Scaffolding Disciplinary Engagement and Literacy for Reclassified as Fluent English Proficient (R-FEP) Middle School Students

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Abstract

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This study investigated the instructional practices and aspects of the classroom environment that middle school social teachers used to establish and cultivate engagement and learning with content and discipline-specific understandings with text for their Reclassified as Fluent English Proficient (R-FEP) students. A framework of productive disciplinary engagement (PDE) (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002) that integrated literature on literacy, bilingual/bicultural language learners, and key disciplinary concepts and practice in history and civics was used to examine how teachers framed and supported their R-FEP students’ interactions with text in 6th and 7th grade classrooms; students’ responses to instruction and scaffolds were also examined.
The findings revealed complex tensions across three cases that detailed both opportunities for and barriers to developing discipline-specific engagement and learning with and from text. Analysis indicated that: a) teachers planned and enacted instruction that suggested that text and literacy were peripheral to content learning and engagement; b) teachers provided opportunities to encounter but not to develop key disciplinary concepts and understandings; and c) teachers demonstrated limited awareness of the influence of literacy and culture on R-FEP students. Encounters with difficult texts in combination with the types of reading strategies previously taught and research and writing supports provided bolstered the belief that learning was synonymous with the accumulation of knowledge. The teachers assumed that gathering factual information would naturally lead to conceptual understanding. While the teachers highlighted the importance of disciplinary concepts, such as historical context and argumentation, the primary supports to grapple with these concepts communicated completion over the consideration of relevance and purposeful thinking. Consequently, the R-FEP students held onto overly simplistic perspectives. There was a mismatch in salience and perceived relevance of language and cultural ethnic identity for R-FEP students in comparison to their teachers. Without a specific label and status of “ELL” attached to students, the salience of language was low for the social studies teachers who assumed these students no longer faced language and literacy challenges like their English dominant peers.

This study has implications for the framework of PDE, demonstrating the critical role that text, literacy, language, and cultural ethnic identity influence the opportunities for engagement with content and disciplinary learning for R-FEP adolescents. This study also provided qualitative support that R-FEP adolescents are still affected by issues of language and literacy years after exit from ELL support services.
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Problematizing Content and Text  
Providing Relevant Resources  
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Holding Students Accountable to Others and to Disciplinary Norms  
Giving Students Authority  
Tension between student authority and accountability to disciplinary norms  
Summary

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Mr. Thomas  
People on the March (POTM) Unit  
Vanessa  
“I don’t like reading. It’s boring.”

Research Question: How does Mr. Thomas’s instructional practices and organization of the environment foster discipline-specific engagement and learning with texts for Vanessa?  

Problematizing Content and Text  
Providing Relevant Resources  
Tension between problematizing content and text and the provision of relevant resources  
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DEDICATION

For Grandma,

I love you

and I miss you.
Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Supporting the academic engagement and learning of adolescents remains a daunting challenge for secondary teachers (National Research Council, 2004). The learning opportunities and tasks that these teachers create in their classrooms influence how their students come to develop connection to and understand the significance of their learning, and develop value for and a sense of competence and confidence with practices and knowledge in the different content areas. When engaging and learning with texts in the content areas, research has identified that many adolescents may encounter reading comprehension and motivational difficulties, which are heightened by the dense and specialized language and knowledge commonly found in secondary coursework (Biancarosa & Snow, 2006; Guthrie, McRae, & Lutz Klauda, 2007; Guthrie, Wigfield, & Klauda, 2012a; Schoenbach & Greenleaf, 2009).

Despite some effort from literacy researchers and educators, it is concerning that there has been minimal integration of literacy instruction into content-area classrooms (Heller & Greenleaf, 2007; O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995). In many secondary classrooms, the perception persists that the sole responsibility of the teacher is to focus on content matter knowledge and instruction; reading and writing skills are seen as basic skills that should have been mastered previously. Perceptions that fail to recognize or consider the situated relationship between content-specific practices and interactions with text may limit learning opportunities for adolescents who are challenged by content-area texts to engage with deep subject matter learning. Classrooms where this relationship is overlooked may especially take for granted that bilingual students can participate in content learning with and from text (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008; Moje, Collazo, Carrillo, & Marx, 2001; Moje, Ciechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carrillo, & Collazo, 2004a; Schoenbach, Greenleaf, & Murphy, 2012).
Research from the past several decades has documented a wide range of pedagogical beliefs and practices among secondary teachers that reveal tensions encountered in supporting the engaged learning of bilingual adolescents in general, and English Language Learners (ELLs) in particular (August & Erickson, 2006; Fitzgerald, 1995; Walqui, 2000). Secondary teachers who viewed their primary instructional responsibility as oriented towards subject matter or “regular” education students did not actively encourage the participation of English Learner (EL) students in their classrooms (Yoon, 2008; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). Teachers’ beliefs about their roles as content experts, and lack of preparation on and limited access to quality resources about language development and socialization are among the issues that compound the challenge for bilingual students to engage with academic content in the subject areas (Gersten, 1999; Gruber, Wiley, Broughman, Strizek, & Burian-Fitzgerald, 2002; Yoon, 2008; Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

While increasing numbers of bilingual students in our nation’s schools has drawn attention to the need for more educational research and instructional resources, there is no single approach that encapsulates and addresses the diverse factors that influence the complex web of language development and socialization needs that bilingual students may require. Whereas some students are newcomers to the United States with a strong vocabulary and well-developed literacy skills in their native language that supports transfer of these skills to English learning, others may not have this background in their home language and may have only developed their native language skills to serve basic functional, communicative purposes. Students identified as bilingual in classrooms range from those who are at the beginning stages of English language acquisition to those whose language skills exhibit a designated level of proficiency and have been exited from ELL services.
Little is currently known about the classroom learning experiences of these students who have been exited from ELL services and reclassified as fluent English proficient (R-FEP). Some researchers suggest that once bilingual students “clear the language barrier…, they [will] proceed through school like any other student” in the non-ELL population (Batalova, Fix, & Murray, 2007, p. 38). However, this seemingly pervasive assumption that R-FEP students seamlessly continue in their literacy acquisition overlooks the complexity of the trajectory for academic language development and socialization into the decontextualized language of school (Cummins, 1984; Schleppegrell, 2009). In fact, only 20% of former ELL 8th graders who passed their state’s English language proficiency examination within the last two years, scored at or above proficient on the 2005 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Reading (Perie, Grigg, & Donahue, 2005).

Studies of second language acquisition have shown that language learners can take up to 10 years to acquire context-reduced and content area dependent language of schooling, suggesting that some students may not academically catch up to their English dominant peers before the end of high school (Collier, 1989). An emerging body of research suggests that R-FEP students continue to lag behind their English dominant peers in academic performance after exit from language support services and programs (de Jong, 2004; Slama, 2014). In another longitudinal analysis of a national U.S. sample, Kieffer (2008, 2011) identified the persistence of a reading achievement gap for students who entered kindergarten identified as limited oral English proficient (LEP), but did not find an increasing gap across their schooling trajectory. Kieffer (2011) found that initially LEP students narrowed this achievement gap between grades 5 and 8, but the gap itself corresponded to more than a 2-year difference compared to the national
average in 8th grade. This suggested that many initially LEP students were likely to enter high school unprepared to take on the literacy challenges of academic work in English.

While literacy and language learning research has established the critical role of vocabulary knowledge, background knowledge, and reading comprehension in text-level literacy demands (Lesaux, 2006; RAND, 2002; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007), the urgency to prepare students for the higher-level comprehension of content and critical thinking valued in post-secondary education and professional careers has revived calls for all adolescents to learn and engage with the particularities and challenges of literacy and text within secondary subject areas (Lee & Spratley, 2010; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008). Literacy and applied linguistics researchers suggest the need for adolescents to explore and develop what is commonly referred to as disciplinary literacy—the discipline-specific thinking and practices that undergird how knowledge is constructed and communicated through language and text used in the content areas (Fang & Coatoam, 2013; Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008; Lee & Spratley, 2010; Moje, 2008). The now widely-adopted Common Core State Standards for English/Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science and Technical Subjects (CCSS) (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2011) takes a congruent stance on disciplinary thinking and literacy skills in the content areas.

Bilingual students, in particular, need opportunities to participate in discipline-specific and school-centered ways of thinking and communicating in forms may not be used in and do not serve the same purposes of interaction in home and community settings (Au, 1980; Au & Mason, 1981; Delpit, 1988; Heath, 1983; Gee, 2001). Students from diverse backgrounds need to gain explicit access to these forms of academic language and understandings which are often embedded implicitly within subject matter texts and classrooms, in order to capably navigate
both subject matter learning and the “culture of power” associated with academic achievement and post-secondary opportunities (Delpit, 1988). This need for access prioritizes the importance of instruction that situates and supports meaning making from and through text in meaningful contexts for bilingual students. As a result, they are more likely to understand and engage with the complexities of content and language in the classroom and to recognize its relevance and function in the world around them (Schleppegrell & Achugar, 2003).

Research on instructional environments that promote engagement with these discipline specific ways of thinking, knowing, doing, reading, and writing with bilingual students is scant (Ballenger, 1997; Hudicourt-Barnes, 2003; Rosebery, Warren, & Conant, 1992). As such, secondary teachers in this new climate of educational reform are faced with the expectations and challenges to teach, engage, and support all students to understand the relationships between content knowledge, disciplinary thinking and practices, literacy skills, and real world application within the context of limited professional literature and an emerging research base.

In the current climate and movement towards the CCSS that aligns itself with the revived call for disciplinary literacy in classrooms, this study aims to document how typical instructional practice in secondary classrooms addresses issues of engagement and literacy with R-FEP students who are easily overlooked in general education classrooms. While a few literacy researchers have created promising curricular and instructional approaches to holistically address disciplinary concerns for bilingual students (Greenleaf et al., 2001; 2004; Schoenbach & Greenleaf, 2009; Schoenbach, Greenleaf, & Murphy, 2012; Moje et al., 2001; 2004b), it is unclear how secondary teachers typically provide access to content, text, and disciplinary understandings in their classrooms.
There are two main purposes for this study. First, I investigate the instructional practices that teachers utilize in typical subject-area classrooms that aim to cultivate engagement with content and discipline-specific understandings and practices. Second, I investigate the application of a theory of productive disciplinary engagement (PDE) (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002) to text-based interactions in subject-area classrooms in order to explore the impact of text and literacy on engagement with content and discipline-specific understandings and practices.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

In this dissertation, I present an account of three qualitative case studies and my interpretations of what I observed in the interactions between teachers and R-FEP students in middle school social studies classrooms. In Chapter Two I put forth a snapshot of a larger integrated conceptualization of engagement in disciplinary literacy in content area classrooms. Situated in the context of social studies classrooms, I review and discuss the literature concerning PDE, literacy learning and instruction of bilingual and ELL adolescents, and disciplinary literacy pertaining to the academic subjects of history and civics. Chapter Three is a description of my research methodology and analytical tools I used. In Chapters Four, Five, and Six I examine how three social studies teachers planned and enacted text-focused learning activities, and interacted with focal R-FEP students around these activities in each classroom. I also present and discuss the responses of the focal R-FEP students in reaction to their teacher’s instruction and support during the learning activities. Chapter Seven details a cross-case analysis of teacher-student interactions around these text-focused learning activities, and in particular focusing on the tensions that emerged. Lastly, I present a discussion of findings, limitations, and implications of this study in Chapter Eight.
Chapter 2. FRAMING LITERATURE

This chapter reviews three bodies of literature that provide a context for and guides interpretation of this study: motivation and engagement, disciplinary literacy, and the social and learning needs of bilingual students. It also explores the intersections and tensions within these relevant literatures that address overlapping conceptions about content learning, language, literacy, and socially constructed ways of knowing and doing (Moje et al., 2001). This chapter serves to articulate a snapshot of an integrated vision of content and disciplinary literacy learning embedded within the framework of productive disciplinary engagement (PDE) (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002). It also identifies the areas for the extended applicability of PDE with text-focused activities and interactions in content area classrooms.

**Background on Productive Disciplinary Engagement**

Emerging from instructional design efforts to transform mathematics and science classrooms from the widely-established transmission model of learning and instruction, PDE (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002) provides an elaboration for how learning environments can foster student engagement with dense subject matter through opportunities for students and teachers to participate in meaning making. Engle and Conant’s (2002) conceptualization of engagement prioritizes participation in valued practices and habits of mind through roles and social interactions that support meaning making over more cognitive conceptions of motivation and engagement promoted by self-efficacy (Schunk & Pajares, 2002), intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000), and self-regulation (Pintrich & DeGroot, 1990) of individual behaviors and processes.

A classroom environment which supports PDE emphasizes access to and interaction with the ways of knowing and doing associated with the disciplines inherent in the subject matter that
adolescents encounter in secondary schools; it recognizes that these interactions with content and other learners must acknowledge and conform to the academic discipline or interdisciplinary communities outside of the classroom. In such a learning environment, productive student engagement is characterized by “intellectual progress” over time in alignment with disciplinary knowledge, questions, skills, and practices (Engle & Conant, 2002, p. 403) through an iterative process of uncovering and questioning preexisting understandings and producing knowledge.

Currently, the established conception of PDE does not clearly define the role of text in the interactions among subject matter, disciplinary ways of knowing and doing, and learners in the classroom. Engle and Conant (2002) describe how texts are used as information sources, to build background knowledge, and are negotiated products of content controversies in the classroom, but they are not regarded as a site for inquiry or as a possible obstacle to PDE. Explorations of disciplinary discourse in studies where PDE has been applied have focused on talk and participation structures as evidence of engagement and learning of discipline specific concepts and ways of thinking (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002).

Using a PDE framework, the impact of text on these interactions with content has not been thoroughly explored. Even when students are required to read before participating in group tasks or composing writing, researchers focus analysis on the interaction among students and/or with teachers—the assumption is that students have adequate access to the language used and texts provided in classrooms. Yet the work of several prominent literacy researchers, especially those with particular interest in bilingual adolescents, provides a reminder that it is not enough for students to have exposure to subject matter content, but that classroom instruction must also include instructional tools to support students’ access the discipline-based discourse (Fang &
Schleppegrell, 2008; Lee & Spratley, 2010; Moje et al., 2001, 2004b; Schleppegrell, 2009; Shanahan, Shanahan, & Misischia, 2011).

Situating my research within the secondary subject matter of social studies, I will examine the ways in which middle school teachers facilitate content learning and participation in subject-oriented ways of thinking, reading, and writing among R-FEP students as they read or compose text. Unlike science, social studies is comprised of multiple disciplinary traditions, including the core disciplines of economics, history, geography, and civics, with an overarching goal of helping young people make informed decisions about how they participate in and contribute to democratic society (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013). While the disciplines differ in analytical approaches and practices, a fundamental similarity is the relationship of learning through a variety of texts such as textbooks, digital texts, media, maps, graphic displays, and primary source accounts. The scope of this research specifically examines classroom instruction that emphasizes key disciplinary concepts in history and civics.

The level of language and literacy required to learn concepts and information in historical and other school-based texts may act as a barrier to R-FEP students, who continue to develop skills in academic language, reading, and writing skills in English even after exit from ELL services. Thus with the primacy of text-oriented interactions in history and civics learning, social studies classrooms are important contexts in which to explore issues of student learning and participation in secondary disciplinary classrooms.

**Examining language and literacy in Productive Disciplinary Engagement**

I elaborate individually on each of the four PDE principles and on intersections between the principles and relevant research for this paper. For each principle, I describe and integrate the key conceptualizations from research about disciplinary literacy in history and civic education
and contextualize these within the four dimensions of the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013). Then, I examine and incorporate the current context of research on the literacy needs and instruction of bilingual and ELL students as it affects issues of engagement. Last, I elaborate on how this framework reinforces the situated nature of disciplinary literacy learning and teaching. The examination of the role of text in PDE in this study may offer a means of extending the explanatory power of this framework to understand the complex interactions of constructing meaning from text.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Research literature</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bilingual/bicultural adolescents</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disciplinary concepts (history &amp; civics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Disciplinary literacy (history &amp; civics)</td>
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</table>
Figure 1. Integrated PDE model based on Engle (2012).

This figure demonstrates Engle’s (2012) conception of the four principles of PDE: a) **problematizing content**, b) **giving students authority**, c) **holding students accountable to others and to disciplinary norms**, and d) **providing relevant resources**, with the integration of the literature on disciplinary literacy, the needs of bilingual/bicultural adolescents, and motivation and engagement into the appropriate principles. Those concepts greyed out will not be thoroughly discussed in this paper. Attention should be given to the tensions between the principles depicted in this figure because the “dynamic balance over time” of the principles is what creates and fosters PDE: **problematizing content** is opposed by the need for **providing relevant resources**, while **holding students accountable to others and to disciplinary norms** is opposed with **giving students authority**. Additionally, these tensions play an essential role in my subsequent data analysis.

**Problematizing Content (and Text)**

The principle of “problematizing content” addresses concerns of student disengagement stemming from how learning and curriculum in content-area classrooms is rigidly presented as the absorption of facts and procedures. This is viewed as far removed from the everyday lives of adolescents and without regard for students’ pre-existing interests and skills (Biancarosa & Snow, 2006; Intrator & Kunzman, 2009). This principle redefines how students are expected to interact with subject matter, reframing seemingly objective and discrete facts and procedures as “problems” that can be questioned, examined, and challenged through sense-making of and with
content. Yet, it is important to note that these problems “do not need to be open from the
perspective of experts in a discipline, but rather open [ended] from the perspective of students
interpreting them” (Engle & Conant, 2002, p. 404).

A learning environment where problematizing occurs is characterized by individual or
group activities that: a) are “genuinely problematic to and not easily resolvable” for students; b)
arise from or are responsive to students’ questions, interests, or concerns to address the problem;
and c) incorporate concepts, themes, and questions foundational to the discipline, “which does
not necessarily need to be apparent to the learners themselves” (Engle, 2012, p. 169). While
secondary students cannot be expected to attain the same level of expertise or competence with
discipline-related norms and practices as those in professional communities, students can exhibit
skills that problematize content and approximate discipline specific skills and practices,
including identifying confusion and asking questions that focus on critically thinking about
subject matter. When a teacher frames learning activities with the intent of problematizing
content, students’ thinking, decision-making, and interactions with peers are prioritized rather
than the accumulation information and evaluation of achievement. Therefore, a learning
environment that fosters PDE encourages, acknowledges, and builds on the evolving curiosity,
interests, and confusions of students as they grapple with learning content.

PDE has primarily focused on how content, or knowledge derived from text, can be
questioned and examined. However, it has not explored the possibility of problematizing the text
itself. Structured academic controversy (SAC) (Johnson & Johnson, 1985, 2009; Johnson,
Johnson, & Smith, 1997, 2000) and Opening Up the Textbook (OUT) (Martin, 2008; Wineburg,
2007; Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2011) are two text-based instructional strategies that
aim to purposefully juxtapose content and controversial issues in historical content learning.
While SAC calls for the use of texts that express opposing views, Wineburg and his colleagues created Opening Up the Textbook (OUT) to specifically address the prevalence of textbooks and their use in secondary classrooms (Martin, 2008; Wineburg, 2007a; Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2011). Both SAC and OUT aim to challenge the conception of what history is by beginning to offer the multiplicity and complexity of voices and perspectives that historians encounter in practice rather than one neat and tidy narrative.

Similarly, *The Civic Mission of Schools* (Carnegie Corporation, CIRCLE, et al., 2003) report recommends instructional approaches that problematize civics content and texts such as exploring the Constitution alongside Supreme Court decisions or cases in current events. Studies indicated that when students had opportunities to engage in discussions of contemporary political controversies related current local, national, and international events and concerns, “they tend to have greater interest in politics, improved critical thinking and communications skills, more civic knowledge, and more interest in discussing public affairs out of school” (p.6). In particular, Hess (2002) and other social studies and civic engagement researchers have taken up the discussion of controversial political issues (CPI) as an important channel through which students are not simply exposed to content, but encounter multiple perspectives and information that broadens, challenges, and revises their thinking about a controversial issue and to ultimately, prepare for their role as citizens in a democracy.

Yet, these embodiments of *problematizing content* take for granted that secondary students are prepared to encounter, adapt to, and derive content understanding from progressively complex texts used in social studies classrooms, either independently or with the assistance of a group of peers. Researchers of literacy and bilingual students have identified increasingly important yet implicit understandings of text and author’s purpose, perspective, and
audience embedded in secondary level text (Beck, McKeown, & Gromoll, 1989; Beck, McKeown, Hamilton, & Kucan, 1997; Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008; Moje, 2010; Moje & Speyer, 2008; Paxton, 2002), which affect how information is understood by adolescent readers. This type of comprehension knowledge and skill with text is often not articulated within secondary classrooms (Biancarosa & Snow, 2006). The nature of written texts—not just the content—can be questioned, and that more information may be needed to make sense of concepts discussed in a particular text (Moje, 2010).

Establishing a purpose for reading or writing (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987; Levin & Pressley, 1981) can also influence the content understandings students seek to learn from or communicate about text. Establishing a purpose for reading or writing is a teacher-initiated strategy frequently used prior to student participation in reading or composing text; the purpose(s) should be developed based on the content, text type, or author’s purpose. While this strategy can be used to steer students to specific understandings that teachers have predetermined as important, establishing a purpose for reading or writing through the principle of problematizing text can be done without imposing a correct/incorrect dichotomy for responses from students by focusing on conceptual or controversial issues in the content they want students to grapple with that is drawn from both explicit and inferred interpretations of the text.

**Giving Students Authority**

*Problematizing content and text* in a learning environment offers access to subject-area specific and disciplinary concepts, questions, skills, and practices, whereas the principle of *giving students authority* brings focus to students’ opportunities to express intellectual authority that impacts the trajectory of learning and participation. In order to cultivate PDE in a classroom setting, students must feel invested in the examination of and responsibility for the resolution of
the content- or text-focused controversy or question. Engle and Conant (2002) present the image of student as a “stakeholder” (p. 404), whose 1) ideas and questions have the potential to shape and change the content for and process of learning for their peers as well as teacher instruction, and 2) whose intellectual contributions are publically acknowledged in the classroom. Tied to concerns about academic engagement for adolescents, this image advocates for the implementation of instructional pedagogies that allow students to express and feel control over outcomes of their own learning and be recognized for ownership over their own ideas.

In traditional content-area classrooms, the teacher frequently retains control and ownership over the ideas, learning activities, and procedures because she is positioned by students and by herself as the sole expert in the room. Nystrand (1997) describes this familiar recitation pattern performed between teacher and students, wherein the “students play a minor and supporting role in what gets said here…. [n]ot knowing whether their responses will be acceptable, they frequently hesitate; they develop no ideas of their own; they do a lot of guessing” (p. 5). Thus, a key aspect of giving students authority is repositioning who has expertise in a classroom, which requires a shift from the initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) structure that continues to typify classroom structures for talk and participation (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979).

An extensive research base on alternative participation and classroom talk structures presents models for how bilingual and bicultural students may be supported to feel that they have ownership of their own ideas and learning trajectories:

• Questioning the Author (Beck et al., 1997; McKeowen, Beck, & Blake, 2009)
• Instructional Conversation (Dalton & Sison, 1995; Goldenberg & Patthey-Chavez, 1995; Saunders & Goldenberg, 2007; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Tharp & Yamaguchi, 1994)

This literature corroborates the research on positive environments for language learning (Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007; Walqui, 2000), which emphasizes collaborative peer interactions in a variety of grouping arrangements to support bilingual students’ continued practice and experience with language in a classroom environment (Biancarosa & Snow, 2006; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007).

The ability for students to exercise choice and gain a sense of relevance are other aspects of instruction frequently advocated for student motivation and engagement with content learning and literacy activities among adolescents (Biancarosa & Snow, 2006; Intrator & Kunzman, 2009; O’Brien & Dillon, 2008). Both student choice and relevance are key features of Concept-Oriented Reading Instruction (CORI), which aims to build intrinsic and social motivation, self-efficacy and self-regulation among struggling adolescent readers through: a) opportunities for students to make choices in the books they read, tasks, and interaction partner; b) relevant and real world activities; c) collaborative interactions with peers; d) accessible high interest texts and appropriate teacher feedback; and 5) thematically organized units (Guthrie et al., 2004; 2007; 2009; Guthrie, Wigfield, & You, 2012).

Another instructional strategy that enhances feelings of personal relevance is providing opportunities for students to draw upon their own social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge and experiences during interactions with text. Flores-Dueñas (2004) observed how four Latina/o 5th graders were able to draw upon their personal knowledge to make inferences about content and
characters, and write significantly longer and more detailed responses to the stories by Mexican American authors compared to non-Mexican American authors.

In sharp contrast, Almarza (2001) found that when a teacher and classroom environment denied opportunities for the integration of relevant social and cultural knowledge and experiences, the interactions among students, text, and content learning were characterized by intellectual and participatory disengagement. The Mexican American students struggled to find relevance and attach significance to the historical content taught in 8th grade American History classes that did not recognize the presence and impact of non-white individuals and communities in constructing the history of the American West. There were few opportunities for Mexican American students to engage meaningfully with and take ownership of their ideas around content or text, much less develop intellectual authority in the classroom.

Within the framework of PDE, student choice and relevance can be extended to include how teachers create opportunities in the classroom to play specific roles in learning activities that can cultivate content expertise and intellectual authority. In these roles, students are responsible for participating in content and discipline-specific practices, expect to be challenged on their contributions, and interact in ways that push for a deeper and more nuanced understanding for the group or the classroom as a whole. The expertise cultivated with and by secondary students in these learning settings is localized to the content or text-related dilemma and the task, and should not be conflated with the level of achievement of expert knowledge or skills of disciplinary experts such as practicing scientists.

In Hess’s (2002) study of three social studies teachers who skillfully implemented controversial public issues (CPI) discussions in their classrooms, she noted Ann, a first-year teacher, who designed a town meeting discussion model to explore multiple and complex real
world perspectives on the issue of affirmative action. In her students’ town meeting, they controlled the flow of the content, responding to each others’ ideas throughout the town meeting discussions observed. Strikingly with the affirmative action town meeting, Hess noted that the entire discussion was even brought to a brief pause when a student posed a thought-provoking question; students were able to influence and consider the challenging ideas as they emerged in situ rather than during the debrief of the discussion. In this manner, Ann’s enactment of CPI discussions supports the intellectual authority of students as stakeholders, acknowledging their experiences, skills and content understandings to problematize content themselves and not simply to respond to the dilemma she poses.

The ability for students to take up meaningful roles in learning activities presumes that teachers are aware of issues of access to the substantive knowledge about content for students and are able to bridge such concerns. In Moje et al.’s (2001) examination of Maestro Tomas’s 7th-grade science class, they noted that he was only able to mediate the everyday and scientific understandings and discourses when he positioned himself as one of his students—as a participant in their inquiry on water quality—rather than as an expert. Despite Maestro Tomas’ commitment to make the science texts and topics more accessible, he often viewed his own role as the teacher to fix what he saw as his students’ incorrect background knowledge (Moje et al., 2001). In this way, Maestro Tomas may have uncovered his students’ funds of knowledge, but he did not fully understand that his students’ funds of knowledge were a valid starting place for collaborative inquiry in the classroom.

As such, to promote students “to intellectually engage with, and feel responsible for the [content learning] problems as themselves” (Engle, 2012, p. 170), teachers may need to anticipate and plan for the preconceptions, limited knowledge, and challenges that bilingual
students may encounter with the content, text, and language. It is critical that a classroom environment that fosters PDE recognizes that students’ questions, prior knowledge, and even misconceptions—whether personal or text-based—are worthy of exploration and valuable.

**Holding Students Accountable to Others and to Disciplinary Norms**

The third principle of fostering productive disciplinary engagement draws attention to the relationship between the production of intellectual work in a classroom setting and accountability to the relevant ideas, content, and practices of a discipline. The concept of accountability resides in the understanding that ideas and learning generated in a classroom must be responsive and responsible to the understandings, skills, and practices within a domain—that even knowledge constructed by secondary students in schools cannot be isolated from or ignore the existing knowledge constructed and participation norms enacted by those considered authorities or experts in a field. As such, in a classroom environment that fosters PDE, students are expected to grapple with their own ideas to see if they make sense in the face of content and ideas that others bring forth to challenge them “…for revising, refining, and/or better defending one’s own” (Engle, 2012, p. 172).

This focus on the development and refinement of ideas holds students accountable to others in broadening spheres of intellectual work beginning with their peers in the classroom, then to localized disciplinary authorities inside and outside of the classroom, and eventually to the discipline itself. Foundational to supporting accountability is the need for teachers to first enact practices that support students towards intellectual agency and becoming stakeholders in the collective learning in the classroom. They must create creating a safe environment where students are reaffirmed in their attempts to challenge the concepts and understandings
communicated in content area texts and even by the teacher herself (Engle, 2012). This aspect of this principle will not be discussed in this paper.

The second aspect of accountability that is key to fostering PDE is how students’ intellectual work is held responsible to the appropriate concepts, practices, and habits of mind—or norms—in the discipline and/or subject area. This is especially challenging for social studies because what are considered normative practices and habits of mind in the subject area is inherently is an amalgam of social sciences and humanities disciplines. The C3 Framework (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013) identified core concepts and skills of the four major disciplines within social studies: history, civics, economics, and geography, in consultation with a variety of social studies and behavioral and social science professional organizations.

As the discipline of history often dominates how social studies is taught and learned in secondary classrooms, I first outline the four key discipline specific concepts and tools delineated by Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework. In this section, I will focus on the disciplinary concepts of historical context, historical significance, and argumentation. Next, I discuss the three disciplinary concepts and tools for civics. Within each of these discipline specific categories, I describe the challenges that students face in their interactions with these conceptual understandings and texts in history and civics respectively.

Grappling with content and disciplinary challenges without scaffolding may be particularly daunting for students because they are known to hold preconceptions or everyday understandings about history that may conflict or cause tension with the norms for sense making and practice in the discipline (Afflerbach & VanSledright, 2001; Ashby, Lee, & Shemilt, 2005; Lee, 2005; Moje et al., 2004a, 2004b; Wineburg, 1991a). In particular, tensions between
everyday and discipline specific understandings about evidence and explanation have garnered the attention of researchers to examine influences on history instruction and explore and facilitate the development of discipline-related thinking, skills, and practices among children and adolescents as they interact with history texts.

**Disciplinary understandings in history.** History, the most researched discipline within the subject area of social studies over the last thirty-five years, has been characterized as promoting “unnatural” (Wineburg, 1991, 2007) or “counterintuitive” (Lee, 2005) thinking that greatly contrasts with prevailing ways of understanding the past. This form of thinking, as described by the C3 Framework (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013):

…is a process of chronological reasoning, which means wrestling with issues of causality, connections, significance, and context with the goal of developing credible explanations of historical events and developments based on reasoned interpretation of evidence. (p.45)

As such, the first key disciplinary concept in history is an understanding of the relationship of change, continuity, and context or chronological thinking. This type of thinking requires the awareness and skills to examine events and developments embedded in historical context, identify patterns of change and continuity across historical time periods, and analyze why individuals, groups, and developments may be seen as historically significant.

Researchers noted how commonplace it is for students to be unaware of historical context when interpreting actions, events, and developments, leading to inappropriate understandings. Students are known to draw upon and extrapolate their experiences to be representative of a universal human experience, which can reinforce anachronistic and presentist perspectives in understanding historical events (Seixas & Morton, 2013; Voss, Wiley, & Kennet, 1998). Halldén
(1998) found that students were overwhelmingly focused on personal circumstances, such as emotional and motivational mental states, to explain the causes and consequences of historical events and change rather than consider contextual factors. The invocation of a presentist perspective can lead students to view and explain the past in deficit terms such that people and communities could not inherently act or think in the same ways (e.g. stupid, uncivilized).

The second key concept of perspectives recognizes that historical understanding is interpretative in nature. Because different accounts of the same event can be constructed by people who experience or view a single event from diverse perspectives, it is important to examine the factors that influence these perspectives, including the information available during a specific historical time period. An understanding of perspectives also involves exploring how and why perspectives change over time. As such, it is particularly important to consider multiple points of view about the past rather accept the most readily available explanation.

In contrast to this disciplinary viewpoint of historical understanding, the everyday portrayal of history as fixed and authoritative truth telling is persistent among children (Lee & Ashby, 2000; Shemilt, 1983; VanSledright, 2002a). By middle school, many students recognize the role of an author and her viewpoint, as well as begin to see the potential influence of bias and lying on the knowledge shared in a historical account (Lee & Ashby, 2000). Discipline-aligned understandings about the past are more likely to be found among older students, most likely as a result of instruction. Understanding the constructed nature of historical narratives, the role of authorship, and its relationship to what information is considered evidence becomes more apparent for students when they are asked to grapple with multiple texts and perspectives through primary documents (Bain, 2006; Paxton, 2002; Rouet, Britt, Mason, & Perfetti, 1996).
The third concept of historical sources and evidence requires an understanding that historical inquiry is conducted through interactions with materials or sources, including written documents, images, and other objects from the past. When these sources are chosen to answer a historical question, these materials need to be evaluated for relevance and value in relationship to the author or maker, date, intended audience, purpose, and other features of historical context in order to serve as evidence. Emerging from this process of evaluating sources, additional questions are generated alongside the uncovering of answers in a continuing cycle of inquiry.

Wineburg (1991a) identified three practices, or heuristics, during the process of historical inquiry that historians frequently enacted when reading and making sense of a range of primary and secondary sources that even high achieving high school students did not demonstrate: sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration. Wineburg and his colleagues designed instructional strategies and curriculum units that develop these heuristics of historical thinking with secondary students for primary sources entitled Reading Like a Historian (Stanford History Education Group, 2014; Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2011).

Other researchers have examined the possibilities and challenges in historical thinking instruction with academically diverse elementary and secondary school students and settings. Across three studies of historical thinking instruction (Bain, 2006; De La Paz, 2005; VanSledright, 2002a, 2002b), the elementary through high school students in the studies exhibited the ability to learn and engage in practices evidenced by historians. VanSledright (2002b) found among the 5th graders taught and observed that initial reliance on comprehension and “monitoring strategies frequently were replaced by efforts to identify systematically the sources of the evidence in front of them, corroborate details from one source to another, and judge those sources with respect to their validity, reliability, and point of view” (p.143). These
three studies also suggested that students were most challenged by contextualization, perhaps because of their limited experiences and knowledge of what aspects of context are relevant to support interpretation.

The final key disciplinary concept and skill in history is causation and argumentation, which requires the understanding of and skills to communicate that there may be multiple and complex causes and effects of historical events and developments. Historical thinking involves drawing reasonable conclusions about causation and consequences of events and developments in the past grounded in evidence that has considered multiple sources and perspectives. These reasonable conclusions or claims about cause and effect are used to construct historical arguments, which may also address issues with sources, perspectives, and change over time as long as they are rooted in evidence that has been evaluated in a “critical, coherent, and logical manner” (National Council for Social Studies, 2013, p.49).

Research suggests a need for students to develop discipline-specific understandings that underlie how to think about and interpret the cause and effect of historical events and developments. Barton and Levstik (2004) found that students expected clear and direct causal links for historical change rather than a web of complex tensions between actions, events, and intended as well as unintended consequences. Peter Lee (2005) noted that students often saw the causes of historical events as “special kinds of events... discrete entities, acting independently from each other” (p.52).

Prior knowledge and experiences, including ethnic, social, and cultural backgrounds, can also greatly influence students’ causal understandings of historical events, actors, and developments (Afflerbach and VanSledright, 2001; VanSledright, 2002a; VanSledright, 2002b). Although his students were critical in their approach to interpreting Captain George Percy’s
account of the Starving Time, the influence of students’ prior knowledge led eighty percent of VanSledright’s (2002a) students to oversimplify the differing primary source accounts about the Jamestown settlement and conclude that Percy was a liar and a hoarder of food.

Unsurprisingly, students also frequently carry these preconceptions into how they write about history. Greene (2001) found that college students were more likely to recall and curate facts without additional analysis or interpretation in their writing. Monte-Sano (2010) noted that most research has examined historical writing through the generic composition model of argumentation that emphasizes components of claim, data, warrant (also known as explanation), and counterargument (Hillocks, 2011; Toulmin, 1958) even though history researchers have noted disciplinary specializations with the nature and use of evidence or data, and explanations.

Novice readers and writers of history are not as attentive to and provide less contextual evidence than expert historians (Rouet et al., 1998; Wineburg, 1991b). Bain (2006) observed that many of his 9th graders overgeneralized the claims they made and making statements using global or universal language rather than qualifying and situating their statements. Rouet, Favart, Britt, and Perfetti (1997) found that even college students called up either contextual knowledge of the specific event or broad non-historical ideas during their reasoning process that they thought would be helpful in supporting their position.

Historical significance is a conceptual problem that Seixas and his colleagues (1994; 1997; Seixas and Morton, 2013) have identified that allows for exploration of the relationship between an author/historian and the purposeful construction of a historical narrative or argument. They present criteria to help students discern which events, people, or developments may be significant and how significance is constructed by authors/historians beyond a novice lens of personal interest or an authoritative stance of a textbook or teacher.
Foundational to this understanding is that significance is constructed through a narrative: such an event, person, or development occupies a purposeful place in a larger story arc that is connected to enduring or emerging issues. Additionally, what is considered significant changes over time and among different communities of people. These considerations present opportunities in the classroom to explore how an author’s perspective or concerns are integrated into a historical narrative, as well as expose and challenge the perspectives that students themselves bring to interpreting a historical text.

**Disciplinary understandings in civics.** The critical role of civic education within social studies lies in its goal to prepare students to productively participate in a constitutional democracy through the acquisition of content knowledge, civic dispositions, and intellectual and participatory skills (Center for Civic Education, 2004).

Recent research indicated how civics and social studies instruction has increasingly faced challenges that limit students’ opportunities to learn and engage with content. A review of national high school transcript statistics from 1994 indicated that while nearly 80% of high school students take a course on American government, they rarely take more than one semester-long course (Niemi & Smith, 2001). Overall, the focus of a course on American government prioritizes imparting factual knowledge to students over the exploration of the role of citizens (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). In their study of 135 Chicago social studies classrooms, Kahne, Rodriguez, Smith, and Thiede (2000) found that 51% of the 8th-, 9th- and 10th-grade classes they observed superficially addressed some key disciplinary ideas in civics while another 24% focused student interaction solely on the coverage of factual information without attention to key ideas.
The second disciplinary concept and skill of three in the C3 Framework, participation and deliberation, emphasizes the application of civic virtues and democratic principles in relationship to building content knowledge. The discipline of civics aims to teach virtues that citizens are expected to employ when interacting with each other including mutual respect, social responsibility, and sensitivity to diverse and multiple perspectives, which support the ideal civic attitudes and dispositions (Center for Civic Education, 2004). Students can examine these civic virtues, democratic and institutional principles through the interactions with foundational texts such as the U.S. Constitution and Martin Luther King Jr.’s Letter from Birmingham Jail (Center for Civic Education, 2004) and real world examples of civic engagement. Furthermore, this disciplinary concept and skill invites students to explore and reflect upon their own personal viewpoints of these virtues and principles and how they apply them to issues in school and community settings.

The final disciplinary concept and skill within civics is an understanding of the processes, rules, and laws that citizens use to “…make decisions, govern themselves, and address public problems” (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013, p.34). Content knowledge of political systems is essential to understanding how process and rules work at different levels of decision-making in classrooms, communities, and at institutions. In support of this key concept, students are expected to develop the skills to analyze how public issues and problems as well as policy affects individuals, groups, society, and institutions, and how to address them. This disciplinary concept and skill directly connects with Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework for Taking Informed Action, which solicits students to use their knowledge, skills, and perspectives gained from the multiple disciplines within social studies to examine and engage with public concerns and
problems in and out of school by using skills of deliberation and reflection to take purposeful action individually and in groups.

**The challenge of disciplinary learning in social studies.** The C3 Framework’s focus on supporting civic life and participation contrasts with how social studies is commonly taught in secondary classrooms. A major influence on the relevant ideas, content, and practices taught in and about social studies is the pervasive use of textbooks in the classroom. While social studies is a subject area that offers opportunities for using varied and multiple resources for content learning, research suggests that textbooks continue to be the primary resource used in a typical social studies classroom—used for an overwhelming 85 to 95% of the curriculum—even overshadowing the teacher as a resource (Cruz, 2002 and Jones, 1998, in Alexander-Shea, 2011).

This reliance on the textbook and the use of similar text-oriented resources in social studies, including primary sources, newspapers, movies, and discussions, present a serious challenge for middle school students because the readability of these texts are often well above the grade level of the students they are intended for (Jitendra, Nolet, Gomez, & Xin, 1999).

Research has found that social studies textbooks organize content to focus on delivering information; however, the knowledge, skills, and strategies that students are expected to bring to their interactions with these texts require more than basic information retrieval skills. It is assumed that students have: a) ample background knowledge; b) nuanced conceptual understandings of vocabulary; c) proficiency with complex sentence structures densely packed with concepts; and d) facility with comprehension strategies, especially inferential, that support connecting abstract concepts with facts without additional explanatory elaboration (Beck & McKeown, 1988; Beck, McKeown, & Gromoll, 1989; Jitendra et al., 1999). Adding to the “inconsiderate nature of the text,” Jitendra and her colleagues found that only one of the four
geography textbooks they reviewed even suggested accommodations for diverse learners, such as struggling readers and ELL students (Jitendra et al., 1999, p.6).

Some social studies teachers have responded to the call to support their students’ interactions with texts in the classroom by integrating content area literacy strategies into their instructional approaches. However, these generic comprehension strategies, such as making connections, may not challenge misconceptions about or guide students to grapple with concepts and practices that are specific to a disciplinary approach to reading, writing, and thinking (Juel et al., 2010). Both literacy and social studies researchers often recommend instruction around the text features and text structures, including captions, bold and italicized text, argumentation, and cause and effect relationship respectively, commonly found in expository writing (Tejero Hughes & Parker-Katz, 2013; Massey & Heafner, 2004). While these approaches may support students to better extract information from textbooks and similar expository texts, it is unclear if these strategies build understanding of the relationship between the text-based content and the key concepts and practices of a discipline or subject area.

Providing Relevant Resources

The final principle of providing relevant resources occupies a dual role to support PDE directly as well as the enactment of the three previously detailed principles (Engle & Conant, 2002). By resources that support text-focused interactions, I include time, technology, media, alternative talk structures, the use of text itself, a variety of instructional strategies, as well as strengths and knowledge that students bring from their communities into the classroom. The resources and scaffolds that are considered relevant are dependent on the specific discipline and the selected supports to guide understanding of a topic, meet learning goals, and respond to the needs of students (Engle, 2012). At its heart, the challenge of providing relevant resources lies in
how teachers plan and utilize scaffolds and resources that allow students access into exploring a complex problem and does not simply focus on the attainment of “normatively valued answers or other products” (Engle, 2012, p.174).

For bilingual students, it is critical to consider factors that contribute to language and literacy challenges such as comprehension strategies and metacognitive routines, writing strategies, vocabulary, and background knowledge (August & Shanahan, 2006; Francis et al., 2006; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007; Wong Fillmore & Fillmore, 2012). In addition, de Jong and Harper (2005) noted the important influence of cultural identity on how language learners are prepared to interact with academic content and texts that may not reflect familiar experiences. Content area teachers with R-FEP students in their classrooms may need to purposefully integrate and enact instructional resources and strategies that bridge these students’ everyday and school-based understandings and support transfer of knowledge and skills bidirectionally across these contexts.

**Literacy and self-monitoring strategies.** Researchers of bilingual students have long promoted the application of literacy and self-monitoring strategies instruction, such as questioning and summarizing, that may be broadly utilized across content areas for bilingual adolescents who need more support to understand or compose text (August & Shanahan, 2006; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). Although research has primarily focused on reading strategies with these adolescents, Short and Fitzsimmons (2007) recommend instruction of the writing process and the strategies and skills associated with each of the components in the process. Strategies provide bilingual students with generic approaches to problem solve difficulties they encounter with text across a range of subject areas (Englert, Raphael, Anderson, Anthony, & Stevens, 1991; Guthrie et al., 2009; Klingner & Vaughn, 1996; 2000; Klingner, Vaughn, & Schumm,
1998; Olson & Land, 2007). These strategies aim to support students to become more aware and adept at enacting high leverage thinking and composition practices, and are frequently considered to be the precursor to more specialized strategies for discipline-specific thinking and language use. A few researchers have also suggested benefits in balancing instruction in generic approaches alongside the examination of disciplinary practices (Wineburg, 1991a, 1991b) discussed in the previous principle (Brozo, Moorman, Meyer, & Stewart, 2013).

A few studies of reading strategy instruction caution about the potential for students to enact procedures without demonstrating flexible and purposeful problem solving for understanding content (McKeown, Beck, & Blake, 2009; Conley, 2008). For EL learners, Ferris and Hedgecock (1998) also warn how these students may experience difficulty participating in strategies for process writing due to unfamiliarity with indirect forms of feedback from teachers and limited experiences with revision and peer review. More importantly, language learners may not have access to what sounds “right” in comparison to native English speakers when reading their own or peer writing.

In order to address these intertwined factors of language, text, and content, some adolescent literacy researchers advocate for teaching metacognitive strategies that students can utilize to enhance and troubleshoot text comprehension difficulties. In particular, Palinscar and Brown’s (1984) reciprocal teaching has been adopted and adapted for reading history texts by Bain (2000, 2005, 2006) and in the Reading Apprenticeship model (Schoenbach, Greenleaf & Murphy, 2012) in secondary classrooms.

The Reading Apprenticeship approach (Greenleaf et al., 2001; 2004; Schoenbach & Greenleaf, 2009; Schoenbach, Greenleaf, & Murphy, 2012) emphasizes metacognitive conversations as a foundational practice for students to develop academic language and
conditional knowledge (Paris, Lipson, & Wixson, 1983) for strategic interactions with texts and content. Schoenbach and her colleagues emphasized conversational and metacognitive routines that attended to the structure and discourse embedded in history texts, broadly focusing on issues of authorship, evidence, and language use for further analysis and interpretation of multiple texts, arguments, and counterarguments. These metacognitive routines have shown to improve comprehension strategy use, a sense of agency, ownership, and reader identity. Further, they have been associated with positive changes in course grades and standardized comprehension measures, particularly for ELL and bilingual students (Greenleaf et al., 2001; WestEd, 2004).

Research on bilingual students suggests that they may benefit from greater explicit understanding about their metacognitive practices for comprehension across languages (Jimenez, Garcia, & Pearson, 1996; Pritchard & O’Hara, 2008). In fact, Pritchard and O’Hara’s (2008) found that proficient bilingual Spanish-English readers in 11th grade tended to use less effective strategies that focused on the sentence level rather than passage level understandings in text when reading in English. These students were better able to monitor their comprehension and make connections across the passage in Spanish; the bilingual students gained a global understanding of the passage when reading text in Spanish in comparison to the discrete, sentence level understandings in English. This suggests that language and literacy challenges can still affect adolescent R-FEP students who have successfully integrated into general education classrooms and may potentially hinder their ability to derive content understanding from text.

While explicit instruction in discipline-specific thinking practices can provide access to more nuanced content understanding, the shift from comprehension to interpretation remains challenging for students who need additional reading support. VanSledright (2002b) found that
students’ initial literacy level impacted students’ ability to progress to more complex enactments of historical thinking. Candy and Kendra, who were identified as reading “somewhat below grade level” (p.135), relied heavily on comprehension-monitoring strategies and exhibited efforts in corroborating information across multiple sources. However, they only demonstrated literal interpretations of historical accounts. Candy, a recent immigrant and bilingual Latina, had difficulties with decoding unfamiliar English words and struggled to make sense of the sophisticated language and syntax constructions. Although she expressed knowledge of why there might be differing accounts of the same event, she ultimately based her understanding about the reliability of sources on the number of details and information specified. Kendra, an African American struggling reader, constructed a literal interpretation of a historical event and used information she noted in other accounts to affirm the literal understanding she had developed. These findings suggest an important challenge for students who are continuing to develop their reading skills is the transition from an intratextual focus to the intertextual orientation needed for historical thinking, especially having available cognitive resources to interpret and juggle multiple texts.

**Vocabulary.** Vocabulary is a widely recognized challenge for bilingual students in content-area classrooms. Even for students with well-developed background knowledge about text content, unfamiliar words may still cause difficulties with comprehension (Snow, 2002). The recognition of how context affects word meaning is also critical. Students may experience difficulty with conceptual and categorical words and language forms in their texts that seem familiar (e.g. words categorized as Tier 2), but take on specialized meanings, nuances, and syntactic uses when used in specific disciplinary contexts (Beck, McKeown, & Kucan, 2002; Moje, 2010; Snow, Lawrence, & White, 2009). Snow, Lawrence, and White (2009) suggest that
teachers can help students consider the influence of context on word meaning by explicitly drawing attention to multiple meanings and teaching strategies to ascertain the most appropriate definition for such words depending on the subject area.

While the majority of instructional models for vocabulary development focus on content vocabulary (August, Artzi, & Mazrum, 2010; Himmel, Short, Richards, & Echevarria, 2009; Klingner & Vaughn, 2000; Reutebuch, 2010). Echevarría et al. (2008) suggest that teachers classify words into three categories: a) content words, b) process words, and c) words that reveal the structure of English, that allow bilingual students to recognize purpose and relationships between words. They suggest instructional activities for developing word attack strategies among bilingual students for problem solving encounters with challenging vocabulary, such as recognizing cognates, utilizing structural analysis, and deriving meaning from context clues.

**Activating prior knowledge and building background knowledge.** Activating prior knowledge and building background knowledge are widely supported instructional strategies that support the learning of bilingual students across all grade levels (Brock, McVee, Shojgreen-Downer, & Flores-Dueñas, 1998; Echevarría et al., 2008; Flores-Dueñas, 2004; Jimenez, 1997; Jimenez, Garcia, & Pearson, 1996; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). Opportunities for bilingual students to draw upon their cultural and linguistic knowledge and experiences have been shown to positively support enactment of comprehension strategies and inferential comprehension (Flores-Dueñas, 2004; Jimenez, 1997). Related to providing relevant resources for students, social studies teachers need to be aware of students’ funds of knowledge (Moll & Gonzales, 1994) and experiences in order to create opportunities for bilingual students to connect what they know to what is to be learned. In addition, they need to deliberately solicit students’ observations about strategy use and explicitly draw out students’ understandings of language and
texts. However, as noted previously, teachers must be thoughtful in drawing out and affirming prior knowledge that appropriately align with the disciplinary concepts, skills, and practices for learning content in order to develop increasingly nuanced understandings.

The use of these instructional strategies with bilingual students has been better documented in secondary science instruction in comparison to social studies (Greenleaf, Litman, Hanson, et al., 2011; Litman & Greenleaf, 2008; Moje et al. 2001; 2004b; Schoenbach & Greenleaf, 2009). In particular, the Project Based Science (PBS) curriculum (Moje et al. 2001; 2004b) created instructional supports, literacy tools, and curriculum resources to support bilingual students’ understanding of and practice with writing scientific explanations alongside “doing science”; instructional supports focused on explicit instruction and opportunities to practice the thinking behind writing scientific explanations. Despite efforts to increase the access to language and texts for students, Moje et al. (2004b) found that a majority of students in PBS classrooms needed more support with scientific thinking (e.g. causal relationships, explanation), and science specific discourse although students showed increases in some content knowledge measures.

**Cultural identity.** Finally, an aspect of bilingual adolescents that is often overlooked when language and literacy challenges are foregrounded is cultural identity. De Jong and Harper (2005) stress the importance of understanding the sociocultural and sociopolitical pressures that influence acculturation and socio-psychological underpinnings of second language learning. Knowledge about acculturation patterns, motivations, attitudes, and behaviors provides a context to understand why bilingual and language learning students may enact motivations and behaviors that teachers may interpret as disaffected, disrespectful, or an indication of a learning disability.

Cultural identity may become an increasingly important aspect of these adolescents’ lives
as they develop a sense of who they are and belonging in school, their community, and society. Research identified that some bilingual adolescents and language learners may actively reject mainstream culture and the dominant language if they perceive that their identity and first language are endangered or devalued in school and by the larger society (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). Some may express uncertainty about their cultural heritage and prefer to interact primarily in the dominant language and culture; still others may draw upon their resources to navigate within and across their cultural heritage and language and the mainstream. Similarly, student self-perception of racial identity may also begin to emerge and influence how an adolescent interacts with her peers, family, and community.

Yet providing relevant resources for students is not limited to recognizing the relationship between “cultural identity, language use, and proficiency in two languages” (Brisk, 1998 in de Jong & Harper, 2005, p.114) for R-FEP students. More important, content area teachers who teach R-FEP students need to demonstrate the valuing of their students’ ideas, perspectives, and experiences grounded and support their explorations in the classroom and as well as through content in discipline aligned ways.

This literacy and language infused PDE framework offers a tool for analysis that highlights issues of limited access and participation in content and disciplinary knowledge and skills that loom greatly for many bilingual youth in secondary classrooms. This study seeks to expand the application of PDE to explore how teachers can create learning environments that consider the specific text-based challenges, such as academic language and disciplinary literacy skills, which R-FEP and bilingual students may face along side access to disciplinary concepts, skills, and practices.
I will use the framework described above to address the overarching question: How do secondary teachers’ instructional practices and organization of the learning environment foster discipline-specific engagement and learning with texts for Reclassified as Fluent English Proficient (R-FEP) students in social studies classrooms? Although fostering PDE requires the dynamic balancing of all four principles, the unseen influence of literacy and language can be better seen when the primary tensions between problematizing content and text v. providing relevant resources and accountability to disciplinary norms v. giving students authority are examined.

The tension between problematizing v. resources highlights the ability of teachers and the learning environment to provide resources for their students to access to and engage with challenging content learning tasks that involve text. Students may be unmotivated or unable to participate if inadequate resources are provided for a challenging task. On the other hand, the challenge of a task may be reduced if too many resources are provided, contributing to the lack of intellectual progress that makes learning productive. Access to problematized learning tasks for R-FEP students may be influenced by instructional supports for literacy and language with grade level texts, to which teachers may not be attending based on the assumption of English proficiency. Attention to this PDE tension also allows for the examination of individual student’s use of literacy and language strategies and skills, as well as cultural identity, as they interact with grade level texts and how that helps them to participate in a difficult learning task.

The ability of teachers and the learning environment to provide access to the literacy practices of an academic discipline with which R-FEP students may be unfamiliar with lies at the heart of the tension between accountability v. authority when attending to the salience of literacy and language. Engle (2012) warns that if there is too much emphasis on accountability, there is
more likelihood that students will engage in learning tasks in the manner of “doing school” or engaging in activities without understanding the purpose or affordances for learning. This outcome is heightened for R-FEP students who may not understand why certain ways of thinking, reading, and writing are significant, valuable, or purposeful for their ability to participate in the academic practices of a disciplinary community.

The following specific questions will guide the analysis and proceeding discussion of data:

• How do social studies teachers conceive of, create, negotiate, and adapt the use of instructional tools and strategies to engage R-FEP students in text-based learning?

• How do R-FEP students respond to and understand the text-based learning in these social studies classrooms?
Chapter 3. METHOD

This study employs a multiple case study approach (Yin, 2006) to qualitatively detail the complex interactions and practices middle school social studies teachers employ to support disciplinary engagement and disciplinary learning with texts for their R-FEP students. The unit of analysis is teachers within content-area classrooms. This enables for the methodical documentation of teachers’ instructional planning and lesson implementation with the use of texts, and adaptive instruction for R-FEP students. In addition, this study examines the variations in practice across the three content-area teachers, with particular attention to the responses of R-FEP students. This multiple case approach provides comparisons and reveals variations that strengthen the findings that emerge from this study (Yin, 2006). In particular, this design allows me to investigate the applicability of the principles of productive disciplinary engagement in “reform-oriented instructional approaches” undertaken in naturalistic classroom settings (Engle 2012, p. 176), and with R-FEP students who are considered integrated into general education classrooms.

Sampling

Social Studies Teachers

A purposeful case sampling approach was undertaken to identify three social studies teachers who would provide me with access to information-rich and in-depth understandings of their instructional practices in classes that include R-FEP students (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). Identification of teacher participants emerged from the recommendations of university instructors involved in social studies teacher preparation, and was confirmed by school administration (see Table 1).
The three teacher participants, Mr. Brian Casey, Ms. Brooke Davis, and Mr. John Thomas, were faculty at Pine Crest Middle School (pseudonyms). They were selected as “best case” teachers because they met the selection criteria of: 1) being adept in engaging students in content-area learning, 2) taking interest in the integration of discipline specific thinking and communication into classroom instruction and activities, 3) organizing learning activities that explore “big ideas” and concepts of the content area, and/or utilizes content specific problem solving skills, 4) including the use of texts, and 5) organizing student participation in partner and group work to create and share products of learning. These characteristics reflect the principles of fostering PDE in a content-area classroom. Additional selection criteria for focal teachers included: a) holding a current state certification for social studies or history; b) having taught a minimum of two years in a middle school setting; and c) having R-FEP students enrolled in their general education classes. The teachers signed the Teacher Consent form to participate in the study. To ensure that the research goals of this study are maintained, teacher participation required the approval of the district, and consent of parents and assent of focal children in the classroom to conduct observations and interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social studies teacher</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Years taught at middle school</th>
<th>Special Education co-teacher</th>
<th>Additional instructional endorsements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Casey</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12 (non-consecutive)</td>
<td>Ms. Green</td>
<td>Language Arts certification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Brooke</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>English language learning methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ms. Watanabe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Teacher characteristics

Although the teachers officially held positions as English/Language Arts and social studies teachers at their grade level, all three perceived they had stronger content and
pedagogical knowledge in social studies. In Mr. Casey and Mr. Thomas’s classrooms, a Special Education co-teacher was involved in planning and instruction to support Special Education students in an inclusion-learning environment, but they also interacted with the R-FEP students. These co-teachers also signed the Teacher Consent form to participate in the study; however, because their expertise is not the content of social studies, they will only be discussed in this analysis when their instruction or interactions directly impacted the focal R-FEP students.

In the third classroom, Ms. Brooke’s classroom was designated an ELL inclusion classroom because she held a state endorsement in ELL instructional methods and practices.

Pine Crest Middle School is a diverse, urban public middle school in a metropolitan school district in the northwestern United States. For the 2012-2013 school year, the demographics indicated that 42% of 1,298 students came from diverse racial and ethnic family backgrounds; the two largest populations of students that did not exclusively identify as white were Asian/Pacific Islanders (14%) and Latinos (10%). Pine Crest also exhibited an institutional commitment to addressing the needs of adolescents with learning disabilities (15%) and English learners (5%); the students were integrated into regular classroom instruction, when appropriate with their individualized educational plans, with additional instructional support. Thus, Pine Crest reflected my decision to focus on school environments with students from a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The Pine Crest social studies teachers were in the first year of curricular and instructional transition to Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy during the time of data collection. Evidence of this transition was seen in the classrooms I observed which depicted a mix of literacy terminology from the CCSS and strategies from Teachers College
Readers’ and Writers’ Workshop (Calkins & Mermelstein, 2006; Calkins & Tolan, 2010). Full implementation of the CCSS was expected for the 2014-2015 school year.

**Reclassified as Fluent English Proficient (R-FEP) Students**

R-FEP student participants were chosen from the students enrolled in the focal social studies teachers’ classrooms. After receiving approval from the school district and principal of the school, each teacher was asked to assist me in identifying the R-FEP students in their classrooms. Teachers and a vice principal assisted me in identifying the languages spoken at home so that Parent Initial Contact letters, Parent Consent forms, and Student Assent forms could be translated into the appropriate primary languages to gain families’ permission.

Four R-FEP students met the criteria for participation, which included: a) lives in a home where a language other than English is spoken; b) self-identifies as a speaker of language other than English; c) is a former recipient of ELL support services who passed the state English language proficiency examination a maximum five years prior; and e) expressed willingness and time to be interviewed and participate in document-prompted stimulated recall interviews. The four students: Aracely, Mari, Semira, and Vanessa, were considered general education students across all of their classes. (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Years since ELL services exit</th>
<th>Language spoken at home</th>
<th>Ethnic background</th>
<th>Social studies teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mari</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>Mr. Casey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semira</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tigrinya</td>
<td>Eritrean</td>
<td>Mr. Casey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aracely</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Mexican &amp; Spanish</td>
<td>Ms. Brooke (Davis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanessa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>Mr. Thomas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As a heritage Chinese speaker, I have an academic interest in conducting research on non-Spanish speaking ELL and bilingual adolescents and exploring the application of instructional pedagogies to a broader community of ELL and bilingual students. Although the overall school enrollment of students from non-Spanish language backgrounds receiving EL services was well-represented at Pine Crest, the identification of these students among the R-FEP population was limited by their numbers.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

Data collection for this analysis was collected in three social studies classrooms over a total of eight weeks, with seven weeks directly focused on one thematic instructional unit and one week of follow up. I relied upon a variety of research methods to conduct three qualitative case studies of the focal teachers and R-FEP students in their classrooms (Merriam, 2009). These methods aimed to document the complex interactions and practices that the social studies teachers employed to facilitate productive disciplinary engagement and support students’ learning from and with texts, and how the focal students responded to these instructional efforts. Data gathering included participant observation field notes, collection of classroom artifacts, formal interviews, informal interactions, and document-prompted stimulated recall with teachers and the focal students (Calderhead, 1981; Gass & Mackey, 2000; Lyle, 2003; Merriam, 2009) (see Table 3). These data collection strategies allow me to triangulate findings and generate analytic generalizations (Yin, 2006).
There were 2 focal students in this classroom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Observation hours</th>
<th>Class block periods</th>
<th>Classroom artifacts</th>
<th>Teacher interviews</th>
<th>Student interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Casey</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>156.1 min</td>
<td>118.34 min*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Brooke (Davis)</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70.43 min</td>
<td>35.68 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas</td>
<td>20.33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>224.6 min</td>
<td>34.28 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59.83</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>451.13 min</td>
<td>188.3 min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* There were 2 focal students in this classroom.

Table 3. Data collection totals

**Participant observation**

Approximately 60 hours of classroom observations were conducted through participant observation (Merriam, 2009). Rich, thick qualitative descriptions of classroom activities and interactions were detailed in fieldnotes to thoroughly contextualize the specific environmental and interpersonal dynamics for productive disciplinary engagement and disciplinary literacy learning with texts (Merriam, 2009). Systematic classroom observation (Erickson, 1986) detailed the variety of instructional strategies and classroom expectations that the teachers employed when working with all of their students, such as sharing learning goals and modeling the use of skills, as well as instructional modifications enacted when working specifically with focal R-FEP students (See Appendix A). Verbal exchanges between teachers and the focal R-FEP students were specifically recorded to identify the result of these adaptations. Patterns of interaction between focal students and their peers were also noted during partner and/or group work to document how students interpreted their teacher’s instruction and enacted expectations and activities for cooperative learning.

In order to facilitate as naturalistic an environment as possible for observation, I introduced myself to the classroom prior to scheduled observations to familiarize students with
the reason for my presence in the classroom environment (Merriam, 2009). I conducted two informal observations to familiarize myself with the routines, instructional context, and classroom culture before I formally documented what occurred in class. I did not plan to offer assistance to students or observations to teachers during observations unless specifically requested by the teachers. However, this did not prevent the focal students from initiating interactions with me as most of them perceived me as an additional resource in the classroom they could access. In Mr. Casey’s classroom, I specifically refrained from offering guidance to the focal R-FEP students during the seven week social studies unit even when they asked for help because he desired their work to be reflective of students’ independently derived understandings and abilities. In contrast, Mr. Thomas and Ms. Brooke encouraged me to interact with the focal students and others if they approached me for assistance. During the week of follow up, I more actively supported students across the three classrooms, such as responding to student questions and one-on-one tutoring, and provided recommendations for instructional resources when requested by the teachers.

Artifacts

The collection of classroom artifacts provided context for and evidence of the decision-making processes and influence of classroom factors around supporting engagement and disciplinary learning with and from texts in the social studies classrooms (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013; Shanahan, Shanahan, & Misischia, 2012). Over 100 classroom artifacts were gathered across the three classrooms and I primarily used a Pandigital PANSCN08 handheld wand scanner to digitize these documents and download these files onto a laptop. Artifacts that could not be scanned were photographed with my LG MyTouch cellphone camera. These artifacts included: a) copies of texts used by teachers, such as printed passages and mentor
texts; b) copies of instructional materials used in class, such as organizers and checklists; c) copies of texts used by students during research, including screenshots of online texts; d) copies of focal student work, such as notes and drafts of writing; and e) images of three-dimensional student work, such as artifacts and posterboards.

The collection of artifacts provided insight into focal R-FEP students’ learning and how they were able to engage with content-area texts and disciplinary concepts. Some of these artifacts were used during stimulated recall interviews with focal teachers to prompt for recollection of pedagogical decision-making, the disciplinary and content ideas emphasized, and engagement and literacy considerations. For students, these artifacts were used to elicit discipline or subject area specific conceptual and content learning, recollection of how they engaged in the activity or with texts, and the literacy strategies and skills they used to draw meaning from texts.

**Interviews**

Interviews allowed access to knowledge and the perspective of both teacher and student participants that could not be accessed by observation alone (Merriam, 2009). Semi-structured interviews in particular allow flexibility to “respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic[s]” of instruction, learning, and engagement around content-area texts and discipline or subject area specific thinking (Merriam, 1998, p. 90). Interviews were scheduled in advance with teachers and students and conducted during a free period, lunch, or at the end of the school at Pine Crest. Approximately 11 hours of interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim.

**Social studies teachers.** For the teachers, the prepared interview questions sought to elicit evolving conceptions about planning and instruction of content and text, the role of classroom climate and structure, student participation and engagement concerns, and the
enactment of discipline and subject area related concepts, thinking, and skills. Teachers were also specifically asked about how they perceived the learning and participation of the focal R-FEP students. An initial background information interview detailed each participant’s teaching experiences at Pine Crest, in their content area, and with R-FEP students (See Appendix B). Additional interviews focused on the relationship between learning, engagement, and content area texts. These interviews were conducted during a planning period or at the end of the school day at the beginning and end of the study (See Appendix C and D). These interviews lasted between 10 to 35 minutes.

At the beginning and end of the 8-week period, I asked each teacher questions about the planning and instruction of the unit focusing on: a) content and curricular factors; b) text selection; c) disciplinary factors that contributed to the text choice and mode of instruction; d) unit content goals; and e) their relationship with focal students. At the end of the observation period, I followed up on his/her originally described learning goals; asked questions about modifications enacted or wished he/she had enacted around content, instructional pedagogy, or texts; and his/her assessment of the focal R-FEP students’ learning and participation.

**R-FEP students.** Interviews were designed to elicit focal R-FEP students’ perspectives on their content learning, implicit discipline and subject area understandings about social studies, their access to content area texts, and engagement with and participation in content-area texts and related activities. Interviews were conducted at lunch, during a free period, or at the end of the school day. These interviews typically lasted between seven and 15 minutes, and occurred at the beginning and end of the observation period (See Appendix E and F).

Focal R-FEP students described to me their experience at their middle school and as a speaker of more than one language during their initial interview. Students were also asked about
their perceptions of their learning, access to text, participation, and engagement in their content area class. The final interview similarly focused on learning, engagement, and access to texts they selected and used for their research projects.

**Document-prompted stimulated recall**

Stimulated recall can offer a useful and different perspective to examine not merely what happened in the classroom, but why (Lyle, 2003). However, concerns about cultural ways of thinking will be considered based on the backgrounds of the focal teachers and students (Kim, H., 2002). Focal teachers and students were familiarized with the stimulated recall protocol before I used documents to prompt their thinking. Although stimulated recall verbal reports are recommended to occur as soon as possible to ensure that a participant’s memory of accurate quality (Gass & Mackey, 2000; Lyle, 2003), it was challenging to conduct these interviews immediately after an observation. I did not have immediate access to classroom artifacts until I was able to download, redact, and print out scanned documents for the next day. Also, my access to teachers and students was restricted by their class and afterschool schedules; stimulated recall interviews with teachers most often occurred after school, and these interviews occurred during their lunch period for students. Stimulated recall interviews were scheduled in advance and when there were appropriate forms of documents to review as detailed below. These verbal reports were audio recorded, transcribed verbatim, and later matched with fieldnotes and copies of classroom artifacts that corresponded to the interactional exchanges from the observations for analysis.

**Social studies teachers.** Document-prompted stimulated recall was used to probe social studies teachers’ interpretations of their instructional goals, decision-making, and interactions with students towards the end of the 8-week observation period, but prior to the final interview
A preliminary analysis of my field notes was conducted to identify changes in practice or interactions that evoked questions or a need for clarification, such as: a) visible shifts in student engagement and motivation during the lesson and with text; b) extended instructional interaction around discipline and subject area specific understandings related to content in and about text, c) verbal exchanges with focal students; and d) instructional adaptations that differed from interactions with other students. Then instructional artifacts, student work, pedagogical moves, and/or verbal exchanges between the teacher and focal R-FEP students that typified these questions were identified and presented to a teacher for exploration during the stimulated recall task. Teachers were prompted to examine a classroom artifact and/or recall an interaction with their student and describe their thinking about what occurred and why it was important. A 20-30 minute stimulated recall interview was conducted with each social studies teacher.

**R-FEP students.** One document-prompted stimulated recall was used in the middle of the observation period to probe focal students’ interpretations of their teacher’s instruction, their engagement, and learning with and from content-area text (see Appendix H). Students were prompted to examine an example of text they previously read in class or wrote and describe their learning from the artifact, any questions it prompted, and why it was important. Stimulated recall interviews ranged from 5 to 15 minutes.

Overall, the data collection strategies aimed to be flexible and attend to the particular issues as they emerged from the context of interaction between focal teachers and students (Merriam, 2009).

**Analysis of data/steps to ensure high quality data**
Observation field notes, classroom artifacts, interview and stimulated recall transcripts were reviewed first for broad categories upon which codes will be further refined based upon the research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Initial coding was adapted and elaborated from the alternative coding scheme suggested by Bodgan and Biklen (1992) in Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 61) This preliminary coding was done to avoid too narrow an examination of the data (Erickson, 2006). From this, I collapsed codes and identified emerging tensions based on the conceptualizations of productive disciplinary engagement (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002) as detailed in my conceptual framework (See Appendix I). From these, primary tensions and trends emerged from the data.

To verify the credibility of the data, I conducted member checks with case study summaries and preliminary findings to ensure the quality of data collected. Member checks were used to inform the direction of the questions asked during interviews in order to be responsive to the thinking and interactions of the participants. In order to establish consistency and dependability of the data, triangulation and an examination of my position was conducted. Triangulation of data sources was based on the multiple sources of data being gathered and across the cases of the three focal teachers. Last, the use of rich, thick descriptions was used in observation field notes to contextualize the thoughts and experiences of participants and to address the generalizability of findings to theory.
Chapter 4. CASE STUDY: MS. BROOKE AND ARACELY

In this chapter, I present a descriptive embedded case study of a 7th-grade social studies teacher, one R-FEP student in her 1st-2nd block period classroom, and their interactions with the instructional tools and strategies utilized to engage all students in text-based learning. First, I frame the instructional context of the classroom by providing background information about Ms. Brooke, her beliefs about learning and engagement, and how she oriented her 7th-grade students to the People on the March (POTM) social studies unit that this study focused on. I then describe the focal student, Aracely, with a special emphasis on detailing her skills as a reader and writer. Next, I address the research questions drawing from observations, interviews, and artifacts that exhibit Ms. Brooke’s instructional practices and strategies, and how they facilitate learning from and with text for Aracely. This qualitative analysis uses the integrated principles of PDE (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002) described in my conceptual framework to characterize patterns found in how discipline-specific engagement and literacy learning was conceived of and enacted, as well as received by Aracely. Finally, I summarize my findings and reflect upon what these tensions suggest about the opportunities for learning with and from text in social studies for R-FEP students in Ms. Brooke’s classroom.

Ms. Brooke

Ms. Brooke Davis, known to her students by her first name, was an energetic teacher with a warm personality and a love for adolescents and youth culture. It was her third year at Pine Crest and second year teaching the 7th-grade curriculum. She saw middle school as a crucial time to support student learning by exposing her students to both academic and everyday ideas and topics that they themselves might not originally have interest in or have knowledge about:
My goal is that people leave class passionate about reading, and passionate about civics, and passionate about writing whether or not they can do it perfectly. Because those skills will come, but that passion is something that has to be fostered. (interview, 05/03/13)

Ms. Brooke saw her role as a teacher to provide opportunities for exposure to new and diverse content learning for her students; she believed that this would cultivate passion and long lasting engagement with academic subjects regardless of students’ skill level. She associated the concept of engagement with a sense of open access to knowledge and discovery, positive self-esteem, feelings of wonder and a strong thirst for learning. She believed that providing opportunities for her students to explore a topic or subject area and develop interest was more valuable than emphasizing the mastery of content or skills.

According to Ms. Brooke, the epitome of being a successful 7th-grade social studies student was demonstrating the ability to be a critical thinker—“to be able to identify not necessarily bias, but author’s…purpose, and be able to take those skills to apply them to their own communities and current events” (interview, 05/03/13). She felt that some of her students had demonstrated this earlier in the year.

Of the three social studies teachers in the study, Ms. Brooke was the only one with an ELL endorsement from the state that licensed her to teach in ESL or ELL classrooms. While she spoke fluent Spanish, Ms. Brooke primarily used her language skills to communicate with the Spanish speaking families of her students and rarely used it in classroom instruction. Her understanding of the instructional needs of ELL and immigrant students influenced how she structured her designated ELL inclusion classroom, but these instructional structures were integrated into the fabric of the classroom for students of all English language proficiency.
People on the March (POTM) Unit

People on the March was a teacher-developed unit enacted across all of the 7th-grade social studies classrooms that followed an examination of civil rights and the 14th, 15th, and 19th Amendments in the United States Constitution. The unit integrated the application of skills and strategies for non-fiction reading and argument writing with history and civics content that Ms. Brooke felt was “pop culturally relevant to them [her students]. Also because it’s cool and interesting and modern and accessible” (interview, 05/03/13). Students were asked to address in both a paper and presentation format the essential question of: “How do groups and/or individuals fight for civil rights?” while utilizing primary and secondary sources to research a civil rights issue they selected based on interest (artifact, 05/13/13). The culmination of their learning would be shared at the annual 7th-grade Social Studies Night, where their families, peers, and teachers could gather to view, hear, and celebrate their work.

While all the 7th-grade social studies classrooms shared the same essential question, purpose statement, paper and presentation requirements and scoring rubric (artifact, 05/13/13), the pacing of the unit, civil rights background information cases, and textual resources, including the model paper and graphic organizers, were left to the discretion of individual teachers. Ms. Brooke utilized a shared model paper that she modified with paragraph headings, but prioritized her attention on the background information case texts and organizational tools for writing for her students. She developed viewing guides for the documentary films she selected for the background cases, a research notetaking organizer, and a paper outline organizer to support the application of reading and writing skills and strategies. Nearly all of the texts that students interacted with during this unit was nearly all identified online by Ms. Brooke or the students.

Reinforced by her own personal interest in civil rights content and social change, Ms. Brooke
Brooke anticipated that the approachability of the content would reinforce her goal to develop her students into passionate and civic-minded individuals that:

…can be part of social change and social movements and what contributions as young people they can make to something they find important. And recognizing that small individual actions can have significant impact or that many of the things they care about are still relevant. (interview, 06/10/13)

Aracely

Aracely was one of three R-FEP students in Ms. Brooke’s 1st-2nd period class. In addition to the three R-FEP students, there were also five ELL students in an ELL inclusion class of 25 seventh graders. Aracely had tested out of receiving ELL services four years prior at the end of third grade. She identified herself as biracial—Latino and white—based on her father’s Mexican heritage and her mother’s Spanish roots. Aracely and her siblings were required by her parents to speak Spanish at home and with extended family because they feared the loss of their children’s first language. Recognizing the importance of cultivating Aracely’s bilingualism and biliteracy, her parents supported her Spanish language development by having her read books in Spanish, but she found the books to be “too long so I give up sometimes” and described surreptitiously texting her sister messages in English (interview, 05/23/13). Despite these efforts, Aracely expressed a personal preference for reading and speaking in English and identified herself as a struggling reader and writer of Spanish.

Aracely was able to surround herself with students who were academically stronger in skills and achievement than she. During the POTM unit I observed, she worked alongside Dana and Brandon, two of the strongest readers and writers in the class and native English speakers, with whom she shared a similar research topic. Her ability to recognize and use her social
resources and to advocate for herself were strengths that Ms. Brooke recognized. Ms. Brooke saw Aracely’s “biggest growth [this year] is learning how to do school” (interview, 06/10/13).

“Reading seems more interesting.”

Over the course of the year, Aracely transitioned from a C/D student to an A/B student as she grew in confidence and ability to interact with her peers in reading and discussing grade level texts independently. Ms. Brooke noted that recent scores on a computerized benchmark reading test indicated to Ms. Brooke that “[s]he’s reading at grade level, reading text that her peers are reading and comprehending and getting excited about what her peers are reading” (interview, 05/17/13).

Aracely expressed a strong preference for reading over writing in English. She enjoyed mysteries and “action books” that aligned with her clear purpose to “to find out what happened” (interview, 05/17/13). In contrast to her ability to identify books she enjoys and increased stamina for reading, it was the opposite for writing. Although Ms. Brooke identified her as a “strong writer” (interview, 05/17/13), Aracely frequently juxtaposed her preference for reading with how difficult she perceived writing to be:

Reading new books and then writing about—sometimes I get stuck about writing something. …Sometimes I don’t even know what to write about so I just write about songs and stuff, like I listen to. Reading, I know what book I’m reading.

(interview, 05/23/13).

The certainty of resolution and completion when reading text for Aracely contrasted with her experiences with writing for school. She did not know what was expected of the writing she was supposed to generate, especially with open-ended writing assignments. She expressed her need to have a model text as a reference point to complete writing assignments: “It gives me an idea of how to do it, because if I didn’t have it, I would probably do things opposite and wrong”
Although Ms. Brooke saw her as a competent writer for her grade level, Aracely consistently expressed a lack of confidence and competence in writing.

**Research Question:** How does Ms. Brooke’s instructional practices and organization of the environment foster discipline-specific engagement and learning with texts for Aracely?

Based on 17.5 hours of observation in Ms. Brooke’s 1st-2nd period classroom, students in Ms. Brooke’s social studies classroom spent 65.3% of their time interacting with texts specific to the POTM unit (See Appendix J). These activities included: watching four documentaries supported with printed viewing guides, conducting research on the Internet, and drafting and editing their POTM essays. Analysis of Ms. Brooke’s instruction and opportunities for participation in text-focused learning in social studies and Aracely’s response to instruction and activities provided insights into the critical influence of literacy on the two primary tensions in PDE: *problematizing v. resources* and *authority v. accountability*.

**Problematizing Content and Text**

Ms. Brooke planned and directed instructional strategies and activities in social studies that communicated her belief that an accumulation of content knowledge would lead her students to “...develop [into] questioning citizens and critical thinking citizens” (interview, 06/10/13). She consistently enacted instructional activities and supports that conveyed a preference for developing a breadth of content knowledge and associated information gathering as the purpose of learning in social studies.

**Breadth over depth of knowledge.** Ms. Brooke expressed an unconventional understanding of building background knowledge that contributed to her desire for her students to gain a breadth of knowledge about civil rights struggles. She spent several days exposing her students to the civil rights topics of gay rights, farmworkers’ rights, and Native American rights
through documentary films, with the hopes that the information learned would satiate their curiosity so that they would further challenge themselves by selecting civil rights topics and figures with which they were less acquainted.

She communicated her desire to expand her students’ knowledge base on civil rights struggles through subtle remarks and directions to her students, such as her direction to “learn more about what we haven’t talked about in class” (fieldnotes, 05/13/13). When her students selected topics she had previously taught or related to the documentaries they screened, Ms. Brooke expressed her disappointment: “We had it earlier in the year when we talked about the 19th, 14th, and 15th Amendments… Most everybody. That’s just the biggest bummer. No, this is your chance to learn about something totally new and someone totally different. …I would rather now that you watched the video, find someone else” (interview, 06/10/13). Even though she recognized that students entered the classroom with varying degrees of familiarity with certain civil rights topics, Ms. Brooke seemed to perceive background knowledge as a barrier to accumulating content knowledge.

**Prioritizing information gathering.** Ms. Brooke’s instructional strategies favored the conception of learning as gathering information in contrast to the questioning and critical thinking orientation she espoused for her students. Her verbal and text-guided interactions with students around content and the promoted utilization of the generic reading strategies reinforced her prioritization of information gathering.

An IRE pattern of interaction was characteristic of how Ms. Brooke posed questions to her students. While the class watched the film, Ms. Brooke initiated interactions to point out or clarify information shared in the film she deemed important. Thirteen out of 19 verbal exchanges I observed with students during the screenings were re-statements of facts. Similarly, students
who called out or raised their hand to answer her questions usually got the right answer and it was rare for her to follow up student answers with a probe to ask why or how students came to their response.

Similarly, the unit’s documentary viewing guides and research and writing organizers heavily privileged factual and explicit text level understandings (Pearson & Johnson, 1978) about the individuals, events, and consequences. Across four viewing guides, 27 out of 30 questions could be answered directly from the depictions and narration in the films. In the POTM Paper Planning Document (artifact, 05/16/13) and the Outline for POTM paper organizer (artifact, 05/23/13), she further emphasized factual understandings of social studies concepts, such as civil rights, that could be directly copied from their social studies notebooks. Thus, even concepts and ideas in social studies had knowable and accurate answers in Ms. Brooke’s classroom.

The most striking example of Ms. Brooke’s information gathering focus was the expectation that students employ a reading strategy of skimming the content and scanning for text features if the text seemed too challenging. When using this strategy, Ms. Brooke explained that students were not expected to read an entire text:

We’ve taught how to extrapolate information without ever reading an article. Look at maps, look at dates, look at pictures, look at captions and you can get a lot of information. Not all the information, that’s what they have to remember. But it’s a good starting place. We did that for reading any non-fiction text.

(interview, 06/10/13)

This was a strategy that all 7th graders were taught in order to collect discrete pieces of factual information, which would presumably provide students’ with the gist of an unfamiliar piece of non-fiction text. Ms. Brooke’s awareness of the limitations of this strategy was associated with the amount of information students would be able to garner and not the quality of information or
inferences drawn. Overall, she felt that the strategy afforded a useful alternative for her students to interact with challenging text rather than simply feel overwhelmed and stuck.

*Aracely accumulates disjointed content knowledge.* For Aracely, learning in social studies consisted of collecting discrete pieces of factual information from the texts she encountered that provided her a quantifiable sense of increased knowledge. When I asked her what she learned from her research about Women’s Suffrage at the completion of the project, she described the totality of her learning as three new facts. Listing of names, actions, and events typified Aracely’s understanding about and work of social studies content learning and learning from text. Aracely demonstrated consistent use of reading strategies and skills to access surface level content for explicit understanding, such as skim and scan. She did not report any questions or wonders about the content, text, or even topic she explored; nor did she display any awareness of explicitly stated tension among ideas in text. This lack of questioning and wondering likely resulted from Aracely’s own disclosure that she did not read through and believed that it was not necessary to look through the entirety of the texts used in her research.

*Skimming and scanning for information.* Aracely heavily depended on the skim and scan strategy when she read printed and digital text. Initially her use of this strategy was not apparent to me during classroom observations; this was uncovered when I reintroduced texts I thought Aracely had previous read during a stimulated recall interview. Her elaboration of her comprehension strategies and understandings from the college-level text “On This Day: 18 February 1920” text on the Virginia Historical Society’s website was representative of how she approached these texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stimulated recall</th>
<th>Original text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Aracely:</em> The year, that’s the first</td>
<td>Virginia refused to ratify the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
thing that I got. To me, the “18 February 1920
the Women’s Suffrage Act was pruh-sented,
pres-present, and referred to the Senate.” I think the first thing I saw. Then I kept looking where the numbers were, like the years. I was looking for the numbers.

*Researcher:* Why were you looking for the numbers?

*Aracely:* Well, to find the year, when it passed, when it started. That’s like, that’s what I did on this.

(interview, 06/06/13)

| Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Despite this denial, the measure passed in thirty-six other states, legally giving Virginia women the right to vote. In 1952 the General Assembly officially adopted the amendment. |
| (Virginia Historical Society, 05/16/2013) |

Table 4. Aracely’s verbalization of skim and scan strategy

Aracely’s focus on the extraction of numbers and dates aligned with Ms. Brooke’s expectations for the use of the skim and scan strategy. Aracely was unaware of the limitations of only collecting these surface level understandings and the consequences of overlooking content in other parts of texts she used. In fact, her ability to share the discrete facts she had gathered during moments of conferring satisfied Ms. Brooke’s informal assessment of her learning (interview,
05/17/13). As such, the difficulty of the texts that Aracely encountered was not an area of concern for either Ms. Brooke or Aracely because content knowledge could be extracted. Although this strategy enabled Aracely to complete her POTM project, it also encouraged a conception about social studies content that insinuated that factual information could be plucked out of historical context and reassembled without attention to the purpose and perspective of texts and authors. When she paraphrased the previous portion of the text that she read to me, she suggested that there was little dissent across the U.S. to grant women the right to vote at the time. Furthermore, it became clear that she did not closely attend to the year “1952” in this chunk of text, which would have signaled a discrepancy in her conclusion that everyone supported women’s suffrage at the time the amendment was ratified. Overall, Aracely seemed unaware that there was more to understanding the content and text than she was able to extract.

Because Aracely’s approach was compatible with Ms. Brooke’s emphasis on accumulating content knowledge, she was unacquainted with the need to go beyond fact-based, explicit content in the women’s suffrage texts she encountered. Additionally, I did not observe Ms. Brooke teach reading skills or strategies that targeted inferential understanding or analysis of ideas and concepts even though she wanted her students to become critical thinkers.

Accumulating rather than problematizing content

In Ms. Brooke’s social studies classroom where developing a breadth of content learning was emphasized, content and text were not problematized. The complexity and nuances in content information, as well as challenging concepts of civil rights and social justice, were glossed over when the text was approached with the reading strategies and skills that were promoted to isolate pieces of names, dates, and events from the text and out of historical context. In fact, these approaches helped Aracely to navigate around information and ideas that should
have signaled conflict and disagreement in historical events detailed in the content and with the text. As a result, Aracely did not have the skill to detect that her own understanding of the content and text was problematic and inaccurate.

**Providing Relevant Resources**

Ms. Brooke recognized that a major challenge for her students would be access to physical texts as well as the content in the texts. However, she believed that the generic reading strategies she previously taught and structural tools for the organization of students’ accumulated knowledge and thinking she created supported the needs of all her students across the range of academic ability and English language proficiency in her social studies classroom. As a result, Ms. Brooke prioritized making physical resources accessible to her students.

**Supporting access to physical texts.** Ms. Brooke was aware of and anticipated general text difficulty concerns in the variety of printed and digital texts her students would encounter during their independent research. She crafted research topic folders containing texts that were differentiated for students to provide access to content, and viewing guides to support students to obtain information from the documentaries they watched as an entire class.

Recognizing the limited resources to conduct on- and offline research at the school, Ms. Brooke created research topic folders for students to share texts in hard copy format. The articles in the topic folders mainly provided general textbook-like overviews of various civil rights movements. She purposefully selected articles printed from the Internet that featured embedded primary sources such as quotations and photographs, and was cognizant of the challenge of finding texts that were accessible to 7th graders working on the obscure civil rights topics. To navigate around the text challenges, Ms. Brooke noted that she retaught the strategy of skimming
and scanning for text features and quotations to students who individually requested support (interview, 06/10/13). I did not observe Ms. Brooke interact with Aracely in this manner.

Ms. Brooke explained that she used “professional judgment” to evaluate texts for vocabulary, text features and structure to differentiate texts for the different reading levels and English proficiency of students in her classroom (interview, 05/17/13). Even though the school used the Lexile leveling system to track students’ reading development from benchmark testing, she did not use these tools to examine the density or complexity of ideas embedded in the text. For her identified ELL students, Ms. Brooke organized a collection of less challenging articles on research topics students had selected—including texts that were modified by an ELL Specialist. The Women’s Suffrage topic folder that Aracely used contained “some higher level text because the students who were doing it [the topic] were higher level readers” (interview, 06/10/13).

**Supporting access to documentary films.** Prior to students beginning their own research, Ms. Brooke was deliberate in how she prepared her students to watch and extract information from documentary films. She briefly lectured to build background information and content vocabulary knowledge that students would encounter. For every movie, she provided a viewing guide with questions and blank lines or boxes for students to record information as they screened the film as a class. For two of the films I observed (See Appendix K), Ms. Brooke’s viewing guides reflected a Scaffolded Reading Experience (Graves & Graves, 2003) approach; these guides began with brief definitions of content vocabulary, while the During Viewing section focused on recalling information from the movie. Finally, the After Viewing section concluded with “After watching this film, what thoughts/feelings/questions do you have?” (artifacts, 05/03/13; 05/06/13). Analysis of fieldnotes from four documentary viewings indicated
that the discussions primarily focused on content recall questions from the viewing guides and the guides were used as tools for notetaking rather than exploring the concept of civil rights.

The instructional strategies that Ms. Brooke enacted further reflected a learning stance that focused on the accumulation of content knowledge. While she recognized the need for her students to physically access to text at an appropriate reading level, there was no additional consideration to language and comprehension support for the content in the text itself.

**Aracely required more literacy support.** Both Ms. Brooke and Aracely herself seemed unaware of the extent to which Aracely struggled to make sense of the texts and content information throughout this unit. After conferring with her, Ms. Brooke believed that Aracely’s main challenge would be to organize and focus her thinking and content learning for the essay because “…she does get lost in these tangents because she’s excited and engaged in it not because she doesn’t understand the material” (interview, 05/17/13). Her confidence in Aracely’s comprehension of the texts was based on Aracely’s recall of factual information.

In light of Aracely’s use of the skim and scan strategy, I wanted to explore how she was making sense of the texts she encountered. During our second interview, Aracely read aloud two paragraphs from two different texts she had interacted with during the research process. Running records analysis of Aracely’s oral reading of two texts indicated that accessing vocabulary and fostering and maintaining comprehension were particular challenges she encountered with the expository social studies texts she found in online. She also did not demonstrate the use of more specialized comprehension skills for history-related texts, which will be discussed in a later section. Both texts were identified as 11th grade—college level on the Lexile scale.

*Making sense of complex text and vocabulary.* Analysis of her oral reading for college level texts from the Virginia Historical Society and the History Channel’s “The Fight for
Women’s Suffrage” website (interview, 06/06/13) indicated that Aracely’s comprehension was challenged by fluency, especially miscues on important content vocabulary and the names of historical figures and places with which she was unfamiliar. Analysis indicated that her oral reading fluency was below the 10th percentile for 7th graders assessed in the spring when reading from college level texts. She read smoothly in eight to ten word phrases, but her pace was frequently interrupted by deviations from the text; for example, Aracely read “lobbering” for “lobbying” and “supreme-cy” for “supremacy” (interview, 06/06/13). In the History Channel text, Aracely made nine miscues in four sentences before she told me she wanted to stop reading.

Aracely exhibited the ability to chunk these unknown words into syllables to pronounce them (e.g. “Sen-knee-kah Falls” for Seneca Falls”), but when she replaced real words with nonsense words, such as “commonwolf” for “commonwealth” and “idenities” for “identities” (interview, 06/06/13), it became evident that she was not able to detect these miscues because these words were not in her oral vocabulary. During the research tasks, Aracely asked Brandon, her topic partner, and me to clarify the meaning of words. Aracely primarily expressed difficulty with vocabulary considered to fall into Tier 2 words, or more conceptually precise words for ideas in common use like “commonwealth” for “state,” and Tier 3 words, or those that only occur in specific domains like “lobbying,” and had minimal background knowledge to support her recognition and understanding of these words and their meanings (Beck, McKeown, & Kucan, 2002).

A further indicator that Aracely had difficulty making sense of these texts was that she was not able to accurately recall information from the Virginia Historical Society text, and pieced together unrelated parts of the text as she did when she skimmed and scanned in the classroom. For example, her recall of what she learned was that the female president of the Equal
Suffrage League of Virginia “tried to get African Americans to vote against white [supremacy]” (interview, 06/06/13) when the text actually described how the president publically stated that white women were devoted to keeping the racial hierarchy and Jim Crow laws that kept African Americans from voting. For the History Channel text, she felt overwhelmed after reading three sentences and asked to stop, reiterating: “[t]hat seems too hard. I didn’t read that part. I didn’t read that part” (interview, 06/06/13).

*Needing to foster and maintain comprehension.* Ms. Brooke’s classroom was an environment that was not conducive for Aracely to develop strategies and skills that fostered and maintained her comprehension of challenging texts. Aracely was able to rely on her peers and Ms. Brooke to provide the answer or redirect her thinking. Towards the end of the POTM unit, Aracely began to blatantly copy answers from a classmate for the *Salute* (Norman, 2008) documentary viewing guide when she had not paid attention to the film (fieldnotes, 06/03/13).

Aracely also exhibited reading behaviors that indicated that she had few opportunities to monitor her comprehension. During one session of classroom research, I observed Aracely reading a printed article without realizing that the pages were out of order. Brandon, who read the same article a few minutes after Aracely had put it down, noticed the missing page and made a fuss which sent them both back to the women’s suffrage topic folder to locate the correct next page (fieldnotes, 05/16/13). At the time, this incident alerted me to her limited ability to detect conceptual, grammatical and writing style shifts in the text. However, as it became clear that she consistently used the skim and scan strategy, it was more apparent that Aracely engaged in few opportunities to read and comprehend the content in texts she selected for her POTM research.

Ms. Brooke finally expressed concerns about these opportunities for Aracely to engage with text and content when I prompted her to re-examine the texts with which Aracely interacted.
While she recognized the difficulty of the History Channel text and the challenge it posed to Aracely, Ms. Brooke expressed concern that Aracely did not have enough opportunities to read text:

I think so much of the reading was done by Brandon. I think he synthesized almost all of this information for them, so it’s hard to say. I mean, just based on conversations with her and him and observations, it’s like he was like, “Alright, this is what this means. This is what that means.” Which is positive to have someone there to translate for you, but it means she didn’t do a lot of non-fiction silent reading.

She was unaware of the extent that Aracely struggled to understand text and content (fieldnotes, 05/16/13). Ms. Brooke’s comments suggested that if Aracely had the opportunity to read the text—instead of deferring to Brandon—then she would have comprehended the information better. Based on this conclusion, she believed that further differentiating the texts for multiple reading levels within topic folder could have helped to alter the dynamics between Aracely and Brandon:

Just give her texts that are more text, lower texts that are at her level that Brandon didn’t have so that she could give him a little bit and he could give her a little bit so that she would have more of her individual voice in the project.

(interview, 06/10/13)

This interaction with the History Channel text also led her to consider differentiating the types of information the texts contained. She thought that providing different sources of information that would be accessible to readers of different levels within a topic might better promote collaboration, wherein students like Aracely could identify content information unique from Brandon. Interestingly, while Ms. Brooke acknowledged the need for more accessible texts for readers like Aracely, she did not mention a need for instruction of vocabulary, comprehension
fostering and monitoring strategies, or specialized reading strategies or scaffolded discussions about social studies concepts such as civil rights.

**Providing resources to alleviate a physical access problem**

While Ms. Brooke showed some awareness to the range of language and literacy skills in her classroom, she was unaware of the literacy challenges that Aracely continued to encounter with text. She assumed that the types of reading strategies and structural writing scaffolds she provided to students that were enough to support an accumulation of content knowledge similarly supported the understanding of content. Ms. Brooke perceived a lack of text-based resources for her students and focused on ensuring that her students had physical access to texts and information, but did not consider if they were supported with cognitive and metacognitive tools that went beyond extraction of information.

**Tension between problematizing content and text and the provision of relevant resources**

Ms. Brooke believed that her students needed to develop a breadth of content knowledge in order to become critical thinkers and aligned her practice in her 7th-grade social studies classroom for this purpose (Parker et al., 2011). In her singular focus for students to accumulate information, she did not engage her students in examining the ideas and concepts related to civil rights in content and media when opportunities to do so arose. Ms. Brooke’s focus on accumulation of knowledge reinforced the traditional school-based representation of learning history in social studies classrooms—what Wineburg (2001) calls “documentary history,” that represents history as a factual record of events. This is in contrast to the disciplinary perspective of history as interpretation (C3 Framework, 2013).

Ms. Brooke was unaware that the critical thinking skills and perspectives she desired from her students did not simply develop from an accumulation of factual information, believing
that Aracely “just needs to expand it [her writing] to show more deep thinking and higher level analysis” (interview, 06/10/13). This was because she did not detect any discrepancy between the ability of the generic reading skills and strategies and structural writing supports she provided to extract surface-level explicit information, from analytical skills and strategies to interpret and evaluate information for her students. Despite her ELL endorsement, Ms. Brooke did not have the expertise to detect that Aracely struggled to comprehend her research texts. Although she recognized that the text that Aracely attempted to read was too challenging for her, Ms. Brooke did not distinguish the difference between the ability to acquire information and understanding content.

**Holding Students Accountable to Others and to Disciplinary Norms**

The most pronounced instructional approach utilized in Ms. Brooke’s social studies classroom was her focus on using structure to organize thinking and content learning. Although she only spent approximately 8% of classroom time directly addressing this focus, multiple instructional strategies and supports, as well as comments in Ms. Brooke’s interviews, reinforced the idea that she was holding her students accountable to the use of structures that she assumed would guide understanding of key disciplinary understandings in history and civics through the content of her students’ POTM topic.

Ms. Brooke associated parts of the structure of the POTM essay with major disciplinary concepts in history and civics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component of essay structure</th>
<th>Disciplinary understandings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Claim paragraph</td>
<td>structure and reasoning of argument, historical significance, contextualization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion paragraph; call to action</td>
<td>historical significance; civics concept of processes, rules &amp; laws</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
She decomposed the thinking behind these understandings into a series of questions and sentence frames that she believed would help students better identify information, and organize and communicate their accumulated content knowledge and reasoning in a four-paragraph research essay. Ms. Brooke stressed how these questions and sentence frames helped her students by utilizing an “I need this. I don’t need this” criteria, supporting an inclusion v. exclusion type of decision-making (interview, 05/17/13). While Aracely was able to use this type of thinking to determine what she needed to research and record in her notes, outline, and essay, this line of reasoning did not reveal how she could engage in the complex reasoning of the disciplinary concepts Ms. Brooke implicitly desired.

**Structuring the reasoning in an argument.** Ms. Brooke was confident in her students’ ability to write claim paragraphs following the basic argumentation structure of claim-evidence-explanation (Hillocks, 2011; Toulmin, 1958) because of the many repeated opportunities to practice this structure across different purposes for writing and subject areas over the academic year. Although she may have taught the thinking behind writing claim paragraphs earlier in the year, I did not observe Ms. Brooke do so over the course of the unit. Rather, specific sentence frames were used to prompt her students’ thinking without explicit instruction of the reasoning behind it.

Anticipating that her students would struggle the most to present the explanatory link between the claim and evidence, Ms. Brooke provided sentence frames that oversimplified the thinking embedded in the claim paragraph. The sentence frame, “This quote shows that __
fought for and gained civil rights by __ because ___” (artifact, 05/23/13), suggested a clear-cut line of causal reasoning would emerge to explain why a group of people fought for their civil rights or how the protest tactics they used influenced the course of history or a community that unfolded afterwards. This sentence frame was intended to engage students organize their ideas around “what are civil rights and how are they granted. …[i]t’ll have to be what counts as a civil right and stuff—for this group [the group a student researches]” (interview, 05/03/13).

In fact, Ms. Brooke was struck by the lack of complex thinking after she graded her 7th-graders’ POTM essays. She noted that many of her students, including Aracely, approached their writing with a checklist mentality that did not clarify the relationship of the claim-evidence-explanation structure through the content (interview, 06/10/13). As she was prompted with Aracely’s essay, Ms. Brooke demonstrated her own natural inclination to critically examine ideas that reflected history-specific disciplinary understandings:

She [Aracely] says “this shows them having marches.” How does a march show fighting for civil rights? …So they fought for their civil rights by having marches and they wanted to get their rights, but why having marches? And why protesting in front of the White House? And yes, they did those things, but what was the rationale for doing those things? “So they wanted the President and the press to know what was going on”—great. Why? Like what was the impact of the President knowing what things are going on? Was it that he sees these things going on in front of him and he can ignore it or what? (interview, 06/10/13)

Ms. Brooke’s series of “why?” questions evidenced analytical thinking around the issue of historical significance (Sexias, 1994) and practice of contextualization (Reisman & Wineburg, 2008; Wineburg, 1991b) as she wondered aloud about why suffragettes might purposefully engage in protests in front of the White House. However, she did not recognize that in order for her students to participate in a similar type of thinking that they were not simply gathering and
organizing collected factual information. When she discussed changes to her future instruction, she continued to focus on structure, sharing that she would have broken down each component of the claim-evidence-explanation structure for more detailed procedural instruction “on just teaching claim, on just selecting evidence, and then especially on just explaining evidence before asking them to put it all together” (interview, 06/10/13). Interestingly, this proposed modification to her instruction did not reflect an understanding that the analytical and critical thinking in this structure is actually located in understanding the relationships between, rather than isolated within, the individual components. As such, Ms. Brooke did not demonstrate an understanding that a more in-depth instruction on a generic writing structure would not produce the thinking she desired.

**Drawing conclusions about significance and civic action.** The concept of historical significance also appeared in the POTM essay’s conclusion paragraph, which required students to respond to “why your topic is important” (artifact, 05/23/13) and a “Call to Action (what should the reader do as a result of the information you have given)” (artifact, 05/16/13). Ms. Brooke’s expectation for students to write about the importance of their research topic suggested that she wanted students to share their interpretation of historical significance (Seixas, 1994). The “call to action” statement, which is more commonly seen in persuasive writing, evoked the need to understand the concept of processes, rules, and laws within civics (C3 Framework, 2013) in order to recognize where an individual and civil rights fit in the relationship between citizens and government such that civic action becomes necessary.

However, Ms. Brooke did not explicitly share the need to address the relationship between this civics concept and the specific civil rights struggle in the guidance she gave in the Outline. In fact, Aracely revealed her frustration with her teacher’s lack of guidance to construct
a “call to action” statement because Ms. Brooke “didn’t really explain what to do at first. She did it after we all were graded on [it]” (interview, 06/06/13). The feedback Aracely received informed her that her call to action was too generic and should have been more specific to the topic of women’s suffrage.

**Organizing historical context.** The history paragraph, which Ms. Brooke noted had not been previously taught (interview, 06/10/13), was introduced to students as a paragraph that summarized the information that students collected on their POTM topic. However, Ms. Brooke never detected that she inadvertently presented two conflicting visions for how to organize historical context for students’ POTM research (interview, 06/10/13). In turn, these conflicting structures communicated different values for the type of information to be included and the type of reasoning students should engage in to communicate the “history” of a civil rights struggle.

Ms. Brooke’s verbal reminders and PowerPoints to the class communicated the expectation that factual information should be conveyed chronologically: “Follow first, next, then, finally format” (fieldnotes, 05/16/13), while her Outline for POTM research presented: “History paragraph: This is the who/what/when/where and why [bold and italics in original]” (artifact, 05/17/13). The latter form of organization afforded a more descriptive reporting of content knowledge and transmitted the belief that history was a listing of the important people, actions, events, and consequences of events compared to the implied causal relationship bounded in time implied in the former. In fact, Ms. Brooke’s preference for the former aligns with the key disciplinary concept of chronological thinking; yet, her focus on having students communicate their content understanding in bounded sequential events (e.g. first, next, finally) oversimplifies chronological thinking. Her characterization of chronological thinking strips away the complex disciplinary concepts of change, continuity, and context in how people’s ideas, the impact of
events, and consequences of the actions of individuals and groups travel across time (C3 Framework, 2013).

Although she came to realize that the tools she provided did not support her students to detail their understanding about the civil rights content she desired, Ms. Brooke did not seem to be aware that she needed to guide her students’ thinking rather than help them organize the information they acquired. Without supports that addressed the thinking that was connected to disciplinary concepts of argumentation, historical significance, historical context, and processes, rules, and laws in civics, Aracely continued to hold onto naïve conceptions about disciplinary understandings in social studies.

**Aracely’s naïve conceptions go unchallenged.** Aracely eagerly embraced the structural and organizational tools provided for tackling the POTM project, especially for the essay, because she identified herself as a struggling writer. She trusted and aligned her thinking to be compatible with the tools and expectations of her teacher, such as isolating and ordering the factual information she accumulated. Additionally, without access to instruction or tools that challenged her thinking about her preexisting, everyday understandings about history and civics, Aracely continued to display naïve conceptions about learning and reasoning in social studies.

**Isolating and ordering facts.** Aracely so closely adhered to the Outline to support her essay writing that each of her responses corresponded directly to the structured questions and prompts provided by Ms. Brooke. The use of this tool heavily contributed to the lack of conceptual cohesion of content ideas and reasoning in each paragraph of her paragraphs as well as across her essay. Aracely seemed to compile isolated highlights from her research in her history paragraph without checking that her thoughts made sense beyond the level of a single sentence. Her focus on individual sentences in adherence to the Outline enabled Aracely not to
notice the inaccuracy of some information she included: “Around world war 2 (1920’s and 1930’s). Some states that this happened in was Washington D.C, California, New York, Colorado and Oregon” (artifact, 05/30/13). Ms. Brooke did not realize that these inaccuracies and disjointed thinking was a result of the Outline, and remarked that her students needed to engage in fact-checking as well as more explicit support for the paragraph structure.

*Shrinking the past.* This practice of piecing together isolated facts demonstrated the naïve conceptions around historical significance, change, and continuity that Aracely held. In particular, Aracely’s understanding of history reflected what Barton (1996) noted as the concept of shrinking the past (in Ashby, Lee, & Shemilt, 2005), in which young students reduce the scale of human activities or the timeframe of long-term processes or a series of events into individual actions or single events. This naïve conception was articulated at the conclusion of her essay to summarize the importance of the civil rights struggle:

Women suffrage fought for and gained civil right by trying to get men’s attention by risking their life, Women wouldn’t be able to vote now and they would be suffering now like years ago. Protest in what you believe in and never give up because one day you will achieve that you want. (artifact, 05/30/13)

Aracely expressed an understanding that social beliefs and ideas about women’s suffrage was tied to the exact context in which the movement occurred: she did not seem aware that suffrage was just one of the many civil rights that women fought for throughout the 19th and 20th century to gain equal treatment and opportunities under the law. Her suggestion that if the right to suffrage had not been granted then women would still not have the right to vote and would continue to “suffer” in exactly the same way demonstrates a misconception that the social ideas, beliefs, and attitudes are both continuous and change across time.
It was especially striking that at the end of the POTM unit Aracely detected a mismatch in the supports Ms. Brooke provided and the expectation of the understandings that she and her peers should have demonstrated in their essays. Throughout most of the unit, she demonstrated complete trust and confidence in the tools that her teacher provided her to complete her essay and presentation, and believed that she scored well on the assignment. However, when she saw her disappointing grade, Aracely offered the critique that the supports her teacher provided were not always “good instructions” about how to accomplish a task like find research for the history paragraph or compose a call to action prior to the end of the unit (interview, 06/11/13). The tasks that Aracely identified were unit activities for which Ms. Brooke did not provide explicit instruction or direction.

Unknowingly holding students accountable to disciplinary understandings and norms from text

Ms. Brooke unconsciously held her students accountable to disciplinary understandings and norms without providing explicit instruction for or knowledge of these implied and embedded ideas and concepts to her students. Even though she wanted her students to become critical thinkers, she did not provide access to the conceptual tools needed to engage this type of thinking when her students interacted with text for their POTM research. In fact, the structure-focused tools and supports provided glossed over grappling complexities in the discipline-specific concepts embedded in the reading and composition of text, such as argument writing and historical significance, and its relationship to deep content understanding in favor of orderly organizing factual information. As a result, Aracely perceived and conformed to the need to be accountable to the structure to display the information she accumulated over the need to be accountable to expressing her understanding of the content.
Giving Students Authority

Ms. Brooke spent approximately 5% of classroom time invoking the use of three strategies that could facilitate her students’ authority over their trajectories for learning, but did not specifically teach them over the course of the POTM project. These strategies included the use of students’ prior knowledge and learning, student choice, and personal interests to select a POTM topic and how to interact with the text they encountered. While Ms. Brooke wanted her students to apply previously learned skills to complete project tasks, she shared in an interview that she deeply desired for her students to de-prioritize their personal interest and prior knowledge when selecting a research topic.

*Applying previously learned strategies and skills.* Ms. Brooke expected that her students could apply previously taught reading and writing strategies and skills to acquire content understanding from text. For some skills and strategies like summarization, annotation, and paraphrasing, she explicitly identified and dictated to students how these skills and strategies should be used through the questions and prompts on the POTM Outline. She did not anticipate to teach or review additional instructional supports if her students had not learned or mastered these skills and strategies.

Ms. Brooke also assumed that students would draw upon familiar strategies that she did not explicitly mention in class, including making connections, skim and scan, and Internet search strategies. Faced with limited access to technological resources in the classroom, she trusted her students’ knowledge and skills for conducting online research based on their generational exposure to technology and rampant use of internet capable cellphones in school and at home. Ms. Brooke infrequently checked-in with students unless they asked for help. One result of this
assumption of skill mastery was Aracely’s articulated strategy of “clicking on random” (interview, 06/06/13) to select texts to collect information from her Internet search results.

**Student choice and (not) drawing upon personal interest.** Across all 7th-grade classrooms, student choice was integrated into the POTM unit with the belief that it would support engagement with content. Ms. Brooke paired the language of interest with this concept of choice to support learning when preparing her students to select a research topic: “What civil rights topic is the most intriguing/interesting to you?” (fieldnotes, 05/13/13), promoting the importance of personal curiosity in their selection. Yet unlike her desire for her students to independently apply their previous learning, skills, and strategies, she demonstrated inconsistency in how she told students to select a topic based on their interest and her own preference that her students disregard the influence of prior knowledge (interview, 06/10/13). This perspective that associated content learning as acquiring a breadth of content knowledge was never explicitly communicated to her students.

At the end of the unit, Ms. Brooke lamented the narrow scope of her students’ topic choices, which she saw as limited by their prior knowledge of familiar figures and events:

What’s probably the hardest part is I’m like, “don’t do Ruby Bridges, do like Shirley Chisolm.” I want them to pick people who are less well-known, but are more impactful and it’s so hard to sell these people that they’ve never heard of before, and almost none of them do. But some of them will. But most of them won’t. (interview, 06/10/13)

She viewed the influence of prior knowledge and its relationship to interest as incongruous with her desire to maximize the breadth of content learning that could be accrued by exploring less popular and “more impactful” figures and events. Yet her disappointment revealed discontinuity in her own thinking between these goals for content learning and the concept of interest and choice: it was unclear how she expected her students to willingly choose a topic they knew little
about through which they could develop curiosity and sustain engagement during the research and writing process that would follow.

Ms. Brooke’s passive guidance around how students should select a research topic and employ previously learned skills and strategies enabled students to bring and enact their own interpretations and approximations. This disjointed conception of the relationship between the skills and strategies that students needed to engage and sustain their learning and participation in tasks indicated tension in how students were expected to express control over their own learning.

*Aracely struggles to display control over her learning.* Aracely experienced difficulty in expressing control over her own learning because of the incompatibility of her perspective on learning, her implementation of previously learned skills and strategies, and her choice to build on her prior knowledge about women’s suffrage. As a result, she came to question the utility of prior knowledge because she felt unable to meet her own expectations for her own learning.

Initially Aracely mirrored the same tendency as her peers to select a research topic that she had some knowledge of from previous classroom exploration of the 19th Amendment. This general familiarity provided a sense of ease, as well as feelings of assurance that she could work with Brandon. However, by the end of the unit, she expressed disappointment in her choice of women’s suffrage because “[i]t wasn’t that interesting like I thought it was going to be” and suggested that her primary motivation to choose the topic had been because “[i]t just seemed easy” (interview, 06/06/13) to acquire more factual information, which she associated with learning.

Aracely’s conception of personal interest was closely tied to her perception of how much content learning she could accrue. When I asked her at the end of the POTM project what advice she might offer to next year’s 7th-graders about the POTM unit, she responded:
To pick a topic they really want—like something they don’t know about, something that seems interesting but that they really don’t know nothing about. So they can learn things about it. (interview, 06/06/13)

Aracely suggested that the most rewarding learning experience started from zero knowledge, such that amount of learning could be quantified. Consistent with Ms. Brooke’s view of content learning, Aracely came to believe that there was nothing “new” left to learn because of her general familiarity with the names of prominent figures and timeline of events related to the passage of the 19th Amendment (interview, 06/06/13).

Additionally, Aracely’s regular use of research and reading strategies that focused on culling explicit understandings from text did not make her aware of the conflict and nuances that lay beneath the surface of the text that might have allowed her to gain a sense of “new” learning. Her implementation of skim and scan, annotating, and even her haphazard strategy for Internet searches provided her the ability to extract the information she needed to satisfactorily complete an assignment. However, the use of these skills and strategies failed to meet Aracely’s expectations for achieving a sense of acquiring “new” learning. Without access to skills and strategies that could open up possibilities to identify “new” learning beyond explicitly stated information, Aracely could not control her trajectory of learning.

Relying on students to control their own learning without guidance

Ms. Brooke relied on the assumption that her students were aware of and knew how to enact strategies for controlling their own learning trajectory without additional guidance. She applied the motivational concepts of student choice and personal interest generically with her students without anticipating the differences in how students might take up these ideas. For Aracely, two factors that greatly influenced how she enacted these motivational constructs were her conception of what learning entailed and her ability to enact research and reading skills and
strategies to meet this personal conception of learning—or accumulation of factual knowledge. Because she did not have access to the necessary skills and strategies that would allow her comprehend and acquire the implied understandings in the texts she encountered, Aracely experienced obstacles to controlling her learning trajectory.

**Tension between student authority and accountability to disciplinary norms**

Ms. Brooke held her students accountable to unstated expectations for understanding content that aligned with disciplinary concepts such as contextualization, historical significance, and how to articulate reasoning in argumentation. Unaware that these ways of thinking required literacy strategies that went beyond extracting information, the scaffolds that she provided her students to communicate these disciplinary understandings did not elaborate on how to engage in this specialized type of analytical and critical thinking. As a result, Aracely was not able to exert control over her own learning because she was unaware of Ms. Brooke’s expectations and did not have access to the skills and strategies required to meet those expectations.

Additionally, Ms. Brooke’s stance on the accumulation of content information greatly influenced Aracely’s understanding of what it meant to develop intellectual authority (Engle, 2012) in social studies. Ms. Brooke’s subtle attempts to deprioritize her students’ inclination to build upon their prior knowledge and personal interest goes flies in the face of an extensive research base on motivation and the development of expertise (Alexander, 2003). In adopting this same stance, Aracely limited her own opportunities to participate in learning scenarios that could develop her intellectual authority and be recognized for content expertise about the women’s suffrage movement.

**Summary**

The analysis of the two primary tensions in Ms. Brooke’s instructional practices revealed:
1. There was no tension between *problematizing content and text* and *providing relevant resources* because Ms. Brooke did not distinguish a difference between acquiring content information and understanding content from and with text. The lack of understanding that the content and text that students encountered potentially contained conflicts, multiple perspectives, and ideas to be problematized obscured the need to attend to Aracely’s limited cognitive and metacognitive skills and strategies for comprehending the social studies texts she encountered.

2. There was tension between *holding students accountable to disciplinary norms* and *giving students authority*. This tension occurred between Ms. Brooke’s unstated expectations for students to demonstrate understanding of disciplinary concepts in history and civics and Aracely’s ability to exert control over her own learning. Because Aracely did not have access to these implied expectations or the skills and strategies required to engage with the texts she researched, she struggled to alter her understanding that she did not learn if she did not acquire a multitude of factual information. This tension highlighted the assumed but critical role of disciplinary literacy in interactions with social studies texts.

These two tensions demonstrate the prominence of literacy skills—both “generic” cognitive and metacognitive strategies as well as the discipline-specific literacy strategies and skills—for making sense from and with text. Both forms of literacy strategies were needed to provide Aracely access to make meaning from and with the text to construct content understanding rather than extract information out of it. Ms. Brooke’s instructional strategies and practices clearly demonstrated a conceptual separation between the idea of content learning and text in social studies, especially integral role of literacy with understanding content.
Chapter 5. CASE STUDY: MR. THOMAS AND VANEassa

In this chapter, I present a descriptive embedded case study of another 7th-grade social studies teacher, a R-FEP student in his 1st-2nd block period classroom, and their interactions with the instructional tools and strategies utilized to engage all students in text-based learning. First, I frame the instructional context of the classroom by providing background information about Mr. Thomas, his beliefs about learning and engagement, and how he oriented his 7th-grade students to the POTM unit. Next I describe the focal student, Vanessa, with a special emphasis on detailing her skills as a reader and writer. I then address the overarching research question drawing from observations and interviews on how Mr. Thomas’s instructional strategies and practices facilitated learning from and with text for Vanessa while participating in the research, reading, and writing tasks for the unit. Embedded throughout this analysis will be an examination of the integrated principles of PDE (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002) described in my conceptual framework. Finally, I summarize my findings and reflect upon what the tensions suggest about text-based learning in social studies for Vanessa in Mr. Thomas’s classroom.

Mr. Thomas

Mr. John Thomas has been a teacher at Pine Crest since his student teaching practicum eight years ago. Passionate about his students, teaching, and social justice, he primarily taught in 7th-grade mainstream classrooms that included Special Education (SpEd) students throughout his career in addition to classes at an enrichment and college preparation program for low-income high achieving students of color for three years. This year was especially challenging due to ongoing family concerns and the departures of multiple SpEd co-teachers. Lisa Watanabe finally joined the classroom in April and stayed on until the end of the school year. Because Ms. Watanabe did not have the primary responsibility for planning the social studies content, she is
not examined equally in this case study: her major interactions with texts and students during the unit and with Vanessa specifically were documented and will be discussed.

Mr. Thomas saw his role as a teacher to challenge how his students thought about content learning, school, and even their own strengths and weaknesses. He emphasized that the overarching goal of his practice was:

…pushing kids to think deeply about things. I’m not a real advocate for my content area. I’ll throw history under the bus quite often because I feel like that kills a lot of good social studies. I’m more interested in teaching kids to be engaged to think about what they are doing… (interview, 04/26/13)

Mr. Thomas portrayed a stark contrast between his perception of the dominant representation of history and pedagogical approaches for history instruction in secondary schooling, emphasizing a focus on transfer and accumulation of factual knowledge, and his own approach for “good social studies” that prioritized critical thinking and opportunities to examine about concepts alongside content. He characterized good social studies students in his classroom to be those who made attempts to engage with the content and express “an authentic kind of curiosity” (interview, 05/06/13).

Mr. Thomas communicated care for all of his students, often bringing up their names and accomplishments and struggles in and outside of his classroom during our interviews. He was especially attentive to students who “don’t feel like school is a place for them,” which included students like Vanessa (interview, 04/26/13). He had an eye for seeing student behavior and work habits that might be characterized as disruptive and transforming them into opportunities for recognition and encouragement for positive characteristics like artistic talents, care for their peers, and passion for social justice.
In particular, Mr. Thomas explicitly expressed a fundamental belief that all of his students, especially those with IEPs, had a right to engage in conceptual rigor and he felt comfortable designing his curriculum and activities in alignment with Universal Design for Learning (Center for Applied Special Technology, 2013) principles. In contrast, he revealed that he had limited knowledge of ELL specific instructional supports and admitted that he felt the least successful teaching “hard literacy skills” (interview, 04/26/13). The literacy skills he taught drew primarily from the Teachers’ College Reading and Writing Workshop models (Calkins & Mermelstein, 2006; Calkins & Tolan, 2010) that were being transitioned out in favor of CCSS. Because of this self-perceived limited expertise, Mr. Thomas was keenly aware of the tension between how he felt he was expected to teach literacy and his own discipline oriented expertise in philosophy and argumentation.

**People on the March (POTM) Unit**

The implementation of the POTM unit in Mr. Thomas and Ms. Watanabe’s classroom shared the same essential question, scoring rubric, and the use of the same documentary film titles as the other 7th-grade social studies classrooms. They further adapted the research and writing activities and modified the timeline of the project to maximize the participation of their students in the 1st-2nd period classroom. Both teachers modeled writing strategies, created checklists and graphic organizers for the writing process and visual presentation, and wrote sample papers to model and support revision. They created a POTM Planning Paper, known as the “Packet,” where students could draft their essay; there were three versions of this document, differentiated with a variety of modifications such as sentence starters, for the range of skills and academic needs of their students. Additionally, the pages of the Packet were not distributed all at
once to students, but provided after students completed each section. This helped to facilitate individualized monitoring of student progress over the course of the unit.

Mr. Thomas’s students primarily conducted research during classroom time to account for the limited technological resources they had access to at home. Students used a range of digital and print texts, including a list of online resources he considered reliable and generally 7th-grade accessible on a webpage on the school’s library website. Occasionally print copies of texts were also provided to students whom the teachers knew had limited access to computers at home or would learn better through tangible interactions with text, such as highlighting and annotating.

Mr. Thomas chose to only screen documentaries on the 1963 Birmingham Children’s March and Viva La Causa (Brummel & Mayo, 2008). At the start of the unit, students were encouraged to select three topics to explore and slowly narrow their selection over a few days. Mr. Thomas also presented an overview of several civil rights struggles including African Americans and women’s rights, a brief lesson on protest songs (interview, 04/26/13), and three “Protest of the Day” case studies which featured contemporary civil rights actions. For him, these contemporary movements provided students a familiar way to address the essential question “How do groups and/or individuals fight for civil rights?” in a critical manner:

We’re kind of looking at the idea that you can make the argument that legal civil rights were in place in 1791, yet today there are groups that still don’t have access to those rights, so the rights being on paper isn’t the same as being able to enact the right. (interview, 04/26/13)

Through this attention given to recognizable and current civil rights actions and struggle, Mr. Thomas hoped to illustrate what he considered “good social studies” over the accumulation of a body of facts he associated with history.
Vanessa was a R-FEP, non-SpEd identified student in Mr. Thomas’s 1\textsuperscript{st}-2\textsuperscript{nd} period class. In the SpEd inclusion setting of 33 students, she frequently attempted to maneuver ways to be near her close friends, Alexa and Sara. On several occasions, I observed Vanessa quietly chatting in Spanish with both girls, who also shared her Mexican heritage. She attended mainstreamed classes since testing out of ELL services two years ago at the end of fifth grade. While she viewed herself as bilingual, Vanessa strongly identified with her ethnic and cultural heritage, and believed that she had stronger reading and writing skills in Spanish. Motivated by her mother’s diligent instruction at home, Vanessa adopted a personal interest in her first language, learning about Mexican history, and participating in cultural traditions, such as her friend’s quinceañera.

However, Vanessa encountered difficulties with how she was perceived socially and academically at Pine Crest and expressed complex feelings around what meant to be a student of color. On separate occasions, she shared with Mr. Thomas and me her perceptions of biased treatment by one of her teachers and disrespect from her peers. Mr. Thomas explained that Vanessa’s outlook on school began to shift after some “girl drama” that got her in trouble. He had pointed out that her assertive verbal skills were a strength she could draw upon for debates and argumentation in the classroom and in a professional career, such as law. She embraced this vision of herself as a lawyer and used it to motivate herself to bring up her grades across her classes in order to “start fresh and good for 8\textsuperscript{th} grade” (interview, 05/20/13). Vanessa also attended an academic support class due to her low grades. When I met Vanessa to interview her in this setting, it was striking that the support class was overwhelmingly comprised of Latino and African American students—an attribute that was not lost on Mr. Thomas or her academic support teacher. Despite these challenges, Vanessa’s overall efforts to improve her attitude and
academics were recognized at the end of the year 7th-grade assembly when she received a Most Improved Award for the second semester.

“I don’t like reading. It’s boring.”

Although Mr. Thomas identified her as the strongest reader among her clique, Vanessa displayed characteristics of a reluctant reader. She frequently complained that books did not hold her interest, and noted that The Barrio Kings (Kowalski, 2010), estimated to be at a 2nd-grade level, was the only book she completed all year. Vanessa gravitated towards reading interests in urban adolescent fiction and Latina/Latino experiences that were not well represented in the classroom library. In contrast, Vanessa expressed feeling more comfort and ease when she read in Spanish. The persistent expectations and consistent practice reinforced by her mother supported Vanessa’s development in her first language. This sharply contrasted with the inconsistent routines for independent reading in Mr. Thomas’s classroom.

Most striking was her lack of reading stamina: she struggled to keep reading, often dismissing a book after reading five pages. While she frequently reiterated her boredom with reading in English, she had difficulty articulating why she found reading in English boring. She expressed a dread of reading aloud, even when I was her only audience: “Every time I read out loud, I get really nervous, and I starting thinking how much I’m reading and I start reading it wrong” (interview, 06/10/13). She identified vocabulary as an area of difficulty for reading in English, but did not have strategies to address it:

Before it was really hard trying to learn how to speak English, and sometimes it still kind of is because I don’t know what some words are or mean. …[m]y mom pressures me with the Spanish cause she doesn’t want me to forget it and like—so yeah, I read a lot in Spanish. (interview, 05/20/13)
At the end of year, Mr. Thomas noted that benchmark testing indicated that Vanessa’s reading had stagnated at an end-of-6th grade level in English.

Unlike her reluctance to read, Vanessa enjoyed writing for personal expression in English. She described that she kept a journal of her experiences for fun in addition to writing in Spanish for her mother. Vanessa seemed the most at ease with writing during Mr. Thomas’s year-end ELA unit on “remixing” ideas and phrases collected across her learning: her piece used a mix of English and Spanish phrases to show the complexity of her experiences from the year.

**Research Question:** How does Mr. Thomas’s instructional practices and organization of the environment foster discipline-specific engagement and learning with texts for Vanessa?

The analysis in this section focuses on how Mr. Thomas framed and implemented instruction and organized his social studies classroom environment for learning with texts during the POTM unit. It also focuses on how Vanessa responded to these instructional moves and approached the text-focused learning activities, as well as Mr. Thomas’s response and interpretation of Vanessa’s learning. Based on 20.33 hours of observation in Mr. Thomas’s 1st-2nd period classroom, 97.5% of classroom time involved text-focused interactions for students (See Appendix J). These text-focused interactions involved print, visual, and digital text, including watching documentaries; conducting research on the Internet; drafting and editing the POTM essays; and creating visual presentations. Analysis revealed Mr. Thomas’s awareness of the pedagogical tensions in his practice and provided insights into the impact of literacy on the two primary tensions in PDE: *problematizing* v. *resources* and *accountability* v. *authority*. This analysis additionally revealed a supplementary tension between *authority* and *resources* when issues of ethnic cultural identity became salient for Vanessa.
Problematizing Content and Text

In contrast to prevailing conceptions of “documentary history” (Wineburg, 2001) in social studies, Mr. Thomas valued when his students were challenged to articulate their thinking about the fundamental concepts embedded in social studies content. Throughout the research, reading, and writing process, he and Ms. Watanabe consistently provided opportunities for their students to grapple with key content ideas in civics and history, such as the principles of equality and respect for individual rights in their exploration of POTM topics. However, a critical tension emerged as they also expected that their students would develop nuanced understandings of major concepts and tensions in civics and history through the accumulation of information, with little attention to how their students interacted with text.

Grappling with fundamental concepts. During the POTM unit, both teachers attempted to deepen and challenge their students’ understanding of a generic definition of civil rights that the teachers explicitly provided in the previous unit. In addition to explicitly modeling the task of customizing a generic definition of civil rights to the context and content of a specific research topic, the teachers also engaged their students in questioning and immersion into contemporary case examples to develop their conceptual understanding. Mr. Thomas wanted his students to come to the realization that “…the right is there in the law, but the individual can’t exercise it. That’s what causes the [civil rights] struggle” (interview, 06/06/13). In doing so, the 7th graders were expected to identify, analyze, and communicate the unstated disciplinary concepts of historical context and significance to which this task was connected. However, this task of adapting the definition of civil rights and questioning of contemporary case examples was demonstrated through verbal interaction with content knowledge assumed to be drawn from lecture and class discussion; these activities were not modeled in direct interaction with text.
Explicitly modeling the task. During a whole class mini-lesson, Ms. Watanabe explicitly drew attention to the task of adapting the generic understanding of civil rights to describe the specific experiences of individuals and communities that students were researching. She talked through how she rationalized her definition of civil rights as “a group of rights that protect individual freedoms and allow people to participate in life without discrimination,” and explained how she added to a basic definition by taking into account that her civil rights issue was about participation in sports for all students, regardless of ability (fieldnotes, 05/09/13). As she modeled, she referred to ideas and concepts as if she had drawn them from her reading, but did not refer directly to how she got that understanding from a text itself. Furthermore, Ms. Watanabe made clear reference to how looking at a timeline for their POTM topic could assist students to be more specific in their thinking about civil rights.

Asking questions. Although only one block period of instruction was specifically devoted to this task, the issue of adapting the civil rights definition was an iterative process. Both teachers continued to use questions to uncover assumptions and deepen conceptual understanding, such as: “Why do you think it is a civil right?” and “Why is it important?” (fieldnotes, 05/09/13; 05/10/13). I regularly observed Mr. Thomas respond to students by first asking open-ended questions that sought to press students to elaborate on their thinking about POTM content, which often left students challenged to find a correct answer and declaring the task “hard” (interview, 04/26/13; fieldnotes, 05/09/13; 05/20/13). As the interaction progressed, he shifted to more concrete questions or comments that attempted to unearth prior knowledge or ideas that students already held to build towards understanding. During these interactions, Mr. Thomas focused on drawing out the ideas of a civil rights struggle within specific topics—assuming that his students understood the nuances in the content, but never asked students to refer back to text. As such,
this questioning strategy did not always lead or support students to arrive at a clear understanding of what an adapted definition of civil rights was for their own topic or how to compose one.

**Presenting unresolved civil rights struggles.** Mr. Thomas believed in order for his students to articulate what civil rights were in the context of their topics, they needed to realize how the struggle for civil rights remained relevant. He purposely created “Protests of the Day” case studies to place some of these struggles into familiar and contemporary contexts so his students could see how these movements and dilemmas were not relegated to the historical past. These case studies integrated text and different forms of media sources, such as video and music, and were presented to the whole class. Students did not have direct access to these texts or media sources unless they chose them as their POTM research topics. These case studies will be elaborated on in the *Giving students authority* section.

Despite the heightened feelings of personal interest and engagement for some students with these “Protests of the Day” topics, understanding these unresolved civil rights struggles proved to be especially challenging for many students because it was so open-ended. While I observed some students with whom Mr. Thomas could draw out explanations and complex thinking about content and concepts in face-to-face conversations about what they read, they struggled to express this same level of understanding in writing (fieldnotes, 05/10/13; interview, 05/30/13). For other students, their cultural and generationally bounded contemporary understanding of civil rights struggles obscured the need for a multifaceted historical understanding of the issue to recognize where the denial of rights occurred (e.g. gay rights).

**Relying on “digital osmosis.”** In spite of Mr. Thomas and Ms. Watanabe’s persistent efforts to engage their students in exploring the concept of civil rights, they also assumed that
their 7th graders could derive these conceptual understandings from amassing content information. Confident his students “got progressively more and more successful using non-fiction reading strategies to get information” over the school year (interview, 06/12/13), Mr. Thomas assumed that his students would be able to successfully piece together these conceptual understandings using previously taught reading strategies and skills of annotation, text features, and summarization. Both teachers referenced and reinforced these strategies and skills to extract information from text during the presentation of unit activities and through the availability of classroom resources, including anchor charts/posters, PowerPoint slides/projected overhead notes, and the Packet (interview, 04/26/13; 06/06/13; 06/12/13).

At the conclusion of the unit, the teachers discussed their initial assumption that there was some magical tipping point at which they believed their students would just “get it”:

Ms. W: They’ll read this stuff and they’ll get to it. They’ll figure it out. …And I really wanted to wait for them. And I think we both had that same idea. If we leave them alone for long enough with an iPad, they’ll get there, right?

Mr. T: Yeah, exactly through digital osmosis.

(interview, 06/06/13)

Realizing that the task of adapting the definition of civil rights was more complex than originally imagined, both teachers were unsure of what strategies and skills their students needed to be able to grapple with this conceptual understanding.

Vanessa engages with concrete content understandings. Vanessa demonstrated confidence gathering factual information and inferring concrete content understandings about Latina/o farmworkers, but struggled to display the same level of assurance when grappling with conceptual understandings connected to her topic. She encountered difficulty customizing her definition of civil rights to the context of Latina/o farmworkers. However, Mr. Thomas noticed
that she was merely one out of a critical group of students in the class who struggled with this task.

*Articulating inferred concrete understandings, but struggling to extrapolate to concepts.*

Analysis suggested that Vanessa felt comfortable inferring tangible understandings, such as actions and their consequences, related to her content learning. When asked what she learned from the POTM unit, she expressed self-reflective and practical understandings of civil rights within the context of Latina/o farmworkers’ struggle to obtain equal rights:

*I learn that, [if] you really want something you should fight for it and then maybe you could get it…They went marching and striking and they did boycotting from the stores and stuff, so they wouldn’t buy the grapes and then they finally like got better working conditions.* (interview, 06/07/13)

Her experiences in school of feeling unfairly judged and treated enabled Vanessa to identify with why the farmworkers protested and advocated for their rights. Moving beyond the explicit facts she collected, the understanding that an individual or community could take action to attain what they wanted and felt they deserved indicated that Vanessa understood the reasoning for struggle. Furthermore, in the final draft of her POTM (and likely with some assistance from support teacher), Vanessa related her understanding of this struggle in the 1960s to contemporary issues facing Latina/o citizens and communities: “So now Latino/Latina need to fight for the civil rights they deserve like health, care, living wages, and the right to have equal education” (artifact, 05/30/13). This suggested that she possessed an understanding of the importance of being a participant in civic life and the role of citizens in American democracy when they experience and/or are witness to inequities (Center for Civic Education, 1994).

Yet Vanessa’s ability to articulate these inferred concrete understandings did not easily transfer to an ability to engage with abstract understandings about civil rights as a concept
embedded in the tension between individuals and the government that Mr. Thomas desired. Vanessa consistently displayed a tentative demeanor when she encountered a task that required her to respond to a question that had no clear right or wrong answer; Vanessa declared aloud to her teammates that trying to define civil rights using her own ideas was: “….hard. …That’s why I skipped it” (fieldnotes, 05/09/13), and eventually decided to copy the standard definition into her Packet.

In her interactions with Mr. Thomas, she repeatedly responded to his prompting with a hesitant tone, as if expecting him to reject her answer:

Mr. Thomas reminded her that when she searched for resources online she had typed in “How did Latina and Latino farmworkers fight for civil rights?” … Vanessa hesitates, and he asks her: “Where and when was it?” Vanessa: “It was in 1968. Is my issue is Latina and Latino farmworkers in the 1960s were fighting for…. ”

He looks down at her notes from *Viva La Causa* and suggests: “So they wanted fair working conditions. So you went from broad civil rights to something more specific.”

Vanessa still unsure, pointing to notes: “So is it all this?” (fieldnotes, 05/09/13) Vanessa’s responses indicated that she did not trust her own thinking, particularly in her final question of “so is it all this?” but also did not fully understand Mr. Thomas’s either. This interaction between Mr. Thomas and Vanessa was typical of the scaffolding he provided her. Although he guided her towards specific facts with the hope she could extrapolate understanding of greater social studies ideas and concepts from tangible facts, he did not model his thinking process or ask questions to guide her thinking; rather his process was communicated like completing a series of tasks that would lead to an appropriate answer.

**Increasing salience of “logic.”** While Mr. Thomas’s experience in SpEd inclusion classrooms made him sensitive to issues of access to conceptual rigor for all of his students, his
students’ performance on the POTM essay seemed to reveal “a gap in the logic of… thinking” as a potential factor in Vanessa and other of her peers’ ability to engage with the social studies ideas and concepts he prioritized. He noticed differences in two groups of students:

I think a lot of kids just dropped the definition in there but didn’t see why it was important to show an understanding of that [what civil rights are]. …if there was a tendency…between the kids who aren’t coded either with having an ELL or exited ELL or SpEd [label], they contextualized the definition of civil rights.

(interview, 06/06/13)

His students who had never been identified as SpEd or ELL were those who took up the task of redefining the concept of civil rights in the context of their POTM topic while his SpEd and R-FEP students, such as Vanessa, did not. Mr. Thomas believed that Vanessa and some of her peers seemed to miss the “logic of how you sequence things and organize them in a paper.” As such, this suggested that Mr. Thomas was unaware that this “logic” required to understand and write out implied and conceptual understandings is related to academic and discipline-specific forms of communication and thinking, of which may some students made need to be made explicitly aware (Delpit, 1988; Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008; Schleppegrell, 2009).

**Emerging awareness of mismatch between conceptual understanding and pedagogical strategies**

Mr. Thomas attempted to engage his students in problematizing the content of their POTM research through an emphasis on the tension inherent in the concept of civil rights, such as through the task of customizing its definition to their topic. However, the strategies he and Ms. Watanabe employed did not support this kind of conceptual understanding, nor did they perceive a need to connect these understandings directly back to text. At the heart of this mismatch was the major assumption of both teachers that an accumulation of knowledge would naturally provide a foundation for conceptual understanding to emerge. Mr. Thomas began to see
how this assumption obscured the need for Vanessa to have access to and be taught explicitly how to think through the complexity and contradictions in the concept of civil rights within the context of the Latina/o farmworkers’ struggle (interview, 06/12/13).

**Providing Relevant Resources**

To address the challenges their students encountered when interacting with text, Mr. Thomas and Ms. Watanabe enacted two strategies to ensure students had access to resources and support for literacy activities: 1) whole class instruction and activities that built background knowledge, and 2) providing individualized feedback. During the POTM unit, building background knowledge occurred prior to selection of topics; this will be discussed in the analysis of *Giving students authority*. Individualized monitoring and support occurred throughout the research process and composition of students’ POTM essays and will be the focus of this section.

The teachers spent 65% of classroom time monitoring and providing individualized feedback. When not facilitating a small group, both teachers were observed moving from student to student and table to table to offer immediate feedback when students struggled to comprehend or identify textual resources, and press on thinking. Vanessa often initiated interactions with her teachers when she needed assistance. Mr. Thomas primarily supported her attempts to make sense of the challenging texts she encountered during her research and clarify content vocabulary and concepts during the composition of her essay.

**Support comprehension of difficult text.** Mr. Thomas did not anticipate the complexity of the texts students used, and the mismatch between the conceptual understandings he wanted his students to grapple with and the literacy strategies he reinforced. Mr. Thomas relied on prompts that focused on locating information in the text to guide his students’ comprehension; he did not realize that he needed to guide their thinking. When Mr. Thomas observed his students
looking overwhelmed after these strategies failed to lead to analytical thinking or conceptual understanding, he would occasionally direct his students to or explicitly provide them with the answer.

For example, Mr. Thomas’s interaction with Vanessa around the Agri-Pulse news brief, written at a college level, on the UFW suggested that he ran out of strategies to guide her out of her confusion. He recognized that the ideas about immigration reform in the news brief were not directly connected to and would not deepen her understanding of what Vanessa already learned from *Viva la Causa*. As a result, he quickly shifted her away from the text by summarizing the ideas for her and telling her the notes to record (fieldnotes, 05/10/13). Ms. Watanabe later provided Vanessa with the PBS.org “Fight in the Field: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers’ Struggle” text to help her gain a more literal understanding of the historical struggle of Latina/o farmworkers. Even though this text was five grade-reading levels above Vanessa’s grade, it elaborated on the historical trajectory of the movement and focused its discussion of the UFW’s work specifically around labor organizing.

Mr. Thomas perceived the greatest source of difficulty for his students’ comprehension, including Vanessa’s, was their lack of deep content knowledge about their POTM topic. He did not consider the influence of language on Vanessa’s ability to access meaning. For example, Vanessa used two texts from the Internet that would be considered at least five grade levels above her own (CCSS Appendix A, 2011, p.8). In particular, the texts that Vanessa used for her POTM project contained specialized content vocabulary and terms, such as “amnesty,” “brokered a deal,” and “agricultural worker visa” (artifact, 05/10/13), and packed complex sentence structures with a dense amount of these vocabulary, concepts, and factual information (Beck, McKeown, & Gromoll, 1989). When Mr. Thomas realized the impact of text complexity
on Vanessa’s comprehension and content understanding, he realized in retrospect that he should have provided a more accessible and engaging book of primary source accounts, *Voices from the Fields: Children of Migrant Farmworkers Tell their Stories* (Atkin, 2000), identified at a middle of 6th-grade level, for her.

**Addressing content vocabulary and encouraging Spanish.** During my observations, I did not observe Mr. Thomas devote instructional time for content vocabulary with the entire class. While some important social studies concept vocabulary, such as civil rights, amendment, and the social contract, had been explicitly taught and explored earlier in the year, he usually addressed content vocabulary in the moment in response to students’ questions. As such, Mr. Thomas largely interacted with Vanessa around vocabulary in one-on-one settings when she requested help. However, what was unique about their interactions was the encouragement and support for Vanessa to use vocabulary in Spanish to express her understanding of content.

Mr. Thomas transformed Vanessa’s request for help to identify a vocabulary word from *Viva la Causa* for her essay into an opportunity to press on and deepen her understanding of different forms of protest (fieldnotes, 05/10/13):

Vanessa: How did you say “strike” in Spanish?
Mr. Thomas: *Huelga.* I think it can also mean struggle or strike.
Vanessa: I’ve never heard of that word.
Mr. Thomas tells Vanessa that if she uses *huelga* she should explain it.
Mr. Thomas asks Vanessa: Do you remember the word *boycott*? That’s when you refuse to do something so they change something.
Mr. Thomas provided Vanessa with the information she wanted, but in extending the interaction, created an opportunity for her to recall and make connections with the familiar word “boycott.”

Vanessa: How do you spell it?
Mr. Thomas spells it for her, and tells her to “Remember the Montgomery Bus Boycott? They had to address concerns or lose money.” She recalls the Montgomery Bus Boycott. He reminds her that for the grape boycott the farmworkers sent people all over the country, including California—a lot of them were students—and it resulted in the company not making any money. Specifically, he saw an opportunity for Vanessa to make conceptual connections between the idea of boycott in two different civil rights struggles to provide context for and deepen understanding of what the protest tactic is and its goal; however, all of these understandings were explicitly given to her. Consequently, Vanessa used both words in her final essay: “Latina/Latinos farm workers fight for their civil rights by doing a huelga and boycotting at stores,” and also briefly gave examples of how the farmworkers’ engaged both social protest actions (artifact, 05/30/13).

Nonetheless, the ability to use *huelga* rather than its equivalent in English was significant for Vanessa because she saw validation of Spanish as an academic tool for her learning in the social studies. After this interaction, Vanessa used Spanish twice more to ask questions about potential cognate relationships she began to see in vocabulary words and communicate ideas and feelings in classroom activities.

*Vanessa relies on prior knowledge to fill in the gaps.* At the end of the unit, Mr. Thomas expressed his desire to develop stronger pedagogical knowledge and skills for teaching literacy when he also realized that Vanessa’s reading level had not progressed since the end of 6th grade (fieldnotes, 06/06/13). He did not have the knowledge or skills to assess what impeded her progress to read in English. To explore how she was making sense of the texts she encountered, I asked Vanessa to read aloud two paragraphs from the PBS.org text she had interacted with during our third interview. (I decided not to have her read from the Agri-Pulse text as it would be clearly too difficult.) Running records analysis of Vanessa’s oral reading indicated that her
primary reading comprehension strategy was relying on prior knowledge to fill in gaps in her comprehension and vocabulary knowledge. She arrived at generic inferred understandings that did not accurately reflect the text she read, but maintained compatibility with previously known information. Further analysis suggested that she encountered difficulty with the content vocabulary and complex sentence structure as she interacted with expository social studies texts that would have been considered 12th-grade reading level text.

*Prioritizing prior knowledge over new learning.* Analysis of Vanessa’s oral reading of the first two paragraphs from “Fight in the Field: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers’ Struggle,” identified at approximately a 12th-grade reading level, revealed challenges with fluency. While she demonstrated an ability to chunk unknown words into syllables and maintain a steady reading pace, Vanessa mostly read in four to five word meaningful phrases, placing her oral fluency at below the 10th percentile for her grade level when reading 12th-grade level text (interview, 06/10/13). These results suggest that she encountered difficulty in processing the words she read at a rate that supported her ability to comprehend.

She relied on her ability to draw upon her prior knowledge to fill in gaps in vocabulary knowledge and comprehension as her primary strategy to infer understandings from complex text. When I asked her to share what she learned from reading this section of text, her attention focused on the final sentence and did not reflect an awareness that the entire selection was about the early history of the ethnic groups that worked as farm laborers. In particular, Vanessa demonstrated difficulty drawing an accurate understanding of this final sentence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vanessa’s response</th>
<th>Excerpt of original text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I don't know. I guess it's just saying”</td>
<td>Starting in the nineteenth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
how they have to live under some rules and the Filipinos, and the Mexicans, and the Chinese got together to work for what they wanted.”

(interview, 06/10/13)

 century, agricultural work has been done by Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Mexican workers, both recent immigrants, and in the case of the Mexicans, also descendants of those who live here under Mexican rule.

(artifact, 05/30/13)

Table 6. Vanessa’s verbalization of reading comprehension

Vanessa seemed to piece together an understanding of the sentence from different parts of the sentence. Her response suggested that Filipinos, Mexicans, and Chinese farmworkers had to follow some rules and all worked together to fight for their civil rights. This conclusion demonstrated that she did not attend to the opening clause that indicated it would detail a historical trajectory about the specific ethnic communities that worked as farm laborers beginning in the 19th century; this is corroborated by the fact that those who participated in social action with the UFW in the 1960s did not include Chinese workers.

Vanessa attempted to integrate new information she encountered in the PBS.org text into her previous learning from Viva la Causa and did not detect that her conclusion was inaccurate (interview, 06/10/13). This lack of detection may have been influenced by factual information she noted about the involvement of Mexicans and Filipinos in the movement in the 1960s, and one discrepancy was not enough to prompt skepticism or revaluation of her thinking. While this interaction revealed a need for Vanessa to develop her comprehension monitoring skills, it is important to consider that she had no previous experience with corroborating sources of information (Wineburg, 1991b) or reading critically in her social studies classroom. More
importantly, this interaction with challenging text revealed that Vanessa was attentive to the need to form a coherent holistic narrative as she made sense of text and content in conjunction with her prior learning—an important skill for learning new content from text.

*Needing strategies for content vocabulary and complex sentences.* Vanessa’s oral reading, interpretation of the text selection, and her essay indicated her comprehension challenges were also influenced by content vocabulary and the structure of complex sentences. Social studies specific phrases, Tier 2 polysemous words (Beck, McKeown, & Kucan, 2002; Carlo et al., 2008), and words that were completely unfamiliar to Vanessa affected her ability to comprehend the PBS.org text accurately. In her oral reading, she slowed down to decode three content vocabulary words, which did not appear in her recall of the text: “labor,” “agricultural,” and “descendants” (interview, 06/10/13). Vanessa also slowed her reading pace for “nine-teenth century,” the comprehension of which should have signaled that the text dealt with a time before the 1960s but which she didn’t seem to understand. The strategy she seemed to employ for unfamiliar words and phrases was to navigate around them.

Tier 2 polysemous vocabulary were particularly challenging for Vanessa because she attempted to incorporate a familiar, non-social studies specific meanings into her understanding about the civil rights struggles of Latina/o farmworkers. While she sensed that the word “rule” was important, Vanessa did not recognize that this needed to be contextualized in the phrase “Mexican rule”—meaning the authority and laws of a nation; rather she interpreted this word through her own everyday perspective of “rules,” which oversee the behavior of individuals on a much smaller scale like the rules in a classroom. As a result, Vanessa did not realize that the text selection was talking about a time in history when Mexico included much of the modern day West Coast of the United States. Interestingly, Vanessa had access to information that could have
helped her to make a connection to this time period before her own research focus; she recorded a note from reading Teaching Tolerance’s Latino Civil Rights Timeline that could have corroborated this complex issue of nationality (artifact, 05/09/13). Her challenges to understand the contextualized meaning of content vocabulary and the ideas they expressed in text influenced her ability to recognize conflicting information in different sources or notice when ideas were in tension.

In fact, Vanessa seemed challenged to monitor her comprehension when the complex structure of sentences was packed with information. In the last sentence of the text selection, there were five clauses that required additional prior knowledge including a changing historical time period and a complicated understanding of nationality. Thus, Vanessa’s focus on familiar words and phrases was unsurprising. Comprehension monitoring is not possible when basic information is not understood and too much remains unknown from an interaction with text that a misunderstanding or conflicting ideas cannot be detected. While the PBS.org text provided a more literal retelling of the farmworkers’ struggle, it was nonetheless too difficult for Vanessa.

Additional examination of Vanessa’s POTM essay revealed that she did not use complex sentence structures in her writing, which suggests she may have had limited familiarity with how to navigate this type of sentence structure. For example, the direct quotations that Vanessa chose to directly incorporate into her essay from the PBS.org article communicated information through simple and compound sentence structures (artifact, 05/30/13). This suggested that Vanessa had developed a strategy to maneuver around information she did not comprehend and focused on information she could more easily access.

**Limited knowledge and strategies for resolving comprehension problems**
Despite Mr. Thomas’s strategy to address the diverse needs and abilities of the students individually in his classroom, he encountered obstacles in his ability to attend to the specific literacy and language concerns that affected Vanessa. The most prominent obstacle was the difficulty of the texts that Vanessa identified and was provided for her research. These limitations frequently resulted in Mr. Thomas simply providing her the answer due to complicating factors of text complexity, inadequate background knowledge, and his own lack of knowledge and pedagogical strategies to support reading comprehension. While he could not help Vanessa with strategies to troubleshoot her own comprehension, he did create an environment for Vanessa to view her Spanish language and literacy skills as strengths that supported her learning and communication of ideas.

**Tension between problematizing content and text and the provision of relevant resources**

Even though Mr. Thomas prioritized his students’ access to and participation in gaining conceptual understanding in relationship to the content they studied, he was not fully aware that the literacy skills and strategies he promoted were not enough to engage his students in the forms of analytical and discipline-specific thinking he desired. The strategies and practices he used reinforced Vanessa’s ability to attain explicit comprehension and some concrete inferences from the texts she used, but the heavily procedural forms of support did not provide her access to think about the relationship between social studies ideas, like civil rights, and the specificity of content. Additionally, she required support that could make explicit what was involved in the disciplinary “logic” Mr. Thomas noted that his SpEd and R-FEP students did not demonstrate.

An interesting tension that arose from Mr. Thomas’s tactic to provide individualized support was the missed opportunity to problematize content and promote conceptual understanding using the understandings and misunderstandings of his students as the “text.”
Because the teachers focused on addressing students’ difficulties with text and the concept of civil rights on an individualized basis, they did not see the opportunity examine these understandings and dilemmas as a whole group around the concept of and larger body of knowledge around civil rights. The potential of extending Mr. Thomas’s interaction with Vanessa to examine the protest tactic of *huelga* with the entire class might have created an opportunity for more students to both engage with content vocabulary and make connections and see the similarities and differences in how strikes were used across multiple civil rights movements and historical contexts.

**Holding Students Accountable to Others and to Disciplinary Norms**

As the unit progressed, Mr. Thomas became increasingly aware of the underlying discipline-specific concepts and practices embedded in the content-related conceptual understandings he promoted that were not directly supported in his instruction. He and Ms. Watanabe spent approximately 22% of the 1st-2nd period classroom time reminding their students of and re-teaching some literacy strategies, skills, and structures; this instruction emphasized explicit procedural support for students to accomplish text-focused activities such as composing the claim sentence, selecting an introduction strategy, and organizing the evidence paragraph. However, based on his students’ difficulty demonstrating an adapted definition of civil rights and explaining their reasoning in their essays, Mr. Thomas reflected on the types of skills and strategies his students may have needed to engage in the conceptual thinking he desired.

Analysis of interviews with Mr. Thomas and the range of text-focused activities that students participated in revealed the salience of the following disciplinary understandings. The understandings in bold indicate the disciplinary concepts and practices that were the most prominent in both classroom activities and Mr. Thomas’s reflections on his practice. The POTM
activities presented in italics will be used to demonstrate how the underlying disciplinary understandings implicitly manifested in Mr. Thomas’s classroom practice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities in the unit</th>
<th>Disciplinary understandings</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Using timelines</td>
<td>historical context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Taking notes</td>
<td>historical perspectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Selecting facts from notes</em></td>
<td>causation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Writing the history paragraph</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• <em>Composing the claim statement</em></td>
<td>historical significance</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Writing the history paragraph</td>
<td>democratic principles in civics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Writing a call to action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reading (and analyzing) texts</td>
<td>sourcing (Wineburg, 1991a, 1991b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Including evidence/quotations</td>
<td>evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Composing the claim statement</td>
<td>author’s purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Selecting important facts from notes</td>
<td>author’s bias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Writing the Evidence paragraph</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Selecting an introduction strategy</td>
<td>argumentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• logical reasoning - causation</td>
<td>text type and purpose</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Disciplinary concepts evoked in Mr. Thomas’ classroom practice

**Attending to historical context when selecting facts from notes.** Many students including Vanessa used the prompts and sentence stems provided in their packet to compose their history paragraph, which was meant to share information they found on their topic. This paragraph was not simply a collection of facts around a broad topic, but was meant to set the
context for students’ evidence paragraph (known as the claim paragraph in Ms. Brooke’s class) that made an argument about how an individual or community fought for civil rights. These scaffolds directly communicated that information included should be deemed important: “One important fact I found was…,” “Another important fact I found was…,” and “One important date I found was…” (artifact, 05/10/13); however, Mr. Thomas did not explicitly share what criteria students should use to determine the importance of the factual information. He noticed that as a result, his students were likely to include facts that were irrelevant to their civil rights issue. For example, Mr. Thomas noted how some of his students who argued that the hip hop artist Macklemore fought for civil rights for the gay community included the fact that “Macklemore likes fur coats” (interview, 06/06/13).

Mr. Thomas also noted “…a lot of kids didn't make a connection between the history of what happened and the civil rights part of what happened” (interview, 05/30/13). The need to clearly communicate how the information in the history paragraph was directly related to the civil rights struggle students studied was not fully supported by the prompts and sentence stems. For example, Vanessa knew that Cesar Chavez was a significant figure in the Latina/o farmworkers’ struggle for civil rights, but did not elaborate on why he was so important to the movement in the final version of her essay. (This was explained in rough drafts, but disappeared in her final.) However, she did include his birthday in her history paragraph, and even associated the year of his birth with the beginning of the struggle for Latina/o farmworkers (artifact, 05/30/13). This demonstrated her naïve understandings about how to determine importance in relationship to historical context as she inferred Chavez’s birthday as important, but used retroactive reasoning—because he would eventually become an important figure in the
movement, his birthday is important—rather than identifying causal factors and information that influenced the ideas, events, and actions that influenced the need to engage in social protest.

**Considering historical significance while composing the claim statement.** For many students who selected to research contemporary issues of civil rights, Mr. Thomas noticed their struggle to elaborate the underlying reasoning for their claim statement about their POTM topic, event, or figure. He described how he attempted to challenge some of his students’ assumptions in their claim statement and press upon their thinking during individual monitoring, but did not realize that he wanted his students to contend with the concept of historical significance. A major obstacle for his students to identify historical significance was limited knowledge of changing social and historical perspectives about their topic that were not explicitly detailed in the research sources his students accessed. Understanding historical significance requires having the resources to understand how historical events and concepts change over time (C3 Framework, 2013; Seixas & Morton, 2013).

For example, Mr. Thomas described how some of his students attributed their reasoning about how an individual’s actions affected change for a community that were denied their civil rights to the act of simply being part of a community that is discriminated against (e.g. “Jason Collins fought for civil rights by being gay”) or a single public expression of opinion (e.g. “Macklemore fought for civil rights by recording the song “Same Love”) (interview, 06/06/13). While his students generally recognized that perspectives about certain social issues such as race and sexuality were different in the past compared to contemporary perspectives, Mr. Thomas believed that his students’ naïve understandings resulted from a narrow range of life experience, content knowledge base, and place in the developmental trajectory for conceptual thinking around such sophisticated issues.
It was not until Mr. Thomas attempted to use the non-fiction literacy strategies he promoted that he realized they did not support his students to disentangle the layers of knowledge in text to understand the historical significance of a civil rights figure. At first, he began to narrate how he thought some of his students would have interacted with a New York Times article on Jason Collins (artifact, 06/06/13):

Read the headline first, then read the caption to the picture then look what’s in the picture. So… [looks at the article on laptop.] “I’m gay, breaks a barrier” well that’s is pretty much consistent with what they understand. We don’t really have a meaningful caption here that helps us with that.

In using the strategy of identifying information from text features, Mr. Thomas constructed a surface level understanding of why the recent coming out of Jason Collins, an active NBA basketball player at the time, could be considered a civil rights figure. As he continued, he began to express an awareness of how decontextualized, choppy, and confusing it might have been to interact with the textual resources his students used for their POTM research.

And then our first sentence is a potentially irrelevant sentence when it comes to the issue if is his statement is important [to breaking a barrier in basketball]. It infers that though—the idea that he’s less important than other athletes—but in order to understand that, you have to understand what’s important about being a full-time starter or being an all-star. There’s some basketball knowledge that you need to have to understand that…. (interview, 06/06/13)

Even in the first two paragraphs of the article, Mr. Thomas commented on the multiple types of specialized background knowledge and understanding of perspectives that his students would have needed to understand. In his own interaction with the text, he began to recognize aspects of text complexity that needed to be considered and included in his future instruction. He documented that a 7th-grader would need to know nuanced knowledge about basketball, cultural and social conceptions of sexuality and masculinity in mainstream and African American
communities, and the historical trajectory of the struggle for gay rights in the U.S. Moreover, a student would need inferential and interpretive skills to determine what information detailed in the article was misleading or relevant for considering the issue of whether Jason Collins coming out was or was not a civil rights event. Additionally, a clear line of reasoning would need to be explained in arguing whether his coming out should be considered historically significant to one or more of the communities that Collins was a part of. As such, Mr. Thomas unknowingly needed his students to have a grasp of an array of inferential and analytical skills to identify historical significance without explicitly addressing or teaching these ideas and relationships between them.

Understanding argumentation in writing the evidence paragraph. In contrast to the assumed application of generic strategies and skills for reading and research, Mr. Thomas recognized the difficulty of argument writing for his students and did not expect them to compose their evidence paragraph independently. He attempted to scaffold his students’ expression of content and conceptual understanding through text structure supports and writing practices that he believed conformed to the required academic ways of sharing information and students’ thinking about the content. However, the way that text structure, language supports, and writing strategies was taught reinforced a procedural way of thinking for task completion rather than promote strategic thinking focused on the connection between content understanding and subject area and disciplinary concepts. Additionally, Mr. Thomas brought up concerns that the evidence paragraph inaccurately reflected the nature of the writing task for the POTM unit.

Emphasizing procedural thinking. Mr. Thomas's students were familiar with the claim-evidence-reasoning relationship in the Evidence paragraph through earlier repeated interactions with the structure and visual conceptualization of the “Great Pyramid of Reason” (See Appendix
His instruction emphasized what each component was and the order of ideas, but did not elaborate on what he called “the logic of an argument.” For example, in a mini-lesson taught to reinforce argument writing using content from *Viva La Causa* (Brummel & Mayo, 2008), he attempted to co-construct a sample paragraph from his students’ responses in class and have students recognize relationships between the components:

Finally, Mr. Thomas shares with the class what he talked about with the girls [Vanessa and peers]…: “They said: One example of this—using “one example” prepares your reader for your evidence, your quote. Go back to your paragraph. Make sure that you have one; have one example of how this happened. You need to have a third sentence to connect it back to your claim, by showing the outcome of the evidence.” …[He] asks students to identify which of the components the paragraph contains. Most students say that he has two out of three things in his paragraph. (fieldnotes, 05/10/13)

While Mr. Thomas clearly anticipates that his students will be challenged by how to show "the outcome of the evidence" in their explanation sentence, his instruction does not elaborate what it means to answer the questions, "Why does this evidence relate to my claim?" (interview, 05/30/13) and “Why is this particular way of thinking is appropriate for the task?” At the end of this interaction, he directed his 7th-graders to assess a peer’s and self-assess their own paragraphs for completion, but did not attend to the conceptual understanding of each component or the relationship between claim-evidence-explanation relationships. Neither did he give attention to the quality of the information that his students drew upon to demonstrate the relationship between content and the concept of historical significance embedded in the evidence paragraph structure.

*Reporting information or arguing a claim?* Mr. Thomas’s seemingly unified procedural approach to argument writing obscured the conflict in his thinking about the purpose for writing
the essay and the strategies he advocated to his students. In our interviews, he revealed his nuanced understandings and wonderings about the type of and purpose for writing his students were asked to engage in and its compatibility with the reading and research tasks in the unit:

If you find one movie that has solid information behind it about a well-understood established historical event, for 7th grade, I think that’s ok. We don’t need to be skeptical. She’s [Vanessa] not saying anything that’s not true or controversial about the facts. I understand if you’re trying to make a new scientific claim or if you’re writing an academic paper that you’re building an argument based on something new in the sources, but a lot of this is a report that you’re explaining how things happened. I think it’s artificial to do that. (interview, 06/06/13)

Mr. Thomas distinguished a striking difference in the expectations of writing produced by experts—those who build arguments for new understandings in a discipline—and 7th-graders, who are generally expected to be immersing themselves in pre-existing content knowledge in a subject area or discipline. He questioned the appropriateness of the required task to engage in argument writing when the activities of the POTM unit as a whole reflected the search for and presentation of acquired factual knowledge; his perceived misalignment of the purpose for writing also reflected in how students across the 7th-grade social studies classrooms were taught to interact with the texts they encountered—to extract information, not to question it. As such, Mr. Thomas questioned the degree to which his 7th graders could actually demonstrate deep understanding of the disciplinary concept of argumentation through the POTM unit.

**Vanessa exhibits novice strategies and understandings of disciplinary concepts.**

Vanessa implemented skills and strategies and participated in activities that supported her efforts to amass and communicate factual knowledge about the struggle of the Latina/o farmworkers in the 1960s. However, these skills, strategies, and activities did not guide her to progress beyond novice understandings of disciplinary concepts such as historical context, historical significance,
and argumentation. Vanessa consistently used the criteria of what was personally interesting for determining important facts from accessible research texts and for what to include in her essay, and she demonstrated an emerging sense of historical significance. She also demonstrated a heavy reliance on the organizational structure in the packet her teachers provided, which affected her attentiveness to discrepancies in the content. As a result, Vanessa did not realize that the information she included for her essay did not build towards a coherent display of content understanding and purpose for writing.

**Using a strategy of personally connecting to content to determine importance.** Vanessa repeatedly used a strategy of personal connection to identify explicitly stated information from accessible parts of text over the course of the POTM unit. She used this strategy for taking notes that would be later used for the historical context of her civil rights struggle. Yet Vanessa also had an emerging sense that certain pieces of factual information were more relevant to the historical outcomes and significance of the Latina/o farmworkers’ struggle in the 1960s.

Because Vanessa attended to accessible information that she personally found interesting, the majority of her research notes were actually from the classroom screening of *Viva la Causa*. Seventeen of the 27 sentences in her essay could be directly attributed to information she paraphrased from the documentary. Mr. Thomas did not specifically tell students what to take notes on as they watched the documentaries and read text, and Vanessa was attracted to ideas and images that evoked her personal interests and affective responses. She recorded information about who participated, the working conditions, and dramatic number values, such as “little kids would work” and “- they walked to sacramento from 70 of people it grew bigger to 10,000 of people” (artifact, 05/09/13).
Vanessa also demonstrated an emerging awareness of which interesting notes were compatible with and significant to the story of the experiences of the farmworkers. While personal interest drew her to paraphrase the biography of Cesar Chavez—including listing the names of his eight children, she appropriately did not incorporate those names into her essay. However, she still exhibited a naïve understanding of why certain social actions in the information she collected were historically significant:

My civil rights issue demonstrates a civil right struggle because they fought for better working conditions, better pay, and medical conditions, by marching, protesting and boycotting. The united farm workers showed us a way that they fought for what they wanted and got it. (artifact, 05/30/15)

Her reasoning demonstrated a form of circular logic: the topic was a civil rights struggle because the farmworkers participated in forms of social protest. Vanessa’s focus was on how the actions ultimately served the purpose of the farmworkers, but did not yet consider how their actions and their gains impacted American society or reflected the democratic principles and civic values.

**Over-relying on structural supports for organizing knowledge.** Vanessa’s reliance on the sentence frames and prompts in the packet limited her opportunities to attend to the coherence of content knowledge and how these supports implied the disciplinary concepts of argumentation, historical context, and historical significance. Analysis indicated that Vanessa’s strategy to insert information into the appropriate sentence starters and prompts resulted in the communication of isolated factual information. Although the insertion of facts made sense at the sentence level, the resulting paragraph did not demonstrate understanding of the disciplinary concepts or in the overall purpose of the essay.

Vanessa’s close reliance on the graphic organizer to communicate her accumulated knowledge of the civil rights struggle of Latina/o farmworkers contributed to limited explanation
and coherence of her ideas in the evidence paragraph. Despite the multiple occasions that Mr. Thomas reviewed the claim-evidence-explanation structure in class, there was no prompt provided for how to explain the two pieces of evidence she used:

Latina/Latinos farm workers fight for their civil rights by doing a huelga [strike in Spanish] and boycotting at stores. In source one I found that from 1962 to 1965 Cesar Chavez and a small group of organizers traveled up and down California to fight for their rights in source 2 I found that thousands of farm workers and supporters were jailed and finally two strikers were killed on the picket line.

(artifact, 05/30/13)

In addition to omitting an explanation of the evidence she provided, Vanessa’s evidence only suggested how Latina/o farmworkers participated in labor strikes, or huelga, rather than also including an example of boycotting stores or produce picked by strikebreakers. The use of the sentence starters to frame these two facts implied that both pieces of evidence described the same incident, when in fact the information came from two different events approximately 10 years apart.

The first piece of evidence actually described how Chavez and his fellow organizers worked to gain the trust of farmworkers to join the union rather than their activities in organizing a strike: Vanessa did not copy down the rest of the sentence that elaborated on the context of the labor organizers activities. Similarly, the second piece of evidence referred to violence that erupted between the UFW and the Teamsters Union during a strike in 1973 (artifact, 05/30/13). This suggested that Vanessa was focused on identifying explicit and isolated pieces of information that corroborated her claim sentence, but did not attend to the historical circumstances that made these ideas and events meaningful to the struggle for civil rights.

Expecting but not scaffolding disciplinary understandings
Although the previously taught literacy skills and strategies and structural supports enabled Vanessa to organize her content learning, they did not help her cultivate and present a coherent understanding of the Latina/o farmworkers’ struggle. Without more explicit and cognitively-focused instruction, Vanessa relied on naïve understandings to adequately accomplish the unit’s reading, research, and writing activities. Yet an important challenge that emerged for Mr. Thomas was the consideration of what was reasonable to expect from 7th graders in terms of the prior knowledge, skills, and strategies needed to engage them in exploring disciplinary understanding.

**Giving Students Authority**

A foundational aspect of Mr. Thomas’s instructional practices was his commitment to providing opportunities for his students to see themselves reflected in their learning. His emphasis on conceptual understanding focused on creating scenarios in which his students could grapple with social studies and discipline-specific concepts through the exploration of content that reflected their personal interests, prior knowledge, skills, and experiences. Moreover, Mr. Thomas treated POTM topic choices as extensions of his students’ personal identities and encouraged them to express what mattered to them through the project. He hoped that these research topic choices would facilitate access to and the application of social studies concepts and academic tasks in meaningful, real world terms for all of his students.

**Building upon students’ personal interests.** Although student choice was an instructional strategy that other teachers in this study also used, Mr. Thomas implicitly emphasized the ideas of personal relevance and interest as criteria for students as they selected a POTM topic. Taking into consideration that his students might not find points of connection with the traditional civil rights topics, such as the 1963 Birmingham Children’s March and the
struggles of Latina/o farmworkers, he also planned several “Protest of the Day” case studies that addressed the similar issues from a contemporary perspective that he knew would draw upon his students’ personal interests, prior knowledge, skills, and experiences.

In particular, the case study topics of Unified Sports® (Special Olympics, 2013), Jason Collins (Collins, 2013), and activism in hip hop music (fieldnotes, 05/06/13) addressed familiar concerns and interests in his students’ lives and the community life of the school. The selection of these “Protests of the Day” reinforced the validity of selecting of topics that were not simply “interesting,” but personal and meaningful for a wide range of his students. These “Protest of the Day” topics enabled Mr. Thomas to ground his students’ broad interests in music and sports on more concrete shared classroom experiences that he could use to spur challenging conversations. These case studies were calculated appeal to his students, as well as to confront their assumptions of what were and where civil rights issues might appear in their daily lives.

Mr. Thomas actively supported his students to draw upon their prior knowledge, skills, and experiences to research a variety of historical and contemporary civil rights topics to encourage authentic curiosity and engagement with concepts of civil rights. Based on his knowledge of his students, he guided them to select uniquely personalized topics like an analysis of jazz protest songs or the issue of the school-to-prison pipeline.

Mr. Thomas savored occasions when his students made connections to lessons where they could share their prior knowledge, experiences, and perspectives:

I like the lessons that get derailed by kids' questions.… Just the questions that come up around why that [historical events and outcomes] happened,…and seeing the surprise and awareness….Those kinds of moments, where kids can share a little of their story in the midst of that. I enjoy seeing that happen. It's not formalized or assessed in any way, but I feel like that was the real power of those units. (interview, 06/12/13)
His responsiveness to his students led to unplanned moments that provided tangible learning opportunities about civil rights issues for his students, shifting the concept of civil rights from abstract and vague ideas to more direct and personal awareness for students who might not otherwise be exposed to how a range of issues might be related to civil rights impacted their own lives or the experiences of their peers.

**Encouraging expression of personal identity.** Mr. Thomas made great effort to create a classroom environment that supported the expression of his students’ personal identities through the relationships he built with his students. He led by example, openly sharing who he was, his interests, and even used examples from his home life to develop conceptual understandings of social studies topics with his students. Ms. Watanabe noted that their students felt comfortable and supported pursuing personal interests and sharing their experiences in the classroom based on Mr. Thomas’s purposeful example.

Mr. Thomas’s knowledge of his students was especially evident throughout our interviews. In addition to Vanessa, he mentioned his interactions with 21 different students across his social studies classrooms during the POTM unit. His students seemed to know that he cared about them, their learning, and their well being in and outside of his classroom.

Mr. Thomas developed a unique relationship with Vanessa spurred on by her growing awareness of what meant to be an academically struggling student of color at Pine Crest. He shared with me a series of discussions around challenges Vanessa faced with other teachers and a few of her peers around issues of difference, race, and inequitable treatment as a student of color at school. He was aware of her perceptions of being discriminated against by certain teachers and being judged or looked at funny by her female peers for her clothing, behavior, and academic work. His awareness of the emotional and social tensions that Vanessa experienced and his own
knowledge and experience with social justice issues for students of color allowed him to engage her in conversations about navigating these challenges:

We talk about code switching. We talk about the culture of school and things like that, and she's a kid I've had a lot of conversations like that, so she's starting to become aware of those issues, and I don't know how she interacts with that [math] teacher around those issues… I'm seeing her kind of start to think a little bit more widely about the world around her, but I think that she's still figuring out what kind of student she's going to be. (interview, 05/20/13)

Mr. Thomas understood Vanessa’s challenge to both express herself and meet the expectations of the school. He provided language and legitimacy to the need to balance and bridge the social terrain among home, community, and school. He and Mr. Davidson, Vanessa’s academic support teacher, were both sympathetic and aware of these concerns and tried to counsel her on how to communicate with other teachers. In addition to providing counsel, Mr. Thomas also provided Vanessa recognition and encouragement for the areas in which she showed talent—in verbal argumentation, standing up for her beliefs, and defending herself and her friends. These were important qualities that Mr. Thomas pointed out to Vanessa when he suggested that her talents might make her a good lawyer.

**Vanessa finds personal relevance with the content and concepts.** The POTM unit provided a unique opportunity for Vanessa to begin to exercise control over the content she learned and extend that content and conceptual learning into other areas of her life. In particular, she drew upon her deep interest in her ethnic cultural heritage when selecting a topic for research, and her emergent understanding of the knowledge and skills required to be a lawyer to make sense of important civics concepts in relationship to her projected career. Although Vanessa expressed a deep conceptual understanding of civil rights when she applied it to her
own personal experiences, she encountered challenges to communicate her nuanced understanding equally well within the specific context and content of the POTM unit.

*Building upon knowledge of ethnic cultural heritage.* Vanessa’s initial research topics, which included rights for undocumented immigrant youth and Latina/o farm laborers’ struggle for civil rights in the 1960s, reflected her general interest in learning more about the history and issues that affected Latinos in the U.S. When I asked about her rationale for selecting the topic of Latina/o farmworkers, Vanessa expressed a budding and complicated awareness of the bicultural experience in stating that the farmworkers were “from here [US] and there [Mexicans]. I guess Mexicans, I guess Hispanics” (interview, 06/06/13). She seemed to recognize that the Latina/o laborers occupied more than one physical and cultural space—where some of them were Mexicans within the context of the United States—such that the farmworkers were not merely “Mexican” in terms of cultural orientation and nationality, but something slightly different in terms of being “Hispanic.” This nuance in Vanessa’s response reflected her own growing awareness of the tension of being ethnically and culturally Mexican in the context of the cultural environment of Pine Crest. This recognition may have emerged from her conversations with Mr. Thomas about code switching between the expectations of school and her home and community.

Although Vanessa had some knowledge of Mexican history, she shared that she was not aware of the involvement of Mexicans and other Latinas/os in the farmworkers struggle for civil rights until she viewed *Viva La Causa.* Vanessa actively engaged in accumulating factual information during the documentary screening in class, and understood the contributions of Cesar Chavez to the founding of UFW and the movement. Vanessa revealed in our conversations that the imagery in the documentary struck both an emotional and visual chord with her, especially the depiction of young children picking fruit larger than their tiny hands, as evidenced
in multiple iterations of her essay: “little kids with smaller hands then tomatoes would work” (artifacts, 05/30/13). After reviewing several pages of notes she scrawled in her notebook, she excitedly announced to me that she “took notes for the first time in my life!” (fieldnotes, 05/09/13). However, the mere act of choosing a topic where she saw personal connections was not enough to sustain her engagement over the course of the unit.

Despite similarities in the themes of ethnic and cultural heritage and tension and inequitable treatment between her own experiences and her research into Latina/o farmworkers, Vanessa experienced difficulty building on these connections for conceptual understanding of civil rights within the specific context of the content. As she continued her research, Vanessa encountered printed texts that presented content information in much less accessible ways than the documentary. While she was explicitly able to derive and share surface level understandings, she did not perceive a clear conceptual connection between her research topic and an earlier study of specific civil rights in the Amendments to the Constitution with which Vanessa actively engaged with (interview, 06/12/13): however, this connection was not directly addressed by Mr. Thomas and assumed throughout POTM unit.

*Taking on an emergent lawyer identity.* Vanessa’s identification with becoming a lawyer became increasingly prominent towards the end of the school year. After Mr. Thomas’s initial conversation with Vanessa that planted the thought of pursing a law career, he noted how he was able to “say ‘I expect to see you acting like a lawyer here,’ and that clicks with her” (interview, 05/06/13) to motivate Vanessa to refocus on her schoolwork. While the topics of Latina/o farmworkers and even the life of Cesar Chavez were initially interesting to Vanessa, she was better able to reengage with her work through the emergence of a connection to a future role, knowledge, and set of practices that she perceived as personally purposeful and motivating.
Vanessa’s envisioning of a law career framed her ability to advocate for herself and others who experienced inequitable treatment as a strength and skill that linked to the knowledge and practices she would need to engage in. She associated learning from a previous unit on the Amendments to the U.S. Constitution to this future application:

I think the one thing I remember will be the Amendments. Cause that’s like your rights, and like I guess you have to have your freedom. Like people should give you those rights and if not, you could be like “well, I have the First Amendment, I have the freedom of speech” or whatever. …it’s a right I should have. And it’s a right that everybody else should have and it’s like, if I’m gonna be a lawyer, I need to be like, remember [the Amendments]. (interview, 06/11/13)

Vanessa’s specific identification of the Amendments to the U.S. Constitution suggested that she comprehended that the Amendments were not simply facts to be memorized for class, but had real significance and tangible impact in real world interactions for individuals. She expressed understanding that the Amendments reflected rights guaranteed to all individuals, yet there existed instances when these rights were denied to specific individuals. Her personalization of the content (e.g. “I have the First Amendment”) indicated a distinct belief that a lawyer should help individuals who are denied these rights to claim their guaranteed rights under the law. Interestingly, this was the exact understanding that Mr. Thomas wanted his students to explain based on his and Ms. Watanabe’s repeated efforts to have students define civil rights within the context of their POTM research topic (interview, 06/06/13): while Vanessa did not explain this concept in writing in her essay, she was able to articulate this complex concept verbally in conversation with me. In this conversation, it became apparent that Vanessa did not realize the Amendments that she repeatedly referred to are associated with civil rights.

While her identification with becoming a lawyer allowed her to make real world connections to civics content knowledge and concepts in a personally relevant manner, Vanessa
did not necessarily have a clear vision of what it took to reach this goal. To further explore the influence of this emerging lawyer identity, I asked Vanessa about what was required to pursue this career:

Vanessa: …he said that I should be a lawyer because I can really confront people and talk to them and stuff like that, not yelling, but in a really loud voice and stuff, so he suggested I should be a lawyer.

Researcher: Do you know what it takes to be a lawyer?
Vanessa: A lot of work. Years of school.
Researcher: A lot of reading?
Vanessa: Mmhmm (affirmative). (interview, 06/10/13)

Vanessa focused specifically on the personal attributes affirmed by her teacher and often associated with leadership, such as her verbal ability and confidence to question and confront difficult situations. She generally acknowledged the required work ethic and schooling needed, but was vague on the skills she would need to become a lawyer. With some prompting, Vanessa acknowledged the important role of reading in English, an activity in which she demonstrated some challenge with stamina and reluctance when required for learning tasks in the classroom. Although she still described reading as boring, she vowed to “get more practice on it” and expressed a commitment to going to the public library over the summer break (interview, 06/12/13). This was another demonstration of her commitment to take responsibility of the schoolwork she needed to accomplish for a “fresh start” to the 8th grade (interview, 06/11/13).

Learning and engagement with social studies concepts in real world contexts

Mr. Thomas’s purposeful planning and instruction to help his students connect with the concept of civil rights through personally relevant topics and contemporary, real world contexts generally supported their ability to exercise some control over what they learned. This emphasis provided initial access, motivation, and validation of Vanessa’s experiences as a student of color
for Vanessa, but did not necessarily help her to direct the trajectory of her learning, especially to develop conceptual understanding about civil rights that Mr. Thomas hoped she would demonstrate. Ultimately, Vanessa was able to recognize the conceptual tension in the idea of a civil rights struggle through her emergent identity as a lawyer and its association with her experiences as a student of color at Pine Crest, but not solely through her ethnic cultural identity.

**Tension between accountability to disciplinary norms and student authority**

Mr. Thomas questioned his ability to hold his students accountable to the disciplinary concepts embedded in the POTM unit because he realized that his students needed to engage in more analytical and interpretive tasks in reading than he expected. Without instruction presented in texts on how to think through the disciplinary concepts of historical context, significance, and the “logic of an argument,” and their related tasks, Vanessa used the strategies and tools available to her: personal connection to determine importance and teacher-provided structured writing prompts, to gain access to naïve understandings of these disciplinary concepts.

An intriguing consideration about this tension in PDE that specifically emerged from Mr. Thomas’s emphasis on personal relevance for student authority and accountability to disciplinary concepts in history and civics is whether a foundational focus on personal connection will result in inappropriate and naïve understandings. Historical thinking and concepts like historical significance and perspectives require students to depersonalize how they evaluate and interpret content and text (VanSledright, 2002a), and yet, civics concepts stress the personal applicability of content knowledge for students (C3 Framework, 2013). This additional unforeseen tension between the two disciplines may be challenging for teachers and students to navigate what it means to be accountable to disciplinary norms.
Emergence of a supplementary tension between student authority and relevant resources

For Vanessa, the salience of multiple identities influenced her ability to direct her learning of content and social studies concepts. The opportunity in the classroom to draw upon her personal resource of a strong sense of ethnic cultural identity gave her entry to the content of the Latina/o farmworkers’ struggle. However, her motivation waned when the texts became too difficult to comprehend and she did not feel that she had the resources to write a customized definition of civil rights for her POTM topic. In contrast, her emerging identification with becoming a lawyer and her complex experiences as a student of color enabled Vanessa to engage with and develop a sophisticated conceptual understanding of civil rights, which surprisingly appeared detached from the civil rights content she studied. However, a promising finding was the power of this emerging identity to motivate Vanessa to deal with her academic as well as literacy challenges in order to become a stakeholder in her learning beyond the POTM unit.

Summary

The analysis of three tensions in Mr. Thomas’s instructional practices revealed the prominent impact of the assumption that Vanessa had access to connections between content and conceptual understanding and disciplinary skills, strategies, and thinking:

1. There was tension between problematizing content and text and providing relevant resources in Mr. Thomas’s classroom because he assumed that the acquisition of content knowledge would facilitate the ability for his students to grapple with sophisticated conceptual understandings, and that his students had the necessary skills and strategies to attain content knowledge from the texts they encountered. To make up for this lack of access to needed
literacy skills, Vanessa was resourceful in drawing upon her base of prior knowledge to fill in gaps in her understanding about the content and text.

2. Tension between accountability to disciplinary norms and student authority highlighted the assumed but critical role of disciplinary literacy in interactions with social studies texts in Mr. Thomas’s classroom and the lack of access to these skills and strategies for Vanessa. However, aspects of identity seemed to influence how Vanessa was able to participate in and enact control over what and how she learned.

3. A supplementary tension that emerged between student authority and relevant resources was the power of identity to motivate Vanessa to engage in content and conceptual understanding during the POTM unit, as well as a vision of herself as a stakeholder in her own learning. Ethnic cultural identity and an emerging identity as a lawyer were most prominent for her. The assumption that Vanessa was aware of the connections, the strategies, and skills to independently bridge content understanding from text and conceptual understandings, disciplinary skills, strategies, and thinking limited opportunities for her to alter some naïve conceptions around disciplinary concepts and build on emerging understandings and motivation around content learning. This analysis also demonstrated the need for both “generic” and disciplinary literacy skills for Vanessa’s continued learning, but also exhibited impact of how language and literacy influenced how she saw herself as a learner. At the conclusion of the unit, Mr. Thomas recognized the importance of making this thinking process more explicit to his students.

However, a persistent challenge that affected Vanessa’s ability to learn from text was the difficulty of the textual resources she had access to (Beck, McKeown, & Gromoll, 1989; Jitendra et al., 1999). Without change in the difficulty of the texts that her teachers provide to Vanessa, a
misalignment between her reading abilities would endure and she would continue to face barriers to the content and conceptual learning she can learn from text.
Chapter 6. CASE STUDY: MR. CASEY, MARI, AND SEMIRA

In this chapter, I present a descriptive embedded case study of a 6th grade social studies teacher, two R-FEP student in his 5th-6th block period classroom, and their interactions with the instructional tools and strategies utilized to engage all students in text-based learning. First, I frame the instructional context of the classroom by providing background information about Mr. Casey, his beliefs about learning and engagement, and how he oriented his 6th grade students to the Ancient World Artifact Museum Unit and the African History Project. Then I describe the focal students, Mari and Semira, with a special attention to their skills as readers and writers. Next, I address the overarching research question drawing from observations and interviews on how Mr. Casey’s instructional practices and strategies facilitates learning from and with text for both students while participating in the research, reading, and writing tasks for the unit. Embedded throughout this analysis will be an examination of the integrated principles of PDE (Engle, 2012; Engle & Conant, 2002) described in my conceptual framework. Last, I summarize my findings and reflect upon the how the four PDE principles manifest in text-based learning in social studies for Mari and Semira in Mr. Casey’s classroom.

Mr. Casey

Mr. Brian Casey was an experienced teacher and self-described history and technology wonk, who actively followed non-American media outlets and blogs and enjoyed sharing photographs and stories from his own travels with his students. He was also the only teacher in this study certified in Language Arts. Mr. Casey first started teaching about 14 years ago and spent six years as a 7th grade Language Arts and social studies teacher. Then he left the classroom to become a district-level technology trainer for two years, and then returned to teach 6th grade Language Arts and social studies in classrooms that included SpEd students as well as
R-FEP and English-dominant students. It was his sixth year of his “second era” of teaching.

Mr. Casey’s experience was reflected in his deep knowledge of the ancient history and civilizations content for 6th grade and his ability to anticipate content and tasks that might be confusing or challenging to his students. Having seen some cycles of change in adopted curricula and instructional focus in both subject areas, Mr. Casey identified a few tensions that ran through his practice. He noted the challenge of incorporating social studies content and Language Arts to have an integrated Humanities focus, and consistently grappled with the issue of the complexity of textual resources—both online and offline—and their accessibility to his students.

At the heart of his practice, he expressed a tension in and desire to develop his practice into one where the “rigor” of social studies was maintained while ensuring that his students from a range of abilities had opportunities and support to demonstrate their content and skill understanding. This was a desire he shared with Ms. Amy Green, a veteran SpEd teacher with whom he co-taught. Because Ms. Green did not have the primary responsibility for planning the social studies content, she is not examined equally in this case study: only her major interactions with texts and students during the two units and with the two focal students were documented and will be discussed. Over the course of the study, Mr. Casey seemed most excited when problem solving the barriers to content access and task participation his students faced and refining his practice.

Mr. Casey envisioned the goal of his class to build the foundational “social science perspectives” and skills for the process of historical inquiry: finding good research sources, taking good notes, citing your sources, and organizing information. However, he was also aware that the version of historical inquiry he taught was “a little less rigorous” because students were not being asked to create a research question or develop a thesis (interview, 05/10/13); he
recognized that ultimately, he was asking students to gather information about their topic. In comparison to the teachers in this study, Mr. Casey was the most cognizant of subject area and discipline-specific concepts and the tensions they created when enacted with middle schoolers.

**Ancient History Artifact Museum (Museum) Unit**

The primary unit I observed in Mr. Casey and Ms. Green’s social studies class was the Ancient History Artifact Museum (“Museum unit”), which had been taught for about a decade at Pine Crest in various iterations, and spanned three and a half weeks. The name of the unit was recently changed from the “Eastern Hemisphere Museum” to align with the CCSS focus on ancient history—defined by Mr. Casey as prior to 1492 for the sake of research topics—and to allow 6th graders across the school an opportunity to explore areas of the world and civilizations that they would not otherwise. They corresponded to a CCSS shift in focus on colonial American history and civics for next year’s 7th grade social studies curriculum. Seen as an independent project, students were expected to demonstrate the reading, research, and writing skills they were previously taught throughout the school year.

The 6th graders were expected to conduct research to identify a physical 2D or 3D artifact of interest that represented their chosen ancient civilization and create a replica accompanied by a caption that a museum visitor might see. The research and writing of the museum caption was scaffolded in class, while artifact creation was assigned as homework. Students used classroom time to conduct online research from a list of pre-screened resources and sites and books in the classroom library; several sessions were also scheduled in the school library, where tables were piled high with stacks of books. The examination and analysis of artifacts from a “social science perspective” was well practiced and expected to be included in the caption.
Even though students were evaluated on measures of authenticity—“accurate and authentic representation,” craftsmanship, and design (artifact, 05/10/13), Mr. Casey regaled me with stories of artifacts of varying quality including inappropriate artifacts (e.g. Nazi flags) and last minute thrown together representations (e.g. Ken® doll with feathers glued to it) from previous years. Their artifacts would be displayed at Museum Night where families were invited to celebrate the completion of the unit and learn about other topics.

**African History Project**

Following the Museum unit, Mr. Casey’s 6\(^{th}\) graders were quickly launched into the African History Project, which was condensed into a one-week research project. Due to time limitations, Mr. Casey selected 14 special topics that represented the periods of ancient/medieval history, colonial history, and modern history for his students to investigate, such as West African slave trade, the Scramble for Africa, and the Independence of Kenya. The project was designed as a collaborative group project in which students were evaluated jointly on the content in a PowerPoint presentation in addition to their individual contributions during the oral presentation. Responsibilities for research, the creation of presentation slides, and oral presentation were divided between a maximum of four students, who could take up specified participatory roles of “map maker, artist(s), or slideshow designer” (artifact, 06/06/13).

Research was primarily conducted using one of the two classroom textbooks, *World and its Peoples* (“Peeps”) (1997), which provided a breadth of information on African history up to 1997, as well as Internet resources. Mr. Casey differentiated the project with four challenge topics that solely relied on Internet-based research for students who wanted to self-select into more nuanced topics with more difficult texts and concepts. The same adapted skills for
historical inquiry and social science perspectives that were expected for the Museum unit were also anticipated for this project.

**Mari**

Mari, who preferred to be called by her nickname rather than her full name “Marisol,” was one of four R-FEP students in Mr. Casey’s 5th-6th period class of 32 students. She tested out of receiving ELL services four years prior at the end of second grade. She self-identified as bilingual Spanish speaker of Mexican heritage and told me stories of her annual summer trips to Mexico to visit family. Her parents regularly talked to her about her schoolwork and modeled a life-long drive to learn. At home, Spanish was spoken mainly with her mother who Mari detailed had tried to take classes at a local college to improve her English reading and writing skills. Mari also described her father’s eagerness to practice and improve his English speaking skills so she and her two brothers spoke to him in English at home; he even took the opportunity to call me and speak with me about this study!

It was particularly striking that Mr. Casey and Ms. Green had very different assessments of Mari as a student prior to the Museum unit: Ms. Green described Mari as a hard worker who advocated for herself when she found her learning environment too distracting, whereas Mr. Casey saw her as lackadaisical about her learning because of her several overdue assignments and instances when she seemed to be daydreaming. These assessments of Mari were accurate depending on the participatory context of interaction. She seemed to open up in small group settings when those opportunities were made available to her: Mari enjoyed reading aloud round robin-style and participated in taking notes and answering questions in small groups led by Ms. Green. In contrast, Mr. Casey tended to take note of Mari during independent work time, when she herself admitted that she got off-task because she became lost in her thoughts or was waiting
for him to see her request for help: “[s]ometimes he’s just with other people and I kind of waste my time raising my hand and not reading” (interview, 05/20/13). At the conclusion of the units, her teachers as well as Mari herself agreed that an important shift had occurred in her engagement with social studies content.

“I’m slow at writing and reading too.”

Of all of the focal students in this study, Mari was the most self-aware and candid about her level of engagement or disengagement, self-perception of her reading and writing skills, and her reasoning and confusion as she read and composed text. With little prompting, she detailed why she saw herself as a slow writer and reader, as she often felt like the class kept going as she was still trying to process words and compose her thoughts. Mari described her deliberative process for writing, which caused her to move very slowly through writing assignments: “I write a little, then I read the whole thing and then I write a little bit more. I want it to be perfect” (interview, 06/06/13).

It was perhaps a desire to be “perfect” in terms of understanding content and expressing her ideas that enabled Mari to note that she struggled with engagement as she read and became aware of the difference in the amount of time she spent reading if she was interested in the content. She also identified vocabulary—what she called “really big words”—as the most challenging part of reading from the social studies textbooks in the classroom (interview, 05/20/13). Over the course of my observations as she got used to my presence, Mari would often narrate what she was thinking as she read as I sat next to her.

Semira

Semira, who was socially savvy and enjoyed engaging in “girl drama” according to her teachers, seemed to be a literary foil to Mari. Her inclination towards drama was reflected in the
suspense and mystery books she liked to read. She preferred reading and writing in English because her level of understanding was “way better” than her skills in Tigrinya (interview, 05/30/13). We shared a connection as Semira shared that she previously attended language classes on Saturdays until her mother opted to teach her at home. The youngest of five siblings in an Eritrean family, she described her ability to understand spoken Tigrinya well, but self-identified as a continuing learner for the speaking, reading, and writing because she was not born in Eritrea. Semira was identified by her teachers as an R-FEP student who tested out of receiving ELL services four years prior at the end of second grade. Interestingly, she did not know what “bilingual” meant when I clarified the purpose of this study.

Semira seemed to struggle with balancing her increasing social engagement with her peers and maintaining attention on academics as the year progressed. She benefited from opportunities to learn in teacher-led small groups, and the re-teaching of and practice with concepts and content. Semira demonstrated academic success when her teachers provided explicit direction and feedback for previous social studies units, but the amount of independent work required for the Museum unit and the complexity of both the concepts and text of her African History Project topic revealed her difficulty in applying the emphasized skills for historical inquiry. In fact, Semira, who demonstrated perceptiveness for adults’ expectations of her, attempted to obscure the challenges she encountered and her flagging motivation for schoolwork in our final interview as she gave responses she assumed I wanted to hear.

“I like challenges, but they can be too hard.”

Semira was less attuned than Mari to self-regulating her own learning strategies and recognizing her limitations, frequently overestimating her ability to follow through with her ideas or understand challenging social studies concepts like colonialism. When talking about
social studies learning that excited her, Semira tended to vividly reference objects, field trips, tangible examples, and activities that required social interaction. Ms. Green noted that Semira seemed to compare herself to a classmate who had the skills to be social in class while accomplishing high quality work at the same time.

Semira consistently communicated a personal mantra that emphasized her curiosity and eagerness to learn new things and take on intellectually challenging content. This approach to learning allowed her to feel excited and prevent boredom; she was especially interested in learning about cultures and languages that were not her own. However, her reasoning for taking on challenging content was more complex:

I do like challenges because you don’t always want to have something easy. I don’t like things that are super hard, like above my grade level.

(interview, 05/30/13)

While Semira understood that she could learn from encountering appropriate challenges, she was susceptible to not knowing what an appropriate level of intellectual challenge was for herself. Over several classroom observations, she attempted to persevere even when it became obvious that a text-focused learning task was too challenging for her to maintain motivation and attention span. Semira tended to attribute the resulting lackluster schoolwork to “feeling lazy” rather than admit the task was “super hard” (interview, 05/30/13).

Research Question: How does Mr. Casey’s instructional practices and organization of the environment foster discipline-specific engagement and learning with texts for Mari and Semira?

Based on 22 hours of observation in Mr. Casey’s 5th-6th period classroom, students in Mr. Casey’s social studies classroom spent 69.6% of their time interacting with texts specific to the Museum unit and African History Project (See Appendix J). These text-focused activities
included reading from textbooks, trade books, and digital texts; taking notes from the aforementioned texts; performing research on the Internet; and drafting, revising, and editing their writing. Analysis of Mr. Casey’s instruction and opportunities for participation in text-focused learning in social studies and Mari and Semira’s response to instruction and activities provided insights into the critical influence of literacy on the two primary tensions in PDE: problematizing v. resources and accountability v. authority. This analysis also explored the supplementary tension between authority and resources because of nuanced influence of ethnic cultural identity on Mari and Semira’s ability to control their own learning trajectories.

**Problematizing Content and Text**

Because he had over a decade of experience as a social studies teacher, Mr. Casey was well aware of the range of understandings, skills, and misconceptions that his 6th graders might encounter or display during their research units. He and Ms. Green’s consideration of the needs of the SpEd students in their classroom fostered instructional practices that turned key discipline-related conceptual understandings, such as historical inquiry and social science perspectives, into highly structured process understandings and procedural skills. While the explicit instruction and reiteration of these process understandings and procedural skills supported access to the learning tasks for all of his students, the directive nature of these activities obscured opportunities for students to participate in grappling with problems in and with content and text.

**Promoting highly structured process understandings and procedural skills.** Mr. Casey’s 6th graders consistently practiced the process of historical inquiry and evaluation of content information using social science perspectives that they were asked to use for the Museum unit and African History Project. These process understandings and procedural skills reinforced how students were asked to interact with historical documents and artifacts, mostly from
textbooks and digital sources, due to the practical restrictions in exploring ancient history in a classroom.

**Practicing the process of historical inquiry.** The process of historical inquiry in Mr. Casey’s social studies classroom required students to engage in making observations and inferences about an artifact “following a little bit of a science process of “I hypothesize this object was used for…” (interview, 05/10/13), and then revising their hypothesis after they read what experts shared in the book. Complementary skills that supported this process included the ability to identify “good” research sources, note taking, citing sources, and organizing content information to be used in writing. However, Mr. Casey perceived the learning activities of the Museum unit to be less demanding than what was practiced earlier in the year.

In particular, he assessed a decrease in the rigor of the Museum unit because “[t]hey don’t necessarily have to write a research question, and then develop a real thesis. It’s more like information gathering about their topic” (interview, 5/10/13). Students were provided with directions on their of how to enact specific skills for observation and research, such as “[d]raw a quick sketch, [w]rite notes/labels, [d]escribe what the artifact looks like. How big is it? What would it feel like to touch?” (artifact, 5/13/13). These concrete informational questions provided little opportunity for students to exercise purposeful decision-making around content because it was dictated to them.

**Troubleshooting the reliability of sources.** The structured process of historical inquiry was impacted by unanticipated problems with the reliability of text sources that students encountered. However, the strategy of the teachers was to troubleshoot the problem for students rather than engaging them in understanding the issue. After a 6th grader in an earlier period of social studies found an Egyptian artifact for sale on eBay for twenty-six dollars, Mr. Casey and
Ms. Green reminded the class to consider the reliability of the sources they found on the Internet and redirected students back to the list of pre-screened websites provided on the class’s website. This information was delivered in lecture to students as a warning; the teachers did not engage students in a discussion around why such an artifact was not authentic or how to think about issues of reliability and authenticity. In fact, Semira demonstrated a surface level understanding of the concept of reliability: even though she told me that Google Images was not a reliable source, she still based anachronistic details of Roman clothing in her Museum artifact replica on results she found on a Google Images search (interview, 06/06/13).

**Using social science perspectives.** To make the learning units accessible for his students, Mr. Casey was also explicit about the categories of content information he wanted his students to identify in both units. These categories of information aligned with seven areas of study within social studies: politics, geography, culture, history, economics, science/technology, and sociology, which were known to his students under the acronym “PGCHESS” (pronounced “P-G-CHESS”). Questions associated with these categories were used to place a civilization and artifact in context during the research process for the Museum unit, ensuring that students had some foundational information about their artifact:

Describe the daily life and culture of the people who created and used your artifact. Try to answer at least three of the following questions:

a. How do the people live? (Describe their housing and clothing.)
b. How do people get their food? (Hunting, gathering, agriculture?)
c. What are their religious beliefs?
d. What is their government like? …

(artifact, 5/13/13)

Though Mr. Casey named these categories as “social studies perspectives,” neither Mari nor Semira fully attended to the connection of her artifact to the concept of perspective taking from
the appropriate lens. Mari did not explicitly identify that her study of an artifact for Aztec human sacrifice was associated with religion until prompted by Ms. Green, and Semira struggled to explicitly recognize that ancient Roman clothing was a reflection of culture and not simply a costume. In fact, the questions provided on the note-taking organizer generally asked students to explain how an artifact was used, but did not specifically prompt students to relate this use back to purpose and practices that reflected the categories of “social science perspectives.” As such, these questions served the objective of acquiring content information rather than engaging students in the thinking process involved in perspective taking and historical inquiry that problematizes content knowledge and text.

**R-FEP students are limited in opportunities to engage with problematic content and ideas.** The highly structured and directive instructional strategies were also consistent with how both teachers interacted with Mari and Semira when the students indicated uncertainty about new content information and concepts encountered in their research. Seemingly unaware of the opportunity to extend the interaction or probe tentative reasoning, the teachers directed students towards definitive answers for what to record in their notes or in composing their writing.

*Directing students to or giving answers.* Analysis indicated that when Mari and Semira asked questions about new content and concepts that they encountered and had little prior knowledge about, their teachers tended to direct them to locating answers or filled in the gaps for them. This suggested that the teachers viewed such questions as dilemmas to be resolved rather than part of the process of developing content and conceptual understanding. During the revision of her artifact caption, Ms. Green identified gaps in content knowledge and listed specific sentence stems and questions to direct Mari to locate more factual information on Aztec religion and why human sacrifice occurred (artifact, 05/23/13).
Semira, triggered by a comment I made about diamonds as she researched the colonization of Africa, made a connection with a movie she had seen, *Blood Diamond* (Zwick, 2006), and wondered about the applicability of the term to her learning. Seeking clarification:

Semira asks Mr. Casey with my prompting: “I wanted to add diamonds or blood diamonds?”

Mr. Casey: “Oooh say, diamonds. But blood diamonds are a more modern term though so say diamonds.”

He explains where the term comes from because people are fighting a war on the land where the diamonds were. He continues: “The term blood diamond wasn’t used then.”

( fieldnotes, 6/7/13)

Although Mr. Casey himself engages in reasoning about the appropriate vocabulary to use, he does not draw Semira into jointly reasoning through the content alongside him. He explicitly gives Semira his answer and explanation that “blood diamond” is a modern term but doesn’t elaborate why that might be inappropriate. In the same instance, it takes away the opportunity for Semira to deepen both her content vocabulary knowledge and a historical perspective about blood diamonds.

*Lacking awareness of simplistic interpretations of concepts.* Because Mr. Casey and Ms. Green could be relied on to direct their students to answers in the content and text, the R-FEP students had limited opportunities to develop an awareness of when content—especially their own interpretation of content—was conceptually problematic. Content knowledge was portrayed as objective if it came from a source approved or given by the teacher. Analysis indicated that Semira was not sensitive nor had the depth of knowledge to realize the problematic nature of some conclusions she drew about content knowledge from text. The most dramatic example of this was Semira’s excited reaction to realizing that Ethiopia and Eritrea was colonized by Italy, chanting several times: “I’m Italian!” This was because she and her peers
understood the concept of colonization through a simplified definition that the “Europeans took resources and didn’t share it” (fieldnotes, 06/06/13; 06/12/13). This neutral definition of colonization, which originated from an earlier social studies lecture, overlooked the painful legacy of colonization that Semira did not realize impacted her family and her nation of heritage. As such, the portrayal of content knowledge as neutral in value limited opportunities for R-FEP students to confront oversimplified understandings about content and concepts.

Providing access to key skills but limiting conceptual challenge in content

Mr. Casey’s strong commitment to making the process of historical inquiry and social science perspectives accessible to all of his students turned these key conceptual understandings into structured procedures and skills that minimized the conceptual rigor in the content. His R-FEP students were limited in their opportunity to grapple with content and concepts to deepen and challenge their naïve understandings because their teachers tended to troubleshoot the conceptual challenge for them. As a result, the learning tasks in the two research units unintentionally communicated a value for an accumulation of accurate content information.

Providing relevant resources

Mr. Casey and Ms. Green used a range of instructional strategies and groupings to support their students over both social studies units. Due to the nature of the units, the Museum unit featured much more independent work while the African History Project was purposefully structured as collaborative group work. At the onset of both units, Mr. Casey presented a lecture to the entire class to build background knowledge and present or model the learning tasks. Following these opening activities, he and Ms. Green generally circulated around the classroom to address students’ questions about the content as well as the learning activities. The
instructional supports that most impacted Mr. Casey’s two R-FEP students were his strategies for access to appropriate texts for both units and writing conferences during the Museum unit.

**Supporting the identification of appropriate texts.** The identification of appropriate texts for his 6th graders was a major challenge for Mr. Casey. His students had access to multiple forms of text because of the two class textbooks, his classroom library, and digital texts using the school’s iPods for research. During the Museum unit, Mr. Casey’s students also had access to the school library and its extensive collection of grade appropriate trade books on ancient civilizations. He saw the benefit of having access to all of these texts so that students could gain access to content information at an appropriate level for them; for other students, multiple texts could allow them to gain a breadth and depth of knowledge on a topic.

A major support Mr. Casey provided were carefully curated lists of research sources based on different anticipated needs of his students and the objectives of the unit. For the Museum unit, he anticipated issues of reliability and quality of information. As a result, Mr. Casey created a list of websites for research that included links to well-regarded museums around the world, such as the Louvre and the British Museum, that he knew would have good images of ancient artifacts, as well as sites like *World Book Student* and *Simple Wikipedia* with text that he considered comprehensible for middle school students. For the African History Project, Mr. Casey specifically identified specific research topics as “challenge” to help his students know which topics and corresponding texts would likely require more work to understand in terms the complexity of ideas and language.

Despite these explicit supports, Mr. Casey held two assumptions about his students’ abilities to interact with text: a) they could draw upon their previously learned strategies to
determine the appropriate reading level and conceptual complexity of research for them, and b) the use of multiple texts and sources would not require the need to corroborate information across texts. He allowed most of his non-SpEd identified students to select text they thought was most appropriate for their own learning, and explicitly shared with students a recommended list of online resources that included website options accessible at middle school reading levels (e.g. Simple Wikipedia and Regular Wikipedia) (See Appendix M). Both of these assumptions came to adversely impact the opportunities for Semira to engage with the texts and topics she selected for her content learning and participation in both units.

**Emphasizing feedback in writing conferences.** In a shift from earlier units, Mr. Casey and Ms. Green prioritized their time and efforts to provide individualized feedback on their students’ writing for the Museum unit because their final written product—the caption—would be publically displayed. The teachers offered writing conferences to review and offer advice for revisions on caption drafts as well as editing support. Students signed up and lined up to meet with their teachers, sometimes multiple times; Mr. Casey did not get to see the complete written product of his students until they submitted it for grading, but with the Museum unit: “I’ve literally read it multiple times before the final draft” (interview, 06/11/13).

Although the teachers provided other scaffolds for revision and editing, such as student self-assessments and checklists, revision based on teacher feedback emerged as an instructional strategy that both teachers viewed as beneficial to all of their students. Prior to the Museum unit, this form of scaffolding was primarily provided to SpEd students based on their IEPs.

**Mari and Semira interact differently with text.** A striking contrast in the literacy skills and strategies of Mari and Semira influenced their opportunities to engage with the texts they encountered and use the resources offered by their teachers during the two projects. Analysis of
the two R-FEP students’ interactions learning from and with text revealed substantial differences in their fluency, use of comprehension fostering and monitoring strategies, vocabulary strategies, knowledge of “Western” culture and language, and resources for writing. In turn, these differences influenced how they used texts and their ability to communicate their learning.

**Fluency.** Both students were limited by their fluency with texts they found for research which were above their reading grade level. However, an important difference between Mari and Semira was the rate and pace of their reading and what seemed to be occurring as a result of the difference in pace. While both 6th-graders were able to decode unknown multisyllabic words by chunking them into syllables, there seemed to be important differences how each student processed what they read.

When reading a Wikipedia text on “Human sacrifice in Aztec culture” that was identified as an 11th-grade text, Mari seemed to use her slow rate of reading to attempt to make sense of ideas across the text she read. Analysis indicated that her oral reading fluency was at the 22nd percentile amongst 6th graders when reading from 11th-grade text. Her phrasing ranged from seven to twelve word phrases if she did not encounter challenging vocabulary. She was cognizant of when she found an idea interesting as well when she found information she thought would be important for finding out why the Aztecs practiced human sacrifice. She would comment without prompting about her reaction to the unfamiliar or gory details of the content she read (interview, 05/23/13).

On the other hand, Semira read a Wikipedia text called “Ancient Roman and Italic Clothing” (artifact, 05/23/13), assessed to be at an 11th-grade reading level, at a pace that placed her at a 75th percentile for her grade level. When she read, she was unfazed by her miscues—of
which she only made 6 out of 182 words—and continued to move through the text in phrases ranging from nine to fifteen word phrases. As she read to take notes, she rarely stopped to record content she found interesting or important (interview, 05/23/13). When I asked her questions about the sections of text that she did stop to record, Semira tended to demonstrate understanding of the specific sentence she stopped at, and limited understanding of the whole text, which is discussed in the next section. It was clear that while she had strong decoding and automatic word recognition skills, her oral reading fluency rate did not support her ability to comprehend the difficult text she read.

*Comprehension fostering and monitoring strategies.* Mari’s slow and deliberate ability to use multiple comprehension fostering and monitoring strategies enabled her grapple with tensions and inconsistencies within the text she encountered and ideas about which she was unclear, as well as see connections and corroborate information across texts. Across these texts, she demonstrated the ability to gain information from texts that spanned 6th through college reading levels. When conducting research, Mari exhibited the important ability to work with multiple texts and corroborate information she identified across these texts. The original entry on her artifact, an Aztec sacrificial vessel in the shape on an owl, was from the British Museum and identified as a 9th-grade level text. I also observed her read from texts on Wikipedia and several trade books, including one entitled *You Wouldn’t Want to be an Aztec Sacrifice* (MacDonald, 2002), which was at approximately a 5th-grade reading level. As a result, when she discovered that the Wikipedia text presented a different reason for why the Aztecs participated in human sacrifice than what she found in a trade book, this motivated her to seek clarification from Ms. Green. This interaction will be explored later.
In contrast, I observed Semira using two texts across the duration of the Museum unit, and only one was specifically relevant to her artifact. She focused her note-taking on the “Ancient Roman and Italic Clothing” text. When she read aloud, analysis indicated that her primary strategy for comprehension was to interpret information through her own experiences. In this manner, she was unaware of discrepancies between her interpretation and the text. For example, Semira was unsure why she couldn’t write that Roman women could wear swimsuits to play sports because the clothing resembled a modern swimsuit. Furthermore, she seemed to rely on what she had just read to respond to my question of what material the female athletes wore based on a sidebar picture she examined. Looking at the brown colored articles of clothing, she stated “[i]t was plain white wool”—not recalling a statement earlier that indicated that they were made of leather that she had read aloud two paragraphs prior (interview, 05/23/13). This suggested that Semira focused her resources on reading and had some comprehension of individual sentences she encountered, but had difficulty attending to the text as a whole.

**Vocabulary knowledge and strategies.** Analysis indicated that vocabulary knowledge was a challenge for both R-FEP students. However, differences in Mari and Semira’s ability to self-monitor their comprehension influenced the effect of unknown vocabulary on their understanding of content. Mari’s use of context clues provided a good tentative guess for her understanding of content and text, but limited vocabulary knowledge seemed to be a critical factor in solidifying her comprehension of the social studies texts she read. When she wondered why there was a dramatic increase in the number of African slaves arriving in the Western colonies as she examined a graph in the textbook, it occurred to me that she might not have attended to the word “plantation.” After I told Mari that plantations were huge farms, she quickly made the connection that these African slaves were probably need to work on these “farms.” In
particular, Mari encountered specific challenges with Tier 2 polysemous vocabulary, drawing upon everyday definitions of words rather than more subject area specific understandings. When reading a theory about Aztec human sacrifice, she came across the phrase “dietary theory” and thought it odd that the Aztecs “thought about dieting a lot” (interview, 05/23/13).

Semira also used the strategy of context clues, but her tentative guesses for word meaning were much less accurate because she did not seem to have as wide a vocabulary base as Mari. She was skilled at reading the tone of text, detecting the negative connotation of a critique of ancient Roman men wearing their togas in a “feminine” manner, but was unfamiliar with the word and did not realize it was derived from the word “female” (interview, 05/23/13). Over the course of both units, I suspected that Semira encountered more unknown vocabulary words than she would draw attention to.

**Limited knowledge about “Western” culture and idioms.** The noticeable difference in the depth of Semira’s vocabulary knowledge seemed to coincide with a limited knowledge about “Western” culture and American idiomatic language. Several times over the course of her oral reading of the Wikipedia text, she expressed difficulty interpreting ancient rites of passage that shared similar significance and symbolism with American cultural practices. Because Semira did not know what “virginal” meant, she did not understand why Roman girls wore white until they were married even though she made a connection to the modern traditions of wearing white on the wedding day. She determined that the ancient rite of passage for Roman boys of burning their clothes at 16 as wasteful: “I don’t know why they would burn their clothes. They could just give it to their little brothers and sisters instead of buying new ones” (interview, 05/23/13). Semira seemed unaware that this interpretation of the content reflected her own experiences as a sibling and child of immigrants.
Similarly, when Semira chose to research the Challenge task: “The Scramble for Africa” for the African History Project, she did not realize that the phrase was an idiom that implied the history of colonization of Africa by European imperialist powers. When Ms. Green asked Semira about what she thought “the Scramble for Africa” meant, she and another student associated the idea with scrambled eggs (fieldnotes, 06/07/13).

**Using the available resources provided for writing.** There was also a difference in the two R-FEP students’ understanding about how to use the resources their teachers provided for writing during the Museum unit. Both Semira and Mari followed the outline of what to include in their artifact captions, but differed in how they used the research notes they took over the course of the unit as well as their willingness to participate in writing conferences. Mari integrated interesting details she found in her research as well as explanations of the use and importance of her artifact into her caption. Aware of her perfectionist tendencies in writing, she asked for feedback multiple times and with both teachers, such that Mr. Casey remembered that there were even competing editing marks on her caption draft. The ability to revise her content understandings and writing based her teachers’ feedback was particularly valued by Mari: “I like how they always grab your paper and within themselves [between the teachers] and tell you what's wrong so you can learn from your mistakes and stuff” (interview, 06/11/13). Ms. Green saw the impact of the opportunities for these conferences on Mari’s ability to advocate for herself and the improvement in the quality of her content understanding:

If Mari isn’t sure what to do, she’ll ask for some help. She might be a little bit hesitant in how she does it. She’s like “I don’t really get it...” I’m like “what don’t you get?” If you give her the chance to get more information, she’ll tell you what she doesn’t understand and then she’ll get some information.

(interview, 06/11/13)
In contrast, Semira did not seek out her teachers’ feedback when the opportunity was offered. While she did use the caption guidelines, evaluation rubrics, and editing checklist, Semira’s limited use of the resources that her teachers provided reflected an intriguing attitude about help seeking for her schoolwork, even from her parents:

I don’t want you to help me to get a good grade on it. If I fail, it’s my grade. …if I do a good job, I’m going to be happy because I did it on my own. I’m going to be like that in life as I get older.  

(interview, 05/30/13)

Semira further explained that this independent attitude was compatible with how her mother was teaching her to be resourceful and learn to take care of herself.

As a result of not receiving feedback, the information in Semira’s caption was did not match her recorded notes and presented information out of their original context. This was especially striking because Semira could recall content information verbally to me, but it was unclear where the content in her caption had originated. The disappointing quality of work Semira produced for the Museum unit led Ms. Green to alter her approach with Semira during the African History Project: she became much more directive about the tasks and information that Semira needed to identify during her research.

**Revealing the need to support comprehension as well as access to texts and content**

Both teachers created instructional supports to meet the anticipated text- and content-based challenges for all of their 6th graders, but did not foresee how literacy and cultural differences still impacted the two R-FEP students to gain access *into* the content and text. Although the teachers could see the results of their learning and the different help-seeking patterns that Mari and Semira enacted, they were not aware of the types of literacy strategies and skills their students would have required to fully interact with content and texts they encountered. In fact, the teachers waited for their students to initiate requests for help, which
limited opportunities for a student like Semira to receive feedback that developed and appropriately challenged her understanding of content and text in a timely manner. It is striking that despite Mr. Casey’s efforts to curate a list of accessible websites, both students interacted with online texts that were at least three years above their grade level. For Semira, this analysis also revealed the influence of limited “Western” cultural knowledge upon her ability to make sense of this social studies content.

**Tension between problematizing content and text and the providing relevant resources**

Mr. Casey relied on highly scaffolded structures and processes to ensure that all of his students had access to foundational social studies skills, perspectives, content knowledge, and texts during the Museum unit and African History Project. Although students were able to acquire and communicate their content learning through these scaffolds, analysis revealed an important tension for the two R-FEP students was between the implied emphasis on the accumulation of content information and opportunities to grapple with ideas and concepts embedded in the content and text to deepen their knowledge of both content and subject area-specific skills. In fact, Mr. Casey himself discussed his concerns about providing appropriate rigor for student activities, but he did not consider the issue of conceptual rigor, where students have opportunities to encounter sophisticated ideas.

**Accountability to Disciplinary Norms**

Mr. Casey was keenly aware of the disciplinary concepts underlying the social studies learning he wanted his students to engage with and addressed them in the learning tasks for both units. In particular, the concepts of: a) reliability of sources, b) historical context, and c) historical significance, are reiterated throughout the learning activities. Although Mr. Casey had previously introduced these concepts, gave scenarios, anticipated misunderstandings, and
provided models that displayed concrete examples of these disciplinary concepts, this analysis indicated that he did not present these concepts as essential ideas or ways of thinking about social studies content. As such, his R-FEP students were not held accountable to these disciplinary concepts, instead they were held accountable for displaying the associated content knowledge.

**Troubleshooting the reliability of sources.** The concept of sources and different types of sources (e.g. primary and secondary) was introduced earlier in the year, but this disciplinary concept was most prominent in Mr. Casey’s classroom due to the issue of reliability of online texts and “authenticity” of the artifact for the Museum unit. As previously discussed, Mr. Casey attempted to anticipate problems by providing students a curated list of websites to use for the project, including a clear warning stating “You may search with Google, but don’t use Google Images” (artifact, 05/13/13). While the teachers addressed instances of inauthentic artifacts and reminded students about using reliable sources, they did not explicitly engage students in thinking through what reliability and authenticity meant. As a result, Semira came to associate this concept of reliable sources with a poor evaluation of her work from her teachers: “When you do your research, don’t use Google images. It’s going to give you bad stuff. Stuff that will mess up your report and you’ll get a lower grade on it” (interview, 06/12/13).

**Identifying historical context for information report.** Mr. Casey associated the disciplinary concept of historical context with identifying the “who, what, when, where, and how” around an artifact or source that students were investigating. More specifically, *who* was the civilization, *what* is the artifact, *where* did the people live, *when* was the time period, and *how* it was used, which Mr. Casey saw as closely aligning with information report writing. Additionally, placing an artifact in context was part of the process of historical inquiry in Mr.
Casey’s classroom, where students could revise their initial thinking based on reading the expert evidence in the textbook. Similar to students’ encounters with reliability and sources, Mr. Casey did not engage his students to consider why it was important to put an artifact or source into its context. As a result, the information, which in turn was communicated through a descriptive report, was prioritized over the reasoning of the purpose for recognizing the historical context.

**Determining historical significance.** In contrast to historical context and sources, Mr. Casey framed the disciplinary concept of historical significance in a manner that allowed students to participate in interpreting ideas of importance, special purpose, value, and uniqueness, and evaluating the legacy or modern connection of an artifact or source (artifacts, 05/13/13; fieldnotes, 05/23/13). As such, there was no single answer that students could locate from text, but rather required 6th graders to use inferential strategies grounded in an understanding of their artifact, source, or topic that was more than surface level. Interestingly, even though Mr. Casey consistently included the idea of historical importance along side the identification of the social science perspectives of PGCHESS, his prompts and instruction did not always explicitly express their relationship. The recognition of social science perspectives for an artifact or source could potentially help a student in her consideration of why it was important, valuable, or what its lasting contribution is within a specific area of cultural development.

Additionally, a related concept that contributes to the skill of determining historical importance, but was not readily apparent to Mr. Casey, is the disciplinary concept of historical perspectives (C3 Framework, 2013). The task of determining importance demands interpretive thinking that requires consideration of a perspective outside of students’ own, whether it is from
the perspective of ancient peoples or from the perspective of how an artifact or what it represents affected the course of history. However, because Mr. Casey did not address the issue of perspectives with his students, both R-FEP students demonstrated a tendency to make judgments based on their own personal experiences.

**R-FEP students’ naïve understandings remain unchallenged.** Both R-FEP students were able to use the structured questions, prompts, and guidelines provided for both units to research and compose writing. However, with limited cognitive tools to engage in how to think about the reliability of sources, historical context, and historical significance, there was evidence that the R-FEP students held onto naïve understandings about these concepts that influenced their ability to make interpretations and present implications that moved beyond explicitly presented information about their artifact or topic.

**Encountering multiple theories of cause in available sources.** During a writing conference on the revision of her Museum caption, Mari encountered an opportunity to develop a more complex understanding about the use of multiple sources and corroboration (Wineburg, 1991a; 1991b). Following Ms. Green’s feedback to research more information about why the Aztecs practiced human sacrifice, Mari initiated the following to share her findings and pose her conceptual dilemma around sources that presented multiple perspectives:

Mari to Ms. Green: “I found two different reasons for killing.” She shows Ms. Green the Wikipedia page. “I also found a book about Aztecs. It didn’t say why but it said that they [the human to be sacrificed] couldn’t be unattractive or ill.”

Ms. Green: “Did it? I like that you have multiple sources. In your research, you can have different sources said that even if it’s not consistent—if it’s the same, sometimes that helps to verify what you already know but if there were conflicting pieces of information that helps to check.”
Ms. Green recognized Mari’s findings, but her response did not help her to address her conceptual dilemma from a disciplinary perspective. While Ms. Green affirmed the existence and possibility of having multiple perspectives, she focused more on the idea that Mari accessed multiple sources, leaving Mari’s question about the idea of multiple perspectives or theories of cause in tension and unresolved. Ms. Green’s suggestion that conflicting pieces of information can be “checked” suggests an underlying belief that the nature of this information can be a known fact rather than theories or perspectives about the past.

It is interesting to note how Ms. Green did not engage Mari back into the content to explain what seemed conflicting about the ideas that: “…the Aztecs kill a person because they either owe a blood debt or they look healthy enough for the offering to the gods” (artifact, 06/03/13). With further prompting, Mari might have recognized that these pieces of information were connected in a line of reasoning about what it meant to appease gods. As such, Ms. Green’s response did not provide Mari an opportunity to engage in the analytical thinking needed to deepen her understanding. In fact, Ms. Green’s response reveals more about her skepticism about the trustworthiness of sources and her own underdeveloped assumptions about the role of multiple perspectives in social studies. Mari’s interaction with Ms. Green served to facilitate the idea of sources as a tool for accumulating accurate factual information over ways of problem solving with and interpreting content.

*Emphasizing the concrete and practical impact of the past.* Both R-FEP students expressed concrete and practical reasoning when they explained their artifact through a reflexive rationalization of historical importance, social science perspectives, and conceptions of the historical past. Mari identified that her owl-shaped sacrificial bowl was unique due to its depiction of symbolism of the owl based on explicitly stated information in her research, but her
reasoning for how it was representative of culture was simplistic: the bowl reflected the social science perspective of culture because they used it in their polytheistic worship. Semira’s rationale reflected a retrospective interpretation of the importance of her artifact of “ancient Roman dresses” or clothing, expressing that “…if the Romans never invented there type of clothing then Rome would have one less thing that people could know about gone (artifact, 06/06/13). Grounded in an if-then statement, Semira presented a naïve conception of cause and effect based on imagining if Roman clothing had not existed to explain possible consequences of historical change rather than thinking about its continuing impact on contemporary life.

Interestingly, Mari was able to understand the impact of historical change and historical importance through a different aspect of her Museum unit research that was not focused on her artifact. While she uncovered information about the Aztecs living in Texacoco and Tenochtitlan, she had trouble identifying where it had been located and struggled to understand what the book meant by Mexico was built on top of it. When I told her that Tenochtitlan was the name of their capital city, Mari came to the realization:

Now it makes more sense because before I thought it was all of Mexico, like the whole thing, because it said they built Mexico right on top of it, so I thought it was the whole thing, but my teacher was saying “No” and then they tell me they didn’t have it [the information].

(interview, 06/06/13)

In turn, this led Mari to recognize the possibility that the places she went when she visited her family in Mexico City might have a tangible connection to the past: “[I]ike something used to be here, but it's not here anymore” (interview, 06/11/13).

Displaying presentist perspectives. Analysis suggested both R-FEP students held naïve understandings of taking historical perspectives, namely demonstrating presentist tendencies in their reaction and reasoning around the cultural practices and purpose of their artifacts. Because
they were not taught to critically consider the historical context—just identify it, both Mari and Semira were inexperienced with how to view the cultural practices from within the context of the ancient civilization they studied rather than judging it from a more knowledgeable, modern perspective. For Mari, who expressed interest in becoming a veterinarian, the dramatically different use for a zoo drew disgust in her reaction of how the Aztecs disposed of the bodies of their human sacrifices: “‘[t]he body would be disposed of in various ways, such as feeding animals at the zoo.’ They had a zoo? That’s weird. ‘Or putting on display the heads’” (interview, 05/23/13). Although Mari acknowledged the existence of these unfamiliar practices of feeding people to the animals in a zoo and cannibalism, she did not attend to them when integrating ideas into her understanding of why the Aztecs might have performed human sacrifice.

However, Semira displayed a stronger tendency to use a presentist lens interpreting the research she read and composing her caption with a heavy reliance on the connections she made to her own experiences. She entitled her caption “Ancient Rome Dresses” and described the clothing in a manner synonymous with modern fashion: “[A]nother reason might be to just get dressed up all for fun and look good just where ever they go” (artifact, 06/06/13). Even though the passage that Semira took notes from was rife with language that detailed differences in how ancient Romans wore clothing that indicated social categories of gender, status, and age, none of this appeared in Semira’s writing. She informed me that her teachers later corrected her understanding of the phrase “dresses”—clarifying that she should have used the term “cultural clothing.” While this correction did not addressed the immediate misconception that Semira held, her teachers did not recognize the depth and persistence of Semira’s presentist perspective and strategy of imposing her prior knowledge on her social studies learning from text.
Supporting discipline-related tasks but not ways of thinking

Although Mr. Casey demonstrated his awareness of and value for disciplinary concepts, the instructional supports in the classroom consistently show that students were only held accountable to a surface level understanding of the concepts and tasks associated with them. Analysis indicated that learning disciplinary concepts without opportunities to understand how they are related to ways of thinking about content and text promoted the continued reliance of the R-FEP students to their naïve understandings and perspectives.

Giving Students Authority

Student choice was the strategy most consistently used in Mr. Casey’s classroom to provide opportunities for the 6th graders to influence their own learning at the beginning of each unit. Choice was explicitly given to students when they self-selected topics of research they would explore, and both teachers assumed that their students knew how make purposeful choices that would support their learning. However, neither teacher was aware of how each R-FEP student’s conceptualizations of her own skill level, ethnic cultural identity, and how to develop content expertise influenced her perception of student choice and the outcomes of her trajectory for learning.

Providing choice, with limitations. Mr. Casey assumed that students understood how to make purposeful choices for themselves when offered the opportunity to select their research topic and did not teach his students how to think about making choices that would sustain their engagement in the learning activities. While he suggested that students should select their research topic based on personal interest, Mr. Casey also built in limitations to student choice that acted like checkpoints for students to reassess their initial decision-making.
In addition to curricular constraints of an “ancient” time period that bounded his students’ choices for the Museum unit, Mr. Casey had to take into account the other 6th grade classrooms that were participating in the Ancient History Artifact Museum Night and shared this information with his students. As a result, not every student would get their first choice of civilization to research; as such, a student’s personal interest and choice was constrained by the selections of others both in and outside of their classroom. In fact, Semira settled for the ancient Romans after her first choice for the ancient Egyptians was unavailable due to the popularity of the subject because of an earlier field trip to see Tutankhamen’s tomb. Mari’s selection was based on her personal interest of learning more about where her family emigrated.

Unlike the external constraints of the Museum unit, the constraint that students encountered for the African History Project was their own self-assessment of their ability to handle a “Challenge task.” Challenge tasks were differentiated topics—and by extension, texts—that were more conceptually nuanced, required more supplemental online research, and interpretive reading skills than other topics. Mr. Casey allowed all of his students to self-select their participation in Challenge tasks, but generally found that when he briefed students on the topic, many students would, in turn, self-select out of the task because they thought the topic was not interesting or there was too much work involved.

Having participated in and been successful in a Challenge task earlier in the year, Semira selected into the topic of the “Scramble for Africa” only to exhibit off-task behaviors, which resulted from the difficulty she experienced understanding the content found in her sources, as well her desire to interact with her friends in the group. Although the teachers focused and expressed concern about Semira’s increasingly socially motivated and off-task behaviors, they were unaware of the literacy challenges she faced and her limited self-awareness about her own
abilities as a student. However, Semira herself raised an important question about the consistency of the “challenge level” across the Challenge tasks that Mr. Casey prepared:

I do like challenges because you don’t always want to have something easy. I don’t like things that are super hard, like above my grade level. …I’m thinking of my grade level challenge, not high school. (interview, 05/30/13)

Consequently, the checkpoints that Mr. Casey built into choice, particularly around the Challenge tasks, to differentiate for his students without drawing attention to academic levels are only effective if students are fully aware of the level of challenge and if that level of challenge accurately aligns with their own abilities as a reader and learner.

**Grouping and roles in the African History Project.** Because collaborative group work was infrequent, Mr. Casey’s students required structured ways to participate in creating the final PowerPoint that they would present to the entire class. Within their African History Project groups, students chose between the pre-determined task roles as the mapmaker, artist(s), or slideshow designer. Additionally, they could choose to divide up research tasks to correspond to the five required slides that presented an overview of the topic and information about the geography, history, legacy (e.g. cultural contributions or historical significance), and one of the remaining social science perspectives. Ideally, the members of the groups discussed what information they learned and collaborated in discussing what information should go on the slides. Mari’s group demonstrated success in both completing their own individual tasks and working with others, such that Mr. Casey was enthusiastic about the shift in her attitude about learning after the Museum unit.

This grouping and specific roles spurred enthusiasm from both teachers because they saw the potential in allowing students to exhibit strengths and skills not traditionally seen in academic work. Ms. Green noted that having more group work could give:
…a chance for students to choose what their skill is, so if a student is a good artist, it’s a chance for them to have that skill set brought forward. If a student does really well with organization, it’s a chance for them to do things like that. It’s a great way to allow individual skills to come through.

(interview, 06/12/13)

For some students in the SpEd inclusion classroom, the ability to participate in the task provided them an important sense of control over their own learning. Yet it was still unclear how such roles and demonstration of individual skill might support the ability of students to further deepen their learning about the content through interactions with each other rather than as a way to communicate individually acquired information in a collective manner.

**R-FEP students express differing conceptions of the influence of ethnic cultural identity and content expertise.** The desire to see aspects of their ethnic cultural identity represented in their social studies learning and the choices presented in the classroom featured prominently for both R-FEP 6th graders’ ability to influence their own learning. For Mari, her ability to choose to explore her cultural heritage in the Museum unit sparked a new understanding of how social studies learning could be meaningful in her everyday life. Semira exhibited complicated tensions between her ideas about her ethnic cultural identity, content expertise, and authentic opportunities for student choice. Both students’ experiences revealed complex and emerging understandings of what it meant to be a student of color at Pine Crest.

**Considering available opportunities to develop content expertise.** Analysis suggested that the perception of the instructional opportunities to choose their topic influenced the trajectories for learning for Mari and Semira. Mari did not experience any barriers to her topic choices for either unit. For the Museum unit, the Aztecs was not a popular option among her classmates. She was eager to build on her family’s and her own personal knowledge and experiences of modern day Mexico, and there were ample online and print resources she could draw upon. Additionally,
taking into account Mari’s self-described deliberate reading and processing of the content in the texts she reads, she felt supported to be successful by the writing conference and other supports. These factors may have affected her demonstration of a trajectory of learning that emphasized the development of depth in content knowledge.

In contrast, Semira’s trajectory of content learning seemed to be hindered by multiple obstacles, including her perception of limited opportunities for authentic student choice, misunderstandings about culture and history, and previously discussed literacy challenges. Specifically, when offered the opportunity to share what advice she would give her teachers to improve the course, she suggested that her teachers should offer a choice to research their own ethnic cultural identity:

Semira: There were so many subjects to choose from, so many countries, …but they should have Somalia and Ethiopia and Eritrea because I’m Eritrean but maybe instead of them choosing a lot [of countries/places/nations]. How about they ask the students maybe where they're from and maybe if they would want to do their culture or ask them what type of countries to go to.

This revealed the importance of this aspect of identity as well as what “authentic” opportunities to make choices in the classroom meant to Semira. Although her teachers did not restrict students who were interested from exploring any ancient civilization that met the timeframe criteria, there were several practical limitations, such as the availability of accessible sources for more obscure topics and a balance of represented civilizations that reflected the Ancient World for display. Even though this reasoning was communicated on an as needed basis, Semira’s observation that Eritrea and other neighboring African countries were not included in the curriculum or offered as a research topic by her teachers may create a sense that the knowledge she held about own ethnic cultural heritage was not recognized or valued as acceptable academic content.
Interestingly, Semira’s desire to be represented seemed to be in tension with her belief about developing content expertise about her own culture and ethnic cultural identity. She did not seem to perceive opportunities to gain deeper levels of understanding and knowledge even about her own heritage, and instead favored gaining a breadth of knowledge about other cultures:

Researcher: Would you have preferred to do something from your own culture or where you’re from?

Semira: No because I did that in kindergarten. I did a poster of that and my clothing. I don’t really want to do anything from my culture that’s like a part of it. Because I already know where I’m from and stuff, so why not go and learn about new cultures.

(interview, 06/06/13)

Most striking about Semira’s reasoning is an underlying assumption that culture is static, and that it is able to all known in a similar manner of accumulating factual information. By this logic, she also assumed that history does not change and is factually knowable. In fact, when I asked her to explain her motivation to investigate ancient Roman clothing, Semira suggested that modern Italians wear the same type of clothing their ancient ancestors did: “One day, if I ever go to Rome and I want to try on their clothing, I want to know what it looks like” (interview, 06/06/13).

Emergence of a meaningful role and purpose for learning. In contrast to Semira’s perception that she was an expert on Eritrea and her own culture, Mari approached the Museum unit with inquisitiveness to find out more about where her parents were from. This purpose for learning served to motivate her to learn more about her own heritage, but more tangibly, served to build upon her relationship with her parents. Mari’s ability to share the content knowledge she
acquired with her parents allowed her to extend her learning beyond just the classroom and the unit:

It was really fascinating learning about what the history of where your parents lived. I go visit Mexico all the time. …My parents always talk about Mexico City, how it had a lot of history. I just like how I found the history of it. I told my mom and dad the history of it and they had no idea, so they learned something too.

(interview, 06/06/13)

Mari’s discovery that she could genuinely teach her parents something they didn’t know already know provided an authentic audience for her work.

Mari suggested that her interactions with her parents around the Museum unit enhanced the depth of her content understanding and participation in creating the artifact. While her parents frequently shared stories of Mexico City and its rich history at home, they were not as educated about the city’s ancient past; as a result, this created an opportunity for Mari to take on an “expert” role about Mexico City’s ancient past, the practice of human sacrifice, and her specific artifact when she shared her learning with her parents. The dialogue that characterized the conversations she described having with her parents solidified her content understanding of her artifact; when her parents made the suggestion that she should carve ears into her clay owl replica, she pointed out that the original artifact did not have such enhancements (interview, 06/06/13). This dynamic contrasted with how Mari was positioned in interactions with her teachers, who tended to focus on the accuracy of her knowledge and ability to complete tasks.

For Mari, the choice to explore her heritage and ethnic cultural identity allowed her to make meaningful connections and see relevance between her school work, her family life, and experiences visiting extended family in Mexico. She elaborated on a shift in her initial narrow conception of what topics was relevant and meaningful to learn about in the advice she would offer to incoming 6th-graders:
Mari: Don't always think negative of it [the projects] because then if you think negative of the stuff you're learning, then you're not going to get that far...Like, “What is this for? I don't really need this. I want to be this when I grow up, so I don't really want to know about that." I think that really pulled me back and stuff. About the Aztecs, I got real excited about it. I was learning things that I didn't know before, so that really pushed me forward...

Researcher: Do you feel that’s true for your Africa project right now?
Mari: Yeah. I think it's interesting to learn about what happened before I was born. The interesting things like there was slavery. I think that's bad, but it's really interesting to know what happened to them, what they did to them. (interview, 06/06/13)

Mari’s expanded vision of meaningful and purposeful learning beyond her conception of a future career influenced her outlook on how and why she could engage with other social studies topics and learning.

The challenge of providing an authentic choice

This analysis revealed the complexity of student choice and the multiple tensions that impacted the how Mr. Casey implemented this instructional strategy as well as how his two RFEP students interpreted and interacted with the opportunity to choose their research topics. Even though Mr. Casey shared the limitations of choice with his students, Semira did not see student choice under these terms as authentic. Semira’s complex perception that she did not have the choice to explore her own ethnic and cultural heritage for the Museum unit suggested that she desired an opportunity to choose. This expression of a desired opportunity and her later enthusiastic chant of “I’m Italian!” (interview, 06/06/13) in reaction to Eritrea’s colonization during the African History Project, which will be further explored in the next section, suggested
that she might have benefited from opportunities to connect her school learning with
everyday knowledge and relationships in a similar manner that Mari was able to.

**Tension between accountability to disciplinary norms and giving students authority**

The highly-structured instructional strategies and practices implemented by Mr. Casey
were able to hold his R-FEP students accountable to surface level ideas and activities associated
with the disciplinary concepts of sources, historical context, and historical significance.
However, these strategies and practices did not support the development of the conceptual
thinking underlying these concepts. While Mr. Casey’s extensive teaching experience and
knowledge of the content supported his ability to anticipate what obstacles students will
encounter in completing the tasks, he did not see these obstacles as ways of thinking that his
students could grapple with to better understand why they were reporting the historical context or
determining historical significance. In fact, the task and procedure-oriented nature of the
instructional supports that Mr. Casey and Ms. Green provided in their assignment guidelines and
note-taking organizers and interactions with the R-FEP students did not provide access to
disciplinary ways of thinking about sources or context. As a result, Mari and Semira did not have
the opportunity to shift away from their naïve understandings and develop more nuanced and
sophisticated understandings of these historical concepts.

The ability to attend to ethnic cultural identity was particularly salient for both Mari and
Semira and influenced both R-FEP students’ ability to direct their own learning. It was striking
how each R-FEP student interpreted and interacted with the lack of explicit mention of ethnic
-cultural identity as a principle upon which she could select her topic: where Semira saw
restriction, Mari saw opportunity to cultivated deep content knowledge, which gave her entry to
opportunities to grapple with why the Aztecs practiced human sacrifice from multiple
perspectives. Semira encountered multiple challenges in controlling her learning to move beyond surface level understanding of her topics, which will be discussed shortly. Her frequent use of a presentist perspective to interpret the information she researched contributed to the difficulty she encountered controlling the trajectory of her own learning.

**Supplementary tension between giving students authority and providing relevant resources**

Analysis of this case also demonstrated the tension in PDE when learning is personally meaningful and the boundaries of disciplinary norms discussed in the previous case study. Findings suggested that there were missed opportunities to explicitly recognize and teach with strategies grounded in relevant resources that students brought into the classroom that may have helped Mr. Casey’s R-FEP students build their content learning. Without the awareness and recognition of these resources, Semira was primarily impacted by the perception of a lack of resources and limited opportunity to have a stake in her own learning. Additionally, the R-FEP students demonstrated different understandings of two major conceptual relationships that impacted their ability to control what they learned and how they participated in learning. In particular, Mari and Semira demonstrated divergent understandings of the utility of building upon prior knowledge—especially knowledge based in ethnic and cultural experiences, and personal conception of learning as either the accrual of a breadth v. depth of content knowledge.

For Mari, who felt comfortable accessing resources even when not directed to her, recognized the personal importance of her heritage and ethnic cultural identity, which allowed her cultivate a purpose and meaningful role to sustain her learning for the Museum unit and beyond. She demonstrated a preference for and the skills to develop content knowledge by going in depth, allowing her to become aware of nuances and tensions in content and texts with which she interacted. For example, Mari’s persistence in trying to understand why Aztec sacrifices
could not be “overweight or unattractive or ill” (interview, 05/23/13; 06/06/13) lead her to come to the conclusion that these sacrifices needed to be perfect for the gods, but continued to question why the gods would not accept imperfection. These understandings and wonderings were more compatible with the implied goals of Mr. Casey’s class, as well as with PDE.

Semira expressed a conflicted belief in the value of exploring ethnic cultural identity while believing that she would not personally benefit from building upon her prior knowledge. She suggested that she had experienced and amassed enough knowledge about Eritrean culture to make her an expert, and as such, she consistently shared a desire to gather a breadth of knowledge about other cultures, languages, and people (interview, 05/30/13; 06/06/13). This conception of the relationship between prior knowledge, motivation, and development of expertise goes against the body of work established by Alexander (2003). However, this personal strategy for learning did not develop her content understanding, and her misunderstandings about prior knowledge were not challenged by her teachers’ procedural supports for acquiring content knowledge.

In contrast to Mari, Semira faced an additional challenge that was undetected by her teachers that affected her ability to control her own learning. Semira demonstrated a reliance on generic reading strategies and skills, which only allowed her to gain surface level comprehension of the social studies texts she encountered. This literacy challenge is reminiscent of those faced by VanSledright’s (2002b) students who struggled to shift towards more advanced skills because they struggled to make sense of language and manage their cognitive resources.

**Summary**

The analysis of three tensions in Mr. Casey’s instructional strategies and practices indicated that Mr. Casey’s commitment to the procedural accessibility of key disciplinary
concepts and practices affected the opportunities for his R-FEP students to engage in the conceptual exploration of these same disciplinary concepts and practices, as well as deepen their content knowledge:

1. The tension between *problematizing content and text* and *providing relevant resources* emerged from Mr. Casey’s efforts to make the process of historical inquiry and social science perspectives accessible for all of his students. The implementation of highly structured procedures and supports to provide access to content and multiple perspectives inadvertently minimized the conceptual rigor and availability of conceptual understanding for his two R-FEP students. As such, Mari and Semira encountered limited opportunities to engage in the ways of reading, writing, and thinking that actually reflects how content and text are problematized when participating in inquiry and considering the social science perspectives Mr. Casey emphasized. Furthermore, Mr. Casey and Ms. Green’s reliance on their students to initiate requests for help resulted in several missed incidents to identify student misunderstandings of content and text, through which the teachers might have facilitated opportunities to problematize and develop content understandings.

2. Tension between *accountability to disciplinary norms* and *student authority* emphasized the critical place of disciplinary concepts in the content learning Mr. Casey wanted his students to understand, but did not support students to meaningfully participate in the thinking required for engaging in disciplinary concepts in content and with text, such as historical significance and context. While he stressed how to procedurally engage with these concepts through reading and writing activities, these activities did not challenge his R-FEP students’ naïve understandings and perspectives about history. As such, the classroom environment did not support opportunities for Mari and Semira to develop intellectual *authority* as it related to
disciplinary understandings and practices in history. While both R-FEP students grappled with how to see their content learning as meaningful to their own lives, the teachers did not seem aware of or were unable to support instances where students could build upon prior knowledge that might help to deepen content and conceptual learning.

3. A supplementary tension between student authority and relevant resources appeared from missed opportunities to explicitly identify relevant resources from students’ own lives as strategies that the R-FEP students could use to influence their trajectory of learning. In particular, how each R-FEP student perceived the utility of building upon prior knowledge related to her ethnic cultural identity, and her personal conception of learning influenced each student’s ability to control her own learning. For Mari, drawing upon a personal relevant resource of her ethnic cultural identity and desire to build content expertise enabled her to find a meaningful role outside of the classroom through which to gain a sense of intellectual authority. In contrast, Semira, who did not perceive building upon prior knowledge as beneficial to learning, was negatively impacted by issues of literacy challenges and motivation that presented additional obstacles on her ability to enact control over her own learning process.

Mr. Casey’s focus on accessibility limited opportunities for both Semira and Mari to develop conceptual understanding about and interact with texts in alignment with these disciplinary concepts and practices. His emphasis on being explicit with the procedures for accomplishing disciplinary practices and related tasks overlooked the need to be explicit when considering the available strategies that the R-FEP students had to both understand and control their on learning process. This analysis also demonstrated the how Mari has begun to shift to rudimentary disciplinary literacy skills that allow her to infer and analyze text and identify conflicting ideas,
while Semira still encountered comprehension challenges even though they both exited from ELL services at the same grade level.

In the next chapter, I examine the three tensions within the PDE framework and two major themes that have emerged from the case studies that characterize how discipline-specific engagement and learning was or was not fostered in the text-focused interactions between the social studies teachers and their R-FEP students. In particular, I examine these tensions and themes with an enhanced lens on literacy to demonstrate the critical role it plays in content and discipline-specific learning in social studies. While some tensions and themes may characterize text-focused interactions between the teachers and students in general, there were also tensions and themes that specifically reflected the experiences and learning opportunities for these R-FEP students.
Chapter 7. TENSIONS AND THEMES IN FOSTERING DISCIPLINE-SPECIFIC ENGAGEMENT AND LEARNING WITH AND FROM TEXTS

In Chapters Four through Six, I described three instructional contexts for disciplinary engagement and learning with and from texts in middle school social studies classrooms taught by “best case” teachers. I discussed how the four principles of PDE were or were not exhibited in the learning activities and instructional tools and strategies that the teachers implemented and focal R-FEP students participated in and utilized. The tensions between principles in PDE emerged from these analyses of teacher and student interactions to learn from and with texts in social studies, as well as in response to each other’s actions. In this chapter, I specifically analyze these tensions in PDE and how they reflect two major themes about access to, understanding of, and engagement with content-area and disciplinary literacy.

Across the three cases, the tensions that surfaced from the text-based interactions that were salient for the teachers and R-FEP students with regards to literacy were: 1) demand v. support for conceptual rigor and content knowledge; 2) demonstration of tasks v. purposeful understanding of disciplinary concepts; and 3) generalized “good teaching” practices (Harper & de Jong, 2004) v. explicit acknowledgement of ethnic cultural identity and language for R-FEP students. The first two tensions aligned with the primary tensions described by Engle (2012) between problematizing v. resources and authority v. accountability respectively. These primary tensions were indicative of a theme across classrooms that text and literacy instruction and strategies were not perceived as conceptually integral to and integrated with social studies content and disciplinary learning and engagement.
While the primary tensions can also characterize text-focused interactions between teachers and the students in general in these social studies classrooms, a third tension was unique to the experiences of R-FEP students. Emerging from the interplay of resources v. authority, this additional tension suggested another theme: the invisibility of cultural ethnic identity and language on the teachers’ perceptions of their R-FEP students’ ability to engage with and understand social studies content and discipline-related concepts.

I present this cross case analysis by first addressing the broader theme of literacy integration, followed by the distinctive theme of the invisibility of ethnicity, culture, and language. Within each thematic section, I further discuss the tensions between PDE principles that characterize each theme and present representative evidence and counterexamples from the case studies to support this analysis. Finally, I conclude the overall analysis by offering lingering questions that emerge from these themes and tensions.

**Text and literacy as important for knowledge accumulation but as peripheral to content and disciplinary understanding and engagement**

In the social studies research units I observed, the instruction and activities that teachers enacted represented literacy strategies and text as important for knowledge accumulation, but perceived as peripheral to content and disciplinary understanding and engagement. The three classrooms communicated a goal for students to accumulate content information from text, which when achieved was assumed to spur engagement with nuanced content understandings and major content area and disciplinary concepts. While all of the teachers recognized that encounters with text could be difficult for all of their students, the teachers consistently provided or encouraged strategies to work around the text (Valencia, Nachtigal, & Adams, 2013). As a result, the R-FEP students were able to satisfactorily complete their social studies projects and
tasks without needing to read through or fully comprehend a text (Dillon, O’Brien, & Volkmann, 2001), derive a purpose for learning, participate in the literate activities embedded in their projects, or engage with content area and disciplinary concepts in meaningful ways.

**Demand v. support for conceptual rigor and knowledge building**

Over the course of this study, the three social studies teachers increasingly identified the difficulty their R-FEP students had expressing nuanced content and key disciplinary understandings and concepts despite the amount of scaffolding they provided for students. Grounded in the tension between *problematizing v. resources*, the teachers were particularly cognizant of text difficulty and limited background knowledge of historical topics that would impact their students’ ability to engage with content, text, and activities. Although the teachers enacted instructional strategies and supports to meet the demands of acquiring factual information, these strategies and supports did not provide opportunities for the R-FEP students to participate in conceptual understanding and knowledge building about the content or the discipline. Thus, the types of supports provided did not match the demand for conceptual rigor and building content knowledge.

A major area of mismatch between the demand compared to support for conceptual rigor and knowledge building was in the expectation of R-FEP students to be able to interact with difficult texts found online. Despite two of the teachers’ consideration for text difficulty in how they presented texts accessible to their students, the texts with which their R-FEP students subsequently interacted were consistently three or more grade levels (e.g. 9th-grade through college reading level) higher than expected for 6th- and 7th-grade readers. Ms. Brooke described deliberately creating text sets for ELL students in her classroom, while Mr. Casey reminded students to use their previously learned skills to determine the level of text that was accessible to
them, in addition to providing a text resources in lower reading levels as an alternative to more popular research sites (e.g. Wikipedia and World Book Encyclopedia).

In reaction to these difficult texts, all four R-FEP students were able to gain explicit understandings of content from text they used for research, using strategies such as making connections to personal and everyday experiences, identifying text features, and skim and scanning for factual information. It was unsurprising that all four struggled to employ consistent and effective comprehension strategies for inferential and analytical understandings of content, encountered a variety of unfamiliar vocabulary, and displayed a lack of oral fluency. Of the four students, only Mari regularly displayed skills to monitor her comprehension and noticed discrepancies in the content, but even then her comprehension was still negatively impacted by academic vocabulary.

The students’ reliance on generic strategies for reading comprehension and composition reflected the available resources that their teachers provided to extract information from text and structure the reporting of this knowledge. Even though Mr. Thomas and Mr. Casey both desired their students to deepen their knowledge of their research topic and engage in grappling with content and disciplinary understandings like the concept of civil rights and social science perspectives, the instructional strategies and scaffolds that all three teachers used consistently oriented students to accumulating fact-focused content knowledge. These strategies and scaffolds included a focus on text features, directive sentence stems and questions, and highly structured graphic organizers; these supports encouraged a checklist-style of thinking and approach to reading and research for the R-FEP students. For example, Aracely employed the strategy of skim and scan for factual tidbits from text features and throughout parts of the text, and then reconstructed them to fit the essay organizer prompts her teacher provided. Her trust in these
tools enabled her to feel confident in the content knowledge she obtained from text, but more importantly, to ensure that she met Ms. Brooke’s expectations when she was unsure about her own literacy skills. In fact, Aracely and two of the other R-FEP students expressed low levels of self-confidence around their skills for understanding vocabulary, comprehending texts, brainstorming writing topics, and expressing clear ideas in writing.

However, these strategies and scaffolds did not resolve every concern about text and content for R-FEP students. There were a few instances when students encountered complicated ideas in the text they read and asked for teacher assistance. In contrast to guiding students to think through the complex ideas, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Casey, and Ms. Green turned opportunities to grapple with content and important disciplinary concepts into individual mini-lectures, directly telling their students an answer or what to write, or minimized the content or text-based conflict. This signaled an important mismatch in the support for knowledge building: these teachers did not redirect students to the text when students asked for help. The aforementioned teachers quickly moved to alleviate the struggle with text for students rather than use text as a site for collaborative meaning making, reanalysis, and reexamination.

Analysis of these interactions suggested that the teachers perceived that their students did not have the necessary historical knowledge, such as the origins of the term “blood diamond,” or conceptual knowledge to understand the complex content or ideas they identified. For example, Ms. Green minimized the tension of multiple perspectives when Mari attempted to engage with two differing theories about the reason for human sacrifice in Aztec religion she found in her research; she acknowledged the occurrence of multiple perspectives, but indicated there should be one answer as she shared the need to fact-check information. The teachers did not seem to recognize that tensions, inconsistencies, and controversies in content and text were instructional
opportunities to help students deepen content learning and engage in conceptual understanding (Engle & Conant, 2002; Hess, 2002; Johnson & Johnson, 1985). Consequently, the strategies and scaffolds the teachers provided served to absolve the R-FEP students of the need to confront issues of nuanced understandings and conflicting perspectives in texts they read and coherence in their communication of their learning.

Similarly, the R-FEP students who did not seek teacher assistance or did not recognize when they experienced difficulty were negatively impacted by the limited awareness of their teachers to anticipate the challenges with text complexity and overreliance on directive writing scaffolds they encountered. The teachers only detected inaccuracies from inappropriate conclusions from text and naïve assumptions about disciplinary understandings when students submitted their writing to be graded; there were no opportunities to intervene during the process of meaning making for students who did not seek help.

These interactions affirm the finding that the social studies teachers were unaware of how to scaffold student thinking and problem solving with content and text. The teachers consistently modeled how to do a task, but rarely how to engage in decision-making about relevant content information or how to think through important disciplinary concepts like argumentation and historical significance. All of the teachers provided structure-focused organizers with sentence stems or questions to prompt their students to engage in the thinking they desired, assuming that the underlying relationships and concepts embedded in the structure would be easily discovered and applicable to support composition of an argument or informational report paragraph.

Both Mr. Thomas and Ms. Brooke reviewed the structure of claim-evidence-explanation with students, but did not model the relationship and reasoning for this structure to students; ultimately, they noted how challenging it was for their 7th graders to explain the relationship
between the claim and evidence in their POTM argument paragraphs. Even though Mr. Casey’s structural supports more explicitly targeted the conceptual thinking he wanted, the type of questions and prompts he provided were so directive that they reduced the opportunity to engage in thinking about historical significance or importance beyond choosing between the two broad categories he elaborated of what importance might entail: “Why was the artifact important? Is it unique or valuable?” (artifact, 05/17/13). When these categories did not directly apply to Semira’s ancient civilization research, she engaged in simplistic and circuitous reasoning grounded in her everyday knowledge: “…if the Romans never invented there type of clothing then Rome would have one less thing that people could know about gone (artifact, 06/06/13).

Interestingly, across the individually written products that the R-FEP students completed during this study, all of their compositions displayed a range of ability to monitor understanding about content, purpose for writing, and audience that indicated a lack of coherence in their content and conceptual understanding despite the structural supports provided. Vanessa’s POTM essay shared nearly every fact she identified in her research, including irrelevant factual information about the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy. She also did not recognize when her introduction and history paragraphs had accidentally fused together. Even Mari, who self-identified as a very deliberate writer, did not detect when the end of one sentence was accidentally attached to the beginning of the next, creating an awkward sentence. As such, the R-FEP students’ overreliance on these structural supports for composing writing exhibited similar tendencies for limited opportunities to interact with challenging content and concepts.

In sum, the teachers leaned heavily on providing resources to lessen the tension between problematizing v. resources; they navigated the challenges that they anticipated and observed for
their students instead of grapple with text and content. Overall, the teachers did not recognize that the strategies they promoted and enacted to circumvent challenging text and content conveyed that the product of learning—the amount of accrued knowledge and the composition of text and ideas structured in a specific way—was more important than the process of understanding. A focus on the process of understanding would have emphasized the modeling of decision-making or thinking about relationships between concepts and content, and within text. Consequently, the R-FEP students had limited opportunities to problematize content and texts because the forms of resources provided minimized conceptual rigor and the need to participate in the process of understanding in order to accomplish the required unit activities.

**Demonstration of tasks v. purposeful understanding of disciplinary concepts**

Another clear tension that emerged from the interactions between teachers and students around text-focused activities was that although the R-FEP students were able to satisfactorily complete their research and writing tasks that aligned with disciplinary concepts and skills, they experienced limited opportunities to understand the academic purpose of these tasks. More importantly, students experienced challenges to identify and express personally relevant forms of intellectual authority as they encountered the tasks and concepts that they were being held accountable to in the classroom. Subsequently, students had difficulty sustaining their engagement with the learning tasks.

A popular strategy to promote engagement used by the three teachers was student choice and student self-selection of research topics. Despite the invoking of the ideas of choice and capitalizing on student interest, the teachers did not explicitly explain or model how to use choice and interest to maintain students’ motivation throughout the units; this type of disposition and stance toward the learning and the task was assumed. The manner in which the teachers...
desired their students to use choice and interest varied across the three classrooms. Mr. Thomas viewed choice and interest as foundational for his 7th-graders to grow their content and conceptual understanding during the POTM project, emphasizing and even suggesting topics to which that he knew students could find personal connection and relevance. Ms. Brooke desired her students to view interest as exploration of new and less popularized content about civil rights movements, and to exercise choice to select a topic about which they could accumulate new knowledge. In contrast, choice and interest in Mr. Casey’s classroom was complicated by the implementation of the Museum Unit across all of the 6th-grade classrooms: there was limited number of available spots for students in each classroom to research popular topics like ancient Egypt. Even though students were guaranteed one of their three choices for the Museum Unit, not all the choices were equally desired.

Yet even when the R-FEP students were able to research their topic of interest, they still encountered challenges in sustaining their motivation and engagement because of the difficulty of the texts they accessed and establishing a purpose for learning. Vanessa experienced variability in the level of her motivation and engagement with her topic of Latina/o farmworkers over the course of the unit: while her motivation and personal assessment of her learning was high when the class watched *Viva la Causa*, her motivation and engagement decreased when she encountered difficult texts. This again shifted when she realized the due date for the essay and visual presentation was close. In another instance, Vanessa was able to identify a non-school oriented source of motivation and purpose—her capability to be a lawyer—which created an opportunity for her to extend interest into an emerging role for meaningful engagement with civic ideas.
Mari was also able to find meaningful engagement with disciplinary concepts through her relationship with her family and experiences in non-school settings. Her deliberate pace and use of metacognitive reading strategies allowed her to derive implied understandings better than the other R-FEP students, and her content knowledge about the Aztecs positioned her as having intellectual authority on this subject with her parents at home. Mari drew upon her trips to see family in Mexico and content learning from the social studies unit to develop an understanding the concept of historical change across physical space and time. Her ability to bridge both the content and conceptual understandings across school and non-school settings was unique among the focal students.

In contrast, Semira and Aracely were not able to establish a meaningful purpose for their academic learning which impacted their inclination to regulate their motivation and engagement. For the African History Project, Semira self-selected into a “challenge” topic that was too demanding for her in terms of reading level of text and conceptual nuance; it quickly became apparent that her interest was to work with her friends. In response, her teachers adopted the strategy of providing her with explicit questions to help her identify content and clarify directions for tasks she needed to complete. Similarly, Aracely chose her POTM topic based on her initial belief that it would be “easy” to complete the assignment based on prior learning. Her strong belief that learning was about accruing information coupled with the difficulty she experienced in extracting information from the texts produced a disappointing learning experience for Aracely, who completed her work so not to receive a bad grade. These examples demonstrated that the R-FEP students’ ability to establish a meaningful purpose for academic learning should not be assumed through simply invoking the language of interest and choice.
Ultimately, these two students were motivated to complete their assignments for the purpose of “doing school.”

The experience of “doing school” was heightened by teachers’ assumptions that their R-FEP students could see the connections between key disciplinary concepts and their participation in the text-focused learning activities with little instruction or support. There were varying levels of explicitness used by the three teachers to address literacy skills and major disciplinary concepts that were embedded in the content learning, such as: reliability of sources, historical context, historical significance, and argumentation. Again, the teachers emphasized the product of understanding over the process of understanding when they attempted to teach disciplinary concepts. Ms. Brooke only explicitly emphasized the structure of argumentation to her students, but implied the concepts of historical context and significance in other paragraph structures. She did not spend time elaborating on these in class. In Mr. Thomas’s 7th-grade classroom, students were well aware of their teacher’s emphasis on writing a customized definition for civil rights, but he did not explicitly connect this task with the idea of expressing the historical significance of the individuals or events in a civil rights movement.

Mr. Casey was the most explicit with his students about what concepts were important and how to display them in their writing. He supported them through directive questions, but did not explain why these concepts were important to the study of history. For example, while Mr. Casey and Ms. Green warned their 6th graders about the unreliability of Google Images on multiple occasions, Semira did not express an understanding of how to consider what would indicate a reliable or unreliable source. In fact, she did not express any qualms about the representation of ancient Roman clothing she found on Google Images that used for her Museum unit assignment until she received her grade; Semira did not notice the anachronistic details and
modern styling of the clothes. In our final interview, she addressed the consequences of using Google Images in her advice to incoming 6th graders, but the primary reasoning she exhibited was that it could lead to bad grades. This was a typical response among three of the four R-FEP students, who consistently expressed product-oriented understandings of disciplinary concepts.

When the R-FEP students expressed conceptual understandings, they tended to reflect everyday knowledge and naïve interpretations of disciplinary concepts. The interpretations and everyday knowledge that typified students’ understandings of disciplinary concepts included:

- one correct factual answer v. multiple or conflicting perspectives
- circular reasoning that someone or something is historical significant because s/he/it exists/existed and is representative of a struggle, community, or tradition
- presentism, or that the people and/or way of life of the past is weird
- misunderstanding about historical change, such as events and ideas are isolated or specifically bound to the time period and context in which they occurred.

The students’ responses for major disciplinary concepts and understandings were often not recognized by their teachers until the R-FEP students had already submitted their written products for revision or grading. Overall, the teachers struggled to find instructional approaches to help students gain access to the disciplinary concepts in text in relevant ways related to the content their students were exploring; they frequently fell back on product-oriented solutions and strategies such as re-teaching the concepts through defined characteristics or structure, and the identification of less difficult texts for students to obtain content knowledge. This manner of thinking revealed how these teachers were not aware of the role of literacy in the process of understanding as a critical mediating factor in the relationship between the text, tasks, content, and disciplinary concepts. This notion of literacy aligns with well-documented research on how
secondary teachers perceive reading and writing simply as rote skills that are attained in elementary school, and are unaware of the increasingly specialized ways of strategically thinking about, interacting with, and communicating content and conceptual understandings through text that require instruction (Heller & Greenleaf, 2007; O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008).

In the tension between authority v. accountability, the text-focused interactions between the three social studies teachers and their R-FEP students facilitated the completion of literacy tasks, but did not cultivate meaningful reasons grounded in either disciplinary norms and/or personally relevant motives to participate in learning. Specifically, teachers did not explicitly support students to access the strategic process of developing understanding of the disciplinary concepts that emerge from and with the text and content. The provision of choice and reliance on interest without clarifying for students how to identify a meaningful purpose for learning influenced students’ motivation to participate in tasks for the purpose of doing school.

Only Vanessa and Mari were able to identify meaningful purposes for how to interact with content through their own emerging roles in non-academic communities that spurred engagement beyond the specific social studies unit. For Vanessa, her relationship with Mr. Thomas supported this emerging role, while for Mari occurred more organically and did not require affirmation from her teachers. Even Semira recognized the limited opportunities for her to take on roles where her expertise could develop in the classroom. Although she rejected the suggestion that she personally conduct research on her cultural and ethnic background, she simultaneously desired her teachers to recognize and offer the opportunity to build upon this type of knowledge for her peers in general in the classroom. These instances suggest that for these R-FEP students, opportunities to deepen content and conceptual learning may be found in their
connection and relevance to issues, concerns, and relationships that matter in their homes and communities.

While these emerging roles and personally relevant purposes for learning influenced the two R-FEP students’ trajectories for learning, the impact of literacy was a critical but overlooked in students’ interactions as they read and composed text. Beyond the tendency of students to simply focus on explicitly stated information they could extract from text, it was especially striking that Vanessa and Mari’s expressions of intellectual authority and connections to disciplinary concepts did not manifest in the academic work their teachers saw and graded. These expressions occurred in conversation with me about their content and conceptual learning in our interviews. As such, it raises questions about the procedural focus for accomplishing learning, accessibility of the reading and writing tasks, and issues in navigating aspects of academic language that may not be present in face-to-face interaction.

**Invisibility of ethnic cultural identity and language**

Analysis of the cases revealed a supplementary tension between the PDE principles of *resources v. authority* that emerged from the specific experiences and perspectives of R-FEP students as bicultural and bilingual adolescents. Whereas the previous theme and tensions within PDE discussed may manifest across the text-focused interactions between the three social studies teachers and the students in their classrooms in general, the influence of ethnic cultural identity and language on these interactions featured prominently in how the R-FEP students engaged with and understood social studies content and disciplinary concepts.

The theme of invisibility of ethnic cultural identity and language surfaced from the R-FEP students’ responses to their teachers’ instructional priorities and practices that affirmed, supported expression of, and/or overlooked cultural and ethnic differences as well as language
and literacy challenges when learning from and with text. At the heart of this tension is whether an R-FEP student’s affiliation with a cultural and ethnic minority community and status as a former English learner could be considered sources of experience, expertise, and knowledge that can impact instruction of and engagement with content and disciplinary understandings: are these relevant resources that a teacher can draw upon to support the development of intellectual authority? This tension arose from how two social studies teachers failed to recognize and/or did not take up opportunities to integrate these two aspects of their R-FEP students’ everyday lives into text-focused interactions.

This tension echoed the literature on mainstreaming ELL students, whose unique English language learning trajectories and challenges are treated as invisible by teachers in their mainstream classrooms (de Jong & Harper, 2005; Harper & de Jong, 2004). This analysis suggested the presence of similar misconceptions about the applicability of “good teaching” practices for native speakers to also accommodate the learning needs of R-FEP students. As a result, this study affirms quantitative research about the language and literacy challenges that R-FEP students continue to face even after they have been deemed language proficient (Kieffer, 2008, 2011; Slama, 2014).

**Salience and relevance of ethnic cultural identity**

Across the cases, only one of the three social studies teachers specifically recognized how a R-FEP student’s sense of ethnic cultural identity could support her learning and engagement and how he enacted strategies to directly help her do so. Two factors that affected the teachers’ ability to draw upon ethnic cultural identity as a strategy for learning and engagement were salience and perceived relevance. The case of Mr. Thomas and Vanessa’s interactions around ethnic cultural identity was a unique example of how both salience and perceived relevance
aligned for teacher and student. Since the beginning of the school year, Vanessa had openly exhibited her cultural pride and interest in learning about her Mexican heritage; similarly, Mr. Thomas demonstrated his openness with his students about discussing issues of race and equity, in addition to recognizing the salience of these concerns for Vanessa. In this environment, the integration of aspects of personal identity into the POTM unit were actively encouraged for all of Mr. Thomas’ students because he recognized the relevance of race, ethnicity, dis/ability, and sexual orientation in the civics-related content concepts that spurred civil rights struggles for disenfranchised communities.

Even though Ms. Brooke taught the same unit, issues of race, ethnicity, and culture did not have salience for her nor did she perceive its relevance for her students’ choice in research topic. In fact, her preference for her 7th graders to acquire a breadth of content knowledge would suggest that she preferred students to disregard topics about which they had a solid amount of prior knowledge. The lack of Ms. Brooke’s support for the integration of ethnic cultural identity did not affect Aracely as her primary motivation for her research topic was the ease of completion: ethnic cultural identity was not a salient issue for Aracely as she only discussed this topic when prompted (interview, 05/23/13).

Mr. Casey neither dissuaded nor specifically supported his 6th graders from selecting their research topics based on self-identification with a specific culture or ethnicity. While he recognized that some students wanted to explore an ancient civilization with which they had a personal connection, he could not logistically guarantee that students could work with the topic they wanted. Additionally, because of Mr. Casey’s yearlong emphasis on social studies perspectives and the process of historical inquiry, all of his students were provided content and
discipline specific resources to engage with the ancient civilizations content regardless of personal connection or ethnic cultural identity.

However, while the salience of ethnic cultural identity was low for Mr. Casey, it was meaningful to both Semira and Mari for their ability to initiate the development of intellectual authority on their research topics. The salience of ethnic cultural identity was strong for Semira because she was eager to see representations of her own culture, country of heritage, and other African nations in the content and learning tasks in her social studies classroom. In our final interview, she explicitly stated that her teachers should ask about and provide students with opportunities to research “where they're from and maybe if they would want to do their culture or ask them what type of countries to go to” (interview, 06/06/13) for the Museum unit. Additionally, she became excited during the African History project when she noticed the representation of Eritrea and neighboring Ethiopia on a textbook map displaying the colonization of Africa; not fully aware of the consequences of colonization, Semira chanted that she was Italian after noting that Italy had colonized Eritrea. These reactions suggested that the presentation of ethnic cultural identity as a resource had the potential to support Semira’s initial interactions with text and her ability to exercise control over her learning, as well as ease her feelings of being unseen and overlooked in the content she studied.

In contrast, Mari was able to access a topic that reflected her ethnic cultural identity during the Museum unit, which provided her with a new perspective on learning in social studies. Even though she had little direct connection to the specific content of Aztec human sacrifice, she developed a sense of personal relevance with the content through her knowledge and experiences of having been in Mexico City. She also established a new role and meaningful purpose through which she interacted with her parents. Interestingly, Mari was also able to
sustain her engagement with social studies content and tasks during African History project even though she had no direct personal connection to the content of the slave trade: the shift in her perspective about learning from the Museum unit helped her to see beyond learning content for the sole purpose of acquiring content, and to recognize how her learning served different personal purposes and brought out different aspects of her identity. A similar shift also seemed to occur for Vanessa, as she began to move from expressions of cultural pride and frustration at school-based experiences with prejudice to developing skills and knowledge that would help her take on her emerging identification with becoming a lawyer.

The salience and relevance of ethnic cultural identity seemed to have the potential to alter the purpose and perspectives about content learning and skill development for three of four R-FEP students in this study. However, its use as a relevant resource for learning and engagement within the classroom environment for these students largely depended on the salience of ethnic cultural identity for their social studies teacher. For teachers for whom ethnic cultural identity had low salience, they may not have perceived value added for learning and engagement with content and disciplinary understandings; instead they relied on instructional strategies, tools, and scaffolds that are considered universal “best practice” for all of their students.

**Salience and influence of language**

Similar to the salience and influence of cultural and ethnic identity, the salience and influence of *language* affected how teachers and students interacted with text to develop students’ content knowledge and engagement in social studies. Without the specific label and status of “ELL” associated with the R-FEP students, the salience of language was low for all of the social studies teachers who treated these students no different from their English dominant peers. As noted in earlier analysis, the teachers presumed that all of their students were well-
served by the generic comprehension strategies and structural supports for writing they provided. Limited to observational assessment of reading habits and the ability to complete and engage with learning activities, the teachers assumed that their R-FEP students had adequate literacy skills to participate in learning with and from text. This was especially true for Mr. Thomas and Mr. Casey, who reserved their efforts to differentiate instruction for the SpEd students in their classroom. Only Ms. Brooke referred to the benchmark reading assessment scores without my prompting; these scores provided the social studies teachers information that described each student’s reading performance compared to normed national and school-based peer samples.

Surprisingly, Ms. Brooke, who was the only teacher with an ELL endorsement, did not demonstrate additional attention to Aracely’s language and literacy skills. She assumed that Aracely’s partnership with an English dominant and academically strong student in the classroom would provide the appropriate support to help her navigate challenging texts and content. Ms. Brooke was aware that there was range of reading levels in her classroom and differentiated specific text sets for ELL students based on her “professional judgment” (interview, 05/17/13). However, she did not differentiate instruction specifically for her mainstreamed EL students during the POTM unit, leaving this for the ELL specialist. Her instructional supports, such as the POTM essay organizer, demonstrated a high degree of structure in learning tasks and language forms for communicating understanding of the content and concepts for all of her students, which might traditionally be advised for EL students. At the end of the unit, Ms. Brooke’s attention to the complexity of the texts that her students encountered became more noticeable, but her attention to issues of skills and strategies to access these texts were not questioned.
In contrast, Mr. Thomas became increasingly concerned about the literacy skills and strategies all of his students—not only Vanessa—when he tried to have students use them to understand texts they encountered in their research. It became apparent that the skills and strategies that he had taught them, such as extrapolating information from text features, did not necessarily provide access to or an accurate understanding of nuanced civil rights issues or concepts (artifact, 06/06/13). It was the later that was especially concerning for Mr. Thomas, and at the close of the study, he approached me for resources to address the skill gap that he saw between the complexity of the text and the generic comprehension skills and strategies with which he was familiar.

For the four R-FEP students, the salience of language manifested most prominently in the self-perception of their reader and/or writer identities in English. Three of the four students specifically described a lack of confidence in their reading and/or writing skills in English. They identified having feelings of nervousness, boredom, and fear of being wrong when they read or composed texts. Vanessa, Aracely, and Mari consistently described detecting moments of confusion when reading or writing, their unease about their understanding of content and how to demonstrate this knowledge, as well as their struggle to find an authentic purpose for reading and/or writing. However, it was how the students were able to maneuver themselves out of these moments that seemed to influence whether these feelings manifested into off-task or avoidance behaviors.

Among the four students, Semira was the only one who did not pinpoint literacy as a challenge. While she described that some classroom activities were too challenging for her, Semira did not consider the contribution of her own literacy strategy and skill level to the challenge of accomplishing certain text-based tasks. Her reactions to not doing well on an
assignment were frequently explained as a lack of motivation and “feeling lazy” (interview, 05/30/15), which suggested that she interpreted her challenges were due to a loss of will and not an association with limited skill. This is especially striking because Semira preferred reading and writing in English to Tigrinya, sharing with me how difficult her first language was.

Of all of the R-FEP students, Semira was most affected by gaps in background knowledge and limited metacognitive awareness that extended into other aspects of her reading abilities. She heavily relied on the strategy of making connections to her own experiences to make sense of what she read, such as her automatic association of and insistence that female athletes wore bathing suits during competition; learning was not a process of building knowledge, but capturing glimpses of factual information that was relevant to her life. It was especially striking when none of her research notes appeared in her Museum artifact caption, which instead included detailed previously learned facts about Roman clothing and inferences about their importance made from a presentist perspective. This suggested that she may have been challenged to integrate new information with previously known or prior knowledge. Her limited metacognitive awareness may have been influenced by an assumption that if she was able to quickly decode words, that she was a successful reader. In fact, her fluency indicated that she read at the 75th percentile for her grade level on an 11th-grade text, but she struggled to derive more than a few pieces of explicitly stated facts from the text.

Vanessa also exhibited avoidance behaviors for reading in English, using similar language of lack of motivation to explain her difficulty engaging with text. She was challenged both by limited access to books she wanted to read in English and was easily discouraged when encountering words and ideas she didn’t understand. Yet most striking was the contrast in her literacy habits and identity in English compared to Spanish. Even though she described the
difficulty of reading and writing in Spanish, Vanessa more strongly identified with being a proficient reader and writer in Spanish. This may be because her interactions with Spanish texts were met with immediate feedback from her mother and served the purpose of strengthening a relationship with her first language, her heritage, and her mother. This may also be related to the types and/or difficulty of the texts she encountered in school and at home. By the end of the study, her goal become a civil rights lawyer became a powerful and purposeful motivator for Vanessa to make an effort to identify and engage in reading books in English.

In contrast, purpose was an implicit factor in how Aracely saw her relationship with literacy in English. She was the most likely of the R-FEP students to “do school.” This task-focused purpose for writing in particular was due to her tentativeness and fear of doing “things opposite and wrong” with writing in English (interview, 06/11/15). She expressed that she did not know what her teacher expected so she employed the strategy of unquestioningly following the structures provided for her; as a result, much of her writing took the form of answering questions and completing sentence stems verbatim from Ms. Brooke’s POTM organizer. Analysis of Aracely’s essay exhibited issues of flow or incoherence across her writing that may have been influenced by the piecemeal understandings she acquired from her research. This suggested that Aracely had limited understanding about the communicative purposes of writing and interaction with academic language forms and demands in the content areas.

Interestingly, Mari, who characterized herself as a “slow reader and writer” (interview, 06/06/13), was the most purposeful of the three students for whom about reading and writing was salient. Despite her preoccupation with the “speed” at which she accomplished tasks and assignments in social studies, my observations of Mari’s reading and writing processes suggested that she was an overly deliberate reader and writer. Unlike the other students, Mari engaged in
thinking aloud with little prompting when she read aloud to me: she was actively trying to make sense of the text as she read. In fact, she seemed to instinctively talk aloud to me when she read text during the subsequent times I would sit next to her. Mari read with a clear purpose while demonstrating flexibility in her thinking—changing her mind several times about why the Aztecs conducted human sacrifice. As such, Mari’s interpretation of her own reading and writing skills as deficits suggested that she had limited understanding of the vital aspects of purposeful and strategic thinking in the characterization of a good reader.

The limited salience of language and literacy for the teachers coupled with complex self-perception of reader and/or writer identity of the R-FEP students potentially acted as barriers for the development of intellectual authority. Furthermore, both the social studies teachers and students had limited knowledge of language and literacy development and how it influenced content and conceptual understanding in the social studies. As a result, neither the teachers nor the R-FEP students themselves were aware of how to address the language needs of the students.

In the analysis of the four R-FEP students’ reading skills, five major aspects of reading comprehension emerged as consistent areas of difficulty in making meaning from and with text: background knowledge, vocabulary, fluency, cognitive strategies for implicit comprehension, and self-monitoring strategies. While these patterns corroborate existing literature on the comprehension strategies enacted by bilingual students (Jimenez, 1997; Jimenez at al, 1996; Pritchard & O’Hara, 2008), an important caveat to these findings was that these patterns emerged from the R-FEP students’ interactions with social studies texts that were above their designated grade level or grade band even when teachers differentiated. Yet interaction with social studies text above students’ grade level is typical of the experience for secondary students in general in social studies and history classes (Beck, McKeown, & Gromoll, 1989; Jitendra et al., 1999).
Even if the R-FEP students were reading at their designated grade level, it remains likely that the texts they interacted with would still be too difficult.

While all of the three social studies teachers noted their students’ challenges with difficult text, the actual literacy strengths, strategies, and skills that the R-FEP students employed were largely unknown to their teachers. Mr. Thomas was the only one who identified a specific aspect of literacy learning that he observed influenced his students’ interactions with text. He emphasized the building on background knowledge with his students around specific topics that addressed civil rights issues, but primarily focused on content with the hope that his students could independently derive conceptual understanding. Vanessa benefited from his efforts because she was able to ground her understanding of Latina/o farmworkers’ struggle through the knowledge she had gained from watching *Viva la Causa* together with her class. On the other hand, Ms. Brooke did not recognize the learning benefits of having students build on their background knowledge, and believed instead that students would learn more if they researched topics that they had interest in but knew little about.

A frequently overlooked, but language focused topic for which background knowledge needed to be enhanced were the language demands embedded in the text-focused interactions and activities that R-FEP students were expected to engage in such as conducting research and writing a claim paragraph. Despite repeated structural and procedural exposure to the tasks, the students struggled to demonstrate understanding of the purpose of these tasks and how they were related to thinking, reading, and writing in history or civics. The 7th-grade students didn’t understand the relationships across claim, evidence, and reasoning in the claim paragraph.

Related to background knowledge, strategies for understanding vocabulary were largely assumed by the social studies teachers. Due to the nature of individualized projects, vocabulary
instruction was rare and only limited to whole class activities such as a lecture, or broad conceptual terms like civil rights and strike. I only observed students in Mr. Thomas’ class asking the teachers for help with vocabulary. In fact, an infrequent but indicative example of Mr. Thomas’ increasing awareness of language was Vanessa’s increasing willingness to bring some Spanish into her classroom work after he affirmed her use of the word *huelga* in her research (fieldnotes, 05/10/13).

It is notable that the R-FEP students were often able to decode the vocabulary, but demonstrated inadequate strategies to determine the appropriate meaning of words critical to understanding the content. The R-FEP students either used context clues or they ignored, or assumed their understanding of content vocabulary using their prior knowledge. One reason why the R-FEP students ignored vocabulary was because it was likely that the word was not in their listening vocabularies. This was detectable when Aracely read “common-wolf” for “commonwealth” (interview, 06/06/13). Another intriguing example of this was around Semira’s lack of familiarity of the word “virginal” and limited knowledge of Western cultural traditions (interview, 05/23/13); although she attempted to make a connection to brides wearing white, she did not have enough cultural knowledge to extend her inference. On several occasions, students encountered polysemous words and assumed that the words were used in content area text as they were in everyday life.

While miscues on vocabulary words may have contributed to the oral fluency rate at which the R-FEP students read challenging text, the complexity of the sentences in the text that would affect the meaningful phrasing of text also influenced the students’ ability to comprehend. Interestingly, the 6th-graders, who exited ELL services earlier than the 7th-graders in this study—thus had more time to build fluency skills, had better prosody and had scored at higher
percentiles for oral reading fluency (e.g. 6th grade: 25th and 75th percentile v. 7th grade: below 10th percentile), but did not necessarily make better sense of text that was too difficult for them. An intriguing unique finding emerged from analysis of Vanessa’s oral reading and writing samples: she struggled to make sense of complex sentence structures in the passage and she was unable to use these structures in her writing, more readily drawing information from simple and compound sentence structures.

The R-FEP students primarily enacted generic comprehension strategies to make sense of the social studies texts they encountered. The students employed detectable strategies of making connections, inferring, skim and scanning for text features, and identifying answers based on questions or sentence frames. Mari also participated in questioning for both comprehension fostering and monitoring purposes. While the majority of these strategies were used successfully to extract explicit information from text, inferring from the text was challenging depending on how R-FEP students utilized their prior knowledge. For Semira and Vanessa, they demonstrated a tendency to fit new content information into their prior knowledge, using it to fill in gaps in understanding. Occasionally this is was a successful strategy for comprehension; at other times, it steered them to inappropriate conclusions about content.

Opportunities for analytic thinking and discipline-specific problem solving strategies with text were very limited due to teachers’ focus on accumulating factual knowledge. As a result, teachers viewed situations where students expressed confusion or which required them to engage in weighing perspectives and/or contradictory information as problems to be fixed. Consequently, they directly delivered content to students rather than using the opportunities to engage in problem solving and explore of content and concepts. While Ms. Green affirmed Mari’s examination of multiple sources, she reduced the opportunity to discuss the occurrence of
multiple perspectives and theories in the process of historical inquiry, transforming it into a reminder to also participate in fact-checking information. Another missed opportunity was the directive structure of questions and sentence frames that reduced nuanced reasoning into checklist-type thinking tasks to be completed. In his efforts to guide his students to evaluate the disciplinary concept of historical significance or importance, Mr. Casey provided categories for his students to consider like special purpose, value, and uniqueness in evaluating the legacy of the artifact that his students researched, but he did not demonstrate how to think from perspectives that did not judge and view this legacy from a point of view based on deficiency or circular reasoning.

Analysis indicated that metacognitive, self-monitoring strategies for comprehension were a major area of challenge for the R-FEP students. Three of the four R-FEP students demonstrated difficulty actively attending to meaning making from and with text. The R-FEP students tended to focus on content within individual sentences rather than understanding the whole of the text and content across the text. This finding corroborates the work of Pritchard and O’Hara (2008).

One obstacle to the development of these skills was how teachers taught students to work around difficult text, searching for specific answers. For example, Aracely’s extensive use of skim and scan helped her to maneuver around nuanced ideas in text, such that she did not detect the presence of multiple perspectives—and perspectives that countered her own understanding—discussed in the VA Historical Society text. Semira glossed over information to create her own version of what she thought the Wikipedia entry on Ancient Roman clothing discussed, imposing the modern conception of fashion, and did not detect that clothing was associated with ideas about the hierarchies of power, class, and age.
The challenge of self-monitoring was also identified in process and product of writing for the R-FEP students. Due to the use of structural scaffold for writing, students were not required to consider if their ideas were communicated clearly or made sense. For example, Vanessa’s essay featured several nonsequiturs, such as sentence about Cesar Chavez’s birthdate without any transition from her previous sentence about child labor. Examination of the essay organizer she used indicated that she followed the prescribed structure without adaptation for the flow and logical progression to develop an idea or communicate information. As such, examples of limited cohesion of ideas in student writing samples discussed earlier contributed to this pattern.

In contrast, Mari read deliberately through text and was aware of the questions and confusions she encountered as she read. Unlike the other R-FEP students, she seemed to hold onto ideas tentatively as she read, demonstrating flexibility in her thinking: as she read the Wikipedia entry on Aztec human sacrifice, Mari repeatedly thought that she had identified the reason for this practice, but continued to read until she found one that made the most sense to her (interview, 05/23/13). Additionally, her ability to remember that another text provided a different aspect for the reason for human sacrifice indicated awareness about intertextuality and multiple perspectives that others did not share. In fact, VanSledright (2002b) found that intertextuality is a much needed literacy based skill in history, which adolescents identified as struggling readers did not yet demonstrate the processing capacity to enact.

**Summary**

This chapter has explored the challenges in creating and sustaining a dynamic balance between the principles of PDE with a specific lens on the influence of literacy. The cases and tensions in this study indicated that a pervasive emphasis on the product of learning over the
process of understanding relegated the influence of text and literacy strategies and skills as peripheral to how students learned and engaged with content and disciplinary concepts. The teachers communicated the consistent, but not necessarily intended message that challenging text could be worked around and that adequate pieces of content knowledge could be extracted from parts of the text without consideration of the whole. Text was viewed as an uncomplicated receptacle for content knowledge, and the teachers did not scaffold interactions when students encountered complexity and conflicting ideas from text. This view of text is strikingly incompatible with disciplinary concepts about texts in history and civics, which stress the examination of documents and historical sources as constructed knowledge and perspectives of specific authors, purposes, and contexts that require critical analysis and interpretation.

Consequently, the literacy skills and strategies that teachers were familiar with and encouraged their students to implement were portrayed as basic instruments for content extraction rather than reflective of a process of meaning making from and with texts. This emphasis on procedure and product over process contributed to the R-FEP students’ belief that identifying an answer and providing a definition was the goal of text-focused interactions. This trend suggested that the social studies teachers were unaware that literate processes are concerned with the use of strategic thinking for understanding and communication of content knowledge. In the case of disciplinary literacy that would apply to the study of history and civics, these processes require the consideration of specialized concepts and practices developed among discipline communities, such as the examination of credibility of historical sources and application of democratic principles respectively (C3 Framework, 2013). The recurring reliance of the three teachers on text structures as organizers for content understandings without scaffolding the conceptual relationships between elements of structure exemplified the
oversimplification of disciplinary literacy into procedures. Yet the teachers demonstrated implied knowledge of the disciplinary nature of structure when they recognized their students’ writing did not present a cohesive and logical progression of ideas that presented an argument or reported relevant information.

However, this study does not discount the critical impact of generic literacy strategies and skills that are considered to support the comprehension and composition of texts across content area and disciplinary traditions. In fact, metacognitive strategies emerged as consistent area of literacy skill development that affected three of the four R-FEP students. All but one R-FEP student demonstrated challenges recognizing when their comprehension deteriorated, detecting discrepancies in information, and leaps in the logic in their writing; similar to their teachers, these students did not recognize that reading and writing was about the process of understanding text and content. This study suggests that R-FEP students require the ability to actively employ both generic and disciplinary literacy strategies and skills in order to interact effectively with text in social studies.

This chapter also discussed a tension between PDE principles that was unique to the population of R-FEP students that were the focus of this study. The mismatch in the salience of issues of ethnic cultural identity and language between teachers and students, and the limited level of knowledge and skills to support language and literacy development resulted in the invisibility of relevant resources for R-FEP students to develop engagement and content learning from and with text. Only Mr. Thomas was sensitive to the ethnic cultural identity of his students, but particularly with Vanessa because of the supportive and trusting relationship he had cultivated with her. This active and public recognition of one—but an extremely important—aspect of her identity helped Vanessa recognize the strengths, knowledge, and skills that she
could bring to bear in her interactions with text and academic study. The ability to explore and access social studies information about their own cultural and ethnic identity for Vanessa and Mari provided affirmation of their background, interests, and experiences, but more importantly, broadened the students’ perceptions of purposeful learning that could be extended to other content. In fact, Semira’s request for an opportunity to make a choice to study topics related to her own cultural and ethnic background can be viewed as the desire to have her presence and experiences acknowledged as relevant in the classroom and in the curriculum by her teachers.

The salience of language was a major challenge for both teachers and R-FEP students who were not fully aware of the impact of language and literacy on the ability of students to engage with content and concepts in the texts they encountered. The social studies teachers were largely unaware of how their R-FEP students felt about and reacted to the challenges they encountered reading and writing in English. Feelings of being wrong, anxiety, boredom, and lack of confidence when reading or writing in English were common among three of the four students, and neither they nor their teachers had strategies to ameliorate these feelings and navigate these concerns.

In particular, the R-FEP students lacked literacy strength and proficiency with strategies and skills for reading comprehension that would allow for active meaning making from the texts they encountered and composition of text that communicated an understanding of purpose and logical reasoning. Five essential aspects of reading comprehension that required further development among the R-FEP students were: background knowledge, vocabulary, fluency, cognitive strategies for implicit comprehension, and self-monitoring strategies. Self-monitoring strategies also featured prominently in the composition of writing for these students.
The cases and supplementary tension indicates that “good teaching” (Harper & de Jong, 2004; de Jong & Harper, 2005) without attention to ethnic cultural identity and language for these R-FEP students does not fully serve their learning and engagement needs in interaction with text. The invisibility of ethnic cultural identity and language acted as barriers to developing opportunities for R-FEP students to express relevant forms of expertise and knowledge and intellectual authority over content or conceptual understandings they encountered in interactions with text. Ultimately, this study suggests that just “good teaching” is not good enough for R-FEP students.
Chapter 8. DISCUSSION

In this multiple case study approach, I examined the practices that middle school social studies teachers employed to support disciplinary engagement and literacy learning with and from texts for their R-FEP students in an inclusive, mainstream classroom setting. The theory of PDE offered the opportunity to study the complexities and conflicts in the purposes, enactments, adaptations, and responses to instruction through teacher-student interactions. Through this examination of the teacher-student interactions, the cases revealed the key influence of text and literacy that was underestimated by the middle school teachers to influence engagement in and learning of content and discipline-focused understandings in social studies. In this chapter, I first discuss these findings. Then, I elaborate on the limitations of this study. Finally, I discuss the implications for future research.

Discussion of Findings

The three major findings from this study were: a) teachers planned and enacted instruction with the belief that text and literacy were peripheral to content learning and engagement; b) teachers provided opportunities to encounter but not to develop key disciplinary concepts and understandings; and c) teachers demonstrated limited awareness of the influence of literacy and culture on R-FEP students. Overall, the findings are consistent with the typical features of secondary classrooms, including didactic instruction (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979; Nystrand, 1997), focus on content matter knowledge and instruction, and ancillary integration of literacy instruction (Heller & Greenleaf, 2007; O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995) despite the teachers’ and the school’s increased attention to and gradual implementation of the Common Core. These findings indicated that PDE was not established or fostered in the classrooms
because the two tensions between the principles of *problematizing v. resources* and *authority v. accountability* detailed in Engle (2012) were not kept in “dynamic balance” (p.175).

**Text and literacy as accessory to content learning and engagement**

The three teachers positioned text and literacy as accessory to the core concepts and understandings required for students to engage with social studies content and ideas, rather than integral to how students gain access to, interact with, and interpret content from an increasingly disciplinary perspective. This familiar subordinate positioning (Heller & Greenleaf, 2007; O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995) was communicated by: a) the alignment of instructional practices and scaffolds for the purpose of extracting and reporting information; b) the enactment of strategies to work around difficult text; and c) the repeated use of and expressed belief that procedures would lead to conceptual or discipline-related understandings. These findings are characterized as an imbalance in the tension between *problematizing v. resources* in the three classrooms, which overwhelmingly favored the provision of resources for students to cull and report factual information. The resources that teachers implemented to assist students’ acquisition of content information *from* text without needing to interact *with* text included prescriptive and directive forms of teacher support and the identification of additional texts. The manner in which teachers implemented these resources replicated the pervasive school-based characterization of history, civics, and other disciplines within social studies as “documentary history” (Wineburg, 2001), while reducing the problematic nature of activities and concepts. This is in striking contrast to how disciplinary experts in the social science disciplines, such as history, understand and portray their work as the process of problem solving and constructing meaning in ways that problematize and question content, concepts, and text (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008; Shanahan, Shanahan, & Misischia, 2011; Wineburg, 1991a, 1991b, 2001).
shift toward the principle of *problematicizing content* would require movement toward adopting the inquiry-oriented disciplinary perspectives and practices of interacting with the content and concepts, as well as text.

**Purpose of extracting and reporting information.** Across all three classrooms, text was characterized primarily as a repository of factual information. The purpose for students to interact with text during their social studies research units was either to extract information from text through reading, or to report the collected information in writing to share with the teacher or a presentation audience. In this manner, reading and writing activities were well aligned to serve a prescribed functional purpose within the expectations of the assignment and the classroom (Dillon et al., 2001). The final written assignments primarily required students to order and summarize the facts that they found, and was heavily supported and structured through teacher instruction and explicitly stated scaffolds such as organizers, questions, and outlines that steered students toward extracting and reporting information.

In accordance with these established purposes for reading and writing (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987; Levin & Pressley, 1981), it was not uncommon to find that R-FEP students had not read through an entire passage or text, but had jumped around the text in search for information. In the 6th grade classrooms, the teachers provided questions in their note-taking organizer that directed students to locate information about different aspects of social studies perspectives for their Museum topic in texts; while in 7th grade classrooms, the teachers had earlier in the academic year taught generic non-fiction reading strategies, such as the use of captions and skim and scan, to help students gain a quick understanding of dates, events, and important figures noted in text. As such, the manner in which scaffolds and strategies were
taught and how they were encouraged to be used supported the use of these resources as task-focused “teaching tools” rather than as “learning tools” (Conley, 2008, p. 87).

This focus of the literacy strategies and scaffolds supported students in accomplishing the assignment tasks, but did not demonstrate or facilitate the “deliberate action to develop in students a critical understanding of subject matter ideas and [emphasis in original] a cognitive approach to learning” (Conley, 2008, p. 91). Evidence of limited access to active and strategic thinking through the use of the literacy strategies and scaffolds was seen in the lack of cohesion and logical progression of ideas expressed in the paragraphs that three of the four R-FEP students composed; further examination confirmed that their writing responded to individual questions, prompts, or sentence frames provided by the teacher and did not attend to the composition as a whole or, occasionally, even the next sentence to make sure that ideas were connected. As a consequence of setting a purpose for information retrieval, the R-FEP students did not have opportunities to move beyond explicitly stated knowledge and develop strategies or skills to make meaning from or grapple with content or the texts. These directive and procedural scaffolds for identifying content knowledge from text produced an imbalance weighted toward providing resources that left little room for meaning making opportunities that problematized content and text.

Enactment of strategies to work around difficult text. The literacy strategies and scaffolds for the extraction and reporting of information were not the only skills and strategies that the R-FEP students needed to develop content knowledge. In fact, when the texts became too difficult for the R-FEP students to simply extract information, both the students and the teachers enacted strategies to circumvent interacting with text (Dillon et al., 2001; Valencia, Nachtigal, & Adams, 2013). Three of the four R-FEP students exhibited some awareness of
when the text ceased to make sense, but had inadequate metacognitive strategies to move out of ambiguity. The R-FEP students demonstrated a tendency to skip over key vocabulary words and complex sentences that contributed to their confusion: In these instances they did not fully grasp the content of what they read. However, even metacognitive fix-up strategies are unlikely to work when texts are much too challenging for students—three or more reading grade levels above their assigned grade! Under these circumstances, teachers needed to identify text at an accessible reading level for their students or provide much more comprehension support.

Analysis revealed occasions when the R-FEP students experienced confusion, but did not seek help for understanding the content or text. In these cases, there were no opportunities for teachers to either provide relevant resources or problematize the content and text, as well as students’ understanding or misunderstandings of the content and text. Interestingly, if the students asked their teachers for help understanding the content, the teachers were prone to enact a “pedagogy of telling” (Sizer, 1985, in O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995, p.451). The determination to provide the content information followed the teacher’s determination that a student did not have, or would not understand, the necessary background knowledge to make sense of a complicated idea or concept. This type of interaction pattern reinforced the IRE dynamic of control in the classrooms (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1979) in which authority over the content knowledge remained in the hands of the teacher (Engle, 2012). The enactment of strategies to work around difficult text suggested the presence of an important challenge the social studies teachers faced—how to enact effective instructional strategies, interaction patterns, and resources that supported R-FEP students’ willingness to seek help and grapple with text and content even when it was challenging.
Organizing content according to a specific structure. From among the previously mentioned task-oriented scaffolds provided by the three teachers, the R-FEP students were highly dependent on the organizers that delineated how to structure their final written product. The teachers emphasized the structure of the written product because they recognized the relationship between the structure and the academic function that the writing served (Cherryholmes in O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995), but assumed that the repetition and procedural understanding of the structural components would implicitly communicate the conceptual or discipline-related underpinnings and relationships embedded in the organizational structure of language and composition (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2008). In particular, the 7th grade teachers recognized their students’ difficulty with composing a sentence that explained a piece of evidence chosen to support a claim made in argument writing. However, they were unaware that their R-FEP students would not develop these conceptual and disciplinary relationships without explicit instruction (de Jong & Harper, 2005; Ferris & Hedgecock, 1998; Moje et al., 2001; Moje et al., 2004b) and that a more cognitive approach was needed to decompose how to reason and explain their thinking in ways that made sense in the discipline of history (C3 Framework, 2013; Monte-Sano, 2010).

At the heart of this imbalance between problematizing v. resources is the underlying assumption that text and literacy strategies and skills were peripheral to the process of learning content knowledge in social studies disciplines, such that the teachers did not anticipate challenges with text for their R-FEP students. The three teachers implemented strategies for identifying content knowledge and highly structured scaffolds, which minimized the potential for ambiguity or problems in extracting or reporting content information. Yet these strategies and scaffolds masked the challenges that the R-FEP students faced in gaining understanding of
content from text beyond explicitly stated content information. When students approached their teachers with these difficulties with text, the teachers responded by enacting support strategies that further removed any remaining cognitive and conceptual challenge to accessing content for their students. The teachers’ lack of awareness of the impact of text and literacy on how to learn and interact with social studies content ultimately facilitated a reductive approach to learning, deep understanding, and engagement. This approach unintentionally limited opportunities for R-FEP students to encounter and grapple with conceptual tensions and disciplinary understandings embedded within content knowledge, as well as closed off opportunities to develop foundational cognitive and metacognitive strategies for making meaning from and problem solving with content and text.

This finding confirms the persistence of major tensions in the pedagogical beliefs and practices of secondary teachers and how they supported the learning of their adolescent EL students in mainstream classrooms (August & Erickson, 2006; Fitzgerald, 1995; Walqui, 2000), and more importantly, extends its applicability to R-FEP students. In particular, concerns about language and literacy were not salient to teachers due in part to their steadfast perception of themselves as content experts, but also due to misconceptions about English language and literacy development for bilingual learners (de Jong & Harper, 2005; Gruber et al., 2002; Harper & de Jong, 2004; Yoon, 2008). For example, the social studies teachers assumed that instructional strategies and standards deemed as best-practices for English-dominant students would be equally beneficial and applicable for R-FEP students (Harper & de Jong, 2004). It is important to note that the three Pine Crest teachers were not resistant to teaching literacy strategies in their classrooms, but did not possess the knowledge to recognize that the process of
literacy and language development does not abruptly conclude when a student is no longer identified as requiring language support.

**Opportunities to encounter but not develop disciplinary understandings**

The ubiquitous paradigm of “doing school” emerged from the tension between *authority* v. *accountability* as a consequence of the opportunities that the social studies teachers provided to encounter, but not facilitate, the development of their R-FEP students’ understandings about discipline-specific concepts and practices. When the teachers led encounters with disciplinary understandings, such as historical significance and historical context, they focused on content-focused definitions and exposure to sample scenarios: The thinking behind these concepts was not explained or modeled. Under the assumption that understanding would emerge from content exposure, the teachers were unaware of the types of support needed to help their R-FEP students bridge content learning with disciplinary understandings and facilitate engagement in the content and concepts they studied (Moje et al., 2001). The challenges that students faced in regulating their own engagement with learning tasks and the maintenance of naïve conceptions about disciplinary understandings indicated inconsistent messages and support around: a) the provision of choice; b) the applicability of personal relevance and emergence of meaningful roles; and c) the positioning of text. These inconsistencies contributed to frequent shifts in the balance between *accountability*—defaulting to the expected patterns and reasoning for “doing school”—and establishing intellectual *authority* in the classroom when there was limited applicability of content and disciplinary learning to the R-FEP students’ own lives and unanticipated considerations and consequences of how students exercised choice.

**Provision of choice.** All three social studies teachers believed that the provision of student choice, specifically when selecting a research topic, would help to sustain engagement in
the learning tasks because students would explore topics in which they had interest (Biancarosa & Snow, 2006; Guthrie, Wigfield & You, 2012; Intractor & Kunzman, 2009; O’Brien & Dillon, 2008). In turn, the teachers presumed that student choice would indirectly support the cultivation of disciplinary understandings that included historical context and significance (C3 Framework, 2013) through content that captured and would sustain their students’ curiosity and attention. This assumed characterization of interest meant that the teachers did not explicitly elaborate how students might consider exercising their choice. As a result, the four R-FEP students demonstrated a range of sources for external and internal motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000) that influenced their engagement at different times during the units. Sources of external motivation included: a) completion of the assigned tasks; b) assumption of “easiness” of topic; c) resignation to a less preferred choice; and d) the ability to work with specific peers. In contrast, sources of internal motivation included: a) general curiosity, b) the ability to build on prior knowledge, c) personal relevance of the topic, and d) meaningful application of knowledge outside of school. While all the students demonstrated a mix of these aspects of motivation, Vanessa and Mari, who selected topics that reflected personal relevance (Almarza, 2001; Flores-Dueñas, 2004; Guthrie, Wigfield & You, 2012) and perceived opportunities to meaningfully deepen or extend their interactions with the topic or concepts outside of school (Moje et al., 2004a; 2004b), expressed a more complex, personalized understanding of historical significance. While this personalized understanding did not align with a disciplinary characterization of historical significance (Seixas, 1994; 1997; Seixas & Morton, 2013), it suggested opportunities for developing intellectual authority and re-engagement with topical content knowledge or broader concepts, like civil rights, in the future. The influence of
personal relevance and emergence of meaningful roles will be further discussed in the next section.

An important factor that influenced the motivational reasoning enacted by R-FEP students around choice was their perspectives on the goal of content learning. Two of the R-FEP students and Ms. Brooke believed that selecting a research topic based on some prior knowledge and/or personal relevance about the content was counterproductive to accumulating content knowledge, and in turn, would impede the amount of new learning that occurred. These beliefs run counter to research on the impact of personal relevance and prior knowledge in support of motivation to read (Almarza, 2001; Flores-Dueñas, 2004; Guthrie, Wigfield & You, 2012) and the development of content expertise (Alexander, 2003). The desire for challenge seemed to characterize the drive for accumulating new content learning; however, the two students who ascribed to this view demonstrated struggle to self-regulate and re-engage with their research topic when motivation waned due to reading difficulties (Guthrie, Wigfield & You, 2012).

**Applicability of personal relevance and emergence of meaningful roles.** Personal relevance (Almarza, 2001; Flores-Dueñas, 2004; Guthrie, Wigfield & You, 2012) as a source of motivation was only explicitly supported by Mr. Thomas, but implicitly suggested by the other teachers. Mr. Thomas encouraged the selection of research topics that reflected prominent aspects of a student’s personal identity, such as ethnic cultural identification, membership in an extracurricular activity, or hobby. The two R-FEP students who chose topics of personal relevance in this study began with an exploration of their ethnic cultural identity, but this emphasis became less prominent as the emergence of meaningful roles emphasized the relevance of the content and concepts for a different audience. In the students’ relationships with individuals, communities, and goals beyond the boundaries of school, their content and
Conceptual learning seemed to become more purposeful when shared with a non-school audience (Almarza, 2001; Flores-Dueñas, 2004; Guthrie, Wigfield & You, 2012; Moll & Gonzales, 1994; Rosebery, Warren & Conant, 1992). These meaningful roles were grounded in real-life experiences with families, friends, and communities through which students described personal shifts toward the development of intellectual authority and saw themselves as stakeholders in their own learning (Engle & Conant, 2002; Engle, 2012).

Interestingly, these shifts toward intellectual authority were not detectable in the two R-FEP students’ schoolwork. In fact, the students seemed to compartmentalize and cater different aspects of their conceptual and disciplinary understanding to the specific spaces and audiences with whom they interacted. While Vanessa and Mari produced adequate interpretations of the historical significance of their research topics, their assignments did not hint at the personal and self-reflective understandings that made their content and conceptual learning meaningful; teacher provided prompts and criteria did not create opportunities for them to elaborate how they interacted with others around the concept of civil rights or the legacy of ancient Aztecs in Mexico respectively. As such, these two R-FEP students demonstrated a strong awareness of the need to be held accountable to the expectations of their teacher and implied disciplinary norms—deferring to the authority of their teacher—but were more likely to feel a sense of authority over learned content in interactions outside of school.

This balancing act suggested that instead of managing the tension between authority v. accountability that Engle (2012) describes as located in the classroom, these R-FEP students experienced this tension in how they were expected to understand the purpose of and display their knowledge in a boundary space between school-oriented and non-school experiences (Moje et al., 2001; Moje et al., 2004a). This boundary or transitional space that connects learning
between in-school and out-of-school experiences and audiences, as well as between academic and real-world tasks and application, is a critical starting place for teachers to identify and access according to Seixas (1994). In order to move students beyond the conception of history as a collection of “inert knowledge,” he suggests that teachers should move first to understand students’ naïve and organic understandings of a disciplinary concept like historical significance, and the types of strategies they use to connect historical events to their own lives (Seixas, 1994, p.299). This focus emphasizes the importance of developing intellectual authority prior to holding students accountable to unfamiliar disciplinary norms, echoing recommendations for enacting and maintaining PDE (Engle, 2012).

Yet, this study is a reminder that the development of intellectual authority is not relegated to the boundaries of the classroom. Although Mr. Thomas and Mr. Casey’s lack of awareness of the emergence of this boundary space created a missed opportunity for deeper exploration of and engagement with the content within a classroom setting, the manifestation of a transitional space for R-FEP students’ disciplinary knowledge development reinforces literature on how relationships with friends, family, and community members support the cultivation of intellectual authority when supportive and meaningful purposes and opportunities to display content knowledge expertise are available (Moll & Gonzales, 1994; Moje et al., 2004). Even when the “others” to which students are being held accountable are not experts in the content or the discipline, as in the case of Mari’s parents, these individuals can still offer differing and nuanced ideas and feedback that learners have to treat as “resources for revising, refining, and/or better defending one’s own” ideas (Engle, 2012, p.172). These types of interactions are in sharp contrast to those enacted by the social studies teachers in this study, wherein they took control over the interaction with students—delivering the correct knowledge—instead of guiding
students to revise and refine their understanding; as such, those interactions did not lead to
deeper understandings of disciplinary concepts or practices.

**Positioning of text.** The R-FEP students experienced limited interactions with text in
discipline-specific ways across the social studies units because teachers positioned text as merely
a receptacle that holds content knowledge. Both students and teachers approached text as a site
where evidence—in the form of factual information—could be extracted to support their claim or
answer specific questions, but text was not treated like sources where content, authors, and
perspectives could be questioned and evaluated (Bain, 2006; Wineburg, 1991b). In this manner,
the teachers consistently communicated that students had authority over text to use extracted
information to fit the needs of the assignment and message to be communicated. Engle (2012)
warns about the consequences of “untrammeled authority,” wherein “some learners will act as
authorities unto themselves, developing all kinds of unsubstantiated ideas” if their ideas are not
required to be in balance with concerns about *accountability* (Engle, 2012, p.171).

In particular, this positioning of text affected how R-FEP students attempted to
communicate disciplinary concepts through their content understanding solely relying on the
structure-oriented supports provided by their teachers. The teachers treated discipline-specific
concepts and practices in the same manner as content knowledge, believing that procedural
encounters with these ideas would lead to acquisition of understanding. The concept of historical
context (C3 Framework, 2013) was presented to students as simply the who, what, when, and
where that surrounded the artifact or event the students researched without exploration of what
information was the best exemplified and contributed to a cohesive depiction of their
understanding. Additionally, there were no supports to prevent the R-FEP students from taking
on anachronistic or presentist perspectives (Seixas & Morton, 2013; Voss, Wiley, & Kennet,
1998) when they encountered actions or ideas of the past that they did not personally identify with or understand. Without the need to be accountable to conceptual aspects of historical context, some R-FEP students presented descriptions that lacked cohesion while others presented inaccurate information. For example, Vanessa included nearly every single piece of evidence she recorded in her notes, whereas Semira did not use any of the notes she took and composed her artifact caption based on prior knowledge and inaccurate interpretations of an image she found on Google. This range of responses was not surprising because R-FEP students had little exposure and few strategies to navigate the nuances and complexities in the text. Without the balance of accountability to the conceptual understanding about historical context, the R-FEP students’ naïve conceptions about content, text, and disciplinary concepts went unchallenged and thrived.

Interestingly, there were a few occasions in which the social studies teachers recognized the need for their students to be held responsible to the “authority” of the text. When they noted inaccuracies or inconsistencies in content collected by students, Ms. Brooke, as well as Ms. Green in the 6th grade classroom, referred to the need for students to fact-check information. However, the practice of fact-checking was not demonstrated or presented to the whole class; rather the teacher often assumed the role as a fact checker if a revision period was planned and students were asked to clarify and elaborate on their ideas, but the reasoning for revision was not shared. This communicated that, in fact, the R-FEP students did not hold authority over the content or the text, but neither did the text hold authority. Intellectual authority remained in the hands of the teacher when text was positioned as a repository that held factual knowledge (Nystrand, 1997).
In contrast to Engle’s (2012) awareness that intellectual authority needs to be established for learners who are unaccustomed to it, the three social studies teachers seemed to hope that by simply giving their students opportunities to enact practices that exemplified intellectual authority, like choice, they would naturally make purposeful decisions about their learning and participation in learning activities. Despite their hope that students would take up these opportunities to demonstrate authority, the values and practices in the learning environment remained aligned to the enduring and implied understanding that the teacher was the final intellectual authority; as such, the students recognized that they were being held accountable to the expectations of their teacher. This study reaffirmed that within the classroom setting, the R-FEP students frequently moved between the default pattern of accountability to “do school” when their teachers did not actively provide guidance for them to understand how to make their learning experiences meaningful.

**Limited awareness of the influence of literacy and culture on R-FEP students**

This study’s focus on R-FEP students also led to the appearance of an unexplored supplementary tension between authority v. resources in the PDE (Engle & Conant, 2002; Engle, 2012) framework. Because fostering PDE requires all four principles to be instituted and sustained in constant dynamic balance, these supplementary tensions exist but may not become salient until an imbalance in the primary tensions reveals a previously unconsidered relationship between the principles. Emerging from the four R-FEP students’ interactions with text, an additional tension became apparent in juxtaposition with the three social studies teachers’ limited awareness of these influences on students’ ability to purposefully participate in and learn content and disciplinary understandings from interactions with text. As a result of the challenges faced around aspects of, and critical processes associated with, literacy and the cultural context of
schools regarding the four R-FEP students’ interactions with text, Analysis indicated that teachers were unaware that their R-FEP students required continued support with: a) developing both generic and discipline-specific literacy strategies, and b) cultivating knowledge about the cultural context of schools. Additionally, even though students brought skills and assets related to literacy and culture with them to the classroom, some teachers were not attuned to how to help student capitalize on these resources for learning. The reasons for the lack of salience of these influences for the social studies teachers most likely feature a complex mix of factors including, but not limited, to the prioritization of the acquisition of content knowledge, and the assumption that R-FEP students respond to instruction in the same ways as their English dominant peers. As such, this study reaffirmed the growing body of research on R-FEP students and their continuing language and literacy challenges years after exit from services (de Jong, 2004; Kieffer, 2008, 2011; Slama, 2014).

**Need to develop both generic and discipline-specific literacy strategies.** With the implementation of the district and Pine Crest’s plan to phase-in alignment with CCSS Literacy standards, the social studies teachers demonstrated more explicit awareness of disciplinary concepts around writing, such as argument and informational report writing, than reading. The evidence of literacy strategy instruction, observed on the walls of the teachers’ classrooms, indicated that they taught generic comprehension strategies earlier in the academic year. Although strategy instruction was not observed, the manner in which teachers and students discussed their use suggested a focus on the procedural enactment of these strategies. Further analysis indicated that R-FEP students needed reinforcement of both literacy strategies and skills considered generic across content areas and those specific to the disciplines within social studies (Brozo et al., 2013; Schoenbach, Greenleaf & Murphy, 2012). In particular, instruction on
comprehension monitoring and metacognition strategies, vocabulary, and strategies and skills that address sense-making at various levels of texts, such as sentence-by-sentence, text as a whole, and across multiple texts, are needed to strengthen the R-FEP students’ ability to interact with difficult texts. These strategies are essential for engaging in the problem solving required for making meaning of and from content and texts.

*Comprehension monitoring and metacognition strategies.* While research has shown that the development of comprehension monitoring and metacognition strategies is critical for struggling readers (Biancarosa & Snow, 2006; Palinscar & Brown, 1984; Schoenbach & Greenleaf, 2009; Schoenbach, Greenleaf, & Murphy, 2012) and successful bilingual readers (Jimenez, Garcia, & Pearson, 1996; Pritchard & O’Hara, 2008), the social studies teachers mainly provided support for comprehension fostering strategies (Paris, Lipson, & Wixson, 1983). Three of the four R-FEP students demonstrated difficulty being aware of their own reading processes, and were similarly unaware that while their comprehension of text and their writing made sense at a sentence level, their ideas did not connect or flow well across a paragraph or essay (Pritchard & O’Hara, 2008). These students did not stop reading when they encountered challenging ideas and were accustomed to enacting strategies and sanctioned tools advocated by their teachers that circumvented the situations in which they would have to grapple with confusion and the need to make sense of the text. These resources related to the “pedagogy of telling” (Sizer, 1985 in O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995) characterize how the structural enactment of literacy strategies provided students with some access to content knowledge in challenging text, but over time, the reinforcement of the form of strategy implementation takes away opportunities to establish intellectual authority.
Mari, the student who perceived herself as a “slow” reader and writer, was the only student who demonstrated comprehension monitoring and metacognitive strategy use. However, her teacher did not have the literacy knowledge to distinguish between the negative connotations associated with “slow” reading and the enactment of cognitively deliberative processes for reading and writing. As such, Mari did not realize that her “slow” reading and writing was actually a resource she could draw upon that aligns with what it means to be a strategic reader and writer, and that would support her interactions with more specialized and discipline-specific texts and literacy tasks (Pritchard & O’Hara, 2008; VanSledright, 2002b).

**Vocabulary.** Although all of the R-FEP students demonstrated challenges with understanding vocabulary, their teachers rarely addressed vocabulary in class, much less taught vocabulary strategies. The social studies teachers may not have detected problems with vocabulary for their students because they could decode challenging vocabulary; however, the ability to decode unknown vocabulary did not necessarily result in understanding the meaning of the word for students as it may not have been in their oral vocabulary (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). The R-FEP students also encountered instances when they were unfamiliar with a technical or academic meaning of a polysemous vocabulary word, associating its meaning with its popular or everyday usage (Beck, McKeown, & Kucan, 2002; Moje, 2010; Snow, Lawrence, & White, 2009).

Yet it is important to recognize that R-FEP students do come with language resources to facilitate meaning-making of unknown vocabulary. For some students, cognates may help to bridge unknown word meaning through their first language (Echevarria et al., 2008; Jimenez, Garcia, & Pearson, 1996). The recognition of cognates and ability to use Spanish in her social studies assignments seemed to contribute to a realization for Vanessa that the skills, strategies,
and knowledge of Spanish she learned at home were valued and could support her learning in school.

Making meaning from sentences, throughout a text, and across multiple texts. A major aspect of text and literacy that was overlooked by the social studies teachers was the necessary use of multiple texts, or intertextuality, that R-FEP students needed to be able to manage for the research units in the classroom. Three of the four R-FEP students struggled to demonstrate skills and strategies to synthesize ideas across multiple texts, which history researchers consider as essential for learning from text (C3 Framework, 2013; Lee, 2005; Wineburg, 1991b), and teachers did not explicitly teach skills and strategies related to this. Instead, structural scaffolds reinforced the keeping the knowledge gained from specific texts compartmentalized from the information found elsewhere. Information was integrated into prescribed writing structures as it fulfilled a specific prompt or question, but did not project a sense of interrelatedness between ideas and sentences: While ideas made sense on a sentence-by-sentence basis, the students did not consistently communicate their content and conceptual understandings in individual paragraphs or across the multiple paragraphs.

This affirmed findings in Pritchard and O’Hara (2008) that proficient bilingual adolescent readers were more likely to employ sentence-level meaning-making strategies when reading in English—their L2, which focused their attention and cognitive resources on the sentence in front of them rather than making meaning across the whole text. In contrast, these successful readers actively returned to the use of comprehension monitoring strategies when they encountered ambiguity reading in Spanish, which supported their ability to process global understandings throughout a text. In this study, Mari’s active use of comprehension monitoring strategies supported her ability to make sense of text as a whole better than the other R-FEP students; as
she moved through text, she expressed a belief that her confusion might be clarified in looking at and understanding other parts of the text.

VanSledright (2002b) suggested that proficient adolescent readers of historical sources demonstrated more efficient and fluid application of comprehension monitoring, intratextual sense making, and intertextual strategies. In comparison, struggling readers seemed to spend most of their cognitive resources on monitoring comprehension of text and participating in, but were still challenged by, gaining a global understanding of text. Keeping in mind that Mari read from text that ranged from 6th grade to high school level during her Museum project, her self-described “slow” reading processes still enabled her to demonstrate an emerging sense of intertextual evaluation (VanSledright, 2002b) without formal classroom instruction. Her text-to-text connection was not a simple awareness that two different texts talked about the same idea or topic, but rather, she attempted to make sense of ideas on different aspects about Aztec human sacrifice. As such, Mari’s metacognitive ability to recognize and desire to engage with discrepancies and ambiguity is a relevant resource that can be cultivated to support the development of disciplinary concepts and practices with text and promote establishment of intellectual authority with historical content. Even the student in VanSledright’s (2002b) example, who deftly maneuvered between comprehension monitoring, intratextual, and intertextual strategies, was not free of the need to problem-solve confusion and ambiguity. As such, this study supports further investigation into the extent to which both generic and disciplinary literacy strategies and skills are needed and utilized to make sense of increasingly complex and discipline-specific texts.

Interestingly, Mari’s metacognitive ability was atypical among the R-FEP students in this study. Compared to the other focal students, she expressed a dogged commitment to making
sense of what she read and expressing exactly what she wanted to say and was unfazed by looming assignment deadlines—much to the dismay of Mr. Casey: She never expressed any urgency simply to get her work done. Mari’s extreme example of internal motivation for sense-making with content and through text seemed to support her metacognitive awareness. As such, this analysis revealed that metacognitive strategies are a relevant resource that can be cultivated to support the development of disciplinary concepts and practices with text and promote establishment of intellectual authority with historical content.

Need to make explicit the cultural context of schools. For students from multilingual and multiethnic backgrounds, school can be a challenging environment even when language is no longer an overwhelming barrier to communicating and interacting with peers and teachers, and participating in classroom learning activities. The ever-present cultural context of school maintains authority precisely because norms and structures for participation, language, and authority in the classroom are explicitly taught and tacitly learned and upheld. While researchers of multicultural education and bilingual students (Au, 1980; Au & Mason, 1981; de Jong & Harper, 2005; Delpit, 1988; Heath, 1983; Gee, 2001) agree that the cultural context of school needs to be explicitly shared with students who are unfamiliar with these norms and structures, the ability to be aware of, enact, and maintain strategies for shifting and sharing authority with students in the classroom is challenging for even the most dedicated or skilled teacher.

The three social studies teachers demonstrated varying degrees of awareness of content area and discipline-specific ways of thinking and communicating, which they assumed would be absorbed by their R-FEP students through repeated exposure to definitions of concepts and interaction with structural supports. The reliance on repeated exposure and interaction echoes the misconceptions that “good teaching” for English-dominant students will provide adequate and
effective instruction for their R-FEP students (Harper & de Jong, 2004, p.153). Even though Mr. Casey was the most explicitly aware of disciplinary concepts and even the difference in perspectives that distinctive social studies traditions took on (e.g. “sources” in history and “social science perspectives,” respectively), he was unfamiliar with the need for cognitive scaffolding that his R-FEP students could have benefited from to understand these abstract concepts. This assumption that R-FEP students could derive these understandings with minimal teacher guidance and reinforcement suggested that the teachers assumed that these students learned in the same manner and encountered similar types of support and experiences as their English dominant peers. As such, these instructional interactions merely served to reproduce the persistent dynamic that the secondary teachers held both the intellectual authority and the resources in the classroom because the tacit structures and understandings of the disciplines that comprise social studies were not explicitly shared with students.

In contrast, the issue of ethnic cultural identity (de Jong & Harper, 2005) was explicitly felt and experienced by the three of the four R-FEP students, but was not addressed by two of the three teachers. Even though the focus of the research units would have made these concepts appropriate topics to mention and discuss, neither Mr. Casey nor Ms. Brooke mentioned these ideas as ways for students to identify research topics of interest, and relate and interact with content learning. Semira, in particular, seemed to want her teachers to acknowledge her cultural difference, expressing tension in her eagerness and excitement when she personally connected with the content she studied while reluctant to directly admit this desire to see herself represented; she communicated feelings of being overlooked and unseen.

Although Semira was not able to access this aspect of her identity as a resource to support her content learning, Vanessa’s experience illustrated how teacher acknowledgment of the
importance of ethnic cultural identity for a student could contribute to motivation and content learning. Mr. Thomas recognized what aspects of identity featured prominently for specific students and encouraged them to draw upon these aspects as resources and a form of prior knowledge to build content learning upon. In this manner, Mr. Thomas recognized that his students also brought relevant resources for supporting their own learning, which contributed to shifts toward establishing intellectual authority for the students in his classroom.

In sum, this study suggests that influence of text and literacy must be attended to if the goal is to foster productive disciplinary engagement for students in the disciplines that comprise the content area of social studies: attention to content alone is not enough. This integrated framework allows for an examination that captures the dynamic complexity in the instructional tools and strategies, intentions and adaptations, enactments and responses, and successes and challenges for text-based learning and interactions that aim to create an environment for productive disciplinary engagement with R-FEP students in mainstream social studies classrooms. Despite the overall persistence of traditional didactic forms of instruction and structuralist approaches that dominated interactions to make meaning from and with text, this study highlighted the multiple challenges and unrelenting efforts of mainstream social studies teachers to juggle responsibility and responsiveness to their students, the content, and disciplinary understandings in order to foster opportunities for productive engagement in learning for their students.

Limitations

There were several limitations in this study. First, as a cross-sectional study, I made several design decisions that impacted my ability to provide a more complete picture of the experiences of the social studies teachers and the R-FEP students in these classrooms. I was not
able to observe the overall trajectory of literacy strategy instruction because I did not anticipate that these lessons would mainly be taught several months prior to my observations in the teachers’ classrooms. I could not anticipate that cooperative group work—which is a critical attribute for fostering PDE—would be an uncommon participation structure during the weeks that I observed classrooms based on the scope and sequence of curriculum units. Even though the focal teachers were selected based on detailed criteria (See Methods chapter) distributed to university instructors and school administrators who nominated these teachers as “best case” examples, the interpretation of engagement in the classroom seemed to vary between teachers and did not necessarily exemplify how Engle and Conant (2002) might have characterized engagement. However, this variation is indicative of the challenges in complex, diverse classrooms where the teachers consistently sought to improve their instructional practice for the learning of their students.

Second, I drew cautiously conservative conclusions about students’ literacy strengths and needs due to unanticipated classroom factors that influenced what and how they made meaning from text. To remain consistent in detailing the text-based interactions that R-FEP students experienced in a naturalistic setting, I decided against utilizing Individual Reading Inventories to ascertain the reading strategies and skills of the focal students. However, that meant that most of the texts that the R-FEP students encountered on the Internet were considered above their grade level; the students were nearly always hitting their limit with comprehension and fluency when I listened to or observed them read. As such, it was impossible to generate an accurate analysis of the R-FEP students’ reading abilities because the majority of the texts they read was at their frustration level.
Additionally, I encountered several challenges that limited the recruitment due to the exclusive criteria for focal students. This study sample was not representative in terms of gender identification and range of academic ability of R-FEP students in these classrooms due to desire to participate, ability to effectively collect data, and lack of adult permission: for example, one student was excluded from this study because the parent gave permission to participate, but did not give permission to tape-record interviews. I also relied on student self-reports of their bilingualism, as I did not have tools to gauge their ability to read and write in their L1 as well as in English. As such, the patterns found across the students in this study may not be consistent with students who have had different linguistic and cultural experiences.

Finally, I attempted to be aware of my positionality as a literacy researcher, as a teacher, and as a person of color in the classrooms I studied. The students in the classrooms were aware that I was a researcher and former teacher. I attempted to establish rapport with my focal students by being cognizant of providing feedback and helping only when requested, responding to students with questions rather than affirmative or negative statements, and ignoring or not intervening in their behavior issues or their interactions with peers. I also became aware of moments when the focal students were not telling the complete truth or were telling me what they thought I wanted to hear. As a result, I found myself privy to information that their teachers did not have access to that may have influenced how the focal teachers taught or interacted with the students in the study. The focal teachers were aware of the purpose of my study and did not specifically request information about the focal students—namely student profiles—until the conclusion of the study.

I attempted to be aware of my positionality with the focal teachers, frequently deferring to the discretion of the teachers on how to interact with students who are not in the study but
wanted support in the classroom. In one classroom, I was clearly positioned by the teacher as a researcher who solely interacted with the focal student; in another, I was a knowledgeable adult that could help with basic questions. On several occasions when focal students had interesting and complex questions about content, I urged them to seek help from their teachers. In my interactions with the teachers in this study, I presented my observations of the focal students’ behaviors or reactions to instruction and tasks, their words, and/or their feelings for reflection by the teachers. I was careful to be as neutral as possible when presenting these scenarios and was sure not to provide feedback—even when requested—to teachers in the middle of the study. At the close of the study, one of the focal teachers specifically asked for recommendations of literacy resources for R-FEP students, as well as students in general.

As a Chinese American woman of color, I was particularly sensitive to issues of culture, ethnicity, language, and race in ways that some of the teachers in this study may not have directly experienced or identified with. I was very careful in my analysis to step back and reassess if I was being overly critical of teachers for certain issues and concerns that were simply not salient to them. While this slowed down the process, I wanted to ensure that analysis reflected instruction that was planned and executed under the best intentions of the teacher. On several occasions, I became aware of the familiarity of feelings, situations, and dilemmas in the experiences and words of the focal students. In these instances, I had to be careful not to shift into a role of advocate for the students’ learning needs, and reflected on these moments in analytic memos. These moments helped me to reflect upon the richness and complexity that existed in seemingly straightforward interactions with text and between teacher and student.
Implications

This study presents and attempts to integrate the literature on literacy into the sociocultural theory of productive disciplinary engagement in order to explore the how content and disciplinary understandings are fostered where interactions with text are essential in content area classrooms. This integrated framework illuminates the importance of examining text-based interactions, which are frequently taken for granted or seen as accessory to the learning in these classrooms that have traditionally emphasized content acquisition. Grounded in the assumption of dynamic balance between the principles in PDE, this framework may be able to be used in the future to observe and explain shifts in progress and retreat for teachers as they attempt to implement instructional strategies and integrate content area and discipline-specific ways of thinking and communicating into their practice.

This study also utilized the four principles, and in particular the tensions between principles, of PDE as an analytical tool to describe the complex influences that supported and acted as barriers to learning with and from text in secondary classroom environments. Despite limitations, focused analysis on the tensions between the principles characterized the instructional challenges that may arise for content area teachers as a result of limited understanding of literacy development, lack of salience of language, and assumptions about how disciplinary understandings are acquired. In the current climate of the CCSS, this study suggests areas for examination and pedagogical development that school administrators and curriculum adoption committees may not typically consider in implementing professional development. Specifically, this integrated framework reaffirms established analysis that indicates that the adoption of instructional mandates and curricula do little when pervasive norms and assumptions about pedagogical practices for literacy and the culture of schooling are not challenged (O’Brien,
Stewart, & Moje, 1995). In fact, this study suggests a vital need to examine what assumptions about literacy come into play when secondary teachers select textual resources for their students due to the clear pattern that text that was too difficult was deemed appropriate and accessible to middle school students across the three classrooms.

This study also contributes to the emerging literature on R-FEP students, and corroborates recent findings that these students are still affected by issues of language and literacy years after exit from services (de Jong, 2004; Kieffer, 2008, 2011; Slama, 2014). The qualitative documentation of these R-FEP students’ experiences revealed that although these R-FEP students did not perceive major difficulties with language, they did not express confidence in their ability to read and write in English to meet the expectations of their teachers and assignments. The exploration of R-FEP students’ reader and writer identities may help to identify what factors contribute to this perception of inadequacy.

In addition to the finding that students had few opportunities to interact with and deepen disciplinary understandings through teacher scaffolding, the R-FEP students also demonstrated the need to strengthen and adaptably engage in strategic thinking with and from text using generic literacy strategies. In particular, the active use of comprehension monitoring strategies seemed to have an impact on the ability to shift to more discipline-oriented strategies and practices, such as juggling multiple texts, which presumes the ability to make meaning from text at the sentence and global level (Pritchard & O’Hara, 2008; VanSledright, 2002b). This suggests that R-FEP students at the secondary level may be challenged by the cognitive demands of both generic comprehension monitoring and disciplinary literacy strategies, but may not yet have strength or flexibility to move effortlessly between them.
Last, this study reaffirms the extensive literature on the leveraging of student resources, such as prior knowledge, interest, and funds of knowledge, to promote engagement with learning (Alexander, 2003; Almarza, 2001; Flores-Dueñas, 2004; Moll & Gonzales, 1994). Surprisingly, this was not consistently and explicitly done across the three focal social studies classrooms. At minimum, acknowledgement of aspects of the R-FEP students’ personal identities, including ethnic cultural identity (de Jong & Harper, 2005), provided an entry point for R-FEP students to engage in and with content and disciplinary learning. Yet, the emergence of meaningful roles that R-FEP students perceived for themselves or that were enacted in relationship with friends, family members, or communities, revealed the opportunities for deeper and longer-lasting engagement when they were able to see a real purpose and audience for their learning with individuals, relationships, and places outside of school (Moje et al., 2004a). These occurrences of meaningful roles may be an intriguing site for future research, especially in exploring if they can support the development of disciplinary understandings, which tend to be less familiar to R-FEP students due to their limited exposure to the norms and practices of academic disciplines in everyday interaction.
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APPENDIX A

Classroom Observation Protocol

I will conduct three cycles of classroom observations for each teacher consisting of approximately four weeks.

During the first week of the study, I plan to conduct two (2) informal observations to get to know the routines, instructional context, and classroom culture and one (1) formal observation where I will document what is happening in the class. I will document the instruction related to content specific texts, text-focused activities, interactions between the teacher and target students, and the target students’ engagement with the text and other students around text in those activities. I will not use student names or identifying characteristics for nonparticipant students. During this time, I will collect any assignments, make copies of texts, and collect student work.

After that initial week, I will conduct formal observations up to four (4) times a week up for three (3) weeks. I may choose to reorder my observation schedule based on the schedule in each content area.

In particular, I will note the following during observations:

For whole group: When I observe teacher instruction, my notes will include descriptions of:
- general classroom environment including
  - learning arrangements (e.g. whole group, small group, pairs, individual)
  - resources that students access during instruction
- instructional activities
  - how teacher presents lesson objectives, texts, and activities
  - how teacher orients students to activities, roles, and responsibilities during instruction and interaction with texts and classroom materials
  - how teacher orients students to interact with themes and topics in the texts
  - how teacher makes or draws out connections between texts (e.g. printed, not printed), understandings texts, themes and topics to the characteristics of the content area and/or discipline (e.g. science, social studies)
  - how teacher presents why the content area and/or discipline is relevant to current and/or future learning and student experiences

For focal students: Over the course of the study, I will follow each focal student for part of my observations each week.

My notes will include:
- verbatim notes for
  - direct interactions with teacher
  - peer interaction around content area texts (e.g. printed and non-printed)
- descriptions of how students respond to the teacher’s instructional activities:
  - how teacher presents lesson objectives, texts, and activities
how teacher orients students to activities, roles, and responsibilities during instruction and interaction with texts and classroom materials
- how teacher orients students to interact with themes and topics in the texts
- how teacher makes or draws out connections between texts (e.g. printed, not printed), understandings texts, themes and topics to the characteristics of the content area and/or discipline (e.g. science, social studies)
- how teacher presents why the content area and/or discipline is relevant to current and/or future learning and student experiences
  * descriptions of how teachers adapt instructional activities to the instructional needs of the focal student.

*If students are working or discussing in small groups, I will rotate between groups with the case study students and focus in particular on their participation so that I can reference that later during the interviews.
APPENDIX B

Background Information Interview for Classroom Teachers

Purpose

The purpose of this interview is to develop rapport with teachers and to gain an initial understanding of:

- each teacher’s background and instructional experience
- each teacher’s thinking about his/her subject area and its relationship to the discipline
- rationale for text and resource selection
- thinking about participation and the classroom environment
- the demographics of the classroom.

Thank you for assisting me. As I explained during the consent process, I am here to learn about how students are learning and understand social studies/science. Today, I would like to gather background information about you and your teaching.

Background Information

- How many total years have you been teaching [this subject area]?
- How long have you been at teacher at this school?
- Why did you decide to pursue a teaching career in [this subject area]? 
- Why did you choose to teach this grade level?
- What are the most important successes you’ve had this year teaching this class?
- What are the biggest challenges you’ve had this year?
- What, if any, professional development have you participated in that may have influenced your work with this class?
  o Prompt for how it has helped.

Disciplinary & content

- In your opinion, what understandings and skills would a student need to have to be considered a good student in this class?
- What content will you be exploring in the upcoming lessons?
- What do you consider when you plan a unit you are teaching? Describe your process.
  o Prompt for: texts, resources, students’ background knowledge.
- What do you usually do to get students participating and engaged?
  o Prompt for how classroom is set up.
Student population

- Tell me about the students in this class. What is important for me to know about them as I observe?
- How many bilingual students do you have in this year?
- Which of your students would be good for me to focus on for this study?

*Is there anything else that I didn’t ask that you think is important for me to understand?*
APPENDIX C
Instructional Planning Interview for Teachers

Purpose
The purpose of this interview will be to gather data that describe the teachers’ thinking about text selection and the relationship between content learning and the texts used in class. Teachers will also be asked to consider how their bilingual students might be affected by this relationship.

Thank you for assisting me. I am here to learn about how students are learning and understand social studies/science. Today, I would like to understand more about what you are teaching and how you plan your instruction.

• What content will you be exploring in the upcoming lessons?
• What is the most important thing you want your students learn from these lessons? Why?
  o How do you set up your classroom to do that?

• Tell me about the texts, materials, and resources you are using.
• Why did you choose these?
  o Prompt for: students’ background knowledge, reading level, skills, strategies.

• I will be working with [name of students] in this study.
  o Tell me about [student] as a learner?
  o As a reader?
  o As a writer?

Is there anything else that I didn’t ask that you think is important for me to understand?
APPENDIX D

End of Observation Interview for Teachers

Purpose
The purpose of this interview will be to gather data that describe the teachers’ thinking about the relationship between content learning and texts used in class. Teachers will also be asked to consider how their bilingual students might be affected by this relationship.

Content & Discipline

• What did you enjoy the most about teaching these lessons?
• What did you think was challenging about teaching these lessons?

• What do you think was the most important thing your students learned from these lessons?
  o Listen for: content, skills, strategies

• What do you think worked especially well to get students to understand that?
  o Prompt for: participation grouping, use of prior knowledge, and activities.

• How well did the texts you chose work to get students to understand that?
• Is there anything you would have changed about these lessons? Why?
  o Listen for: students’ background knowledge, texts, resources

Bilingual students

• Tell me about what you noticed about [focal students]’s understanding of [content/skills/strategies mention previously].
  o Prompt for: student’s background knowledge, interest, participation, reading and writing skills, text-related concerns.

• Were there any aspects of [focal students] that affected how you taught these particular lessons?
• How do you think the texts worked for [focal students]? Why?
• When did you notice [focal students] were especially engaged and participating?

Is there anything else that I didn’t ask that you think is important for me to understand?
APPENDIX E

Background Information Interview for Students

Purpose
The purpose of this interview is to develop rapport with students and to gain an initial understanding of:
- a student’s language and cultural background
- a student’s school and content area experiences
- a student’s perception of participation and learning in social studies/science class

Thank you for assisting me. As I explained during the consent process, I am here to learn about how you are learning in social studies/science.

Background information

• How long have you been at this school? What do you think about it?
• I’m really interested in your background as someone who speaks [a language other than English at home]. Have you always spoken both [home language] and English?
  o Prompt for reading in both languages.
• Tell me about what that experience has been like being bilingual at this school.
  o What do you enjoy reading and writing in English? Why?

Content Area & Engagement

• I’ll be observing in your social studies/science class. Tell me about your experiences in the class.
  o Prompt for interest and participation.
• What about social studies/science is easy for you? Why?
  o Listen for teacher support, reading, writing, assignments.
• What about social studies/science is challenging for you? Why?
  o Listen for teacher support, reading, writing, assignments.

• Tell me about what you are learning in class now.
  o Prompt for prior knowledge (e.g. skills, strategies, content), interest and participation.
• Why do you think this might be important to learn about?
  o Does what you are learning relate to other things you’ve already learned or know about social studies/science? How?

Is there anything else that I didn’t ask that you think is important for me to understand?
APPENDIX F
End of Observation Interview for Students

**Purpose**
The purpose of these interviews will be to gather data that describes each student’s thinking about the content learning and the texts used in class.

**Content & Discipline**

- Tell me about how you are feeling about your social studies/science class now.
  - In our first interview, you told me that [content, skills, strategies, reading, writing] was easy. Is that still true? Tell me more.
  - In our first interview, you told me that [content, skills, strategies, reading, writing] was challenging. Is that still true? Tell me more.

- Thinking about the last 4 weeks that I’ve been observing in your class, what’s something you learned that’s stuck with you? Why?
  - What do you think you could do with that learning?

- Was there a particular day or lesson that you feel that you understood what was being taught than others?
  - What helped you to learn it better?
  - Listen for: use of background knowledge, skills or strategy instruction, interest, and participation.

- Was there a particular reading, writing assignment, or classroom activity that you remember well? Why?
  - Listen for: student’s background knowledge, interest, participation, reading and writing skills, text-related concerns.

- Is there anything you still challenged by, unclear or unsure about?
  - What do you think you would need to understand it better?

- If you were to give advice to next year’s [nth] graders, what do you think you would tell them about learning [this content]?
  - Learning in social studies/science class?

*Is there anything else that I didn’t ask that you think is important for me to understand?*
APPENDIX G

Classroom Learning Interview for Teachers

Purpose
The purpose of these interviews will be to gather data that describe the teachers’ thinking about texts, assignments, and activities, and the relationship between content learning and the texts used in class. Teachers will also be asked to consider how their bilingual students may be affected by this relationship.

Please use any of the following documents in front of you to jog your memory of your instruction today:
Textbook/copies of text
Classroom handouts
Student work
Assignments
Notes from today’s observation

• Tell me about today’s class.
  o Prompt for: learning objectives, texts used, activities, assignments given.
• How do you think it went?
  o What do you think your students learned? How do you know?

• Tell me about this [reading/assignment/activity/artifact] and what your thinking is behind it.
  o Prompt for: learning objectives, students’ background knowledge, interest, and participation.
  o Did anything come up that you didn’t expect? What did you do/what do you expect to do?

• Tell me about what you noticed about how [focal students] did with this.
  o Listen for: student’s background knowledge, interest, participation, reading and writing skills, text-related concerns.
  o Did anything come up that you didn’t expect? What did you do/what do you expect to do?

• What are you thinking about for the next lesson?

Is there anything else that I didn’t ask that you think is important for me to understand?
APPENDIX H

Classroom Learning Interview for Students

Purpose
The purpose of these interviews will be to gather data that describes each student’s thinking about content learning and the texts used in class. This interview protocol will be used twice.

Please use any of the following documents in front of you to jog your memory of your instruction today:
Class notes
Classroom handouts
Textbook/copy of the text
Student work

• Tell me about today’s social studies/science class.
  o Prompt for: understanding of learning objectives, participation, and interest.

• What did you learn from today’s class.
• What did you know about this topic/content/skill before today’s class?
  o Did your teacher do something to help you learn today?
  o Why do you think this might be important to learn about?
    o Does what you are learning relate to other things you’ve already learned or know about social studies/science? How?

• Tell me about this [reading/assignment/activity] that your teacher gave you.
  o What was easy about this for you? Why?
    o Listen for teacher support, reading, writing.
  o What was challenging? Why?
    o Listen for teacher support, reading, writing.

Is there anything else that I didn’t ask that you think is important for me to understand?
# APPENDIX I

## Sample codes for analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problematizing Content and Text</th>
<th>Providing Relevant Resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Context as</strong>…</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• factual information</td>
<td>Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• accumulation of knowledge</td>
<td>Participation patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• problems/questions</td>
<td>• IRE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• concepts (content area or disciplinary)</td>
<td>• prompts for S thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• actual information</td>
<td>• asks S clarifying questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text for…</td>
<td>Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• gathering singular/dominant perspective</td>
<td>• racial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• multiple perspectives</td>
<td>• ethnic/cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• opposing views</td>
<td>• reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• resource for controversial issue</td>
<td>• writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author is…</td>
<td>Literacy strategies (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• recognized basic authorship/source (e.g. difference between primary v. secondary)</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• considers author’s purpose/perspective</td>
<td>• vocabulary strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• questions author’s purpose/perspective</td>
<td>o cognates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o multiple meaning words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• comprehension fostering strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• comprehension monitoring strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• metacognitive conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td>Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Technology</strong></td>
<td>• S sets purpose for writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participation patterns</strong></td>
<td>• Process: drafting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• IRE</td>
<td>• Process: revision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• prompts for S thinking</td>
<td>• Process: editing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• asks S clarifying questions</td>
<td>• Process: publishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identity</strong></td>
<td>• Selecting an introduction strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• racial</td>
<td><strong>Reading</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ethnic/cultural</td>
<td>• comprehension fostering strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• reader</td>
<td>• connection to self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• writer</td>
<td>• connection to text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• connection to world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• generating questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• summarizing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Codes that indicate presence of both Problematizing and Resources principles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructional strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T sets purpose for reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T sets purpose for writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S extracts information using…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• skim &amp; scan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• direct prompts &amp; questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T gives S answer to question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T models the task/procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T models cognitive process/thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T models both task and thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T asks/probes S with question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T uses/connects to S prior knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T does not use/connect to S prior knowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opportunities/Missed opportunities</th>
<th>Reason for missed opportunity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T poses problem…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• S take up appropriately</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• S does not take up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• S attempts to take up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S demonstrates misunderstanding…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• T appropriately takes up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• T does not take up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• T attempts to take up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S poses problem/question…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• T clarifies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• T does not clarify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• T attempts to clarify</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- S sets purpose for reading

Language impact
- focus on sentence level
- focus on paragraph level
- focus on entire reading/passage
- focus on ideas/content across multiple texts
APPENDIX J

Percentage of how time was spent in each classroom

How Ms. Brooke’s classroom time was spent
How Mr. Thomas and Ms. Watanabe’s classroom time was spent
How Mr. Casey and Ms. Green’s classroom time was spent
## APPENDIX K

List of Documentary Films shown during People on the March unit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. Brooke</th>
<th>Mr. Thomas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Viva la Causa</em> (Brummel &amp; Mayo, 2008)</td>
<td>documentary on The Children’s March (not observed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Times of Harvey Milk</em> (Epstein, 1984)</td>
<td><em>Viva la Causa</em> (Brummel &amp; Mayo, 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>We Shall Remain: Wounded Knee</em> (Nelson, 2009)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Salute</em> (Norman, 2008)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX L

“Great Pyramid of Reason” Diagram

- The main idea!
  - answer a question
  - respond to an argument
  - express an opinion

- Information that shows why your claim is true!

- Why does it support claim?

- What does your evidence mean?
APPENDIX M

List of Recommended Online Resources for the Museum unit

(Mr. Casey and Ms. Green)

Ancient World Museum Research Notes

We will have time this week to take notes about our artifacts and the civilization that created them using the artifact notes worksheet. Below are some links to help you get started with your research.

- British Museum – Explore Ancient Cultures
- Search the Louvre Museum
- Smithsonian Museum of the American Indian: Search Cultures
- Simple Wikipedia: List of Ancient Civilizations
- Regular Wikipedia: List of Ancient Civilizations
- World Book Kids
- World Book Student
- Culture Grams
- ABC Clio
- You may also search with Google, but don't use Google Images.
Susanna C. Eng grew up in New York City. She earned a Bachelor of Arts in a specialized major of Comparative American Ethnic Studies from Swarthmore College in 2001. After graduation, she was a grant writer and program manager at human services non-profit in Philadelphia that served multiethnic and multilingual populations throughout the city. In 2004, she earned her Master of Science in Education from the University of Pennsylvania in Secondary English. She taught in public and charter schools for over two years in Washington, DC. She moved to Seattle in 2008 to pursue a Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Washington in Language, Literacy, and Culture; she earned this degree in 2015. She currently resides in Washington, DC.