball players sit together and all the cheerleaders sit together, the nerdy kids sit together and the loners are alone, but act

> like they're happy. *But once you interview them … it's like 'I don't really have any real friends. It's kind of good because you're not tied down' but they do really want friends. I guess how we could be sensitive to that. I ask myself what would I do if I knew one of my students didn't have any friends and would literally go to lunch every day and sit by a wall. Am I involved in that? Am I to say 'come to my classroom to eat lunch?' Or does that make her look even more of a loser because you got to eat with the teacher 'cause you don't have no friends.*

Jennie: *You don't want to do that! Because then there's a really good chance that they'll get made fun of.*

This instance of empathic framing illustrates the ways in which scientific/academic and spontaneous/everyday concepts can be woven together with an emotional thread to enhance beginning teachers' advancement of their conceptual understanding of the affective dimension of school social life and how teachers may become implicated with students' engagement with the school as a whole. Our study is limited in that we were not able to follow the students into their teaching careers, so can't trace a trajectory to see if these projected identities were eventually realized. However, they do illustrate how a new pathway can be undertaken, at least provisionally, through an emotional connection that was verbally expressed in the discussion. Further, the excerpt shows how speech can be generative in developing ideas, a facet of Vygotsky's (1987a) theory that Wertsch (2000) calls the *expressive function* in which speech, rather than serving as a representation of thoughts (the *designative function*), may mediate the emergence of new ideas, here emerging from the empathic framing of people treated as 'losers' in school.

Alternative School Experience

The alternative school experience informed rather than provided the focus for the book club discussions; the TCs' formal reflections on their tutoring and mentoring came in the writing they did for the class. The alternative school students did provide occasional stimulus for expressions of empathic framing, however. In the first discussion of the first book, *Giving Up On School*, Hillary related the book's themes to her tutoring experience with a teenaged male who was the father of three children. She said,

> The student that I'm tutoring, he has three kids, and he's younger than I am. *I couldn't imagine dealing with that.* And he's trying to go to school. They were taking up a donation for Haiti, and he's like, "I've got three kids. I can't give you money." I thought of that, and it's really kind of *sad*.

Hillary positioned this student as a hardworking father succeeding against the odds rather than an irresponsible and sexually profligate youth, similar to the

way in which the group took a compassionate stance toward the pregnant girl who was forced out of the gifted curriculum and into a less challenging curriculum that led her to drop out of school. The students' sexuality in this discussion was not a problem for the students, even though it often is treated as a character deficiency in school settings (e.g., Lickona, 1999).

The second occasion involved Angela and Jennie discussing an alternative school student's belief that her teachers don't care for her. The student said that she hadn't taken school seriously and had skipped classes a lot to meet with her friends, leading Angela to tell the book club,

Angela: She said that the teacher didn't care. So, it's really interesting. The signals weren't going right. *How can you say that the teachers don't care when they probably think you don't care?*

Jennie: It's probably what we were talking about. *That whole cycle like you don't think they care, so you don't care, so they don't care more.*

The service-learning class was designed so that TCs learned about school from the perspective of disaffiliated students. This exchange demonstrated how Angela's relationship with the alternative school students produced ambivalence. She took both the teacher's and student's perspective on their lack of connection and mutual rejection, a major theme of *Giving Up On School*. She and Jennie took the perspective that teacher and student burnout are part of a mutually constitutive cycle of burnout, an understanding that involves an empathic framing of how they feel about each other and the institution through which they meet.

External Sources

In addition to the sources built into the course – the book club selections and the alternative school experience – the TCs recruited examples from their own experiences to provide illustrations of the points emphasized in their reading. These included one example from their knowledge of U.S. history, accompanied by a novel they had read in school; three occasions when they referred to specific people they knew; and one time when they considered an ostracized social group often found in schools.

The example from US history came during the second discussion of *Giving Up On School*. The TCs drew on their knowledge of the treatment of Native people in a process of cultural effacement to make an empathic connection:

Hillary: Have you guys heard … of reservation boarding school that they have for Native Americans? … They would take these kids off-campus, I mean off reservation, and they weren't allowed to speak their native language.

Colin: Trying to make them White.

Hillary: Yeah, *It was really horrible.*

Colin: Yeah, I read a book about that called *The Education of Little Tree*[5] or something like that.

Hillary: They thought that they were giving these kids a service. They thought there was nothing wrong with it. "I'm helping you!"

Jennie: No, *you're stealing my culture!*

The TCs took the Native American perspective and responded empathically to the suppression of their culture, as a way to understand social ostracism and degradation. The group also framed their understanding empathically when they relied on anecdotes they shared about people they knew, either friends or family members. Jennie, for instance, shared a story about her sister's experiences of being shunned by a social group of which she had been a long-time member:

Jennie: My sister is a junior [in high school] and she was like real popular. She's the funniest person I know. She's happy. She liked everyone. But then this group of like 20 girls decided to not like her anymore. I don't know why. *They are just the meanest girls. Just awful. So sad.* Now she has friends who are a grade above her, but when they graduate, she's like I don't know what I'm going to do without them. I wish she was a senior, too. *She had all this anxiety. She gets sick because of anxiety. So, she misses a lot of school but, isn't that awful?*

Angela: *You'd rather be in ISS [In-School Suspension] all day then be confronted with that. It makes sense why some kids just act out. That's better than dealing with all that.*

Although Jennie's sister did not act out in school, she was considered by Angela to be sympathetic in the manner of students who, upon rejection, strike back. Both Jennie and Angela connected empathically with Jennie's sister as a means of taking her perspective on the feeling of being rejected and experiencing mental health problems over being excluded.

The final illustration of external sources also demonstrates how the group addressed what appeared to be an unsympathetic view that Colin took toward "emo" kids, that is, people who perform their emotions through black clothing and other suggestions of a depressive outlook.

Colin: My favorite shirt that I owned said, "I wish my lawn was emo so it would cut itself." 'Cause, again, those kids take themselves so serious. It's like, "Dude"!

Jennie: *I think it's okay to take yourself seriously, but I don't know who you're trying to impress. To be so into the dark, dim lights. That felt emo coming up out my mouth.*

Angela: I feel like emo kids would hate me as a teacher because I'm so not that.
I'm so bubbly. I'm so, 'Let's be happy together.'

Hillary: Yea. There will be a bubble machine in my classroom. We're having a
bad day? (sound effect for turning machine on).

Angela: *I don't know. I never really thought much about emo kids.*

This discussion illustrates the way an initially callous view of 'emo' kids produced an emotional framing from Angela, who, as a person with a sunny and optimistic outlook, had never given much thought to why they might dwell on negative emotions, or how she might respond to them as a teacher. Her emotional connection appears to have emerged in the process of speaking with her group members, consistent with Vygotsky's (1987a) postulation of speech as having both an 'ideal' or symbolic function and, as illustrated here, what Wertsch (2000) calls an expressive function that is emergent and generative in the production of new thinking.

It's not clear how she might re-envision 'emo' kids; the discussion took a new turn and she never developed this thought. If empathic framing plays a role in how people work toward the higher truths that Vygotsky (1971) asserts follow from catharsis, then this excerpt shows that such truths may initiate in a conceptual conflict, either collective or individual, that requires resolution, in this case prompted by an emotional connection. If the constructs of catharsis and *perezhivanie* include the element of contradiction leading to an emotional resolution, and if the process of speech itself has a generative dimensions, then they are on display throughout these discussions, given that their own experiences were often dissonant with those of the people they spoke about, and that these moments of disconcertion were critical to how they shifted their sympathies to the 'burnout' students featured in the first two texts they read during the semester.

DISCUSSION

The four students in this group discussed, over the course of the semester, the socialization of people who are burned out on school, racialized, socially ostracized, disengaged, alienated, and otherwise different from themselves in many ways: the burnouts and 'losers' who were repositioned emotionally as sympathetic and worthy of their attention. Doing so at times involved empathy as a starting point for framing their conceptions, in dialogue with ideas from the books they selected and other sources drawn on. Empathic framing occurred routinely, if not excessively, during their discussions of their first two books, in which the authors provided narrative illustrations of characters

representing people living under the burdens of labels, stereotypes, bias, and other forms of oppression. The third volume, which was more centered on African American speech conventions and the politics of discourse, provided fewer occasions for empathic framing of emerging social justice concepts. The TCs' statements about emotionally relating to people different from themselves allowed, we argue, a gateway into understanding and demonstrating compassion for the feelings of those who are marginalized in society. Assuming that emotion and cognition are inherently related, this emotional connection potentially invited broader changes in the TCs' conception of historically disenfranchised people and how they themselves might work as educators to make their experiences more rewarding and satisfying.

Black *et al.* (2019) concluded that the emotion–cognition dialectic plays a role in identity formation. We see the TCs' projected identities as caring teachers shaped through the process of empathic framing. They engaged in a discourse of understanding that may have helped initiate them into a professional community in which inclusion and respect are often stated in mission statements, if not always practiced. This study did not analyze practice, so we are limited to noting that, assuming that discourse, ideology, and identity are intertwined (Gee, 1989), the occasions of empathic framing suggested not only shifts in perspective and belief, but nascent moves toward adopting identities as sensitive, humane educators. This shift was not necessarily smooth or simple, as Black *et al.* might predict through their attention to the dialectic in which feeling and cognition may be in conflict, thus potentially serving as a fruitful developmental impetus.

This dialectic could in turn help to generate another change born of conflict, a challenge to inequitable status in society. Brown (2013) contends that an empathic disruption of power is available from greater understanding by people living privileged lives of the conditions surrounding the experiences of people from historically excluded social groups. Empathic failures (Kraus *et al.*, 2012) have produced many societal inequities that are intractable and intergenerational. If educators are in position to help young people make shifts following from empathic framing before prejudicial attitudes become entrenched, if they help cultivate the empathic potential of people living advantaged lives so that they are more sensitive to the challenges of those on the margins, they may contribute to a shift in social positioning that produces a more equitable society. This possibility is greatest when emotional resonance produces a commitment to participating in the changes that a culture needs in order to take care of all of its members (Keltner *et al.*, 2006).

In this sense the emotions involved in empathic framing potentially serve as intelligent emotions (Vygotsky, 1971), those that produce a catharsis, an experience that expands personal emotions to higher human truths. As in

other dialectic processes we have reviewed, a catharsis depends on affective contradictions and conflicting feelings that, while initially a source of dissonance, may be resolved with a commitment to a higher truth and a dedication to a social future, an identity predicated on equity. This act requires an imaginative projection of possible alternative worlds in which new possibilities become available.

Our goal with this study is not to provide proof of these potentials, many of which would require longitudinal research. Rather, it is to illustrate how, during discussions of equity-oriented books in an educational foundations course in a college of education with a stated commitment to diversity, a group of TCs made emotional connections with either personally-known or textually-depicted lives of people whose experiences, socialization, and perspectives were very different from their own. We offer the notion of empathic framing to characterize this phenomenon, one that we believe has potential to inform how social justice education is undertaken in university classrooms. These concepts are typically taught hierarchically in dry, scholastic terms, rather than allowing students' emotions to lead the way (Griffin and Ouellett, 2007). This study suggests that when academic and everyday concepts are given free play in inductive settings in which students recruit their own knowledge and examples from scholarship or personal understandings, students may find new imperatives for working to participate in society so as to extend privilege by checking their own and basing their thinking on what they learn from and about others' emotional experiences in life.

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NOTES

1. Land grant universities receive benefits of the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, which grants land for university's control and promotes the teaching of practical agriculture, science, military science, and engineering in response to the industrial revolution and the need for practical education, rather than providing a solely liberal arts curriculum. To some, they are better characterized as 'land-grab' universities in that they exist on lands seized from native populations (Lee and Ahtone, 2020).

2. Sea grant universities fall under the administration of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and are committed to research, education, training, and projects dedicated to conservation and use of marine areas and their coasts. Like land grants, they come with an obligation to serve the people of the state.

3. We use ellipses to indicate missing text rather than to indicate pauses

4. This reference to 'jocks and burnouts' came prior to discussions of Eckert's book with the same name, which was next in their sequence and may have influenced the phrasing of this statement.

5. This faux memoir, allegedly narrated by a Native American youth, was exposed as a hoax 25 years after publication. It was in fact written by former Ku Klux Klan leader Asa Earl Carter, author of Alabama Governor George Wallace's racist 1963 speech, which ended 'Segregation now. Segregation tomorrow. Segregation forever.' This background appears not to have been known to Colin.

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APPENDIX A: BOOK 1

Meeting	Source	Evidence	Concept framed
Book 1, Meeting 1	**Source text** summary of teachers getting blamed for being inaccessible to parents	**Angela**: "And then blame everything on her. And she's got to make the curriculum … But, that is a good thing. You want to make yourself available. Give them your phone number…. *But you end up regretting it. Because then you take the blame for the whole education.*"	Teachers' reliance on parents to initiate contact *framed as* responsibility of teachers for maintaining contact with difficult-to-reach parents
Book 1, Meeting 1	**Source text** finding that average students get overlooked and the at-risk label becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy	**Jennie**: There's this little section about the average. It says, 'Average is a catch-all category for kids who fall in no other category. They get the least interesting and the least enriched educational programs of all.' *Because they're average they're not being focused on. Another thing, those kids can—if you think of them as at-risk, that causes them to be at-risk.*"	Average kids are *framed as* neglected; at-risk labeling *framed as* self-fulfilling prophesy

Book 1, Meeting 2	**Source text** account of burnout cycles	**Jennie**: I just *feel so hopeless* when I read it. I know it's horrible but like for me it's just this cycle like of the burned out and the drop out you know like a never ending cycle more, more [inaudible] you can't even stop it almost."	Optimistic view of school *framed as* hopelessly bound in burnout cycles
Book 1, Meeting 2	**Source text** account of inner city challenges	**Angela**: "I think it's interesting how pre-service training—what we're doing right now will not prepare you for what you will experience if you are going into an inner-city school. I thought the whole fact of the book being equating teacher drop out with student drop out was really interesting. *You never think that* teachers who quit are different than students who quit. I also liked the whole the fact even though you encourage someone to pursue an education ideally it sounds good but practically it won't work for kids who have so much issues going on. *How can you care about school*."	Idea that encouragement always motivates kids *framed as* sympathy for the challenges faced by kids living in poverty.
Book 1, Meeting 2	**Source text** conclusion about how schools may jettison equality to maintain social inequities across socioeconomic classes	**Angela**: On page 167 it says, "Over the years, our economy, decision making, and even control over what constitutes pedagogical knowledge has been taken from teachers by elites who fear either the incompetence of teachers or that teachers will impart to children of non elite the necessary info., knowledge and skills to make them effective and competitive [Inaudible]. That's a bold accusation!… **Hillary**: Basically, it's like saying that these people are purposely making these students fail…. **Angela**: And it's interesting because *I feel that America is all about equality, equality. But you get deep into somebody's heart and they, we don't want equality.*	Belief in the American value on equality *framed as* stratification designed to maintain the privilege of elite social classes

Book 1, Meeting 2	**Source text** finding that schools provide few support groups for teachers	**Angela**: It's really interesting talking about the importance of support groups. How teachers who quit reported having few support groups and how students who dropped out reported having few support groups…. *How important it is just if someone cared about you, how dramatically that can influence someone quitting or dropping out*…. So for teachers, a support group would be like the administration, the principal, *supporting you and your cause*…. For students, their support groups would be the teacher in itself, their friends, or parents. The fewer you have people *encouraging you or if not, supporting you, at least being understanding* the more likely you are to drop out of school or quit teaching…. know that there are people who are *fighting for the same cause* . . just to know that *you're not alone in something*. That would make a really big difference in how eager you are to continue. **Hillary**: Also, *if you feel like you've accomplished something with a students, and you have no one to there to acknowledge that you did something.*	Assumption that teachers and students are independent *framed as* understanding that teachers have a human need for care and support
Book 1, Meeting 2	**Source text** finding that technology can be alienating	**Colin**: This is a quote that I like a lot. It's talk about *alienation* and stuff. It says, "Groups from different cultures are thrown together via telecommunications and transport networks give an illusion of intimacy. At the same time, the institutions which the groups live in and work have become so large and unwieldy that intimacy is precluded." … **Angela**: And that is a good point. *The whole alienation theory. No support. You're alienated. You're alone. You quit. It comes from both ends.*	Belief that technology brings people together *framed as* belief that technology can cause alienation and feelings of being overwhelmed by information

APPENDIX B: BOOK 2

Meeting	Source	Evidence	Concept framed
Book 2, Meeting 1	**Friend of Angela's**	**Angela**: I knew this girl and if you saw her now you would never guess. She's really Christian-like now. And she was saying how before she goes to [an arts-based university]. Anyways, she aspired to be an artist but she had this idea that any type of artist had to be depressed and Goth-like. So she would dress like that and worship Satan just to be the typical artist…. *And then she was like "Yea, I would cut myself just because I felt like I needed to do it to be a true artist." …Is anybody naturally that upset with their life? I mean…* **Colin**: I think it becomes dangerous for those kids because it is getting a little oversaturated with kids being phony like that. And so it's a boy who cried wolf type thing. Like, even I'm now and I'm extremely open-minded and accepting, when I hear some of these whiny kids, I'm like, "I don't want to hear your depressing poetry. Shut up!" *But, I'm sure for some of these kids it's a real cry for help and it's probably difficult to identify.*	Assumption that people exhibiting depression are whiny *framed as* understanding that depression is complex and requires help and care
Book 2, Meeting 2	**Angela's uncle, Jennie's projected teacher image** who became burned out because of excessive emotional connection to clients and students	**Angela**: *As a teacher, of course you want to be close to students but what if you run into being too close to students? Overwhelming in a sense that everyone's putting their problems on you.* And you don't have the right things to say. *It just got me thinking.* I remember an uncle of mine. He's a social worker. He was like it's the most rewarding thing. But it's the most *psychologically draining because you take on so many people's problems and you become emotionally connected to people. And when they hurt, you hurt. And when they're crying, you're crying. Your job becomes more than teaching, but you love these people and it becomes emotional.*	Notion of the caring teacher *framed as* burned out teacher because of intensive emotional care for students living in stressed conditions

| | | **Jennie**: Yea. That is something I've thought about being a teacher in a really rough school or something. *You'll see so many problems and issues in students that don't have anybody at home. You want to be that person but then people tell you, "You can't. You have a life. You can't do that for everyone." As simple as "I'll take you home because I don't want you to walk home alone." You know, you don't have anywhere to shower…*
Angela: *You go home and can't sleep at night because somebody is walking home by themselves and you're worried about what will happen. It just really showed me the psychological side of teaching and how you want people to be open to you, but do you really want it? Because when it comes, it comes.* | |