Pedagogical Relationships in Secondary Social Science Classrooms

by

Brian James Girard

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education)
in The University of Michigan
2010

Doctoral Committee:

      Professor Pamela Ann Moss, Chair
      Professor Jane E. Dutton
      Associate Professor Robert B. Bain
      Associate Professor Carla O'Connor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My chair, Pamela Moss, has been the biggest supporter of my work since I arrived at Michigan six years ago. Without the thousands of conversations I have had with her, this dissertation would not exist. I owe much of its rigor and quality to her high standards and invaluable feedback.

Thanks to my entire committee for sheparding me through this process, providing insightful feedback, and being so flexible in dealing with my challenging timeline.

There is no limit to the praise I could heap on my fellow graduate students who formed (and I hope will remain) my intellectual community for the past six years. Thanks to my original cohort: Seneca Rosenberg, Serena Salloum, Dan Berebitsky, Julie Dwyer, and Christine Neumerski, who made graduate school everything I had hoped it would be. Thanks as well to all my co-instructors and teaching mentors, who taught me what it means to teach teachers: Tammy Shreiner, Anthony Tuf Francis, Melissa Stull, Theresa McMahon, Stuart Rankin, and Laura Aull. Special thanks to Lauren Harris, Raymond McDaniel, and the entire Rackham Interdisciplinary Workshop for Qualitative Research

in the Social Sciences for reading drafts and providing feedback on the dissertation.

My family has been tireless in supporting me my entire life. Thanks to my parents for everything they have ever done, and to my brothers, who keep me on my toes.

Last and most importantly to my wife, Charlotte, who has never known me when I was not working on a dissertation. She has been an editor, cheerleader, masseuse, and all around clutch facilitator and expediter. She kept me going when I wanted to quit, and made me take breaks when they were essential. I love her more than anything.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

This study investigates two high school social science classrooms in order to better understand the pedagogical relationships among teachers, students, and disciplinary content, and how teachers can influence students' opportunities to learn disciplinary literacy. Drawing on conceptual resources from sociocultural theories of learning and Lampert's (2001) version of the instructional triangle, this study applies the idea that interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions of learning are intertwined.

I collected data using ethnographic methodologies over the course of a school year, including classroom observations, video and audio records, interviews with the teachers and a sample of students, and artifacts from the classrooms, including students work and teacher handouts.

The investigation revealed three strategies that the participating teachers deployed in the classrooms I observed to foster pedagogical relationships, including using orienting discourses to position students relative to the content, each other, and the teacher; the design and application of simulated roles that afford students opportunities to recast their pedagogical relationships; and disciplinary scaffolds that aid students in completing the cognitive work of the discipline in the classroom. Furthermore, with both teachers there were instances in which the pedagogical relationships around the strategy were in concert or conflict, resulting in different learning opportunities for the students.

This study has implications for teachers, especially of secondary social science, who want to develop disciplinary-oriented communities in their classrooms, and for teacher educators who support their learning. In particular, this study raises questions for teachers to apply to their own practice when designing and implementing instruction.

Chapter 1

Introduction

During my own time as a teacher, I felt the importance of the relationships I built with students. There were several students over the course of my career who were more cooperative in my class than with other teachers, and from my perspective it was largely because of the quality of relationships I had formed with those students that they were more engaged and better behaved. I would also like to think that such students learned more in my class because of their engagement and behavior. Likewise, there were students with whom I unintentionally developed antagonistic relationships despite my best efforts, and they remained disengaged at best, disruptive of others' learning at worst, while other teachers did not have the same difficulties. In both cases, I was led by my own instincts, for better or worse, but it seemed clear to me that the kinds of relationships that my students and I developed had real consequences for the learning that happened (however limited my teaching ability at the time was). I have since come to realize that there was an invisible third partner in my relationships with students: *the content* of the history and English classes I taught. In this dissertation, I use a theoretical model of classroom interaction that has been represented as an instructional triangle (Hawkins, 1974; Lampert, 2001), supplemented with further theoretical tools from sociocultural theory, to explore the ways teachers, students, and content interact in classrooms, and how the relationships between each shape one another and students' learning opportunities.

My early folk theory about the importance of teacher-student relationships for student learning is supported by a range of empirical research that suggests that the quality of teacher-student relationships is an important factor in a variety of student outcomes. There is evidence that the quality of the teacher-student relationships impacts student achievement positively (Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Murray & Malmgrem, 2005; Murray & Pianta, 2007; Pianta, 1999), and furthermore that achievement is mediated by teacher and student behavior in the classroom (O'Connor & McCartney, 2007). Other studies have highlighted other positive outcomes for students such as better behavior (National Research Council, 2004; O'Connor & McCartney, 2007), an increased view of the intrinsic importance of the discipline taught (Midgley, Feldlauder, & Eccles, 1989), engagement with school (Anderson, Christenson, Sinclair & Lehr, 2004; NRC, 2004), and emotional health (Roeser, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2000).

However, despite this clear foundation indicating the importance of the quality of teacher-student relationships, we do not know much about how teachers initiate, develop, and maintain such relationships, or what students make of them. Recently, Grossman and McDonald (2008) exhorted researchers and teacher educators

> to take the relational aspects of teaching practice more seriously. [. . .] there is relatively little attention in the empirical research literature on how teachers establish pedagogical relationships with students and how they use these relationships to engage students in learning. And when we consult handbooks of what teachers need to know, this aspect of teaching seems remarkably undertheorized, often reduced to issues of classroom management or creating positive classroom environments (cf. Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2006; Reynolds, 1989). Any framework of teaching practice should encompass these relational aspects of practice and identify the components of building and maintaining productive relationships with students. (p. 4–5)

Grossman and McDonald also noted the particular importance of understanding the relational aspect of teaching for teachers working with students across boundaries of

difference such as race, language, or socioeconomic status. This assertion is supported by the emphasis placed on relationships and caring in research on culturally relevant and responsive teaching (e.g., Brown, 1999, 2003; Howard, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 2000). While Grossman and McDonald's call for better theorization of relationships is about the interpersonal relationships, it is my theoretical position that in order to do so, we must also take into account the role of the disciplinary relationships as well.

Research Questions

Given the importance of teacher-student relationships for student learning and other outcomes outlined above, it is crucial that we come to a better understanding of how teachers can build and sustain such relationships, *while also building student relationships with disciplinary content*. To that end, I explore the following questions in my dissertation:

• How do teachers and students initiate, co-construct, and maintain pedagogical relationships?

• How do these pedagogical relationships shape students' opportunities for developing disciplinary literacy?

Two key terms in my research questions need elaboration to understand the approach and findings of this study. First, I use the term *pedagogical relationships* to refer to the composite interactions of interpersonal relationships and the relationships of the individuals with the subject matter of the class. The second key term is *disciplinary literacy*, which provides the normative orientation to my investigation. It indicates a learning goal for classrooms: students should be literate in the field (or on a trajectory to develop such literacy), meaning they have deep knowledge of the content area,

understand how that knowledge is constructed, and are able to critique it (Moje, 2007). Both pedagogical relationships and disciplinary literacy are more fully addressed in the next chapter.

These questions are motivated in large part by my desire to help make the social dimensions of learning more visible to teachers. The arguments for the social dimensions of learning are compelling but difficult to leverage in helping teachers improve their practice, in part because the interpersonal dimensions of classroom relationships do not leave the same evidence behind as aspects of disciplinary relationships do. Focusing on individual classes and units in two teachers' classrooms allows me to attend to both the more evident disciplinary dimensions of pedagogical relationships, as well as the interpersonal aspects. While this study generally focuses on the lesson and unit scale, these are the building blocks for understanding longer scale developments in future work.

In order to study the pedagogical relationships between students, teachers, and content, I have adopted ethnographic approaches that allow me to capture the rich and complex day-to-day interactions in classrooms (Hammersley & Atkins, 2007). My classroom observations occurred with two social science teachers at Northern High School: Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark. I chose to focus this work in social science classrooms because of my own background and knowledge of such classrooms and content. Northern is a well-resourced suburban high school of roughly 2000 students. This dissertation relies on data from Mr. Daniels's Civics & Economics class and Ms. Stark's World History II class.

Significance and Impact

Understanding how teachers build pedagogical relationships with students and classrooms is important for several reasons. First, sociocultural perspectives on learning highlight the social aspects of learning (and knowledge), whether through modeling, scaffolding, collaborating, or participating. If, as I believe, social interaction is so central to learning, then we must illuminate the relationships that constitute this social system and understand how teachers build and maintain such relationships, especially in the constrained environments of junior high and high school where teachers have a limited amount of time each week for such work (as opposed to lower grades that are more self-contained).

Second, the literature shows the clear importance of teacher-student relationships for a range of student outcomes beyond achievement. If such relationships have the potential for so many positive outcomes, we would do well to spend more time attending to this element of teaching practice. Furthermore, the quality of relationships seems to have a particularly important effect on students who need special services (Murray & Pianta, 2008) or who are "at-risk" (Murray & Malmgren, 2005; Pianta & Walsh, 1996) and a better understanding of how effective teachers manage such relationships could aid us in training the current and future generations of teachers who will help these students.

Third, schools are central to the health of our democratic system, and having classrooms where students can learn and practice skills essential to robust democratic participation is important. While all disciplines prepare students for full participation as adults, history and other social science classrooms have a particularly important place in this work because they are the disciplines that explore the problems that democracy tries to solve. Both history and civics, for example, provide opportunities for understanding

enduring dilemmas of democratic governance, and how people have solved problems and tensions in the past, as well as explaining how we came to have the problems we currently face.

This dissertation begins to address this agenda by illuminating particular strategies teachers use in building relationships and, with the help of sociocultural theory, raising questions that might be considered in planning and enacting instruction and supporting those who do. My hope is that this work will eventually impact both sociocultural considerations of students' learning environments as well as teacher preparation and professional development. Through development of a better understanding of the shaping of pedagogical relationships, this work can impact several aspects of teacher preparation and practice. By studying teachers who successfully model strategies that shape such relationships, I provide concrete examples of teaching practice that are at times robust in their disciplinary dimensions, and engaging and humane in their interpersonal dimensions. The teachers also provide examples of missteps or difficulties that are equally informative for thinking about teaching and shaping pedagogical relationships. Furthermore I highlight, when possible, how the constituent dimensions of pedagogical relationships have mutual influence. This work is relevant for both teaching methods classes and for classes that focus on the interpersonal aspects of teaching, such as multicultural education and classroom management. In addition to the value of specific, concrete examples for helping prepare teachers, this work raises questions teachers can apply to their own classroom planning and design, as well as in reflecting on their work in retrospect.

This line of research will contribute to improving conditions in classrooms for both teachers and students by providing teachers and teacher educators with new "ways of seeing" the social dimensions of their classrooms and new insights into how they build productive pedagogical relationships that support students' learning disciplinary literacy.

Outline of Dissertation

After this brief introduction, Chapter Two integrates the theoretical framework guiding this study with a review of relevant literature, especially in social science teaching and learning. It begins with conceptualizing the relationships that form *pedagogical relationships*, drawing primarily from Lampert's (2001) work on the instructional triangle, consisting of the teacher, the students, and the content that brings them together. I also further explain *disciplinary literacy* as the goal to which the instructional triangle's relationships should be oriented.

I then review the literature around theories of the structure of the disciplines and associated work in cognitive science about expert thinking in history and work in education that builds off such studies. In order to understand how relationships illuminated by the instructional triangle interact with each other and build a classroom community for learning, I then turn to theoretical resources from sociocultural approaches to learning. These include frames for understanding how learning is mediated by conceptual tools and by other people (Engeström, 1987; Wertsch, 1995, 1998); how learning unfolds through a dialectic of participation and reification as teachers and students take up the tools they inherit and create new ones (Wenger, 1998); and how the classroom community forms the constitutive context for learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

In Chapter 3, I explain my site and participant selection and data collection methods, which include video and audio recordings of class proceedings, interviews with teachers and students, artifact collection, and student work. I also describe my broad approach to data analysis, which is further detailed in subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 also provides descriptions of each of the participating teachers. This section includes information based on both my formal interviews and informal discussions with the teachers, and paints a portrait of their backgrounds, career trajectories, and pedagogical approaches to secondary social science education.

I then turn to three chapters of findings, documenting particular teacher strategies that address my research questions regarding pedagogical relationships and opportunity to learn disciplinary literacy. Chapter 4 focuses on the first day of class in two classrooms. I investigate the different strategies each of the teachers employs to begin their pedagogical relationships. The strategies the teachers utilize are different from one another, as are the participation structures they employ in enacting them. Furthermore, while the strategies do not define the teachers' entire pedagogies (i.e., they do not suggest labels to describe their teaching generally), they do reveal something fundamental about each teacher's disciplinary and interpersonal preferences.

In the next two chapters, I increase the scope of investigation in order to examine two central dimensions of social science classrooms by looking at an element of each particular teacher's practice in detail. In Chapter 5, the setting is Mr. Daniels's classroom in the middle of the semester, during which time he conducted two simulations back-to-back. The first simulation was a presidential campaign simulation where students ran campaigns for Obama and McCain (this was the fall of 2008, right in the heart of the

actual presidential campaign season), followed the next week by a simulation of Congress, with the students acting as members of the House of Representatives. The analysis of these two simulations focuses on the way Mr. Daniels structured them and the consequences such decisions had for student interactions with one another, their contact and learning opportunities with content, and Mr. Daniels's own role in the classroom. In particular, the chapter looks at the ways the structured interactions between students, determined by the "rules" of the simulation and the simulated roles, contributed to or hindered students' meeting Mr. Daniels's goals for the simulation.

Chapter 6 focuses on teacher support of student historical thinking through instructional materials. This chapter relies on Ms. Stark's World History classroom, and looks at her support of student thinking across the entire semester, with an emphasis on the 4th unit of the course on World War I. The chapter considers both the lesson-level supports Ms. Stark deploys, as well as a larger unit-level scaffold for student thinking across lessons, the Green Unit Sheet. Chapters 5 and 6 present an interesting contrast, because each chapter attends to a particular avenue of influence and mediation teachers can exercise over student learning of subject matter content.

Chapter 7 brings together the findings of the previous three chapters for discussion. In addition, I offer a consideration of the implications of the findings for theory, teaching, and teacher education practice. I also discuss the limitations of the study and future directions for this line of inquiry.

Chapter 2

Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

This chapter integrates the theoretical framework guiding this study with a review of relevant literature, especially in social science teaching and learning. I begin with a definition of pedagogical relationships, in terms of dynamic interactions among teachers, students, and content, and draw on Lampert's (2001) instructional triangle to illustrate this framework. Then, I characterize my normative orientation towards pedagogical relationships with disciplinary literacy, which provides an educational goal towards which I believe such relations should be working, and hence a benchmark with which to evaluate pedagogical relationships.

Understanding the import and value of disciplinary literacy requires three successive explanations. First is a brief historical overview of arguments for using the structure of the disciplines as an educational heuristic, looking at both its modern start at the Woods Hole Conference in 1959 with the subsequent publication of Bruner's (1960) *The Process of Education*, as well as work theorizing what the structures of the disciplines are (e.g., Schwab, 1978). I then focus on investigations into the discipline of history, its structure, and more importantly the findings of research investigating the differences between experts and novices in thinking historically. I also address the issue of "civics" as a subject matter and its relation to social science disciplines, since one of the focal classrooms in this study is a civics course.

Although this body of research provides rich description of the differences between novices and experts, it lacks a model for bringing students as novice thinkers towards disciplinary literacy. I turn to empirical studies of secondary classrooms that shed some light on how teachers might move students towards disciplinary literacy, however pedagogical relationships, if considered, are addressed in ways that are partial (e.g, considering only students' relation to content) or implicit in such work. In order to guide my analysis, I rely on sociocultural theories of learning, which provide resources for understanding pedagogical relationships as relationships among the variety of interpersonal and disciplinary relationships in learning environments, and how students can be placed on trajectories of learning towards disciplinary literacy. In particular, I use work from Wertsch (1995, 1998) on mediation, Lave and Wenger (1991) on communities of practice, and Wenger's elaboration of communities of practice, including his twin concepts of reification and participation. In short, all of these theorists highlight the role of the social context in the learning process. This "context" includes both the people and the cultural tools present. I elaborate upon these concepts at the end of the chapter.

Pedagogical Relationships in the Instructional Triangle

Interpersonal & Disciplinary Relationships

A central orienting insight that guides my view of the pedagogical relationship comes from the notion that in a classroom, or in any learning setting, the *interpersonal relationships* and the relationships between the people and the content (what I will refer to as *disciplinary relationships*, modifying Greeno, 2002, and Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008[1]) are intertwined. Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) point out a key insight of Lave and Wenger's

---

1 Greeno (2002) labeled them conceptual relationships, and Greeno & Gresalfi (2008) called them informational relationships.

(1991) work on communities of practice: "the ways that individuals are positioned with respect to others and the content of the activity is inseparable from their engagement with the content itself. Thus, learning involves participation with both interpersonal and informational aspects of an activity" (p. 171). This is an important point, both for noting the inseparable co-creation of relationships and learning, as well as for discerning the interpersonal and the disciplinary as the key relational categories in an activity that contribute to learning.

Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) go on to describe possible trajectories along both disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions. For example, over the course of a school year in a particular classroom a student might become more proficient in utilizing the tools and concepts of a discipline, such as mathematics or history, or might become more proficient at disrupting such learning (disciplinary dimension). Similarly, a student might become more prone to work with others, or to work alone, or to not work at all (interpersonal dimension). The goal for education in these trajectories is movement towards greater proficiency and agency in the discipline (disciplinary dimension), and greater cooperative and collaborative dispositions in the interpersonal dimension. While the latter claim would be contested by some, the desirability of this goal is supported by a recent of meta-analysis of 148 studies (Roseth, Johnson, & Johnson, 2008) that concluded that collaborative classrooms had higher achievement than those characterized by competitive or individualistic goal structures. Higher achievement goes hand in hand with more positive social relationships.

While it is possible to discuss the interpersonal and disciplinary relationships separately, as in these examples, when examining these trajectories over time I believe

they influence one another. In other words, a student who is becoming more proficient at the discipline is also simultaneously enacting his interpersonal relationships with the teacher and with other students. This intertwining of the interpersonal and disciplinary relationships is evident in other classroom-level studies of interaction as well (e.g., Rex, 2006; Wortham, 2006) and suggests that when there is evidence of the disciplinary relationships in a classroom, there is also data to be interpreted about the interpersonal element, and that both are simultaneously shaping students' learning.

Representing Classroom Relationships: The Instructional Triangle

While the impetus for this study was thinking about teacher-student relationships, sociocultural theory suggests that limiting pedagogical relationships to only the teacher-student relationship is anemic, and that such interpersonal relationships must be understood in their relation to the classroom and the disciplinary thematic system about which the students are learning and the teacher is teaching. To that end, I draw on work defining the class context as an instructional triangle that includes the teacher, the students, and the content that brings them together.

Hawkins (1974), in an essay entitled "I, Thou, & It," explores the basic form of the instructional triangle, which consists of the teacher, the students, and the content to be learned. In considering the nature of the teacher-student relationship, Hawkins realizes he cannot ignore the third "leg" of the triangle:

> Adults involved in the world of man [sic] and nature bring that world with them to children, bounded and made safe to be sure, but not thereby losing its richness and promise of novelty. It was this emphasis which made me insist upon the third pronoun in the title, the impersonal "It" alongside "I" and "Thou." Adults and children, like adults with each other, can associate well only in worthy interests

13

and pursuits, only through a community of subject-matter and engagement which extends *beyond* the circle of their intimacy. (pp. 48-49)

The consonance with sociocultural approaches of such a view should be apparent in Hawkins's emphasis on a focus beyond the individuals, and in engagement with a community. Having established the "It" as central, he goes on to consider what impact this has on to the teacher-student relationship, and comes to the conclusion that the teacher's role is to provide a feedback loop for the actions of the child.

> The child is learning about himself through his joint effects on the non-human *and* the human world around him. The function of the teacher, then, is to respond diagnostically and helpfully to a child's behavior, to make what he considers to be an appropriate response, a response which the child needs to complete the process he's engaged in at a given moment. (p. 53)

> So the first act in teaching, it seems to me, the first goal, necessary to all the others, is to encourage this kind of engrossment. Then the child comes alive for the teacher as well as the teacher for the child. They have a common theme for discussion, they are involved together in the world. (p. 57)

Without using the terminology explicitly, Hawkins seems to be referring to the importance of mutual participation, both for the quality of the relationship, and for the learning of the child. Beyond this central revelation, Hawkins does not elaborate. However, the instructional triangle has been elaborated upon further by other education scholars. For example, Cohen & Ball (1999), and later Cohen, Raudenbush, & Ball (2003), use their version of the instructional triangle to highlight the role of resource use in classrooms, an approach that is congruent with sociocultural approaches:

> […] what we casually call teaching is not what teachers do, say, or think, though that is what many researchers have studied and many innovators have tried to change. Teaching is what teachers do, say, and think with learners, concerning content, in particular organizations and other environments, in time. Teaching is a collection of practices, including pedagogy, learning, instructional design, and managing organization. There are more practitioners than teachers, more practices than pedagogy, and the environments of teaching and learning are implicated in the interactions. […]

Resources are used as teachers design lessons, set tasks, interpret students' work, and manage time and activity. To do so teachers and learners must operate in several domains: they must hold and use knowledge, coordinate instruction, mobilize incentives for performance, and manage environments. (p. 124)

Lampert (2001) uses a similar model, but provides an extended consideration of the instructional triangle and its complications beyond its basic representation. She highlights the deep unpacking that needs to occur to explicate each of those seemingly self-evident parts, as well as the complex interactions between them. She begins with the model seen in Figure 2-1 below.
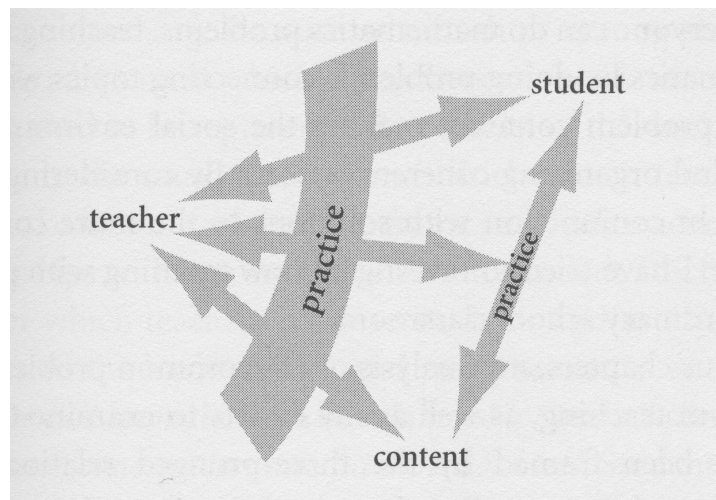
Figure 2-1: Model of Teaching Practice (Lampert, 2001, p. 33)

The arrows in the model above indicate four central relationships in a classroom: between teacher and student, teacher and content, student and content, and the teacher's mediation of the student/content interaction. The arc representing practice indicates the way in which teachers deal with all of these relationships simultaneously in the classroom. While this model represents the central interactions of a classroom, Lampert goes on to show the ways in which it would need to be complicated to more accurately capture the problem space of teaching in classrooms.

The first set of complications reside in the number of interactive arrows needed among individuals, as well as adding relationships with groups. Teachers typically do not interact with only one student at a time, but rather with groups of students or with an entire class. Even when dealing with an individual, a teacher's interaction generally occurs in the public space of the classroom, with the other students able to hear and observe what transpires. In order to represent this, Lampert expands the model to include arrows between the teacher and each individual student, as well as between the teacher and the whole class, and between the teacher and various groups of students. Such groups would include a range of types of groups: "students who struggle with reading," "students who are quiet," and "students who sit at a table together."

Furthermore, students interact with one another, not just with the content and with the teacher, so the "student" corner in the model would also need to include arrows between students (and the pattern of such arrows might tell us something about the formation of certain groups in the classroom). As Lampert (2001) points out, this multitude of interaction can be a constraint as well as an affordance, and teachers "can make better or worse use of the relationships that students have with one another and better or worse use of the various groups within the class as targets of instruction" (p. 427). In other words, human interaction isn't simply a condition of classrooms, but a resource to be leveraged by teachers.
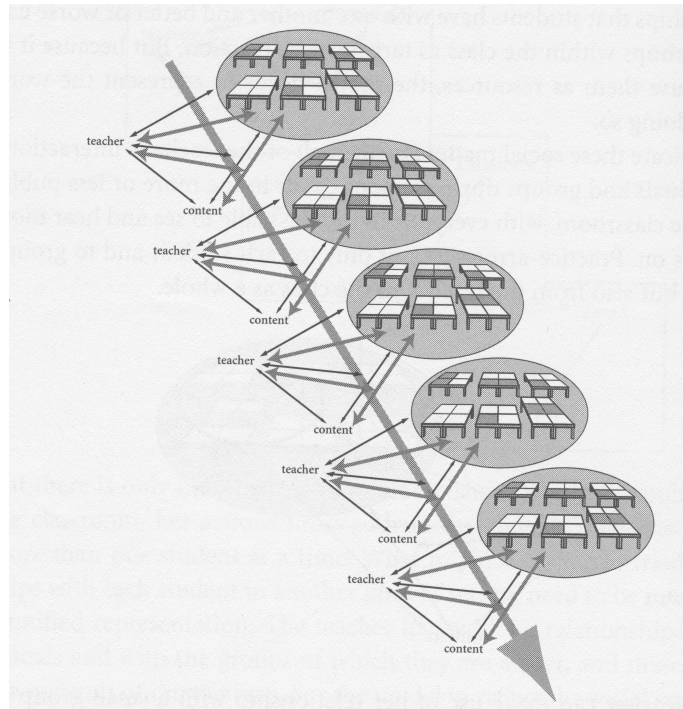
Figure 2-2: Elaborated Instructional Triangle (Lampert, 2001, p. 428)

A second complication is the static nature of any representation. A model like

Figure 2-1 is inert and fails to capture the dynamism of human beings, who change over

time, as do their relationships with one another. To this end, Lampert shows the model

repeated over time with an arrow of time through each, as if points on a time line (Figure

2-2 above). Attending to the temporal aspects of the school year is not simply a result of

trying to be comprehensive, but rather because the temporal life of a classroom has real

consequences for teaching and learning. Lampert (2001) elaborates,

> *In the classroom, both social relationships and relationships with content have a*
> *history and project into future encounters*. […] Teachers can choose to ignore the
> problem of making connections and relationships across lessons. But if the
> teacher takes on the problem of using these over time to support learning, she
> must do the additional work of understanding the persons in those relationships as
> they change over the course of the time they are together, and also take account of
> how relationships develop over time. (italics original, p. 425)

The corner labeled "content" also needs further elaboration (Lampert, 2001).

When thinking about "content" or the "discipline" being taught and learned in a

17

classroom, it is not simply a matter of the topic of the day's lesson, but rather the place of the particular topic in the larger web of meaning-making that is the discipline—how does this piece relate to the whole and vice versa. Questions can also be raised about where the discipline resides in the classroom. In the heads and discourse of the teacher and students in the forms of concepts, facts, and skills, and in the textbooks, handouts, posters, PowerPoints, maps, and charts to be found in the class (and accessed by the class via the internet).
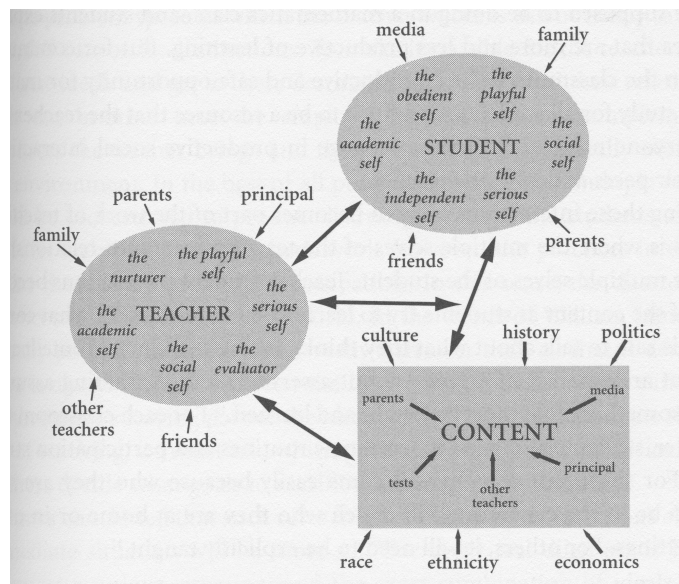
Figure 2-3: Further Elaboration of Instructional Triangle (Lampert, 2001, p. 445)

The instructional triangle helps organize the analysis of this study by highlighting relationships, and the relationships between relationships, that are present and worth asking questions about. When I use the term "pedagogical relationships" I refer to the interaction, or weaving together, of all of the relationships suggested by the instructional triangle, including the interpersonal relationships between teacher and students, and students with their peers, as well as the disciplinary relationships between the students and the content, and the teacher and the content.

Empirical Research Relevant to Pedagogical Relationships

Disciplinary Literacy as Pedagogical Goal

A central goal of content-area instruction in high school is *disciplinary literacy* (Ford & Forman, 2006; Moje, 2007, 2008; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008), and this provides the orientation I use to evaluate the quality of pedagogical relationships. In defining pedagogical relationships as the intertwining of the interpersonal and disciplinary relationships between teachers and students, I have a goal of what I want such relationships to accomplish—what makes them *productive* pedagogical relationships, in Grossman and McDonald's language (2008).

The Institute for Learning at the University of Pittsburgh provides the following explanation of disciplinary literacy: "The ultimate goal of Disciplinary Literacy is that all students will develop deep content knowledge and literate habits of thinking in the context of academically rigorous learning in individual disciplines."[2] Moje (2007) provides an overview of this approach to thinking about teaching, with an emphasis on such teaching as socially just, a view that I share. Moje notes there is still empirical work to be done in developing disciplinary literacy pedagogy, to which I hope this study will contribute. In the meantime, the goal of such pedagogy from her perspective:

> Disciplinary literacy theory and research—regardless of particular perspective— suggests possibilities for the development of rigorous subject matter knowledge. This subject-matter knowledge is developed as a function of the development of ability to produce and represent knowledge in multiple forms, the ability to analyze how others have represented knowledge and therefore to assess truth claims, and with that analytic power in hand, the ability to challenge long-standing—even mainstream—claims to knowledge and, ultimately, to produce new knowledge that will benefit society. Moreover, certain forms of disciplinary literacy pedagogy bring together the focus on the tools for producing knowledge, expert subject-matter knowledge, and the knowledge that youth from a variety of backgrounds bring to their learning. (Moje, 2007, p. 33)

---

[2] Retrieved from http://ifl.lrdc.pitt.edu on January 29th, 2010.

The teachers in this study view themselves as attempting to meet the high bar for what their students learn set by Moje in this quotation. Their experiences in trying to work towards such learning goals are instructive, and I attempt in my analysis to *understand* what the teachers are (or are not) able to accomplish in light of my theoretical and educational commitments without *evaluating* them.

<div align="center">

Disciplinary Structure

</div>

To fully understand the genesis of a disciplinary approach requires some historical contextualization, as well as what we know about how students develop disciplinary thinking, and key practices and structures of the social science communities on whose work the high school classroom is based. Below, I address the literature in each of these areas.

One source of the importance of thinking in a "disciplinary" manner is the work over the past forty-plus years in cognitive psychology around developing a deeper understanding of the structure of the disciplines, and using that knowledge to shape the goals and instruction in disciplinary subjects like science, mathematics, and history. Bruner (1960) began this movement with his seminal work *The Process of Education*, in which he argued that, "grasping the structure of a subject is understanding it in a way that permits many other things to be related to it meaningfully. To learn structure, in short, is to learn how things are related" (p. 7). Understanding such fundamental disciplinary relations, Bruner argued, is the key to both memory and transfer of knowledge.[3]

---

[3] In *Toward a Theory of Instruction*, Bruner (1966) supports a central assumption of this study: There is always the issue of authority in learning relationships and the "regulation of this authority [...] affects the nature of the learning that occurs [...]. The relations between one who instructs and one who is instructed is never indifferent in its effect upon learning" (p. 42).

Schwab (1978) further detailed what constitutes the structure of disciplines by distinguishing between *substantive* structures and *syntactic* structures:

> On the one hand, structures of the disciplines can be approached *syntactically* in terms of the logical structures they exhibit. In an investigative (scientific) discipline, for example, we would look for different methods of verification and justification of conclusions and describe these as constituting the structures of the disciplines. […] On the other hand, disciplines can be approached *substantively*, in terms of the conceptual devices which are used for defining, bounding, and analyzing the subject matter they investigate. (p. 246)

Researchers have begun to fill in the map of disciplinary terrain bounded by the likes of Bruner and Schwab, and have pursued understanding the structure of the disciplines so that they might be taught efficiently to students. In the social sciences, history has received the most attention in this regard.[4]

History as a Discipline

At the most basic level, history, as used here, refers to the *study* of the past, not to be confused with the past itself, a problem in the way the word "history" is used in everyday parlance to refer to what has already happened (Hexter, 1971). A more formal definition of what historians do: "Historians give temporal order to the past, explain why events and processes took place as they did, and write accounts of the past; they base everything they do on the evidence available" (Lee, 2005, p. 71). Lee's description begins to provide clues for what makes history a *discipline*, in that he refers to what historians do, and how they do it (i.e., write accounts based on evidence). VanSledright (2010) fleshes out some more specifics about historians work, and what constitutes historical thinking:

---

[4] See Wineburg, 2001, Chapter 2, for a more complete account of the research around the development of history as a discipline and its use in education.

In the initial investigation phases of their work, they occupy themselves with reading and digesting the residues of the past left behind by our ancestors. Much of this residue remains in the form of documents or sources. "Source work," then, becomes a staple in the investigative lives of these experts. Source work is a complex undertaking, requiring a form of critical literacy. This involves the constant interrogation of documents and their authors. […] [H]istorians reconstruct (some might say create) the past based on questions they attempt to answer. Criteria are involved in selecting and reconstructing the past and these criteria relate to what is considered generally accepted practice within the field, although this practice varies some and is often in dispute. The product, a "history," is subject to peer criticism based on those criteria." (p. 114)

VanSledright rightfully points out that there are disputes within the field, as in any mature discipline, and it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to tackle such conflicts. Rather, to give the reader a sense of some of the disciplinary content of history, I will turn to work investigating research that explores specifics of historian and student ways of thinking about history.

Thinking in History

The work around disciplinary approaches to teaching history cluster into several key areas of research. First is the work that highlights gaps between student thinking and that of experts in key substantive and syntactic concepts of history. For example, Lee (2005; Lee & Ashby, 2000; see also Barton, 2008; and Seixas, 1996) surveys work documenting student reasoning trajectories around key procedural (i.e. syntactic) concepts in history, such as thinking about the nature of bias in accounts, understanding that evidence can be unintentional, or that change need not result from a single action or event. As Wineburg (2001) has pointed out, developing such historical thinking is not "natural," but rather requires "unnatural" development that teachers can help to provide.

Wineburg (2001) has shown differences between how historians and high school students read historical documents. He highlights the historical strategies of sourcing,

corroborating, and contextualizing as central to the historian's reasoning in such work, and absent from student efforts. Other researchers have looked at differences between expert and novice conceptions of other key historical ideas, like significance (Seixas, 1994, 1997), evidence (Foster & Yeager, 1999; Shemilt, 1987), and periodization (Sterns, 1987). What this body of research makes clear is both the gap between novice and expert thinking, and common stages through which such thinking develops.

For example, Lee (2005) summarizes research around the continuum of novice to expert understanding of such key concepts as historical empathy and evidence. With historical empathy, novices are often guilty of "presentism," where they apply modern understandings to historical contexts (e.g., viewing people in the past as stupid for believing in witchcraft). Historians, and others with more sophisticated historical knowledge, understand that people in the past not only lived in different contexts but also interpreted their world differently than we do. Another example of this difference can be seen in different views of evidence. Novices generally do not understand how we can know about the past, and treat books as the authority, whereas historians understand the range of historical residue that can provide information about the past, and that evidence does not need to be intentional (e.g., wills are not created as historical evidence, but historians make good use of them) or based on only reports left by people in the past.

Into the Classroom

Why bother with all of this? We certainly are not attempting to turn all students into historians. Lee and Ashby (2000) succinctly summarize why it is worth attending to the habits of mind of historians and what kind of habits we should encourage in students and why:

As students develop more powerful ideas about how we can make claims about the past and about the ways different kinds of claims may be substantiated or overturned, they acquire the best intellectual toolkit we have for thinking about the human world in time. This is not a generic set of "skills" that can be improved by practice but a complex of multitrack understandings. Nor is history second best to studies that "directly" address contemporary problems, because our concepts and the individuals that make up our present are past referenced; a large part of our thinking or knowing involves making at least tacit claims on the past. […] Students may not come away from school with the picture of the past that any particular historian would like them to have. What they need is to develop frameworks that can assimilate new knowledge but are revisable and provisional. (p. 216)

Building off such work on the nature of historical thought and the difficulty students face are studies of interventions into student thinking in classrooms. Much of the work in investigating history in classrooms has been done at the elementary level (e.g., Grant & VanSledright, 2001; Levstik & Barton, 1997; VanSledright, 2002) and demonstrates that even young children, with proper support from teachers, can begin to use historical concepts and procedures, such as working with documents and developing arguments.

At the high school level, Grant (2003) investigated two different U.S. history classrooms during units on the Civil Rights Movement. He compared the teachers' pedagogy, what students learned, and how state tests influenced the classroom. Grant's analysis centered on the ways the two teachers' different approaches to teaching (and conceptions of the role of teacher) were either a knowledge giver or a knowledge facilitator. This parallels Wineburg & Wilson's (1991) distinction between visible versus invisible teaching. One teacher, Mr. Blair, emphasized lecture and acted as a knowledge giver, while the other, Ms. Strait, attempted to construct classroom activities that facilitated student construction of understanding. Grant (2003) found both teachers to have strong pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987), and both were successful in developing students' historical empathy, however he found some evidence that the

different pedagogical approaches resulted in students developing different conceptions of history. Mr. Blair's (the knowledge giver, i.e. visible teacher) students tended to think of history in terms of facts, while Ms. Strait's (the knowledge facilitator, i.e. the invisible teacher) saw history as complex ideas. This is in contrast to Wineburg and Wilson (1991) who abstained from preferring the visible or invisible approach to teaching, but rather emphasized the shared pedagogical content knowledge and disciplinary foundations of both teachers, despite their different pedagogical approaches. Grant's work is helpful for documenting the interrelation between teaching approaches and student development of historical reasoning, but does not deal explicitly with the interpersonal dimensions of the classroom.

The U.S. history classrooms Linda McNeil (1986) observed in her investigation of four high schools provide a negative, or inverse, example of the type of pedagogical relationships I am trying to understand how to build through my investigation. McNeil (1986) identified four strategies teachers used to keep control of the classroom at the expense of high expectations and challenging tasks. Of course, this trade-off was never spoken of explicitly, and instead negotiated in the moment-to-moment interactions of the classroom and through the use of four teacher strategies.

The first strategy is *fragmentation*, whereby the teacher breaks disciplinary knowledge into lists, not requiring synthesis, interpretation, or explanation of connections between such enumerated "facts." McNeil (1986) points out that this is an efficient strategy for both teachers and students. Teachers are able to give over large amounts of required content in an easily testable form, and students know how to prepare for such tests, which seems "fair." But such an approach is not without costs, both in terms of

disciplinary literacy and the students' view of the teacher and subject matter. Fragmentation of disciplinary knowledge does not allow students to understand the nature of historical inquiry, and when one of the "facts" contradicted what they knew from other sources, the students questioned the validity of the teacher's knowledge and the subject more generally.

The second strategy McNeil (1986) identified was *mystification*, whereby the teacher would declare complex topics important, but then close off conversation by saying that the topic was too difficult for novices to understand. This may have masked the teachers' own lack of knowledge on certain subjects. The effect on students was the opposite of disciplinary literacy, where mystification, "helped engender a client mentality; since students were not invited to pursue information on their own, to dig deeper into subjects that were mentioned and then closed off, they developed a feeling of dependence on externally supplied information" (p. 171).

The third teaching strategy of control of students via knowledge control is *omission*. Teachers cannot teach everything worth teaching; choices must be made. However the teachers in McNeil's (1986) study omitted controversial topics that might lead to conflict in student discussion. The fourth strategy, *defensive simplification*, was the teachers' response to perceived lack of student interest and motivation. In short, the teachers make a tacit deal with the students: I will not make you work too hard, and in exchange you will engage and complete the work I give you.

In all four strategies detailed by McNeil (1986), I see the inverse of the kind of pedagogical relationships that would foster disciplinary literacy. I present them here as a way to see, through a negative example, the kinds of teaching practice that might

encourage better relationships between the teacher, students, and subject matter. I do not think it is as easy as doing the opposite of what McNeil describes, but rather to see how by simplifying representations of knowledge and student tasks, and by avoiding or omitting controversial topics, teachers harm student relations with the discipline, and with the teacher. McNeil provides examples of strategies whereby the interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions of pedagogical relationships are connected, albeit in a way that works against disciplinary literacy.

There are few in-depth studies of disciplinary classrooms in world history, the more specific kind of history that Ms. Stark teaches in the classroom for this investigation. One reason for the relative lack of attention on world history is that it is a relatively new, and rapidly growing, aspect of the high school history curriculum (Bain & Shreiner, 2005). Harris (2008) has documented the lack of coherence within and across world history state content standards. Part of the difficulty rests on the variety of "versions" of world history present in high schools (Bain & Shreiner, 2005; Dunn, 2000), ranging from traditional western civilization curriculum to more inclusive global history approaches.

Notable exceptions to this lack of inquiry include Bain's work (2000, 2005, 2006) in world history classrooms, which documents how he took the insights of cognitive researchers such as Wineburg, and the insights of sociocultural theories of learning, and applied them to teaching high school students the disciplinary tools of history. Part of what Bain's work reveals is the challenge of bringing such approaches into the classroom. Bain (2000) shares how he learned through experience about the need to provide the proper kinds of support to students' historical thinking, including providing

them with cognitive tools, making disciplinary thinking public, and embedding disciplinary practices into classroom activities.

Bain (2000) worked with students over the course of the first semester to create posters for their classroom that provided a framework for distinguishing historical events from historical accounts[5] and determining significance (two key elements of history as a disciplinary practice). Students made use of the posters throughout the year, drawing on these artifacts to provide a scaffold for their historical thinking. In contrast to the textbook, the posters were a record of the learning of the class, and acted as tools students could use going forward to engage in complex historical thinking. Because the students created them (with teacher guidance), the tools' utility was transparent, and the posters enabled a more complex participation in history.

Bain (2006) provides a robust example of the intertwining of the interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions of classroom life, while also demonstrating the kinds of participation enabled by artifacts, their relative transparency, and how participation and transparency relate to pedagogical relationships. Bain contended with the authority his students vested in textbooks as well as in himself as the teacher. He found that while students could question "primary sources," they viewed the textbook as an inviolable authority. This posed difficulties for Bain in trying to have his students adopt a disciplinary perspective on such texts. He had to work hard to upset students' expectations and views of this tool and the way they used it. In Lave and Wenger's (1991) terms, while the general use of the textbook was transparent to students, the form

---

[5] The first day of school is a historical event. Students telling their parents about it at the dinner table is an account.

of participation it enabled (passive reliance on authority for "answers") ran counter to the goals Bain had for his students in developing historical thinking.

In both these examples, the pedagogical relationship between teacher and students was in part mediated by the artifacts. In the second case, Bain disrupted the common relationship between the students and the textbook, after recognizing that the textbook and its "hidden authority" confounded some of his learning goals for his students, and he had to adapt his approach to overcome this hidden authority. While he was an astute enough teacher to recognize the problem, his experience highlights the interconnections between interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions of the instructional triangle:

> To talk differently to the sources of classroom authority, students must not only appropriate the tools of the discipline but must also disturb their conventional interactions with classroom authority, assuming new status, role, and voice in relationship to texts and teachers. (p. 2086)

The creation of public cognitive tools in the form of posters in the other example from Bain shows a different tenor of relationship with an artifact, and the use of such a tool changed the nature of students' relationships with the discipline and with the teacher. The disciplinary principles represented in these classroom artifacts come from the practice of history, even if they were materially created in the class. The presence of the outside world as it influences the relationships in the classroom needs some attention, given its ubiquitous presence in artifact, discourse, tasks, and routines.

In another world history classroom study, Flynn (2009) presents and analyzes her strategies for developing student discussions. Her definition of "discussion" is broad, incorporating different activity genres like simulations, role-plays, and on-line forums. Through analyzing observation, post-activity interviews, and student writing, Flynn (2009) drew five conclusions about the students experience in learning to discuss:

1) Students are well aware of the roles peers take in discussions and the dynamics between people during discussion; 2) Students do not enjoy having authority over peers or being responsible for managing peer participation; 3) Students need to engage fully with content for discussion success; 4) Students want to be heard and multiple avenues for participation should be made available (e.g., spoken and written options); 5) Students have an interest in "real" problems and topics. What her conclusions make apparent is the importance of student engagement in meaningful content for the success of discussions, and that students are cognizant of the classroom power dynamics as they unfold, both of which have relevance to pedagogical relationships between teachers, students, and content.

Disciplinary Civics?

"Civics," like social studies generally, only exists in schools. Political science is the closest disciplinary corollary of civics, but the goals of such courses are bigger in a way than mastery of political science. Rather, civics is meant to prepare students for their roles as citizens in participatory democracy. Shreiner (2009) has begun the important work of considering the cognitive dimensions of participatory democracy and "democratic thinking" akin to the work of Wineburg and colleagues in history. Shreiner identifies four key dimensions of such thinking–"key democratic concepts and conceptual tensions, formative knowledge, public reason, and deliberative decision-making," (p. 309)–and explored difference and similarities between students and political scientists around formative knowledge, which she also refers to as "thinking-in-use." She found both similarities and differences between the strong high school students and the political scientists she studied reasoning about bipartisanship. The professors were able to use

more complicated concepts in their considerations, used more powerful literacy techniques, including questioning the author's assertions and sourcing. The students did not use such techniques, rather they simply read to extract information. This is an important start to understanding differences between novice and sophisticated reasoning in "democratic thinking," and more work needs to be done in this area that further elaborates Shreiner's (2009) work.

Rather than waiting for such work to unfold, I believe it is possible to consider civics in a disciplinary fashion. Parker (2010) stresses the importance of equipping students with "knowing and doing democracy," and it seems possible to equate such knowing and doing with knowing and doing in disciplines, in that a course like civics attempts to provide students with just that. I think it is possible in a course like civics, which draws on political science but is about more than political science, for teachers to engage in what Newmann and associates (1995, 2007) refer to as *disciplined inquiry* as part of authentic intellectual work, which involves: "1. Use a prior knowledge base; 2. Strive for in-depth understanding rather than superficial awareness, and; 3. Develop and express their ideas and findings through elaborated communication." (Newmann, King, & Carmichael, 2007, p. 4). In learning about civic participation and government in such a way, I believe a civics classroom can be seen as working towards disciplinary literacy, even though the content is not strictly construed within an academic discipline.

Civics classrooms have also not been studied for the nature of their pedagogical relations, but there is a fair amount of work arguing for what education for democratic citizenship should entail, a close corollary of civics. However, there is not necessarily consensus on the goal of civic education—a recent review detailed that there are at least

three different conceptions of what constitutes "good" citizenship in civic education (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), and another piece details six different purposes (Hess & Posselt, 2002). Of course citizenship education can be seen as a purpose of all schooling, and not just the purview of civics or government classes (Seixas, 2001).

Hess and colleagues' (2002; 2009; Hess & Posselt, 2002) work investigating the discussion of controversial topics is related to the current investigation in that she looks at the ways such controversy shapes the pedagogical relationships in the classrooms she studies, although she doesn't use the same terminology. In particular, she discusses how the teachers she studied saw discussions as both a pedagogical tool as well as a goal of civic education. In the words of one of the teachers, practice in controversial discussions prepares students "to participate in the 'great conversations' of democratic society" (Hess, 2002, p. 29). Hess's work suggests that interpersonal relationships can be as much of a goal as instruction as a means to other academic ends.

As I have tried to demonstrate in the preceding review, research in secondary social science classrooms has tended to focus on the disciplinary dimensions of pedagogical relationships. A clearer picture exists of understanding history in classrooms, and the body of work related to the disciplined study of civics is growing. Few researchers have looked at the relationship between the disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions of pedagogical relations, and that work, like McNeil's (1987), has found negative results. My goal is to find positive strategies for building pedagogical relationships with their constituent elements working together towards developing students' disciplinary literacy. Next, I turn to sociocultural resources to elaborate my theoretical framework.

Sociocultural Contributions to Theoretical Framework

In order to investigate the development of pedagogical relationships in high school social science classrooms, I rely on larger theoretical concepts from sociocultural theory, and more specific conceptual tools under that broad umbrella to elaborate the instructional triangle that I began the chapter explaining. In this section, I lay out these additions to my theoretical framework, beginning with a general characterization of sociocultural theory and then focusing on particular conceptual tools that have guided this investigation.

One of my foundational assumptions in undertaking an investigation of the relational dimensions of classrooms is that sociocultural theory, broadly conceived, can help teachers make sense of the classroom relational environment. One goal of this study is to show how elements of sociocultural theory can make sense of two high school social science classrooms, and to plumb these cases for further theoretical tools that can aid teachers in "seeing" the importance of the relational nature of their classrooms, and in deploying strategies that enhance such relationships.

However, the term "sociocultural" is in wide use in educational research and it is important to begin by clarifying my usage. Broadly, sociocultural theory "looks at knowledge and learning in terms of a relationship between an individual with a mind and a body and an environment in which the individual thinks, feels, acts, and interacts. Both the body and the environment tend to be backgrounded in the traditional views of knowledge and learning" (Gee, 2008, p. 81). Gee's characterization here is useful, both for its concise definition and for his reference to how sociocultural theory is *different* from other views of knowledge and learning, but some unpacking is needed.

In what follows, I explain the core concepts that inform my theoretical framework and the relationships among them, with an emphasis on the ways in which sociocultural theory can be used to nuance and elaborate the instructional triangle, as it characterizes interactions among teachers, students, and content in classrooms. I begin with the way that "context" is used in sociocultural theory and how it frames my own approach in this study. Next is a consideration of mediation, a concept central to most sociocultural theorists. I clarify the distinction between mediation via tools (i.e., blackboards, concepts, language) and the social mediation of other humans in a community, or in the case of my interest, a classroom. But my interest is neither just in the individual "alone" with his or her mediational means, nor in the community as a whole, but rather in the intermediate level that Rogoff (1990, 1995) terms "guided participation," whereby an experienced member of a community co-constructs learning situations with a relative novice. I then bring to the fore Wenger's (1998) work around communities of practice, and the interactive nature of participation and reification in a community. In short, these ideas represent the given and the potential in social situations.

Context

The environment, which is sometimes just viewed as a "container" for the action of the individual in other theories (Cole, 1996), has an essential role in learning. When I mention environment or context, I do not simply mean the place where action occurs. Instead, context includes the people present, as well as the cultural tools present. These tools can be either physical, like a pen or desk, or ideational, like language or a mathematical algorithm. The context, however, is not simply the tools and people, inertly present in the same space. Rather, the context is created by the *relations* among the

people, the tools, and the culturally- and historically-created activities in which they participate. The context is created by people, but the people are also shaped by the context—they are mutually constitutive. Different traditions in sociocultural theory highlight different parts of this creation of context (Lave, 1993) but understanding the relationships between individuals and these elements of their (learning) environments is crucial.

Jean Lave (1993) begins her introductory chapter to the book *Understanding Practice* with a section entitled "The problem with 'context'" and how this problem motivated the creation of the book. The problem she refers to is how to conceptualize the relationship between actors and their environment (surroundings, context, situation). Sociocultural approaches try to conceptualize the ways that individuals acting are acting in particular situations with historical and cultural antecedents that shape the "context" that the individuals work "in"; at the same time individuals play a role in creating the context.

This co-constitutive nature of context reveals two different emphases in the creation of context. On the one hand, a given context, like a high school history classroom, is determined by a range of historically-developed cultural institutions. What should happen in a classroom is a cultural practice that has developed over the last few hundred years. Standards are created by state boards of education, teachers receive training from universities, corporations write textbooks, create whiteboards and desks, local school boards approve the construction of schools, and the classrooms within them, and state legislatures pass laws requiring children to go to school. All of these social

structures shape what happens when a teacher and his or her students actually inhabit a classroom. However they are not the whole story.

The classroom situation is also constructed by the teacher and students, and what happens is contingent on the choices they make and the social interaction that transpires. This is not news to any teacher who has been in the same class, with all the same physical trappings, and attempted to teach the "same" lesson to two different groups of students, whether in back-to-back periods or across years. Each lesson unfolds in a unique way based on the ways those particular students and their teacher enact the lesson (or derail it). This differential enactment is a central challenge for secondary level teachers who for reasons of scheduling and "coverage," would usually like to keep classes synchronized with one another. One class is almost inevitably fast or slow, more engaged or less.

The important point about understanding the role of context is to avoid overly privileging (or even worse ignoring) either the cultural contributions or the social interactions. However, instead of getting into an unproductive "chicken vs. egg debate," or balancing act, sociocultural theories (as well as other social theorists, e.g., in sociology, Sewell, 1992) shun such dichotomies (along with others like mind versus body) and instead see the two as mutually constitutive. Cole (1996), drawing on Birdwhistle, uses the analogy of context as a "weaving together" rather than context as "that which surrounds." The idea is that the "whole" of the context is constructed in the manner of a thread, with many discontinuous fibers combining to make a whole. Similarly situational elements are then interwoven and must be understood in their relationships with one another in the creation of the whole. The definition from the OED cited by Cole provides a clear description of context as "the connected whole that gives

coherence to its parts." Cole goes on later to point out, in explicating Birdwhistle's "context as a thread" analogy, that the "boundaries between 'task and its context' are not clear-cut and static but ambiguous and dynamic" (1996, p. 135).

The question to pose to the OED definition, in my mind, is who is providing the coherence? For the social analyst, I think the answer is that the different actors are making their own coherence of the situation, and determining what parts are relevant and important, as well as interpreting those elements which are inescapable. Furthermore, in each individual's determinations and the participation that results from such decisions, he or she further shapes the context for the others involved (Wenger, 1998).

One way to understand how the cultural forces and the micro-interactions are not separate is to realize that larger cultural forces also *appear* in the social interaction via the participants. Each person has different trajectories through the social world, and is a member of multiple communities that influence the kinds of things they say and do in different situations. It is also worth highlighting that individuals have agency in creating the context—while they may be constrained by certain "brute forces" (Billet, 2009), what an individual does and says can have an effect on the context, especially if they are in a position of authority or power in the situation, like a teacher. For example, in presenting a task for students to complete, the teacher can highlight a variety of available, relevant information to frame the problem. One teacher might stress the place of this particular work in the larger learning trajectory of the course, explaining how it fits into what has been learned and what will be learned. Another might stress the importance of completing the task in a satisfactory manner since the results will strongly influence the students' final grades. A third might stress the resources available to the students to

complete the task. And of course a teacher might use all three tactics to frame the same task. Such discursive moves highlight different dimensions of the context and potentially magnify their import to others.

Two other caveats about context: what is important for the "weaving together" of context is not limited to the immediate physical surroundings, nor the immediate temporal chain of events. Part of the way relationships function in creating the context is the way they shorthand meanings and understandings between people across spans of time and locale (Mercer, 2000). Furthermore, with the growing prevalence of "virtual" settings and distant communication, the relevance of the immediate physical context can be less important (Gee, 2005; Lemke, 2000).

Mediation: "Individual" and Social

One of the central pillars of Vygotskian theory is the mediated nature of human experience. Vygotsky[6] (1978) famously used a simple triangle to show how artifacts (conceptual and physical cultural tools) mediated the subject-object relationship. As Roth (2007) notes, mediation is so central to Vygotsky's work that his approach is sometimes referred to as *mediation theory*. These mediating artifacts were divided into two types by Vygotsky, tools and signs. Tools are used in physical action, such as a shovel to dig a hole. Signs are essentially mental tools, with language being the most prominent. Subsequent theorists have argued that this distinction is false, as all artifacts (an umbrella term for both tools and signs) have both material and ideational dimensions (Cole, 1996; Wertsch, 1998; Wertsch, del Rio, & Alvarez, 1995). That particular debate aside, the notion that human action is mediated by culturally-derived artifacts is a central tenant of

---

[6] Vygotsky was a Russian psychologist who pioneered a social theory of learning and has become influential in Western psychology with the translation of his work into English in the 1970s.

most sociocultural approaches. To better understand the full dimensions of mediation as a

concept, I will rely on the work of James Wertsch (1995, 1998), who lays out key

principles about mediated action that help provide a fuller picture of mediation. I will

highlight the most salient of these for the study at hand.

The first key principle of mediation is embodied in the unit of analysis, which

Wertsch takes to be the "individual-operating-with-mediational-means," and he offers

this as the unit of analysis because there is an "irreducible tension" between the

individual and his or her use of mediational means in action. While analytically

separable, when looking at lived practice, Wertsch argues, it would be foolish to separate

them and hope to retain an understanding of the phenomenon. He cites Vygotsky (1978)

who likened it to studying water—you would not study hydrogen and oxygen by

themselves to understand water—likewise to understand human action, human action

must be considered in concert with mediational means. However, this does not give

primacy to the tools:

> [Mediation] is an active process. While cultural tools or artifacts involved in
> mediation certainly play an important role in shaping action, they do not
> *determine* or *cause* action in some kind of static, mechanistic way. Indeed, in and
> of themselves, such cultural tools are powerless to do anything. They can have
> their impact only when individuals *use* them. […] mediation is best thought of as
> a *process* involving the potential of cultural tools to shape action, on the one hand,
> and the unique use of these tools, on the other. (Wertsch, del Rio, & Alvarez,
> 1995, p. 22)

Wertsch (1998) asserts another layer of complexity in mediated action in that it

has multiple goals. This is certainly true in a classroom, where not only do the teacher

and students sometimes have different goals, but different students or groups of students

can also have different goals (Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995). Furthermore, any

particular individual will have several goals operating at the same time. For example, a

teacher in a given moment of instruction might be trying to teach students a concept via lecture, conclude class in a timely fashion, and do both in order to impress the principal sitting in the back of the room. This is important in terms of considering motivation and the "why" of what is going on in a setting.

Additionally, how the mediational means available may conflict with the goal(s) of the participants must also be considered. In terms of thinking about improving classroom teaching practice this seems especially important. What tools are available to teachers and students to meet their goals? Wertsch (1998) uses an instructive example of an example where the mediational means conflict with the goal: multiplying two large numbers using Roman numerals. In such an instance, the mediational means are in conflict with the goal of getting an answer. Any set of tools has both affordances and constraints, although we tend to focus on what the tool lets us do, and have a harder time seeing the ways in which it limits our action. In this way, mediation acts as both a tool and a filter, narrowing the "view" of what is possible by the action it "favors." Or as the saying goes, "When you have a hammer, everything looks like a nail."

When considering the relationship between the agent and the mediational means, Wertsch (1998) highlights two related but separate dimensions, mastery and appropriation, which are directly related to learning. "When speaking of mastery, I have in mind 'knowing how' (Ryle, 1949) to use a mediational means with facility" (Wertsch, 1998, p. 50). However, "knowing how" is only part of the relationship between the agent and the means. An individual might know how, but not see the means as "theirs." To use a classroom example, students from marginalized communities sometimes speak varieties of English that are different than the "standard" code. Teachers may try to teach them

formal English, but the students may see the use of such English as not for them. However, this does not mean they have not mastered standard English, only that they have chosen not to make use of it; they have not appropriated it as their own.

The final salient point of Werstch's (1998) regarding mediational means is that their use is tied up with issues of power and authority. This dimension draws in several of the previous points. Power and authority play a role in the example above about appropriation. There are cultural patterns at play in terms of authority and power in the classroom, not all necessarily to the good; for example, whose goals get realized when the teacher and students are in conflict? Who is given access to which mediational means? How does the authority inherent in some mediational means act in conflict with the goals of the teacher or the students? Here, I am reminded of Bain's study (2006) on overcoming the hidden authority of the textbook (and the teacher) in his history classroom, where both sources of authority conflicted with his goal of developing students' ability to use historical disciplinary tools.

Wertsch's (1998) conceptualization of individual-operating-with-mediational-means is an important starting point, however, a wealth of additional work in the sociocultural tradition has expanded the model to include the community within which such mediational means occurs. For example, Engeström (1987, 1993) expanded upon Vygotsky's work with the following triangle:
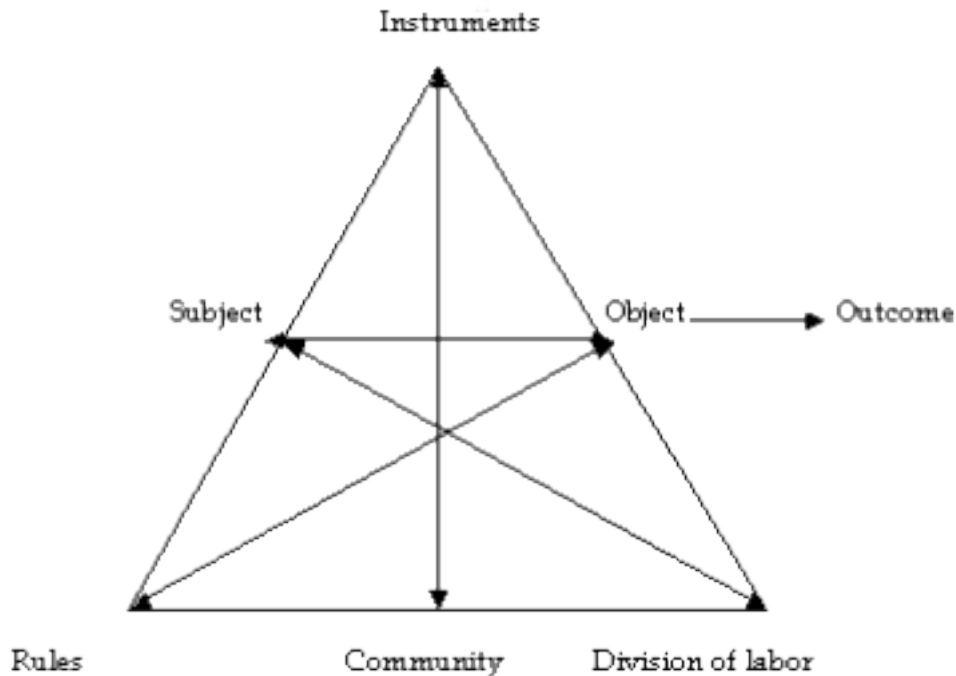
Figure 2-4: Engeström's structure of human activity (adapted from Engeström, 1993, p. 68)[7]

In the top of the triangle, you can see Vygotsky's (1978) basic mediation triangle, which represents how human action is mediated with instruments (i.e., cultural artifacts such as language, hammers, and mathematical algorithms). Engeström has more explicitly taken the entire activity into account and added the social milieu in which the mediation occurs, which importantly includes the others engaged in the activity (community), the ways that community operates (rules), and is differentiated (division of labor). The rules and division of labor include the ways new learners can participate and the way the larger practice is structured.

At least two different senses of mediation are in operation—there is the way artifacts mediate the action of individuals, (top of the Engeström triangle, Wertsch's mediational means) but there is also the larger role of social mediation of those others 'present' in the situation, both proximally and distally (bottom of the Engeström

---

[7] Figure taken from Moss, Girard, & Haniford, 2006.

triangle). The social mediation of the situation is not necessarily the same as the mediational means. So in a classroom, there is both the teaching about (and with) cultural tools (language, math algorithms, historical concepts, tools of the disciplines), as well as the larger social milieu that mediates the use of the tools, which is co-constructed by the teacher, who has a larger cultural norm of having more power in shaping the nature of that social milieu, and the students. Furthermore, in school in particular, the social milieu has a set of tools specific to the activity of schooling, so there are desks, whiteboards, textbooks, bells, intercoms, and computers. So while the same artifacts may be used in two different settings, the social mediation around their use may change how and why they are used. In terms of this study, historical concepts are used by historians, teachers, and students, but the social mediation of the classroom is different from a gathering of historians at a conference (Seixas, 1993). Thinking about the differences between such "communities of inquiry," as Seixas terms them, benefits from consideration of another family of thought in sociocultural theory.

Lave and Wenger (1991; see also Lave, 1996; Wenger, 1998) offer another potential frame for thinking about learning in the social milieu as *legitimate peripheral participation* in a *community of practice*. There is a fair amount to unpack in these two short phrases, but to the current point about mediation, the focus here is on the way in which the community of practice mediates the action of its members, and learning of novices is construed as legitimate peripheral participation. A community of practice is characterized by three characteristics: joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and a shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998).

Novices are taught the way members of the community enact the practice by seeing full members in action, and taking part (participation) in structured, ancillary activities (peripheral) that are still valuable to the enterprise (legitimate). Lave and Wenger (1991) describe different kinds of learning environments (e.g., a butcher shop where apprentices are removed from the work of the skilled butchers) that are less efficacious as learning environments. That particular example is about the physical arrangement of the learning environment (and the "sequestration" that occurs) but there are equivalents for the social characteristics of a learning environment that are equally problematic, such as students who feel alienated from school, or teachers who are unable to manage conflict in the classroom. I am certainly interested in the tools that teachers are teaching, but I am also interested in the way they use cultural teaching tools and enact the social life of the classroom to support student learning.

So how to deal with these differing levels of mediation? One potential solution comes from the work of Barbara Rogoff (1990, 1992, 1995) who frames human development as occurring on three interrelated planes: apprenticeship, guided participation, and participatory appropriation. These processes each correspond to a particular plane of analysis, the community, the interpersonal, and the individual, respectively. Rogoff's framework introduces a meso-level of mediation (although she doesn't use that term), guided participation, to the individual with mediational means and the social milieu. Rogoff (1995) is quite clear that these processes are interrelated but can be analytically foregrounded:

> [T]he parts making up the whole activity or event can be considered separately as foreground without losing track of their inherent interdependence in the whole. Their structure can be described without assuming that the structure of each is

independent of that of the others. Foregrounding one plane of focus still involves the participation of the backgrounded planes of focus. (p. 140)

For the purposes of my work, this meso-level of *guided participation* seems the most fruitful to foreground. Rogoff (1995) provides the following in description:

> The concept of *guided participation* refers to the processes and systems of involvement between people as they communicate and coordinate efforts while participating in culturally valued activity. This includes not only the face-to-face interaction, which has been the subject of much research, but also the side-by-side joint participation that is frequent in everyday life and the more distal arrangements of people's activities that do not require co-presence (e.g., choices of where and with whom and with what materials and activities a person is involved). The 'guidance' referred to in guided participation involves the direction offered by cultural and social values, as well as social partners; the 'participation' in guided participation refers to observation, as well as hands-on involvement in an activity. (p. 142)

In addition to providing a prism through which to see these interrelated planes of activity, Rogoff's framework here is bringing the notion of teaching to the foreground when considering mediation. In particular, she points to both cultural frames and to other individuals as encompassing the "guided" aspect of the participation, which seem analogous if not synonymous with "mediated." How the social partners in the activity act as mediators is what I am interested in, especially the teacher as social partner, as well as orchestrator of social partnerships via task selection and design, seating patterns, task guidance, group formation, and group interventions.

Participation/Reification

Using Rogoff's guided participation as a focal plane of analysis means developing a clearer sense of what counts as participation, and for resources to better understand participation I turn to the work of Wenger (1998), who outlines in great depth the many constituent facets of a community of practice and participation within it. One central

concept for his theory is the "negotiation of meaning."[8] According to Wenger, meaning is

negotiated via a participation/ reification duality.

> Participation refers to a process of taking part and also to the relations with others
> that reflect this process. It suggests both action and connection. [. . .][Participation
> describes] the social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in
> social communities and active involvement in social enterprises. Participation in
> this sense is both personal and social. (p. 55–56)

Participation, Wenger makes clear, is not synonymous with collaboration, and can

include a wide range of relationships, including competition and conflict.

The other side of the meaning-making coin in Wenger's conceptualization is

reification, which generally refers to:

> the process of giving form to our experience into 'thingness.' […] Writing down a
> law, creating a procedure, or producing a tool is a similar process. A certain
> understanding is given new form. This form then becomes a focus for the
> negotiation of meaning, as people use the law to argue a point, use the procedure
> to know what to do, or use the tool to perform an action. (Wenger, 1998, p. 58–
> 59)

Participation and reification are two processes in practice, but they are not on a spectrum,

they are not opposites, they do not transform into one another; rather, as an analytic tool

they stress that the given and the emergent are always both present in practice, and hence

have implications for thinking about the nature of mediation (Wenger, 1998).

Participation and reification provide two "avenues" for altering practice:

> They offer two kinds of lever for attempts to shape the future of the practice. 1)
> You can seek, cultivate, or avoid specific relationships with specific people. 2)
> You can produce or promote specific artifacts to focus future negotiation of
> meaning in specific ways. In this sense, participation and reification are two
> distinct channels of power available to participants (and to outside
> constituencies). They constitute two distinct forms of politics. The politics of

---

[8] Wenger's "negotiation of meaning" seems roughly equivalent to the sense of a mediated experience of the
world in the notion of mediated means. So both participation and reification are about mediating the
individual's experience, but rather than dividing along lines of tools and community (top and bottom of the
triangle in Engeström's model), it seems to be more of a division between the given/structured and the
enacted/lived dimensions of experience.

participation include influence, personal authority, nepotism, rampant discrimination, charisma, trust, friendship, ambition. Of a different nature are the politics of reification, which include legislation, policies, institutionally defined authority, expositions, argumentative demonstrations, statistics, contracts, plans, designs." (Wenger, 1998, p. 91–92).

Wenger gives the example that trying to build a cohesive sports team through friendship is different than doing so through schedules and goals. Teachers face a similar choice (although it is not either/or). There are the bells and school rules that they can rely on, as well as the activities they build into the class period, and their own particular classroom rules and procedures. But there is also their own charisma, authority, and the relationships they build with students, some of which may obviate the structural pieces. And, as I mentioned, participation and reification as levers of change are not exclusive of one another but can be used in conjunction. Wenger states, "one is rarely effective without the other" (p. 92).

A teacher in a classroom stands at the center of several axes of mediation, including most centrally the relationship between students and the content, and between students with one another. When looking at the enactment of classroom practice, bringing mediation to bear on such considerations highlights these relational dimensions of the classroom, and how the teacher stands between students and the enormous amount of content, method, and history of a discipline like political science and the social role of the ideal citizen in a democratic society. This "standing between" is realized in a variety of ways, and is assisted by materials like the textbook, state and national curriculum standards, and other teaching aids. Students, as relatively "naïve" participants in the larger community of practice of the discipline (and the political culture in the case of civics), need the teacher to provide a set of experiences that introduce them to the

discipline—this includes the central concepts, methods of analysis and argumentation (e.g., what counts as evidence in the discipline?), and the facts. Of course, students do not enter the classroom without any knowledge at all of most disciplines, and bring their own experience to bear on the learning encounters in the classroom. Furthermore, whereas they may be naïve in the discipline, they are (by high school age) "old-timers" in the institution of the school.

Conclusion

Using the instructional triangle along with sociocultural theory as a starting point, this study attempts to provide a deeper understanding of the nature of the interpersonal and disciplinary relations that form pedagogical relationships in high school social science classrooms. More specifically, this study explores the ways people (teachers and students) shape the situation and learning experience in the classrooms I observed. What role does the teacher play in mediating these experiences? What lessons can be learned from the cases in this study to improve the learning experiences of other students and the teaching proficiency of other teachers?

I began the idea for this dissertation with a desire to explore the ways in which the interpersonal relationships between students and teachers played a role in teaching and learning. However, both the instructional triangle as well as various pieces of empirical work in classrooms point to the insufficiency of considering the interpersonal separate from the disciplinary dimensions of the classroom. The learning situation is created by both these dimensions simultaneously. In considering mediation as a concept, for example, one can consider how either dimension mediates the other. In order to understand how these two facets interact and to "see" their co-presence in the learning

situation, I am suggesting involving Wenger's concept of participation/reification. This conceptual tool gives us a way to see how, in a given moment, the interpersonal mediates the disciplinary, and the disciplinary mediates the interpersonal, by exploring the given, reified elements of the situation (both conceptual and interpersonal).

Chapter 3

Methodology

In order to capture and trace the social interrelationships among students, teachers, and content over time, it seemed prudent to adopt ethnographic approaches that allowed me to collect the rich and complex day-to-day goings-on in classrooms. To that end, I spent the 2008–2009 academic school year in the classrooms of three experienced social science teachers. In this chapter, I will (1) outline how the teachers were selected, (2) describe my methods for data collection and analysis, and (3) end with an introduction to the two participating teachers around whom the dissertation is focused.

Classroom, Teacher, and Student Selection

When I began searching for a research site, the potential range of criteria for choosing the teachers, classrooms, and schools were disarmingly plentiful. Do I select teachers with strong disciplinary knowledge, or teachers with a reputation for positive, engaging classrooms? Teachers who are expert or exemplars? Novices? Should the school have a unique approach or program that might highlight the role of interpersonal relationships more starkly (i.e., a small learning communities approach)?

In an effort to narrow the scope, I followed several guidelines in selecting the teachers. First and foremost, I looked for teachers engaged in disciplinary teaching; that is, teaching that attends to the structure of the discipline and that provides students with tools to not only understand content, but also to critique and create knowledge. In other

words, teaching with the potential to foster disciplinary literacy (Moje, 2007; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008). I decided to focus on social science teachers given my own background and experience in the field as a teacher.[9]

A disciplinary approach need not dictate a particular set of teaching techniques or routines (e.g., relative frequency of lecture, discussion, simulations, debates, or small group work) (Wineburg and Wilson, 1991). Teachers who are robust disciplinary instructors use a range of approaches, and the differences provide an interesting point of comparison in terms of the intersection of disciplinary literacy and social relationships. Additionally, I was hoping for teachers who both attempted to promote disciplinary literacy, and who had the content knowledge to bolster such an approach. To that end, I was also looking for teachers with advanced study in their content area.

I also considered the interpersonal aspect of teaching in asking for nominations of teachers to approach. On one hand, all teachers form some kind of relationship with students, but I looked for nominees who have particularly strong relationships with students (both in the classroom and beyond through coaching or other extracurriculars) and who built a collaborative community of learners, characteristics that Ladson-Billings (1994) identified as important elements of culturally relevant teaching. To elaborate, such a communal feeling might be identified with phrases like "students feel safe to take intellectual risks" and "the classroom feels supportive and positive."

Then there was the expert/novice continuum to consider. There is something to be learned through contrast between veteran teachers and those just out of college, especially in looking towards translating this work to be of use in teacher education. One

---

[9] I have my teaching certificate in secondary social studies, and I have taught social studies at both the junior high school and high school levels. Furthermore, I have taught pre-service student teacher social studies teaching methods.

hypothesis is that expert teachers would be more skillful in developing high-quality pedagogical relationships. To that end, I prioritized teachers with at least five years of experience.

In order to find teachers, I solicited nominations. The teachers were nominated by knowledgeable teacher educators when I asked for excellent teachers with a strong disciplinary approach to teaching in the social sciences. I received several promising leads, and in the end the three teachers who agreed to participate all worked at Northern High School and have advanced social science degrees. The school itself is a well-resourced suburban high school enrolling approximately 2000 students, outside a major Midwestern city.

Mr. Daniels teaches Advanced Placement (AP) U.S. Government and Civics & Economics. The AP course is relatively small, with only sixteen students who are juniors and seniors. The Civics & Economics class is required for sophomores, and has nearly twice the number of students. Mr. Halpert teaches AP U.S. History and Civics & Economics, although I only observed his civics class, which like Mr. Daniels's, was filled with sophomores, the grade they are required to take the class. Ms. Stark teaches AP European History and World History II. The AP course has twenty-six students who range from sophomores to seniors. The World History class, which is an elective, has twenty-three juniors and seniors. While I collected data on all three teachers, for the purpose of this dissertation I focused only on Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark.

Northern High School is predominately white, however the racial diversity of these courses varies, from as low as 13% students of color in World History II, to as many as 70% students of color in AP U.S. Government. The Civics & Economics and

World History II courses are semester-long because the school operates on a block schedule, where students only take four classes at a time, but each class meets for twice the normal length of time each day. The AP courses, however, last the entire year. I provide a more complete introduction to the teachers at the end of this chapter, including their backgrounds and teaching philosophies.

Data Collection

My approach to data collection falls most broadly under the rubric of qualitative methodology, and more specifically as ethnography (Hammersley & Atkins, 2007). As such, my role is as a "participant observer"—someone who is interested in everyday human action, and as such, someone who maintains a consistent presence in the site under study and who interacts with those present. My role as a participant in the classroom was determined by discussion with each teacher and the ways they structure their classrooms. As a result, my role varied in each of their rooms, but in all classes I assisted students when they engaged in individual or group work by answering questions as I circulated around the room, and I also nudged them along with a question if they seemed to have stagnated in completing the task set before them.

When not circulating, I took a more detached role as an observer, taking field notes and running the video camera and audio recorder. I never taught any lessons, and I minimized my presence as an "authority." For example, early on in all of the classes I found myself in a situation where I had "caught" some students engaged in behavior for which a teacher would reprimand them (e.g., eating in class). I did not want to appear to the students as if I was in any way involved or responsible for grading or assessing their

53

behavior or academic performance, so I would simply shrug and politely tell them it was not my concern.

Outside of class time, I had a less detached relationship with the participating teachers. I spent time with the teachers outside of the class periods I observed, through a combination of pre/post class conversations, as well as shadowing them through parts of their day, including lunch and preparation periods. It was important to me to develop a reciprocal relationship with the teachers where I helped them in return for them opening up their classrooms and teaching practice to me. For example, if asked for advice by a teacher about a matter of lesson planning or finding a resource, I offered whatever assistance my knowledge and experience as a teacher could provide. Similarly, I acted as an assistant in other ways, occasionally running copies for the teachers or helping them collate packets for teacher-parent conferences. In the end, of course, I could not actually repay them the way I would like to, however I did give each teacher a small "thank you" gift card.

I organized my time with each teacher around instructional units, so I visited all but one class for three units over the semester or year. This allowed me to follow the class for a cohesive unit or topic, where I could see student development in that unit, and then return after another unit or two had transpired. I was present for the first instructional unit in all classes, and on average units lasted between two to three weeks. Table 3-1 details the courses and time frame of my observations.

Table 3-1: Teachers, Courses, and Observation Schedule

Teacher* Years experience Advanced degree	Courses Observed (length of course)	Time Frame of Courses & Observations Schedule
Mr. Daniels 12 years M.A. Political Science	AP United States Government (year)**	September 2008–June 2009 1st Unit Observed: September 2nd Unit Observed: December/January

		3rd Unit Observed: April
	Civics & Economics (semester)	September 2008–January 2009 1st Unit Observed: September 2nd Unit Observed: October/November 3rd Unit Observed: December
Ms. Stark 7 years M.A., History & History Education	AP European History** (year)	September 2008–June 2009 1st Unit Observed: September 2nd Unit Observed: December 3rd Unit Observed: May
	World History 1815–Present (semester)	September 2008–January 2009 1st Unit Observed: September 2nd Unit Observed: October/November 3rd Unit Observed: December/January
Mr. Halpert** 13 years M.A., English M.A., History & History Education	Civics & Economics** (semester)	January 2009–June 2009 1st Unit Observed: January/February 2nd Unit Observed: March–May

*All names are pseudonyms ** Not analyzed for this dissertation

While in the classroom I engaged in a combination of videotaping and audio-recording, along with writing field notes of my observations. I also collected relevant artifacts, such as handouts and student work (with teacher comments), and conducted interviews with the teachers and a sample of students from each class. Each form of data is more fully addressed in the following sections.

Video/audio Recording

Central to my data collection were the day-to-day interactions in the classroom, and perhaps the most central element of these interactions are the classroom discourse and interaction, which video-taping allowed me to capture. Videotaping also allows for analysis of non-verbal elements of the classroom, including student spatial configurations, non-verbal communication (e.g., pointing, stance, expressions), as well as documenting physical elements of the classroom (layout, posters, texts, handouts), and student and teacher use of them. I was extraordinarily fortunate to have participating

teachers and students who were willing to be both videotaped and audiorecorded. In each classroom, only one to three students declined to participate in the study, and thus it was relatively simple to make sure they were not in the camera's frame during recording. In classes with assigned seats, I asked the teacher to place the students where they would not be seen, and in classes without assigned seats, I simply told the students where the "safe seats" would be, allowing them a range of choices of where to sit, albeit somewhat restrained.

My recording procedure followed Erickson's (2006) suggestion to record continuously, with a minimum of panning or zooming. A passive video approach helps to minimize the distraction of the camera in the classroom. Doing so also allows the camera to remain "relatively phenomenologically neutral" (Erickson, 2006, p. 177) insofar as the videographer is not editing the situation via such choices. Of course, the camera's position does provide a particular view, and leaves some things out. In each classroom, I positioned the camera at the back corner of the class, with the "center" of the shot on the main board and place where the teacher generally stood. In an effort to cast as wide a data collection net as possible with a single camera configuration, I used a wide-angle lens. At times, I would move the camera for small group work or presentations by the teacher or students in places outside the "normal" framing shot.

There were situations in which using the camera was not advisable or practical, in which case I used a small digital voice recorder, or simply took field notes. Situations that called for this approach included capturing student small group conversations across the room from the camera and teacher conferences with students. During whole-class

sessions, I also placed the audio-recorder near the front of the room to serve as a backup in case the camera failed or was unable to pick up some of the talk.

Interviews

Conducting interviews with the teachers and students was an important source of data for this investigation. For the teachers, I conducted an extensive initial semi-structured interview to learn about their teaching philosophies, educational backgrounds, experience in teaching, approach to planning instruction, strategies for gathering information and forming relationships with students, prior experiences with any of the students in the classes I observed (e.g., through coaching a sport), and their goals for the year. For all of these topics, I encouraged the teachers to recount specific examples and narratives.

After an initial interview, I had a combination of informal conversations with the teachers and additional semi-structured interviews at regular intervals. These interviews occurred once during each unit observed. During these interviews I asked for observations about the development and progress of the class as a whole and individual students. I also probed the teachers' thinking on instructional decisions I had questions about (from reviewing videos of the teaching and my field notes), as well as member-checking my developing analyses. The interviews were audiorecorded and transcribed, and the teachers have reviewed the transcriptions to ensure statements are accurate and phrased as intended.

I also interviewed volunteer students in a similar pattern, although not as intensively or regularly. After several weeks of class, as I began to make sense of the patterns of participation and relationships, I made a decision about which students to ask

to act as focal students, who I then interviewed. The logic behind the choices was guided by the goal of capturing a range of experiences and orientations, and thus included factors of gender, race, frequency of participation, tenor of the student's relationship with the teacher, proficiency in the subject, and interest in the subject. In order to accomplish this selection, I considered the social circles the students appeared to operate within, checked with the participating teachers for their views on the matter, and then tried to interview at least one student from each social group in the class, as well as students who seemed to be "outside" any such group. This method resulted in my interviewing five or six students in each class.

The semi-structured interviews with focal students probed student expectations about the course and the teacher, their prior experiences in the subject, general attitudes towards school, prior disciplinary knowledge, academic supports, and pre-existing relationships with other students in the class. I also would talk informally with the students I interviewed, as well as with other students, during small-group time or trips to the library to conduct work for research projects or presentations.

Artifact Collection

Not all communication occurs in the course of a class period or in spoken/performed form. Another important dimension in the life of a classroom is the work students produce, and the feedback teachers provide to students. It was important to collect this type of academic correspondence, as well as other types of communication (e.g., email assignments to the students).

Teachers utilize (and often produce) a wide range of written material as a matter of course in their work. In addition to written communication with students and families,

there are lesson plans, presentations, lecture notes, worksheets, study guides, textbooks, and syllabi. I collected as much of this material as the teachers were willing and able to share. Other instructional materials in the classroom are also important, such as posters, and notes on the board, and I captured these through either video or photographs.

Transcription Conventions

The interviews and classroom talk were transcribed verbatim, meaning that repetitions, restarts, filler words, and the like were kept intact. For presentation within the body of the chapters herein, however, I have cleaned up the text to make it easier to read by deleting repetitions and filler words, unless they seemed significant to understanding what the participant was communicating. The following transcription conventions are used throughout:

Table 3-2: Transcription Conventions

[...]	Portions of speech or text omitted
. . . .	Each period represents 1 second of pause, so in this example, a 4 second pause
,	Short pause/breath taken
?	Rising intonation
.	Falling intonation
underlined	Stressed by speaker
[*laugh*]	Descriptive & non-verbal cues
–	Interruption
(Hello)(Hi)	Overlapping speech

Data Analysis

The first step in analysis was narrowing the large corpus of data I had collected to a more manageable amount. I began by deciding to investigate only the non-AP classes I had collected, and then only for two of the three teachers. The AP element of the other two courses adds difficulties for comparison, including the complicated role of the AP test itself, and student self-selection into the courses. I decided to focus on Mr. Daniels's

and Ms. Stark's sections for several reasons. First, I was interested in the contrast between the different content areas, so Ms. Stark, as the only history teacher, was selected. I chose Mr. Daniels over Mr. Halpert as the result of a combination of factors, including the ability to compare simulations in Mr. Daniels's class, Mr. Daniels's experiences outside the classroom, and the more practical fact that I had collected the data on Mr. Daniels earlier and hence was able to start analyzing that corpus sooner. I will return to the AP classes and Mr. Halpert's class in subsequent work.

Deciding which class sessions (or parts of class sessions) to transcribe and analyze presented both an initial data management question and an issue of analysis. After deciding to focus on Mr. Daniels's Civics & Economics section and Ms. Stark's World History class, I was still left with almost 100 days of instruction between them, and all the attendant video and audio recordings, on top of my interviews with the seventeen focal students, and numerous handouts and other classroom materials. To help make sense of this, my next step was to create what I call "activity maps" of instruction for each unit I observed. This involved using both my field jottings as well as the video and audio recordings to create an outline for each day, again, using Lemke's (1991) criteria for dividing episodes of class time according to changes in either topic (e.g., moving from a whole class discussion of a quiz to a whole class discussion of a text), structure (moving from a lecture on the causes of World War I to a small group activity looking at accounts of the causes of World War I), or both.

These outlines were grouped together chronologically to allow me to see patterns of instruction across units, in addition to the interior patterns of a given day of class. A guide during this larger analysis of the activity maps was the ongoing analysis I had

conducted during each class period of observation or interview. While in the field I wrote field jottings, and I recorded audio memos in the car on my drive, detailing salient or telling moments of interactions, and noting congruencies, contradictions, and developing patterns, which informed future observations and interviews and pointed to promising sections of data for analysis. I also sought nominations for important parts of the data from the teachers and students. Their perspectives on what is important are essential to understand given their "insider" status in the relationships and situations under study. From my "outsider" perspective, however, I also noted salient exchanges that insiders might miss, in part by attending to larger patterns that I recognize and that are suggested by other research. Because of this work, I "flagged" episodes as potentially valuable for analysis.

Interviews and the flagged class sessions were transcribed and coded to explore for patterns in the data, both within conversations and class periods as well as across them. Through audio and video recordings of classroom interactions, I looked at the importance of individual and whole-class interactions for telling moments where teachers and students establish, build, or maintain pedagogical relationships. To do this, my primary area of focus was searching for connections between the interpersonal relationships and the disciplinary relationships in the enacted moments of classroom life I collect. Of course, this means first looking at each set of relationships on their own terms.

The analysis that shaped each of the following three chapters resulted from a slightly different approach and set of questions that I brought to the specific data. Because of differences in the timescales (single day, unit, multiple units) and data (classroom video and audio, interviews, handouts, and student work) that constitute each

chapter, I provide more detail about my analytic approach for each relevant sub-set of data in the subsequent chapters. I decided to focus on three instructional activities that I feel contribute to understanding pedagogical relationships in classrooms and that help address my research questions. Looking at how teachers initiate the pedagogical relationships of the classroom community on the first day of school was fruitful, and comparisons between the participating teachers reveal different strategies, which I explore in Chapter 4. I then use Chapters 5 and 6 to investigate how teachers use interpersonal and disciplinary reifications to build student relationships with subject matter, and the ways students participate in these interpersonal and disciplinary structures. I selected what I considered to be the clearest examples of each kind of teacher intervention, and so Chapter 5 focuses on Mr. Daniels's use of simulations in one unit, and Chapter 6 investigates supports for historical thinking in Ms. Stark's class across the semester with an emphasis on a unit in the middle of the term.

The Teacher Participants

Mr. Daniels

Mr. Daniels has been teaching for twelve years, all but one of them at Northern High School. For this study I observed two of his courses, Civics & Economics, a required course for sophomores, and Advanced Placement United States Government, an elective for juniors and seniors. He also teaches a course on International Relations, and in the past has taught a range of history courses, including American History and AP European History. He is currently the president of the local teachers union.

Mr. Daniels's background and path to teaching

Mr. Daniels grew up in the suburbs surrounding a major city in the Midwest. Mr. Daniels came to teaching through the discipline of political science, in which he has both his B.A. and M.A. In order to understand Mr. Daniels, I think it is essential to have a sense of how his experiences prior to teaching inform his approach and knowledge of his subject matter.

His first experiences teaching were as a teaching assistant while in graduate school, where he lead a discussion section. He was initially very nervous about leading a class of 30 people near his own age, but after some initial experience, he realized he could do it. He worked with a variety of professors and saw a range of teaching styles. His second experience teaching was in the summer during graduate school, when he went to Hungary to teach English. His time in Hungary also gave him the topic for his master's thesis, in which he studied economic reforms in post-Communist Eastern Bloc nations, Hungary in particular. Following graduation from graduate school, Mr. Daniels returned to Hungary on a scholarship as part of an exchange. While there he taught English to high school students, taught a lecture course at the university on American politics, and also worked in the city government's office. The teaching experience "[...] really made me believe [...] I can relate to these people, you know, I can talk to them and understand where they're coming from, and explain things so that they can understand them, most times. I think it's still a challenge." (Interview 1)

Upon returning to the States, Mr. Daniels considered several career paths, including joining the Foreign Service, attending law school, or getting a Ph.D. in political science. He also briefly attempted an import/export business with his Hungarian contacts, and taught part-time at the university where he graduated. He finally settled on teaching

high school and returned to university to get his certification, during which time he substitute taught at Northern High School.

Mr. Daniels does not have a positive opinion of his teaching preparation program, but he also believes it is hard to be prepared to teach until you actually do it. He did relate one thing that has stuck in his mind from the program:

> I remember one comment that [the social studies teaching methods] professor made to me that really stuck out and he said, 'Don't let your enthusiasm and excitement […] take the place of, of being prepared,' or something like that. I think he was worried that, I mean I was really energetic and involved in my lesson plan and everything that I did. But I thought maybe he got the impression that I would focus more on that part of the lesson rather than the structure of the lesson or the assessment of the students or whatever, the nuts and bolts, the meat of what I was trying to get out of it. And it stuck in my mind, I mean I really, I think about that a lot and I have every year I've been teaching.
> (Interview 1)

Before moving on to a description of Mr. Daniels's pedagogy, I wanted to outline several other more recent experiences of his that are relevant to his teaching Civics & Economics and AP Government. First, Mr. Daniels is very active in the union, currently serving on the National Education Association (NEA) Board of Directors as well as being the local union president. He has also completed the Michigan Political Leadership Program at Michigan State University, which is a practical workshop on all aspects of running for public office. Mr. Daniels also runs a small landscaping business, predominately in the summer.

Mr. Daniels's Approach to Teaching

When asked about how his background in political science impacts how he in turn teaches Civics and AP Government, he described his philosophy of sharing his viewpoint with students when teaching:

I would rather my political ideology not come through to the students, that I'm a neutral observer really. I'm trying to present all the sides of all the issues that we can, as we're examining the structure of government and how the political parties try to manipulate that, because it really, that's what they're trying to do. And so students will often ask, how did I vote? Or what's my leanings and I'll not tell them purposefully, [...] I want every student to know that they can pretty much express whatever belief they have it will be valued in that classroom. [...] And so that's really how I've approached it. And when people ask me about my own personal opinion, the students themselves, I'll tell them, usually I'll tell them roughly what I think but I don't think that it's that important that they know exactly what my ideology is, and maybe it's easier cause I am pretty moderate politically speaking, so maybe it's easier that way. (Interview 1)

Interestingly enough, on the last day of the class in Civics & Economics, the students took a spontaneous vote about whether or not Mr. Daniels was a Republican or a Democrat. The student vote was almost exactly split between the two, which I take as evidence that he achieved his goal in this regard. He continued talking about his goals for his students:

The other thing that we as a department have really talked about is getting the students to really focus on the study as a science, and that there's a logical way to approach all of these questions that we're wrestling with. Um, and that not always our political leaders do that for us or explain it to us in that way. And so we're hoping to train you know, all of these kids that come through our Civics class at least, to look at it that way, with a thoughtful and at least unbiased mind to begin with and then gather information that way. (Interview 1)

This is the one instance that Mr. Daniels used the collective "we as a department" in discussing his teaching, and his comment is about teaching students with a social science perspective (i.e., a disciplinary approach). One interpretation of this phrasing is that this approach is not something he is entirely comfortable with, and hence shifts the responsibility for the approach from himself to the department as a whole. Given Mr. Daniels's knowledge and training in political science, I do not think his uncertainty is with the social science method or content, but rather with how to translate that expert knowledge into classroom instruction.

Two key approaches in how Mr. Daniels attempts to achieve his goals for his students are through the use of real world simulations and sharing his own relevant personal experiences. Mr. Daniels explains:

> I like to have some kind of real life simulation, if I can [...] try to come up with a simulation that allows the students to put into practice what they've learned or to learn additional material during the simulation and help to integrate that, for them to see the real world application. That's always been my goal as a teacher, is to show kids how these skills that they're learning now and information how that can be used in a real world setting. And I think if you can't do that for anything you're teaching then why are we teaching it? Really. That's the bottom line for me. (Interview 1)

> Yeah for Economics class I utilize a lot of my experiences as small business owner [...] [R]unning a business yourself entails a lot of things that you wouldn't normally think of. For example, like doing payroll for your employees and how to figure out how social security is withheld and FICA and the state and the federal withholding and all that. So I brought my worksheets in on how I do that for my employees and [...] we have an activity, it's a budget activity where they are given a fictional job with a fictional salary and I have them figure out your paycheck. (Interview 1)

These two descriptions convey the importance of "real world" relevance to Mr. Daniels's pedagogy. In the first quote, Mr. Daniels specifies two different approaches to simulations, either as a means to practice "what they've learned" or as a source for new information that is learned as students participate in the simulation. In both quotes, Mr. Daniels sees relating the class material to the "real world" as central to his purpose as a teacher. As we will see shortly in Chapter 4, Mr. Daniels's instrumental orientation to the material is indeed apparent in the way he introduces his Civics & Economics course to the students. Part of this instrumental orientation comes from the value he sees in sharing his own experiences that relate to Civics & Economics, such as running a small business.

Mr. Daniels also spoke more specifically about how he builds relationships with students.

He characterized his approach in the following way:

> I want to be friendly with them but I'm not their best friend, in a way. I want them to be able to approach me about you know, any problem or issue they may have, even if it's not related to the class, I think some, [of] these kids don't have an adult to talk to and you can kind of see that in […] throughout the semester, you'll kind of get that sense that their parents may be working a lot or you'll just hear, they'll say, 'yeah, my dad's been out of town for the last two weeks.' (Interview 1)

His ability to achieve this relationship is challenged by his need to be the adult and to

enforce school and classroom rules consistently, especially early on in the semester:

> [I want to] make sure the kids know that I'm going to be friendly and fair but you need to be consistent with how you run your classroom basically. And so that has been a struggle for me, and I'll be honest with you, every year it is really. (Interview 1)

In explaining how he draws on his own experiences as a business owner, he explicitly

states why he thinks this is worthwhile from a relational viewpoint, not just an academic

one:

> That's another thing that I wanted to mention is, I try to share as much about my personal life as I think is appropriate for the kids, you know. Um, cause I think them knowing that you're a real person, you don't sleep here at the school is important. (Interview 1)

In addition to sharing information about himself, Mr. Daniels also tries to participate in as

many school activities as possible. This includes things like operating the scoreboard at

football games, participating in the faculty versus student charity basketball game,

sponsoring clubs, chaperoning dances, and attending sporting events:

> I try to go to as many activities as they're involved in, at least, well, if not have real interest feign interest in what they're doing in their everyday lives. It really helps out a bundle […] in getting them to do what you want them to do when they're not really motivated to do it otherwise. (Interview 1)

Mr. Daniels notes the value he finds in participating in the larger school community and its activities. Having a relationship with students outside the classroom can act as a motivator or leverage inside the classroom.

Mr. Daniels also has his students complete a "Student Information Sheet" at the start of the semester. The sheet has practical information like parental contacts and the student's class schedule, which Mr. Daniels uses as a "backup" to the online versions (and he finds the paper versions easier to access rapidly anyway). More interesting, however, are a series of "content" question that act as a sort of pre-assessment for him about their knowledge and an early warning of students who will need extra attention.

> The content questions that I ask, occasionally, well on the surface of it, it gives me a really good first impression about the preparation of each kid. You can kind of, you can almost just glance at it and get a sense of, this person is a serious student, this person's not. Just, and it's not like I want to track them, but it should help me to be able to identify the kids that I think would need help the earliest. […]

> But then also I find some of the personal information to be useful to just kind of drop in here and there, maybe in more one-on-one or like in small group, just conversations to increase the relationship between the teacher and the student, so that I know, like kids who have traveled to Europe before or been to, or who were born in Europe, for example, I can maybe ask them some things about that, that maybe I have some personal knowledge of. Or even if it's something I don't have any knowledge of at all, it sounds interesting to me, it gives me an in to make a conversation starter with them.

Compared to Ms. Stark, Mr. Daniels does more to gather such information about students at the start of the year, and he seems to think about how such information can be put to use in his classroom.

Ms. Stark has been teaching for seven years, all of them at Northern High School. For this study I observed two of her courses, World History II[10], an elective course for juniors and seniors, and Advanced Placement European History, an elective for juniors and seniors (and the occasional sophomore). In other years, she teaches U.S. History, and is preparing to teach the new World History course, a requirement with recent statewide changes to graduation requirements in Michigan.

Ms. Stark's Background and Path to Teaching

Ms. Stark always knew she wanted to be an educator, but the question for her was which grade level and topic would she teach. A survey U.S. history course at her university confirmed for her that history was what she wanted to teach, and an experience with elementary school outreach confirmed she did not want to teach at the elementary level. Ms. Stark reported that one of the central influences on her approach to teaching was her methods course:

> And it was probably one of the most difficult courses I took in undergrad cause you had to completely transform your thinking. But it was the most useful, I don't think I could have taught without it, or I don't think I'd a been a very good teacher without it. Um, [the professor] really pushed us to think about what it meant to think like a teacher, what it meant to teach our disciplines. He worked with us a lot one on one and even finishing his course I understood what he thought the profession should look like and I agreed with his view of it, but I still didn't quite understand how I could get there. […] Okay, I understood the principles, but I knew it was going to take me a while to work through those. (Interview 1)

---

[10] The course covers 1815 to present. Its predecessor, World History I, covers from ancient civilizations to 1815.

However, her cooperating teacher did not have the same vision of teaching, although Ms. Stark did believe he provided a good model of someone committed to the teaching profession, and who saw the students as the heart of the work and loved doing that work.

As she began her teaching, Ms. Stark felt she started to move towards the ideal she had in her head for what a professional history teacher looks like, but was still dissatisfied overall with her performance and decided to return to school for a master's degree in history education, splitting course work between the history department and the school of education.

> I was able to take really upper level history classes, see how professors of history really think about it, see how students that are going to be professors of history really think about it, at the same time as I was studying education and the policy behind it and, professional development behind it and the standards and the assessments. So that I could then pull those two things closer together. You'd think after all that I'd kind of have a clear idea what to do with my classroom, but […] I'm still working through it. I still know where I want to be, I still have all these ideas, but, I'm not there. (Interview 1)

Ms. Stark's continued disappointment with her own teaching is both an impetus for improvement and a source of frustration. While her training and additional education provide her with ideas for improving her teaching, they are also the source of a harsh self-critique at times. For example, in our first formal interview, she said, "I almost think that if I didn't know as much as I know about the research I'd be a lot happier with where I am right now." Later on in the year, she expressed some of this frustration with not necessarily feeling a result for the work she puts into planning, starting with discussing some disengaged boys in her class:

> Yeah. And so, I mean they're senior boys for one, but I would like to do things to hook them and I used to stay like hours trying to figure out new assignments and come up with, and I'm just tired, I'm burnt out. I mean it's my seventh year and it's sad. I'm just, I don't have the motivation to do it that I once did. I'm not doing grad school anymore so you'd think I'd be more motivated and I'm just, I know

all my curriculum is changing next year too, which sounds bad but, […] I'm not as excited about it as I was and it makes me sad. […] And I mean I have, like I've been reading so much for so many years that I'm just trying to sort out what is it that I have and like okay, what assignments are still working? What are falling flat? What am I going to use again next year? […] and things I know that are good for them, they're not interested in. Things I know that are true to the discipline, they're not interested, and skills I know they need for college, I can't get them there and I don't know what to do to get them there. (Interview 2)

The particular interview from which this quotation is drawn occurred on a particularly bad day for Ms. Stark, where she seemed rather defeated and was highly self-critical, more so than any other day I was in her class and spoke with her informally. What is most important in this quote is Ms. Stark's frustration in trying to plan and execute her vision of disciplinary teaching, and her difficulty in connecting with the students using the disciplinary approach she believes in pedagogically.

Ms. Stark's Description of Her Teaching

So far I have been narrating Ms. Stark's professional trajectory with only references to the teaching ideal to which she aspires. The central pillar of her approach to history teaching is through a disciplinary lens:

I know that I want the ideas of the discipline underpinning my course, I know that I want like, especially for world history, the ideas of what makes that subject distinct as the underpinnings of my course, but I don't want to confuse the students so much with this stuff that they don't understand […] what it is that we're studying. Not that I want them to sit and memorize, cause that's only useful so far and you can always find the information. I want them to understand the process but I also want them to leave with a sense of, 'I learned world history, I understand why the world works like it works', or 'I get why we study European history, it's because of this, this, and this, and these were critical turning points.' I need them to get to that point but, creating a course that prepares them for that is still very challenging, especially in the day-to-day. The broad strokes, the descriptions, that I can do. But the day-to-day to get them there is still challenging. (Interview 1)

Ms. Stark struggles with balancing the syntactic (structural) and substantive (content) aspects of history instruction. She wants her students to understand the

discipline, but also the actual content they are covering. The balancing of these two

dimensions of a disciplinary approach to teaching are a constant struggle for her, and in

my opinion an unavoidable teaching dilemma for anyone employing this approach. One

element that makes a history-based disciplinary approach difficult, according to Ms.

Stark, is the amount of knowledge and expertise it requires:

> I think that a teacher really needs to understand their discipline inside and out to truly be able to teach it. I mean it seems logical but at the same point, it's a very difficult thing to do and something that you cannot do in four years of undergrad. You start to do it with a masters, but so many teachers don't even get there. (Interview 1)

Despite this difficulty, Ms. Stark thinks the pay-off is worth the effort in terms of what a

"disciplinary" approach affords her as a teacher:

> I'd say mine is very disciplinary-based because once you understand the discipline then you can start using cognitive theory to better structure your room, to better structure your lessons and your units so that you can, once you know what kids need to understand and how they understand then you can design things to help them do that. If you don't understand that, if you don't get what it is you're teaching at every, any level beyond just the general story you, I don't think that you can help the kids learn much more. (Interview 1)

Notice Ms. Stark references using cognitive theory, an allusion to the research in history

thinking outlined in Chapter 2. She sees a clear value in making use of such research, but

how does this actually play out in her teaching? While I will be exploring more of this

later in the analysis of the actual classroom (see Chapters 4 and 6), Ms. Stark's discussion

of how a disciplinary perspective influences her planning and teaching is instructive and

provides some useful contextual information for understanding what happens in her

classroom.

Ms. Stark wants to "plan my lessons so I can teach my students to create history."

To that end, she continually builds and refreshes her content knowledge through reading

histories (I never saw her desk lack a stack of relevant history texts), as well as reviewing

lecture notes from courses she has taken, and the students' textbook. She then proceeds as

follows:

> When there's something I find interesting then I research it more and try to figure
> out how to pull that into my lesson, and then I try to work the kids through it,
> presenting them with evidence, providing them with my argument, and then
> having them come to some sort of conclusion at the end. […] I'd been trying to
> work on it with my lecture method too, because I feel like so often in AP you're
> forced into the lecture model that I try to make, I'd like to say it's interactive but
> it, it's more of a thinking process I try to put them through. Like I try to start my
> lectures with a question, then I present them with an argument, and then I try to
> either show them evidence, as far as pictures or I give them documents during it,
> and we try to think you know through it together. And then at that point they have
> a conclusion. […] [T]here's stuff I do too where I introduce units with artwork
> and I try to get them into the mindset of the times. You know, why are these
> artists painting these crazy things that they're painting, […] why is Nietzsche
> writing what he's writing, and what's going on in the world that we're seeing
> sheer insanity and you know, at the beginning of World Wars I and II you can
> really see these changes in culture that then foreshadow these changes in politics
> and economics. (Interview 1)

Ms. Stark begins instruction with a question, the heart of all disciplinary inquiry, rooted

in her knowledge and research into the general topic at hand. Then she provides students

with a series of evidence in an effort to answer that question, and finally arrives at some

sort of conclusion, either generated by her via lecture or suggested by students and their

interpretation of the material. While the specific example she is speaking of here is a

lecture, this general pattern of developing a historical "thinking pattern" holds across

other kinds of lessons she teaches.   Another worthwhile teaching strategy mentioned

obliquely here is the effort to "hook" students with both the questions she poses as well

as with compelling or engaging historical elements that might grab students in another

dimension, such as art or literature. I saw Ms. Stark use this strategy with a wide array of

materials, including photographs of architecture that she had taken on various trips, movie clips, and historical voices.

Ms. Stark's Approach to Students

As alluded to earlier, Ms. Stark struggles to connect her disciplinary approach to her students, especially in her non-AP World History course. In thinking about how Ms. Stark mediates her students' contact with the historical content she is teaching, I asked her how she tracks student thinking in her classroom. Considering student thinking surfaces in several elements of her practice. For example, early on in the semester, during the day of our first formal interview, Ms. Stark explained how she makes note of student thinking:

> When I'm cognizant of it, I take notes in my binder along with my lesson plans. You know, like today, I wrote down what they thought made for quality evidence, what they thought made for the historical process, that when I talk about those ideas in the future, I know where they were thinking today. (Stark Interview 1)

This consideration of student thinking also frequently enters into her lesson and unit planning:

> Um, a lot of time in my unit plan or my lesson plan, if you notice, I write out learners and I try to take stock of where I think they are, what I think they'll anticipate, where they are, and where I think they'll be, and what they'll get, and what they won't get. Some days I expound on it more, some days it's just really brief cause I just don't have time to think through it as much as I'd like and then we're just moving, moving, moving.

Ms. Stark is also monitoring student thinking "on the fly" in the course of instruction, improvising both within a given class and changing her plan between classes when she has more than one section of a course, as she did for World History the first semester I observed.

> Sometimes if I think the kids are really getting things I'll introduce more complex historical thoughts, things that aren't going to be in the textbook, things that people are just talking about now in the field, to get a sense what the kids are

talking about and sometimes they get it and they love it, and they think it's the most interesting thing ever, other times, they look at me like, 'why are we talking about this, I still didn't get World War II.' So, it's a balance and if they can't keep going on this tangent that I've set that's still in line with the curriculum needs […] then I have to scale it back and go to some more basic stuff. Like this morning my kids [in 1st Block World History] weren't getting, I asked them to define globalization. I went around and asked the class after they had time to reflect on it and none of them could really give me a definition, so when it got to fourth block today I didn't really open it up like I did, cause number one, it's day two and they're not necessarily comfortable doing that, which I knew, but I just wanted to see if they would and what kind of classes they were. Um, and I reframed the order because the flow was a little choppy this morning so I was able to modify that. And I'll make note of it in my lesson. So if I use this lesson again next year, which I might not, then I'll have a better idea of how to do it. (Interview 1)

This quotation is perhaps a little confusing without a clearer big picture of the parts to which Ms. Stark is referring, but I will try to clarify. There are several levels of student awareness operating. Ms. Stark begins by explaining how she tries to inject a more sophisticated historical perspective into the class when the students seem to have mastered the material she had planned. This supplemental content is not always welcome, but other times students are engaged by it. She implies that at times she has misread the situation (as do all teachers), and students are still not clear about the more basic material. Also, while she refers to such work as "tangents" which might imply they are not relevant to the central work of the course, Ms. Stark makes it clear that she is still dealing with material related to the standards she is working to have students master. She also provides an example of her formative assessment in this quote, where she describes how she asked students to define globalization (the key term in her course question for World History), and used their inability to answer the question effectively to inform a tweak to her lesson plan for the 4th Block World History class (the one I observed). And finally, she takes note of such changes and will use them in the future (if she uses the lesson again).

Overall, Ms. Stark works incredibly hard to bring her vision of a disciplinary-based history classroom to fruition. While the results do not always meet her very high standards, they are instructive in revealing some of the practical challenges of taking this stance and the ways such an approach informs her relationships with her students and her ongoing learning of history as a discipline.

Concluding Proviso

At this point, I would like to make an important proviso: I am not interested in "judging" these teachers or the decisions they make in their classrooms. As both an analyst and a former teacher, it is difficult to hold back at times, but I am interested in understanding how the teachers construct pedagogical relationships, not about whether these teachers are good or bad teachers. That said, I can say that both participating teachers worked incredibly hard, and seemed to make decisions with the best interests of the students in mind. Furthermore, they had high expectations of their students, and did their best in supporting students to meet those goals. They would be the first to admit that they are not perfect, but both are interested in getting better at what they do, despite the long hours and emotional drain that teaching seems to incur. In the following chapters I will paint a clearer picture of each teacher and the students in their classes, as I explore examples of their relationships with one another and with social studies content.

Chapter 4

The First Day of Class: Orienting Discourses for Initiating Pedagogical Relationships

"It is axiomatic among school men [sic] that the first day of school, or the first meeting of a class, is all-important in determining the success or failure of the school year." (Waller, 1932, quoted in Emmer, Evertson, & Anderson, 1980)

In my experience, both teachers and students approach the first day of school with a mixture of excitement and dread. One cause for such mixed emotions is the possibility of something new, a clean slate and a fresh start to get things right in school. At the same time, such unknowns can provoke anxiety: students worry if the teachers will be too hard, too mean, or simply seemingly crazy. Teachers worry about some of the same things in their students. The first day is when many of the unknowns of the coming year first make themselves known. Expectations are set, boundaries are tested, and everyone begins to form an opinion of, and to negotiate their positions in, the classroom community. When thinking about the importance of the first day of school for building a classroom community, I am reminded of the old dandruff shampoo commercial that opined, "You never get a second chance to make a first impression."

The first day is also important theoretically, because before the students and teacher come together on the first day, their relationships as part of a shared classroom community do not yet exist, and expectations and social positions that can shape understandings and actions begin to take shape. Because the first day seems to be so important for students, teachers, and the future classroom community that they will build together, in this chapter I explore the first day in both of the participating teachers'

classes. In particular, I attend to the ways each teacher orients students towards the subject matter, their peers, and him or herself through discourse.

I begin by examining student expectations *before* the first day of class. While the classroom community may begin anew, the students already have experience with the subject matter, other teachers, and some have particular expectations of these teachers in particular. Similarly, the teachers have expectations about the students and their goals for the community they will form together. In Chapter 3, I introduced the two participating teachers and their beliefs about teaching and general approach to the courses under investigation. However, it is important to understand the perspective of at least some of the students as they entered the classes—their expectations about the teacher and the course. I then examine each of the first days, their general structure, and specific episodes that illustrate how the teachers attempt to shape the pedagogical relationships in the classroom, as well as patterns within and comparisons across the cases. The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate the ways teachers launch and begin to enact their vision of the kinds of interpersonal and disciplinary relationships they hope to develop. Analyzing such teacher moves reveals differences between the two teachers that potentially have consequences for students' opportunities to learn disciplinary literacy. The differences also prefigure findings in subsequent chapters. Before such comparisons can be made, first a look at the students' expectations, followed by descriptions of the first day in each class.

Student Expectations

I often tell pre-service student teachers that one of the hardest parts about being a new teacher is that they have to operate without a reputation. One of the effective ways,

in my experience, to make the work of teaching easier resides in building a reputation for oneself, so that students enter the class with a clear sense of the teacher as, for example, challenging but fair. This reputation-building does some of the "work" for a teacher before the first day, providing students with a particular interpretive lens through which to view the teacher's actions, hopefully in a positive way. Given my prior experience, I was surprised when interviewing students to find a wide range of expectations: the teachers did not seem to have uniform reputations in the school. Below I will provide detail about these different expectations, and in future chapters I will show potential consequences of such presuppositions in the nature of the developing pedagogical relationships.

Mr. Daniels was teaching the required sophomore course "Civics & Economics," whereas Ms. Stark's "World History II" course was an elective for juniors and seniors. This elective/non-elective distinction may be the largest tacit difference between student expectations for the courses in that all of Ms. Stark's students were electing to take the course (although not necessarily in the hopes of having her teach it), while Mr. Daniels's students *had* to take his course (although they could have had a different teacher). This suggests something about the possible range of students' prior trajectories with social science in each class, with those in Ms. Stark's class potentially more interested in history and with better trajectories (although not necessarily with a course towards disciplinary literacy). However, students were required to take some additional electives in social science to complete graduation requirements, so the course was fulfilling that requirement for many students. Keep this distinction in mind as more specific student expectations of the teachers and the courses are outlined below.

In the course of most interviews with students, I had an opportunity to ask them about their expectations for the course, and more specifically the particular teacher. The question was a variation on the following:

> So you get your schedule for the semester and you see you have Mr. Daniels for 2nd block Civics and Econ–what I'm curious about is if you can go back and remember when you saw that, did that mean anything to you? Did you have friends who'd had Mr. Daniels or find out what the "word on the street" was about him? Or did you just say, oh I don't know who this guy is and sort of walk in with a blank?

I was surprised by the variety of responses I got, even from the small groups of students I interviewed in each class. Table 4-1 summarizes the kinds of feedback for each teacher across the five or six students I interviewed in each class. Each bullet represents a student comment, so there are more bullets than students because some students provided more than one dimension of the teacher's reputation (e.g., "I heard he's nice and pretty easy in terms of homework").

Table 4-1: Student Expectations of Teachers

Expectation/Prior Knowledge	Daniels	Stark
None	••••	•
Positive	•	
Nice	•	
Hard/Teacher Expects Much	•	
Hoped for another teacher	•	•
Had in another class (+)		•
Had in another class (mixed)		••

Mr. Daniels

Owing to the fact that the other courses he teaches are upper level and Advanced Placement (AP), perhaps it is not surprising that Mr. Daniels had the most students who did not know anything about him upon entering the class. What was known was generally positive, although one student was hoping for the same teacher she had for U.S. History

because she learned well from him. One of the focal students, Elise, had mixed feelings about Mr. Daniels:

> I asked around about Mr. Daniels and I heard, oh he's the AP Gov teacher and everyone's, 'Oh he's really hard, he treats you like AP Gov students,' and in my mind I was like, I don't want that. But at the same time I was like, oh I wouldn't mind a challenge.

I interpret the gossip Elise gathered as viewing Mr. Daniels's difficulty as being unreasonable. Students did not just report to Elise that he was hard, rather they said that he held expectations for students *as if they were AP students*—those who had selected (and been selected) to take more challenging courses. From a student perspective, I imagine a sense of overly high expectations breaks their sense of what is fair and reasonable for a teacher to expect in a general education course.[11]

Elise had mixed feelings about such expectations, although such a perspective would most likely put her in a minority of her peers. By her own report and my observation of her work in class, Elise was a high-performing student. Her expression of interest in having a challenging course suggests that Mr. Daniels's reputation did not cement her impression of him for the negative. In fact *challenge* might be the single word I would use to describe Elise—she challenged both Mr. Daniels and her peers, and found herself in a liminal space, at times at the center (e.g., she acted as President during the campaign simulation in Mr. Daniels's class) while at other times she was on the margins (she was alienated from many of her peers, especially those who took school less seriously than she did).

Overall, Mr. Daniels had the fewer student expectations at the start than did Ms. Stark, and the expectations he did face were generally positive.

---

[11] Although not addressed in this dissertation, I did collect data in Mr. Daniels's AP Government class, and will explore the differences between how he approached both classes in future work.

Ms. Stark

Perhaps because it was a course for juniors and seniors, Ms. Stark had a number of students she had taught previously or knew in her capacity as a club advisor. Three of the six students I interviewed had taken a course or had other contact with her prior to World History.

When asked about her view of Ms. Stark coming into the class, Michelle, shared that she had taken freshman U.S. History with her, and from that experience:

> Um, I was scared [to be in World History with Ms. Stark] (laughs). I had her before so […] Yeah, I had her for U.S. History and so I kind of died in that class. So I was like having a panic attack but that's okay (laughs).

Michelle further describes her struggle in that first class with Ms. Stark:

> I remember that was really, really hard. I'm, one, really, really bad with history and geography so not knowing that coming into it was um, I was kind of put behind the class because I didn't know what was going on. And then that kind of lost me as well, cause I didn't know what was going on or where it was going on. And then the reading. I wasn't prepared for the reading and that, now that I'm in World History I kind of already knew it was coming. So now I kind of know what to expect. But um, and it's really like that, it's really like tough in that class is all that reading and like trying to understand it and then put together like the pieces of it, what's actually going on.

Michelle felt she was not well prepared coming into high school to be successful, and she describes herself as being "bad" at history. In particular, she stresses the challenge with the reading, which she feels better prepared for in World History, given her prior experience with Ms. Stark. Michelle's feelings were largely echoed by another student, Dorothy, who also had Ms. Stark in 9th grade for U.S. History.

A contrast to Michelle and Dorothy is Jane, who had Ms. Stark the year before for A.P. European History. Jane loves history and although she did not take World History with the explicit hope of having Ms. Stark, when she found out she would have her again said: "I was excited to find out that I ended up with Ms. Stark cause I was like, cool, I

know her, she's a good teacher cause I had her for an entire year last year." Whereas Michelle had a certain amount of dread, Jane is unabashedly positive about her past experiences with Ms. Stark, citing the way her teaching conveys her enthusiasm for the subject and Ms. Stark's emphasis on the structural elements of the discipline.

What is of particular interest to the current investigation is that the students who had a class with Ms. Stark before, even the ones who were wary of having her again, commented that having had her before they were better prepared for World History, since they knew what to expect in her routines. While Jane emphasized this impression in the way Ms. Stark taught history, Dorothy and Michelle couched it more in terms of completing the work and knowing what to do. For example, they knew what was expected from Ms. Stark in terms of the unit sheets she requires for each unit (see Chapter 6), and the kinds of notes they would need to take on the reading and the lectures for them to be successful. This illustrates the prior kinds of pedagogical relations the students had: whereas Michelle and Dorothy emphasize the mechanics of being a student, Jane focuses on Ms. Stark's teaching and how it demonstrates her interest in the discipline (and that seems to shape Jane's own relationship positively).

The three other students I interviewed had not had Ms. Stark in class before, and were generally neutral about their expectations, although Adam had hoped to have another teacher who teaches the course and whom he had worked with before. Ms. Stark had a wider range of student impressions, compounded further by the students who had taken a class with her before.

Overview of the First Day

With the foundational understanding of the teachers' approaches, as well as a sample of the student expectations for them, I want to move into the actual descriptive and analytic depiction of the first day of class for Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark. For each class, I provide both a "big picture" overview of each day, as well as looking more closely at particular episodes within the day that illuminate teacher discursive moves that potentially orient the pedagogical relationships between the teachers, students, and content.

In building these relationships, teachers and students rely on both the patterned interactions that are common among classrooms, and that have been documented by a number of investigations into classroom life, as well as the unexpected and idiosyncratic developments of a given group of students and a teacher in a particular time and place. For example, Lemke (1991) presents a fairly comprehensive taxonomy of discursive moves that occur in science classrooms, although any teacher would recognize the different kinds of utterances he describes. Likewise, varieties of classroom participation structures (Erickson, 1986; Lampert, 1990) have been identified, where students have more or less responsibility and agency around the disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions of the classroom (Greeno, 2002).

To unveil the way particular combinations of tasks, communication structures, and interpersonal roles interact with one another to create the lived, enacted moments of classroom life that teachers and students create together, is to look closely at episodes[12] to see which structures are being relied on in the moment, the kinds of variations that occur,

---

[12] As a reminder, episode boundaries were determined by changes in either topic or structure (e.g., lecture to discussion).

and how such enacted moments shape/reshape to become new models. One useful framework for thinking about this comes from the work of Wenger (1998), who discusses the interplay and interconnection between reification and participation in meaning making, discussed in Chapter 2. In the case of classrooms, the structural pre-existing elements, whether disciplinary or interpersonal, are a kind of premade structure or reification in the minds of the participants. On the first day, participation in the classroom community is just beginning, reshaping students' and teachers' sense for how things are done.

One tool at the disposal of teachers for shaping the nature of the interpersonal and disciplinary relationships that both Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark utilize are *orienting discourses* (Rex, 2002, 2006). Rex, in studying a disciplinarily-focused secondary English classroom, explores how the teacher's instructional discourse established orienting discourses that helped all students engage in collaborative, rigorous investigations of literature. In her conceptualization, "orienting discourses provided principles for what was expected. Orienting discourses provided a means for all students to become members in good standing of their evolving discursive culture as they built the norms for literate activity" (Rex, 2002, p. 272).

Rex's (2002) examples of orienting discourse show how they can be used to position students in different relationships of the instructional triangle, although she does not use that terminology. For example, the three orienting discourses she highlights from Dave McEachen's classroom are: 1) The class motto which was at the front of the class and was inscribed on all the students' learning logs: "If anything is odd or inappropriate or confusing or boring, it's probably important"; 2) the procedure for "making a case" in

class discussion, which was never taught explicitly, but included identifying a place of importance in the text, suggesting an interpretation and backing it with evidence from other parts of the text; 3) the telling of an "object lesson story" which gave students a picture of this teacher's view of his relationship with students, and his goals for them, as well as provided an explanation for the kinds of assessment feedback he gives to students on essays.

There are several key points to take-away from Rex's work before proceeding. First, orienting discourses can be explicit, like the motto or the story, or implicit, like how students "make a case" for an interpretation. Second, orienting discourses can orient different dimensions of pedagogical relationships. The class motto was the teacher's way of orienting students towards the disciplinary content in a way that gave everyone a way to interact with the material (i.e. both strong and struggling students can identify text that is odd, inappropriate, boring or confusing). The object lesson story was meant to shape the teacher-student interpersonal relationship, whereas the implicit way to make a case shapes both the interpersonal relationships between students, students and the teacher, as well as students' disciplinary relationships.

In examining the first day of class with Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark, I am particularly interested in the messages the teachers send to the students, both implicitly and explicitly, about the teacher's expectations for the relationships the students will have with the content, each other, and the teacher. While the things the teachers say matter, the things they actually have students *doing* the first day are just as important. The first day of school is atypical in many ways, in part because it has special significance given it is

the first meeting of this particular collection of people, and the patterns that will emerge over the course of their time together begin here.

Two final notes: Because on the first day of school I did not yet have permission to videotape from the students or their parents (I handed out permission and consent forms on the first day), the data in this chapter is based on audio recordings and field notes focused on the teacher. Also, what occurs on the first day does not tell the whole story of who these teachers, students, and classrooms are or what they become. In many cases, things that were not done the first day appear the next day, or the next week. Some of these events will be explored in subsequent chapters, but I encourage the reader not to judge these teachers, but rather to learn what we can from what happens in their classrooms.

Mr. Daniels and the First Day of Civics & Economics[13]

Mr. Daniels began the school year in what I imagine is the most common approach for American high school teachers. He spent the bulk of the class introducing the course and himself, and used it as an opportunity to take care of some of the bureaucratic work that he needed to complete. Dividing the class time into episodes based on changes in topic or structure yielded an outline of twelve episodes within the first day. Despite this number of episodes, the majority of the class centered around Mr. Daniels using a PowerPoint presentation, and the episode shifts occurred because of a change in topic. Below is an outline that summarizes the first day of class, which I will then describe further. Given that so much of the class is teacher monologue, I am going to

---

[13] The course is divided between two generally discrete sections on civics and economics. Mr. Daniels starts with civics, and switches to economics later in the term. That is why he begins class with an emphasis on the civics portion of the course.

present Mr. Daniels's stage time thematically, highlighting moments across the episodes

that illuminate his orienting bids for particular dimensions of pedagogical relationships.

Daniels Day One Outline [time marker of episode shift]
I.   Welcome & Overview of the Day [00:00]
II.   "Overview of myself and the course" [1:52]
III.   Daniels's Credentials [13:23]
IV.   Classroom Policies [19:43]
V.   Course Benefits [23:26]
VI.   Classroom Resources [27:20]
VII.   Summer Vacation [30:40]
VIII.   Take Attendance and Getting Student Names Right [34:57]
IX.   Syllabus Review [41:37]
X.   Student Information Sheet [57:56]
XI.   Citizenship Test [59:09]
XII.   Getting Student Names Right II [1:10:53]

The class began with a brief welcome from Mr. Daniels, who then pointed out the agenda

on the board, explained that there will be an agenda up every day, and provided an

overview of the day. He then launched into a PowerPoint presentation in which he

introduced the course and himself; Mr. Daniels also said he doesn't normally use

PowerPoint in class (and it was a very rare occurrence from my time in the class over the

semester).

Mr. Daniels explained to the students that he based the presentation on a new

employee orientation, and it had particular slides labeled with titles like "performance

reviews" and "benefits" akin to elements that would be encountered in a job. This implies

a certain kind of teacher-student relationship in which the students are "producing" for

the "boss" and reinforces the authority of the teacher and positions the students as being

subordinate. It also gives a particularly instrumental spin to the relationship and its

connection to the disciplines being studied by emphasizing employment. I use

instrumental to refer to orienting towards the content in terms of how it can be used

(What can it do for me?). This is in contrast to emphasizing other aspects, like how the discipline is "done" which as I will show shortly is the tack Ms. Stark takes. In particular, Mr. Daniels's instrumentality is oriented towards civic purposes, viewing students' future selves as active citizens in a democratic society.

This instrumental strategy was reinforced at several points during the day. For example, Mr. Daniels made an argument, across several episodes, that the class was useful for students. This included both more near-term "benefits" like doing well on the ACT, doing well in AP Government, and volunteering on political campaigns, as well as long-term benefits like employment in economics and government, and the notion that this class was about learning the "rules of the game" to be successful in life:

> [I]f you do well in this class, this will set you up for life-long success. I guarantee it. There are two key things about this class that are unique […]: for one, if you view life as a game, which I do and many of you probably do, well, who makes the rules for this game of our life? Who would you think? The government does, doesn't it? I mean they make the laws that govern how we behave in our society. Well, how can you succeed, how do you succeed in most games? By knowing the rules and learning how to adapt your style of play to those rules. So in order to make your strategy you've got to know the rules first. That's what we're going to do in this class, learn the rules of our government and citizenship and then consequently, how do you enjoy long-term economic success? Well you have to learn also the rules of the economy and how that operates. And that's what we're going to do in this class. That's why I think this is probably the most practical, useful class of any of them. Dare I say this is the most valuable class of any other class that you'll take in high school? Of course if you say that to another teacher they'll get mad and argue with you. But that's what I think.
> [Daniels, Day 1, Episode 5]

Mr. Daniels is making an argument about why this class is not only important, but essential to the future of the students as democratic citizens. In this way, Mr. Daniels is attempting to recast the students' relationship with the content as not just being another class to complete, but essential knowledge for their future. At the same time, Mr. Daniels' speech reveals something of his own relationship with the content, and why he

thinks it is worth teaching. As we will see shortly, it also foreshadows his own life

experience with both government and economics.

This instrumental approach can also be seen in many of the end-of-course goals

Mr. Daniels has for students:

> Here's what I really would like you to leave this class with in the end. I want you
> all to have a thorough understanding of American government and economics,
> and at the very least you should all know what type of government we have, how
> it works, who's involved with it, and how you can participate in that system.
> Speaking of participating, I'd like you all to leave here being an active participant
> in making decisions for our government, whether it's local city council, knowing
> what people are talking about, the issues, showing up to vote, or expressing your
> opinion by writing a letter to the editor, or just telling your representative what
> you think, 'this is why we should do things this way,' I want you to be
> comfortable doing that, and we'll be doing a number of activities in class where
> you practice that. And I assume there will be many opportunities for you to write
> actual letters to people in government and it's kind of neat if they actually respond
> to you to hear what they think. And last, but not least, be able to express your
> opinion both in writing and speaking. [Daniels, Day 1, Episode 2]

While he also mentions the importance of knowledge, the bulk of this litany of goals is

made up of communication and knowledge in action *as a citizen*. He is not stressing the

disciplines themselves as ends or goals (e.g., becoming a political scientist or economist),

but how to put knowledge produced from such fields "to work" in their activities as

citizens in a democracy. Mr. Daniels reinforced this orientation by sharing how he

contacted the government, and told a story about requesting that the president come speak

to his class. However, he was unsuccessful in getting such a visit, which would seem to

undercut the point he is trying to make about the value of being an efficacious citizen,

although the point of telling the story seemed to be more about the humor to be found in

the form letter he received from the president's office (Mr. Daniels requested the

president come any day at any time, and the letter said the president was not available

during the times requested). Why would a teacher tell a story about the inaccessible

nature of government after he has stressed his goal for students to be active participants in government? Because the story had a punch line (although the students didn't seem to find it funny), I presume that Mr. Daniels was more concerned with building his relationship with the class than with conveying a message about government participation. I do not know that the students took the negative message to heart, but it does point to a pattern that can occur in classrooms, where the teacher undermines or criticizes what is being taught in an effort at solidarity with students. Here is an example of how the interpersonal relationship between the teacher and students (or an attempt at building a positive relationship) can come in to conflict with the disciplinary relationship the teacher is trying to facilitate.

Another example of this undercutting move with sarcasm occurs at the very start of the day. The class begins with Mr. Daniels expressing a somewhat conflicted message. On the one hand, he tells the students that they are lucky to be taking Civics this semester due to the concurrent presidential campaign and election, which should make things exciting; however he follows this with a sarcastic remark that otherwise Civics is boring. It is not clear if the sarcasm was intended at the start of the chain of speech, or if Mr. Daniels resorts to it once he realizes he has set up the notion that civics is boring without an exciting election to follow. He certainly does not believe that it is boring, but the message students are left with may be less clear. It potentially sent a mixed message about participatory democracy, which seems to be a central learning goal for the course.

Another disjunction related to Mr. Daniels's first day orienting discourse is the mismatch between how he described the future activity of the course and what the actual first day consisted of for student participation. Students sat and listened for most of the

presentation. With the exception of saying their names during attendance, and answering

questions aloud while collectively "taking" the Citizenship Test, students did not have an

opportunity to interact with the teacher or with one another. This is particularly

noticeable because it is so contrary to the way that Mr. Daniels described how the class

would operate going forward. At least twice during this class he described how he

expects students to be active participants in this class. First, an example from his

description of classroom policies:

> Be polite, you know, with each other, a lot of times we're going to talk about issues and […] especially in politics that are pretty sensitive. Some of these issues are very emotional for people and they may have a strong opinion about it. Others of you may not have a strong opinion and could care less. So just watch what you say so that you don't offend somebody on an accident. It can happen. On the other hand, on the reverse side, because this is a class where we talk about political issues, if you have a strong opinion about something, just be aware we're going to talk about it and people will say stuff. So don't be so sensitive either. So it depends, it's a two-way street, you know? You got to take a little and give a little. And don't jump off the bridge or fly off the handle and get mad at somebody right away because of something they said, because they weren't thinking. It happens sometimes in a free discussion and we'll have those quite often.
> [Daniels, Day 1, Episode 4]

And another while reviewing the syllabus:

> Attendance—really important, you will need to participate and talk. This is a social studies class. We will form committees. You can't just sit there; you won't pass the class. I need your full and undivided attention. You need to pay attention to what your classmates are saying. You need to give your effort. [Daniels, Day 1, Episode 9]

Both of these selections demonstrate the ways that messages about one set of

relationships have implications for the nature of other pedagogical relationships within

the instructional triangle. The most evident message here is about Mr. Daniels's

expectation that students will be active, "social," participants in "free discussion." This

may contrast with other classes students have experienced where they were simply

expected to sit and take notes while the teacher lectured. The first utterance presupposes that students will be interacting with one another frequently, and concentrates instead on *how* Mr. Daniels expects them to interact—with a civil approach. In communicating this expectation about student interactions, the teacher is also signaling the ways in which he will be teaching: through the use of discussion between students.

Moreover, his description also reveals part of his view of the nature of the discipline of political science: it is controversial. Mr. Daniels expects students to disagree, to have arguments, and to be emotionally invested in some topics, but he prioritizes that they need to learn to have such discussions in a civil manner. In the second excerpt, he emphasizes that this is a *social* studies class, and that given this, students are learning not just about the disciplines of political science and economics, but how to work together. This highlights the peculiar nature of "civics"—it is not just a political science or government class, it is also about citizenship (as seen in the goals for the students Mr. Daniels outlines) and working together. While the latter might be said to be true of any classroom, Mr. Daniels seems to feel a special responsibility for helping students learn to do this because it is a social studies class (as opposed to a mathematics class or a biology class).

Mr. Daniels also gave several cues about how he expected students to be actively engaged outside of the classroom, both with the material of the course and in interactions with others. When discussing the benefits of the course, Mr. Daniels offered to connect students with any level of political campaign with which they might be interested in volunteering. At home, Mr. Daniels wanted students to pay attention to media: "I want you to keep tabs of the news by reading newspapers, if your parents get the paper at home

or news magazine, glance at it, watch TV news once in awhile, see what's happening. Hey click over to C-Span, that's exciting coverage of news and politics and commentary." In this quotation, Mr. Daniels's use of veiled sarcasm is on display. Although he truly wants the students to pay attention to the media sources he mentions, he mocks C-SPAN, although it is not clear if students are picking up on his tone.

This is another example of the tension for Mr. Daniels between building rapport with students and orienting them towards the content. It also further highlights his view of the content and his expectations for students' orientation. He clearly views the course as being about current events and helping students understand them. Civics is not limited to what is in the textbook, but the political and economic news and developments are part of the course as well. This also relates to the instrumental orientation that Mr. Daniels seems to foster in that attending to the news may help students to see how what they learn in the classroom operates in the world. Note, I am not claiming that this is an approach that is unique to civics – any teacher could stress the ways the discipline operates in the world.

Mr. Daniels also suggested students talk about the content of the class with adults in their lives; parents and guardians might not be able to relate to all of the classes students are taking, but most will be able to connect to politics. Mr. Daniels suggested the same thing for students when they are in other classes at Northern High. He views them as "the political experts" in the school, and if discussion arises about the presidential election, he expected them to bring their knowledge to bear. Here, Mr. Daniels stressed not only interacting with others outside the classroom around the content, which would simply be a continuation of point above about interacting with media, but he also

positioned students as *experts* relative to the content. At this point, they are obviously not expert, but Mr. Daniels's formulation is an extension of the goals he has for his students that they will become so, at least relative to their peers who have not yet taken such a course.

In the Civics & Economics classroom, we have already heard that Mr. Daniels expects students to be actively engaged with each other and with him. He also expects them to make use of the resources available in the room, including the dictionaries and text books. He strongly recommends that students look up words they do not know, and not skip over them (as Mr. Daniels confesses he once did). Again, Mr. Daniels uses his own experiences and brings them to bear on his advice and expectations for students:

> I have a suggestion for you, if you have your own dictionary, whenever you […] read a word that you don't know, you should look it up […] instead of skipping it. I used to do this when I was in high school, I'd be reading and I want to get done with the reading fast, so whenever there was a word that I didn't understand I would just skip it, cause it was faster to skip ahead and keep reading, right? Some people still do that, I think. But I found out that that actually, in the long run, makes things worst because it was harder to understand and study for the test because I didn't quite understand the concept. And if I had taken the time to look it up in the first place and learn it, that's like the shortcut cause that helps you, cause you use those words later in life, even for other classes it was helpful.

Here we see another manifestation of Mr. Daniels's instrumental strategy for the first day, providing advice for students about the value of using the dictionary to expand their vocabulary in order to be successful, both in his course but also "later in life."

Mr. Daniels gave students a clear message that he sees them as "the political experts in the high school." Earlier, when outlining students' expectations coming into the course, I noted that Elise's pre-knowledge about the class included that Mr. Daniels treated his Civics and Economics students as if they were AP Government students. Mr.

Daniels mentioned AP Government at several points throughout the day, but not in a way that necessarily supports the rumors that Elise had collected.

In fact, at least once Mr. Daniels explicitly differentiated between the two classes when discussing his late policy. While he is more strict with his AP class, he does allow partial credit for late work in Civics & Economics: "Okay, for late work, I don't like accepting any late work at all, but you're not AP Government students yet, you're still practicing so I will give you credit." Even thought he is making a distinction, his use of "yet" implies a developmental path, and that (at least some) students will eventually be AP students. Mr. Daniels made several other mentions of AP that imply or suggest students might want to take it at some point:

> The Declaration of Independence and Constitution's in your textbook so we don't need to have an extra copy of that. Although I suggest to my AP Government students they have a pocket Constitution. And if you aspire to be an AP student you might want to get one cause they're nice to have with you to refer to.

While I will not be exploring the differences between Mr. Daniels's teaching approach in this class and his AP courses, the notion that he treats his Civics & Economics students like AP students seems unfounded to me, however he does hope that those students will become AP students, and he tries to move them in that direction with his instruction.

In addition to setting expectations and goals about the relationships between the students, the content, and the teacher, Mr. Daniels also provided some evidence about his relationship with the disciplines of political science and economics. Mr. Daniels made a brief explicit case for his mastery of the content of the course, explaining both his training in political science, his study and work abroad in Hungary, and his years of teaching at Northern High. He framed this portion of his address as his credentials for

teaching. He also revealed that he runs a small business, and this has given him a better sense of economics—something he will in turn share with the students.

Then, after speaking more specifically about himself, his family, and his interests, he explained his involvement with the NEA teacher union. One of the central activities of this work is quarterly board meetings in Washington, D.C. during which he meets with representatives (and occasionally a senator) from Michigan to lobby about educational policy. Here is a more implicit argument for his knowledge of the course content: he has direct contact with federal representatives and engages in the very kind of active citizen participation that he has outlined as a goal for the students. In other words, here is evidence for the students that he practices what he preaches. His invitation to the president, mentioned earlier, is another example. In both these instances, I would characterize his stories as establishing his "authenticity" as citizen, and therefore as someone worth learning about civics from during the course.

Mr. Daniels also took time on the first day to introduce himself beyond the aspects of his experience that relate directly to the course. He showed slides of his family on summer vacation, told stories about his two young sons, and shared some of his interests, including the sports teams he supports and the music he enjoys. By presenting these interests, he provided opportunities for students to find commonality with him and build the relationship between himself and them. The most explicit example came when he discussed the music he likes, and asked students to help him expand his music repertoire: "I like hard rock music but I need an edu—if any of you can help me out with that." This open invitation for student suggestions offers a potential avenue for building an interpersonal relationship outside of the content of the classroom.

The students were largely silent and generally attentive during the class. There were no flagrant instances of misbehavior, side-talking, or other indicators that students had "checked out" from the class proceedings. Given their limited opportunities for participating on day one, the students are largely absent from the account. They did each have short interactions with Mr. Daniels while he took attendance, but this amounted to saying they were present, and providing their preferred name, or providing pronunciation help. This passive role does not persist as the class moves forward, and Mr. Daniels fulfills his promise of an active learning community, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

Ms. Stark and the First Day of World History II

Ms. Stark and her World History course provide a disciplinary counter-point to Mr. Daniels's Civics & Economics classes, as well as a strategically different introduction to the content of the class. The structure and enactment of the first day in Ms. Stark's class highlight two different dimensions of pedagogical relationships. Unlike with Mr. Daniels, Ms. Stark's students have a chance to be introduced to everyone in the class and to learn at least a little bit about each other through an icebreaker activity. The other major distinction that becomes evident is Ms. Stark's emphasis on introducing World History through metaphors and ideas about the structure of the discipline, in particular the syntactic dimensions of the discipline according to Schwab (1978).

Stark Day One Outline
I.   Two Truths and a Lie Icebreaker Game
II.   World Map Activity
III. Comparative Map Activity
IV.   PowerPoint on Maps
V.   Impressionist Painting Discussion
VI.   Assigns Homework

Class began with an icebreaker activity called "Two Truths and A Lie." Each person introducesd themselves, and then provided three pieces of information about themselves, two of which are true and one of which is a lie. Ms. Stark began the game, and the students participated in order around the double half-circle formation of the desks. As the game proceeded, some students took it more seriously than others. Some lies were blatant and easy to identify, with students clearly going for laughs with what they chose to share. One student, Adam, said he likes to play basketball, play baseball, and he is a terrorist. This got laughs from everyone, and Ms. Stark "played along" saying in a mock tone of concern she hopes it is the last one that is a lie.

The game not only served as a method for introducing the members of the class, but Ms. Stark also saw playing it as analogous to part of historical thinking:

> Stark: […] this game is actually kind of an introduction. Why would we play "Two Truths and a Lie" in World History? […] What do you have to do in your studies?
>
> Student: Ask questions.
>
> Teacher: Ask questions. Did you have to memorize during this game?
>
> Student: No.
>
> Adam: Yeah, I did. You had to remember what they said.
>
> Teacher: So you have to think but you didn't have to memorize (laughs). Right? You had to think but you didn't necessarily memorize. You have to make sense of that. But what else? What was the key thing? What were you guys asked to do when listening to him?
>
> Student: To show what you're learning what not to do.
>
> Teacher: Right. Okay. So all year we're going to look at various things, some could be true, some could be more true than other things and we're going to have to pick what the best story to tell is. It's not to give you fake evidence, cause that's just mean, but some of this I give will be better then other evidence and you

will need to build from that. That's a bit about <u>how</u> we do this, we'll get into that more later […].

Ms. Stark's attempt to draw an analogy between the activity and the work of historians is the central thematic pattern of the first day of this class. Ms. Stark tied almost every activity to the work of history and introduced students to the class's orientation to such work. It is also worth noting that in the course of making her argument for the relevance of selecting truths from lies for history, Ms. Stark was challenged by Adam, the same student who declared he was a terrorist earlier. Adam frequently challenges Ms. Stark's practices and is a *de facto* leader of a group of senior boys who sit together throughout the semester, often engaging in off-task behavior. Evidence of this trajectory is evident here on day one.

After debriefing the "Two Truths and a Lie" game, Ms. Stark moved on to an informal assessment of student knowledge by having the students create world maps from memory. She provided them with a sheet of paper. One side was largely blank, except for a short list of items that can be included on the map, with the space to be used to draw the map. The other side had three questions for students to answer about the activity. Ms. Stark directed students to do their best in outlining the continents, and then to include as many of the following as possible in the short amount of time they have: political components, economic components, scientific/technological features, cultural features, historical features, and the movement of people or connections between places. Students were given fifteen minutes to complete as much as possible. Ms. Stark also provided colored pencils and markers for the students to use in completing the task.

The map activity serves as an informal assessment for Ms. Stark, and as a self-assessment for students. In debriefing the activity and asking students what they have

included, the answers she gets are a grab bag across the different dimensions of human historical activity that she asked students to document. The Renaissance, Nazism, Communism, the cotton gin, cars, fireworks, McDonald's, the five major religions, and trains. It is a rather random assortment, but she did bring her questioning around to asking a larger pattern question: what do you seem to know the most about? Students replied the U.S. (which did not surprise Ms. Stark), and then she asked what region did they know best after the U.S.; and to that question she got what seems to be a surprise. Ms. Stark expected students to say Europe, which some do, but she also heard Asia and South America, to which she said, "Okay, you guys are a little bit more varied then most people." She then asked what they know the least about, and she got responses of Africa and China. The questions on the back of the sheet were addressed in a whole-class format, as part of the debriefing of the map activity, although it seems initially she planned on having students answer them individually.

The first map activity then transitioned into a second map-centered exploration, in which Ms. Stark asked students to compare two different world maps, a Mercator projection and a Peters projection. She had each of them projected side-by-side on the screen at what serves as the "front" of the room. The Mercator projection is the most common version of the world map, but it is viewed by some as problematic because of the way it distorts the sense of area. The Peters projection attempts to correct this by having the continents accurately reflect the comparative areas, at the "cost" of them appearing somewhat misshapen. Ms. Stark had students explore these distinctions by asking several questions about comparing the two maps. After the students answered the

three questions about the Mercator and Peters projection maps, Stark summarized her

thinking about the importance of maps in world history:

> So we use different maps for different purposes. We will in here too. […]
> Something to pay attention to in . . . World History is, who drew the maps? Why
> are they drawing the maps? What is their purpose? It's something to consider.
> Second thing, in World History, not only do we have different maps, we have
> different calendars to consider. When we study the history of the world keep in
> mind it's not just here, it's not just the United States. We're currently on the
> Gregorian calendar but people are on the Islamic calendar. So it's 1428 compared
> to year 2000. Hebrew calendar, way far back, their sense of the beginning of time,
> their sense of things is a little bit different. The Chinese it's 4702. So when we're
> reading history and we're reading people's interpretations of things consider
> where they came from and what time period they're on.

According to the lesson plan for this day, this discussion around maps and calendars is

meant to drive home the importance of perspective-taking in world history, and in

particular to look beyond a western-centered viewpoint. A rather elegant point about how

cultures portray and experience space (maps) and time (calendars) differently. This is

another example of Ms. Stark introducing students to the syntactic elements of history

through her introductory activities and remarks. History is grounded in particulars of time

and space, and maps and calendars are essential tools of the trade. It matters to the

meaning-making of the discipline when and where events happened.

The final introductory activity for the class involved looking at an impressionist

painting, starting with focusing on the feet of some dancers, and by degrees revealing

more of the painting. Stark ended this brief discussion with the following question and

take-away point.

Stark: In world history, if we're too close to what's going on, what do we miss?

Student: Everything

Student: The big picture.

Stark: The big picture. So at some times in world history we're going to have to zoom in really close and all we really care about is that foggy shoe. Other times, we're concerned about just one couple dancing. Typically though, we're concerned with the big picture. So we're not going to talk about every country in every period of time all the time. We're going to pick and choose what's important so that we get a better understanding of the big picture.

Here Ms. Stark is introducing an important element of a worldwide approach to history: it requires taking a step back and looking at the big picture, and occasionally drilling down to more specific cases. This provides another syntactic orientation for the students towards the discipline, but in this case it helps to draw a distinction between world history and other kinds of history students have studied (generally national or regional history). Ms. Stark further emphasized the syntactic orientation, and the unique nature of world history, in the homework she assigned on the first night. Mr. Daniels had forms for students and their parents to sign, but Ms. Stark gave the students a sheet entitled "What is World History?" that contained quotations from eight leading historians and teachers, and asked them to answer the following questions (with her prospective answers in parenthesis, taken from her lesson plan):

1. Define World History:
2. What creates change in history? (*People, environmental change, etc.)*
3. Does world history always involve people? (*no environment, geography also play important roles)*
4. Explain if and how world history can be local? (*Need to zoom in on specific people and places to illustrate a key point)*
5. What makes it distinct (different from other forms of history)? Or is it the same? Explain . . . . Basically define world history.

Having given students some working analogies for thinking about world history, Ms. Stark asks them to think even more about the nature of the discipline, focusing on the concepts of change, non-human factors, and scale, with the implication that these factors will be important as they proceed to study world history. One significant element of the

course to come that isn't addressed the first day is the course's central question: "What is globalization?" A sign with this question adorns the space above the door to the room. Ms. Stark introduced this thread on the second day of class.

Comparing the Teachers Across Pedagogical Relationships

Using the instructional triangle suggested by Lampert (2001) as a theoretical frame for the pedagogical relationships, what differences are apparent amongst these teachers and classrooms in this first opportunity to begin building the pedagogical relationships? Is there evidence of the ways in which different aspects of pedagogical relationships may be related to one another? How do the teachers orienting discourses attempt to mediate the pedagogical relationships? These are questions that I explore the following section in comparing Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels.

Student Relationships with the Discipline

The most apparent and striking differences between Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark on the first day of class are the different strategies they employ in launching and enacting the students' relationship with the disciplinary content in their respective classes. These different approaches suggest the qualitative variety that exist "within" the arrows indicating relationships between elements of the instructional triangle.

Each of the teachers makes either an implicit or explicit argument about the nature of the discipline they are teaching and the students' relationship to it. This teacher presentation occurs both through what they say about the discipline, as well as the kinds of activities they have the students engage in during class (and through homework). In this way the classroom is an example of guided participation (Rogoff, 1990, 1995),

wherein students use social resources to gain new skills and understandings through participation in the classroom's activities.

Although both teachers share similar goals for their students, they employ different approaches for establishing their classroom community and the stance towards the discipline at hand in each room. Mr. Daniels takes what I term an *instrumental* strategy to introducing civics and economics, whereas Ms. Stark employs a *syntactic* strategy to world history. I will elaborate on each of these below.[14] Let me reiterate that the current analysis is taking a thin slice of these classrooms' histories (the first day), and that as such the following comments are not meant to be representative or static descriptions of these teachers or students. However what happens on the first day has significance for the developmental trajectory of these groups, and the instrumental and syntactic emphases are clear in the following chapters that look specifically at portions of Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark's later instruction.

Mr. Daniels's *instrumental* strategy to introducing his course emphasizes the "use value" of the content for students. His arguments for the value and significance of the course stem from what students can do with what they learn in the course outside of school and in their future lives as citizens of the United States. Mr. Daniels spends very little class time the first day in which students are engaged with the content of the course. The most extended instance during the first day is when they collectively answer questions from the United States Citizenship test. The test itself consists of many discrete items that generally have short, unambiguous answers associated with them (e.g., How many states are there? How many senators are elected from each state?), and such content

---

[14] My description of Ms. Stark's strategy draws from Schwab's (1978) terminology for aspects of the structure of disciplines, but applies them to teaching practice.

will be learned over the duration of the course. I would argue that the implicit message here is that all these facts that are to be learned can be put to use in passing such a test (which presumably none of these students will need to do). In this case, I imagine that the students do not find such a goal or use of any particular value, but it does seem consistent with the argument for the use value that Mr. Daniels builds during the first day.

The first strong indication of what I am calling the instrumental strategy comes early on in Mr. Daniels's PowerPoint presentation when he frames the whole lecture around an employee training presentation, which provides a strong utilitarian frame to the course and to his relationship with the students. The next indication of the instrumental strategy comes when Mr. Daniels talks about the "benefits" of the course. This includes more proximal goals from the perspective of the students (doing well on important tests, internship opportunities) as well as the long term benefits of "learning the rules of the game." This is where Mr. Daniels argues that Civics & Economics is the most important class students will take in high school because to be good at the game of life you must know the rules, and this course is where such things are learned. Again, this is the most explicit instantiation of the instrumental strategy, but there are others, including his argument about the relevance of the content beyond the class, Mr. Daniels's embodiment of the disciplines in his own life, and the controversial nature of some of the content with which the students will engage.

The fact that Mr. Daniels represents the content as not bounded by the classroom also fits with an instrumental orientation and relationship he is attempting to build with students. On several occasions he highlights the ways in which either the course content extends beyond the classroom, or that events outside of the classroom fall within the

content of the course. This includes his reference to how the concurrent presidential election adds excitement to civics that particular semester, that students can and should converse about the course content with the adults in their lives because the adults can relate to such things in a way they cannot with other courses the students are taking, and that he views them as the political experts in the high school, which comes with it the responsibility to speak up when current events are raised in other classes.

This outside-in perspective on the discipline can also be seen in the way Mr. Daniels characterizes at least some of the course content as being controversial. This surfaces when Mr. Daniels discusses his expectations for student interaction, and for how the students need to be respectful and not overly sensitive. While the emphasis here is on expectations for student interaction, there is also a message about the nature of the content, namely that it can inspire passions. School content does not always inspire passion in students. In saying that it does, Mr. Daniels is again arguing for the "real world" impact of the content: this is material people really care about and are invested in emotionally.

The final emphasis on an instrumental orientation to the content comes from Mr. Daniels's own personal example of how both civics and economics come to operate in the world. As noted in the narrative of the first day, Mr. Daniels spends time introducing himself both personally and professionally to the students. His embodiment of the profession comes through his credentials, his life experiences, and the work he does in addition to teaching. Beyond having done advanced studies in political science (he has an M.A.), lived and worked abroad, and taught for twelve years, Mr. Daniels has a wealth of experience in "doing" many of the things he has set as goals for his students. As a small-

business owner, he deals with economics in a very immediate way, and has those experiences to draw on in his teaching. Likewise, as the teachers union president and a member of the NEA board of directors, he is engaged with politics at the local, state, and national levels. He participates in the disciplines he is teaching in a way that is rather uncommon amongst teachers. This is not to say that teachers are not active politically or economically in their own lives—many teachers vote, volunteer, invest in stocks, and such. However, I argue that Mr. Daniels's participation in the union and ownership of a small business provides him with greater potential standing in relation to the content.

On the first day Mr. Daniels brings in several experiences relevant to previewing what the students will be learning about during the course. Though his examples, he provides an immediate presence of the content under study being "put to use" in the world. His story about contacting the White House is one example, and he also talks about how doing payroll for his company has helped to better understand taxes. The relational goal he has for his students mirrors his own experiences with the content. He has not just studied the material, and he expects students to do more as well. Furthermore, perhaps this orientation explains the way in which Mr. Daniels structures the first day: getting through the nuts and bolts of the course first, before getting to the content. However, the passive role for the students during the first day seems to conflict with the kind of disciplinary relationship that Mr. Daniels aims to develop between the students and the content.

Ms. Stark adopts a different approach on the first day in launching students' relationship with world history for the semester. She has students engaged in thinking about history as soon as they debrief the icebreaker, and introduces her students to some

of the structural and methodological (syntactic) elements of history. Each episode of the first day has a take-away message that Ms. Stark relates to thinking about the structure of history or what historians "do." The icebreaker of Two Truths and a Lie is related to historical discernment of the reliability of accounts. Comparing two world map projections is related to historical empathy and considering other points of view and ways of understanding the world. Examining a painting by Renoir leads to a point about world history requiring both case studies (zooming in) and looking at larger global patterns (zooming out). Most explicitly, the homework students were assigned on the first day asked them to define world history after analyzing quotations by historians and teachers about the nature of world history.

Another pattern in the nature of the activities with which Ms. Stark engages students on day one is a thread of assessment and self-reflection. The first map activity when students draw and annotate a world map is both for her benefit as their teacher, but also a learning opportunity for the students to reflect on which parts of the world they know best and why that might be. This approach, of having students thinking about thinking, is similarly "meta" to the syntactic introduction to the course.

In comparing Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels on how they oriented students to the discipline, it is clear that they emphasized different aspects of the content. Mr. Daniels highlighted the instrumental aspects of civics and economics, but did not give students any opportunities to think or engage with content, which ran counter to the active, engaged vision of the material that he narrated. Ms. Stark provided students with multiple opportunities to think about history, and gave them metaphors and other frames to think about the syntactic aspects of history. While both approaches have the potential to engage

students in learning disciplinary literacy, Ms. Stark's approach establishes a clearer emphasis on the disciplinary practices.

<p style="text-align:center;">*Teacher-student Relationships*</p>

The teacher-student relationship had something of a "head start," given the reputation of the teachers as we saw at the start of the chapter. It was clear in the range of student responses about what they knew of the teachers before the class began that this reputation was not consistent for any of the students, even those in Ms. Stark's class who had been in classes with her previously.

Documenting the launch of the students' relationship with the disciplinary content was relatively straightforward, in that I could consider the quality and structure of the classroom activities and tasks students engaged in during the episodes. Interpersonal relationships, however, like the teacher-student relationship, are harder to pin down, especially on the first day with the limited history the teachers and students generally share at that point in time. What is apparent on the first day are several areas of evidence, including the explicit and implicit messages the teachers send about their views of the teacher-student relationship, the structure of the classroom activities and the teacher and students' roles in them, and the start of a shared sense of intersubjectivity, where teachers and students begin to share understanding of the classroom culture and the content.

Two elements suggest that the most explicit message about the teacher-student relationship coming out of the first day of Mr. Daniels's class is the central authority of the teacher. First is the primacy of Mr. Daniels during instruction on the first day. Students talk very little, only during attendance and the review of the citizenship test. Second, the most overt message about the teacher-student relationship comes from the

structure of the PowerPoint presentation around an employee training presentation, the analogy being that the teacher is the employer and the students are employees. This reinforces the power dynamic of the teacher over the students. It also resonates with Mr. Daniels's instrumental strategy for student-content relations, in that he is using an economic analogy.

However there are other currents present on the first day that tell a larger story. Mr. Daniels talked about student responsibility for participation in the class, and he voiced a hope that when he missed class to travel to Washington, D.C. that the students would be able to carry on as they normally would. This vision of the class is much more student-centered than what was actually enacted on the first day. Mr. Daniels also shared much more about himself, both professionally and personally than did Ms. Stark (true both for the first day as well as through the entire course—in fact Mr. Daniels probably said more about himself on day one than Ms. Stark did over the entire course that I observed). The emphasis Mr. Daniels puts on getting to know students' names, also suggests that he cares about them and who they are.

Mr. Daniels also used humor, although it tended to be sarcastic and he reported that students do not always pick up on it, at least on the first day. The story he told about calling the presidential switch board to request he visit Northern High School was meant to have a funny ending, although the students did not laugh. He also joked with a student who thought she was in the wrong class, and had several other asides across the day.

Overall, Mr. Daniels presented two potentially competing currents (although they need not necessarily be in opposition). On the one hand, he demonstrated strongly teacher-centered organization to instruction, but he also professed interest in student

participation, and an unspoken interest in students knowing more about him.

Furthermore, through the student information sheet that he passed out, he sought a range

of information about students that Ms. Stark does not collect, setting himself up for better

knowledge and understanding of the students. These sheets, in addition to basic contact

information and schedule, have content and personal questions as well. When asked

about how he makes use of these sheets, Mr. Daniels explained:

> […] the content questions that I ask . . . it gives me a really good first impression
> about the preparation of each kid. You can kind of almost just glance at it and get
> a sense of this person is a serious student, this person's not. . . . and it's not like I
> want to track them, but it should help me to be able to identify the kids that I think
> would need help the earliest. […] but then also I find some of the personal
> information to be useful to just kind of drop in here and there, maybe in more one
> on one or like in small group, just conversations to increase the relationship
> between the teacher and the student so that I know like kids who have traveled to
> Europe before … for example, I can maybe ask them some things about that, that
> maybe I have some personal knowledge of. Or even if it's something I don't have
> any knowledge of at all, it sounds interesting to me, it gives me an in to make a
> conversation starter with them. […] Or even to talk about when parent-teacher
> conferences happen. [Daniels, Interview 1]

So while Mr. Daniels provided information about himself, he is also gathered it from

students in order to build relationships with them, making connections with his own

experience, or learning from student experiences that interest him.

Ms. Stark also has a teacher-centered first day, however there are many more

opportunities for students to be actively engaged in the material, and to a lesser extent

with one another. She does not have any explicit messages about the teacher-student

relationship, and instead helps students think more about their relationship with the

content (what do I know about the world/world history?). She does have a friendly

demeanor, and does not rise to the challenge presented by Adam either during the

icebreaker game or when they are debriefing the activity. In the first instance she "plays

along" and laughs, and in the second she ignores him. Compared to Mr. Daniels, Ms. Stark revealed little of herself.

Student-student Relationships

Both of the teachers also had a different set of experiences for scaffolding student interaction with one another. Whereas Mr. Daniels had no small group work, he projected a vision of the students working together in the future, but with little detail about what that might look like, except that it would involve students in small groups. Ms. Stark, in contrast, gave students a chance to introduce themselves to the whole class beyond saying their names. While students working with others is a potential affordance for learning, there was no real opportunity for such learning in Ms. Stark's and Mr. Daniels's classes on the first day.

One common aspect of both teachers was to allow students to select their own seats on the first day. The sophomore class divided neatly in half by gender, with boys on one side and girls on the other. Mr. Daniels eventually instituted a seating chart in order to break up problematic clusters of talkative or disruptive students. The seats selected on day one in Ms. Stark's class, with minor variations, stayed the same the entire semester after they were selected. Because of the data recording limitations of the first day, there is not much to say about the actual student interactions that occurred. The development and impact of student relationships will be taken up more fully in the Chapter 5.

Looking Forward

What is of particular interest, beyond identifying the patterns above in the pedagogical relationships suggested by the instructional triangle, are the ways in which the interpersonal and disciplinary relationships intertwine and influence one another. By

looking at the first day of the two courses, I wanted to establish the starting point for the

pedagogical relationships. The more substantial analysis of such intertwining will occur

in the next two chapters as I look more closely at two avenues available to teachers for

developing pedagogical relationships, structuring students interactions with one another,

and providing them with artifacts to support and guide their thinking and development. I

am guided in the choices by Wenger's (1998) notion of participation and reification as

ways to change a community of practice:

> [Participation and reification] offer two kinds of lever for attempts to shape the future of the practice. 1) You can seek, cultivate, or avoid specific relationships with specific people. 2) You can produce or promote specific artifacts to focus future negotiation of meaning in specific ways. In this sense, participation and reification are two distinct channels of power available to participants (and to outside constituencies). They constitute two distinct forms of politics. The politics of *participation* include influence, personal authority, nepotism, rampant discrimination, charisma, trust, friendship, ambition. Of a different nature are the politics of reification, which include legislation, policies, institutionally defined authority, expositions, argumentative demonstrations, statistics, contracts, plans, designs. (p. 91-92)

To that end, the next two chapters look in depth at how two of the participating teachers

used one of these "channels" to further shape the pedagogical relationships in their

classrooms. In Chapter 5 I foreground Mr. Daniels's use of simulations to explore how

different simulations in his classroom shape different practices, especially in the kinds of

pedagogical valuable interactions for students. In Chapter 6, I turn to Ms. Stark's use of

tools to support student historical thinking. I selected these particular dimensions from

these particular teachers because they provide the most illuminating pedagogical

practices from the instruction I witnessed.

Chapter 5

Interpersonal and Disciplinary Dimensions of Participation in Classroom Simulations

Teachers have a variety of ways to initiate the pedagogical relationships of the modern high school classroom. In Chapter 4, I presented two different strategies for initiating those relationships from Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark that relied on particular aspects of the discipline being taught and the teachers' perspectives on the most advantageous pedagogical aspect for laying a foundation for students. In this chapter, I move deeper into the semester in order to explore how Mr. Daniels's use of simulations shaped students' opportunities for participation in the classroom community via the interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions of the pedagogical relationships in Civics & Economics, which in turn shaped their opportunities for learning disciplinary literacy.

Mr. Daniels's work outside the classroom embodies two of the applications of the content he teaches: he operates in the political sphere through his participation in the teachers union, where he is the local president as well as on the national board, and he has business experience running a small landscaping firm in the summer. He brings this unique experience into the classroom through the stories and examples he shares with his classes, but he also attempts to enliven the course with exercises that simulate authentic activities for the students to experience.

During the second unit I observed in his classroom, the third unit overall for the course, Mr. Daniels ran two simulations of key political processes back-to-back, with students working in the same large groups roughly according to political affiliation,

which they had self-identified in the second unit of the course. Before delving into the simulations and comparing what transpired in each, some contextual information is in order. When we left Mr. Daniels last chapter, he had completed the first day of class, and the third unit under consideration in this chapter happened in the last three weeks of October. What happened between the first day and the start of the third unit?

The first unit centered on what Daniels termed "the foundations of American Constitutional Democracy" (ACD). The unit started with the students going through a desert island thought experiment, in which they had to imagine they were stranded together on an island and needed to decide whether to form a government, and if so, what kind. This was followed by a consideration of different forms of government and where they fall along the political power spectrum, a representation that rated governments along a spectrum of strong or weak authority. In the next activity students were assigned one of the foundational documents, governments, or thinkers of the American Constitution. These included, for example, the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, the Roman Republic, and John Locke. Students spent time in the Media Center researching their foundational pillar and then were "interviewed" by Mr. Daniels as if they were on a television talk show in front of the class, while their classmates took notes on a sheet provided by Mr. Daniels. This activity was followed by several days of lecturing on the history of ACD, focusing on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The final major activity involved students breaking into four groups to explore the ways in which major events in United States history have changed the nature of ACD. Students investigated and considered the impact of the Civil War, the women's suffrage movement, the New Deal, and the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which

they presented to the class. The unit ended with an exam including multiple choice and essay questions.

The second unit, which I did not observe, centered on political ideology and understanding the positions of different political parties. Most important for the third unit I will be exploring, students came out of the ideology unit having identified their own political ideology. While not all students were necessarily crystal clear on this point, it did allow them to divide into two parties for the first major activity, a presidential campaign simulation.

In the normal course of teaching civics, Mr. Daniels would teach the third unit with a focus on Congress, but the fall in which I was observing was special because it coincided with a presidential election year. Mr. Daniels pointed out on the first day of class that this would make the course more exciting, and he felt it was important to take advantage of the opportunity such events presented for his instruction. To that end, he modified his teaching plan for the fall term to include a presidential election campaign simulation for the class. This simulation began the third unit and led into a second simulation in which the students acted as members of Congress running for reelection while voting on legislation. This modification was necessary in order for the activity to occur before the election was over in early November. While it required a detour into presidential politics while also learning about Congress, thematically it flowed logically from the unit on political ideology, and the students worked in political camps that carried over into the Congress Game.

One of difference between the two simulations to consider at the start is their authorship, which may have had a bearing on how they were carried out. Mr. Daniels was

a member of a Civics & Economics Professional Learning Community (PLC) at Northern

High School, and the PLC was working to develop a common school curriculum for the

course. This work was in response to newly released state content expectations in social

studies. The Congress Game came out of the work of the civics PLC, whereas the

Presidential Election Campaign was developed by Mr. Daniels. He based the Campaign

on his own experiences attending a conference for people interested in running for office

in which he learned about advertising, fundraising, speechwriting, and all the other things

one needs to know how to do to run a successful campaign for public office. Mr. Daniels

feels strongly about the power of simulations as a context for student learning:

> I like to have some kind of real life simulation, if I can [. . .] try to come up with a
> simulation that allows the students to put into practice what they've learned or to
> learn additional material during the simulation and help to integrate that, for them
> to see the real world application. That's always been my goal as a teacher, is to
> show kids how, what, how these skills that they're learning now and information
> how that can be used in a real world setting. And I think if you can't do that for
> anything you're teaching then why are we teaching it? Really. That's the bottom
> line for me. (Daniels Interview 1)

This approach to teaching echoes the instrumental strategy that Mr. Daniels employed on

the first day of class, as seen in Chapter 4.

Overview of Unit 3

An initial question might be why to consider these two simulations as part of the

same unit if they cover such different topical terrain? The most basic answer is that I am

basing my unit demarcation on Mr. Daniels—he considered it a unit, so I do as well.

There are structural reasons to see them as coherent as well, however. While the content

was different (presidential campaign politics versus congressional politics) they shared

similar group structures (students divided in half by political affiliation), activities

(debating about contemporary political issues like the War in Iraq, the economy,

education, and immigration), and readings about both topics were intertwined, as was

class time at the start of the unit. In short, while somewhat non-traditional, the three

weeks that made up "Unit 3" are coherent as an instructional sequence.

The unit broke down into two main sub-sections around the two simulations. The

presidential simulation lasted for one week, while the Congress Game lasted a week and

half. In between the two simulations students were out of Mr. Daniels's classroom for

two days of instruction in the Career Center. Below is a unit overview for the three weeks

showing the major activities and topics of a given day, however, it is missing smaller

episodes that will be explored throughout the chapter.

Table 5-1: Daniels, Civics & Economics, Unit 3: Campaigns & Congress

(M) 10/13	(T) 10/14	(W) 10/15	(Th) 10/16	(F) 10/17
• Intro to Congress • Intro to Election Simulation	• Congress Lecture • Presidential Speeches • Campaign Work Time	• Congress Lecture • Campaign Work Time • Stump Speeches by Candidates	• Campaign Work Time • Campaign Issues Debates	• Campaign Work Time • Campaign Issues Debates • Congress Quiz
(M) 10/20 Career Center NO CLASS	(T) 10/21 Career Center NO CLASS	(W) 10/22 • Congress Review • Congress Game Introduction	(Th) 10/23 • Media Center for Congressperson Avatar creation	(F) 10/24 • Media Center for Bill Research • Party Caucuses
(M) 10/27 • Party Caucuses • Floor Debate on Education Bill	(T) 10/28 • More research on bills	(W) 10/29 • Party Caucuses • Floor Debate on Education Bill	(Th) 10/30 • Party Caucuses • Floor Debate on Immigration Bill	(F) 10/31 • Congress Game Debrief Writing Assignment & Discussion

On the surface, at the level of specificity represented on the unit calendar above,

the two different simulations do not appear to be very different. Both include class time

preparing for the simulation, both have topical debates between students, and both have

students broken into two large groups based on their political ideologies. However the

interpersonal and disciplinary relationships present in the simulations, and their

connection to one another, are different. The simulations vary in the way they position

students relative to each other, their interactions with the content, their learning

opportunities from social interactions, and the role Mr. Daniels plays in carrying out the activity. In order to present the simulations in a coherent way, I will begin by describing each on its own terms and then consider them in comparative relief.

The Presidential Campaign Activity

Mr. Daniels included this activity in the midst of his Congress unit because of the circumstances of the concurrent real presidential election that was unfolding at the time, and because by the time he taught his executive branch unit the election would be over. On the first day of the unit, after conducting some start-of-class business such as tallying students dressed in costumes for Spirit Week, collecting progress reports signed by parents, and handing out the week's agenda, Mr. Daniels introduced the two simulations that define the unit.

Mr. Daniels explained that the emphasis for the first week would be on the presidential campaign activity. He noted that this year would be different from the way he had structured it in the past because this time students would be role-playing the actual candidates: Obama, Biden, McCain, and Palin. A student raised an objection, wondering about what she should do since she did not agree with the party she was in. Mr. Daniels noted that not everyone would agree with their party 100%, but that this was a *role-play*. In an effort for size parity between the parties, Mr. Daniels placed some students into a party that their political ideology would not necessarily have placed there. These were students on the ideology "border" (e.g., a conservative Democrat). I was not present during this process so I cannot comment further, except to say that during the simulation no students expressed frustration at their party placement, even in small groups without Mr. Daniels present.

Mr. Daniels then explained the origin of this activity as a program he participated in at Michigan State University called the Michigan Political Leadership Program[15]. Part of that program involved a simulation in which the participants learned many elements of conducting a campaign for public office. He explained his adaptation from that experience in an interview:

> Yeah, I did this about three or four years ago. […] I've changed a few things. It's been refined a bit but […] it's kind of difficult to figure what kind of a thing can they do in class that kind of reflects what this person would be responsible for and be realistic […] and also kind of equate the amount of work from person to person. That's really kind of a tricky thing to do. So, yeah, it is a struggle and I think it constantly needs to be revised as to […] the reality of the classroom and the types of kids that you have available to you. It's different this year a lot, […] because I told them to base it on the actual campaigns. In other years it'd be totally fictional, they'd use their own names. In fact, this is the very first time I've ever done it with them, role-playing the actual candidates. […] So it's a little easier that way, here, plus the information should be pretty readily available for them to research. […] it's not like you can just kind hand it to them and they go off and do it and you sit back and watch. You can just tell there's a lot of questions always about these jobs. So, what I need to do a better job of is anticipating those in the directions every year and then including maybe more information.

Mr. Daniels explained to the students that the "winner" of the mock campaign would be determined by the quality of the work each team produced as well as their aggregate performance on the end of the week quiz. Mr. Daniels termed the points that would be awarded for better work during the competition "Electoral College Votes," and

---

[15] This program is run by the Institute for Public Policy and Social Research at Michigan State University. Description from the program's website: "The Michigan Political Leadership Program (MPLP) […] recruits, trains, and inspires tomorrow's public policy leaders, preparing them with vision, commitment, and the skills for effective governance. In a multi-partisan learning environment, a diverse group of 24 individuals from across the state engage in a public policy and leadership curriculum. A unique concept not only in Michigan but also nationally, this ten-month weekend program incorporates practical politics, public policy analysis and process, personal leadership development, and effective governance. Since its 1992 inception, more than 400 MPLP graduates have put the skills and relationships acquired through the program to work in their communities as candidates for office, as government officials or as citizen activists." http://www.ippsr.msu.edu/mplp/ Retrieved April 22, 2010.

explained that whichever team garnered more would win the election. After this brief

overview, Mr. Daniels moved to some pre-assessment of the students' knowledge about

Congress, and returned to a more formal introduction to the election activity thirty

minutes later.

In introducing the Campaign Activity, Daniels referred frequently to the "job

sheet" that detailed the positions available to students on the campaign team. Considering

this assignment sheet gives the best overview of the assignment and helps make sense of

the enacted lessons that follow its introduction on the first day of the unit, I analyze how

it constructed the students' work for the simulation.

Basically, every student had two jobs for the campaign. One job was the same for

everyone: they each took on the roll of a "Policy Specialist/Political Advisor" for one of

seven policy issues (e.g., the war in Iraq, the economy, the environment) relevant to the

campaign which they debated with members from the other campaign in front of the

whole class. Here is the description from the assignment sheet:

> **9. Policy Specialist/Political Advisers (everyone) – Qualifications**: Understands
> public policy and law in the US. **Responsible for: One position paper on 7
> issues as agreed to by both campaigns. 10 points each. Must be typed and
> sources listed. Due on day of your assigned debate. Participate in debate in
> teams of up to 2 people per topic. (70)**

The "(70)" at the end of the description denotes the number of "electoral votes" total that

are available from this portion of the campaign. The construction of this activity around

"jobs" has a resonance with the first day of class in which Mr. Daniels utilized an

employer/employee analogy to frame his introduction to the class. Here, then, again is a

framing that emphasizes employment. While this is not uncommon in attempting to make

activities and assessments authentic (cf. Wiggins and McTighe, 2005), the use of

qualifications for each of the jobs seems to emphasize that students should consider

which job matches their skill set, although this is not really possible with all of the

"choice" campaign jobs, and most definitely not so with this required job. The

qualifications are aspirational rather than prerequisites.

While all students share the policy job, the other jobs are unique, or nearly so,

with some requiring students to partner because of the number of students. While the

universal job of policy expert has a rather standard academic product of a position paper

and debate, the requirements for the other positions vary widely, requiring different

demands on the students who pursue them. Consider the following jobs and their related

products, summarized from the assignment sheet:

Job	Associated Student Products
Campaign Manager	Campaign evaluation sheet which describes the contributions of everyone to the campaign and compiling the final campaign notebook with all work.
Scheduler	Create a calendar of the last month of the campaign based on actual campaign itineraries.
Presidential Candidate	Write and give a nomination acceptance speech and a stump speech.
Public Relations Director	Create two 30-sec TV ads with scripts, which can be taped or performed for the class.
Voter Contact Coordinator	Create a tri-fold brochure for mail drops and two yard signs.

While diverse in what these different jobs ask, and hence allowing students to gravitate

towards elements that might be more appealing to them, such as the graphic design

required of the Voter Contact Coordinator, overall the range seems rather large in what is

required of students both disciplinarily *and* interpersonally.

For example, consider the role of the Campaign Manager, who is not responsible

for producing any original products, but rather is responsible for managing his or her

peers, keeping track of what they are working on each day of the simulation, as well as

encouraging them to remain on task and redirecting students who have completed one thing to move on or to help others if they are done. Such a job does not require an understanding of the candidates or the presidential election system, but it does require a great deal of interpersonal management and organization. The students who took this job on both campaigns were the busiest students during the course of the week, and they had to contend with obstinate peers who were off-task, and tried to help peers who were having a hard time completing their portion of the assignment.

The campaign manager job is interpersonally demanding, but also gives the student contact with every member of his or her party on a daily basis, so it has a social advantage, if the student enjoys such interaction. However, such interaction is not necessarily positive. Inherent in the position is an increased authority and power for the student in that he or she monitors and reports on other students' work and progress in the campaign.

The students had varying success in this role, and their success seemed to be influenced by their prior social standing in the classroom, which either gave them the interpersonal authority to pressure off-task students, or not. John, the manager for the Democrats, was the latter. He struggled to hold the attention of his peers and complete his job function. His struggle was foretold in the initial group meeting to assign jobs, where his desire for the job was met with some derision by others. First, John had difficulty gaining the floor in the caucus, and it took him several bids to be considered for campaign manager:

Natalie: [to John] Wait, do you want to switch to campaign manager?

John: Yeah. Can I switch to campaign manager?

Natalie: So you're pretty sure that because you're the campaign manager…

Elise: (Hold on.)

Natalie: (and you have to have–)

Elise: Hold on, hold on. Shh. Everyone be quiet.

Chuck: You guys, quiet.

Elise: Everyone be quiet. No more talking unless I say you can talk. Natalie, no more. Natalie, everyone. Shh! […] John, what do you want to be now?

John: Campaign manager. Give that a shot.

Elise: You want to be campaign manager.

Princess: Okay. Are you sure?

Mia: Are you sure you're going to do all the work?

Elise: No. Quiet.

Female Student: No, 'cause we didn't—

Elise: He's aware of what he has to do. He read the thing.

John: [*chuckling*] I know what I have to do.

Natalie: Everything?

John: Yeah, I know what I have to do.

Mia: And make sure that everyone is like, doing what they're supposed to.

Elise: Yeah, whoever's go the to do list, which is–

Natalie: Him.

Elise: Campaign manager. John does that. John's going to be campaign manager.

[*Princess, Natalie, & Mia whispering inaudibly, presumably about John*]

Princess: Then you shouldn't be campaign manager.

Elise: Princess! Princess if he wants to do it he can do it.

Despite the protests of some of his peers, John's bid to be campaign manager was supported by Elise and the campaign binder was completed by the end of the week as required. His lack of success at the task, however, was raised again in the next unit when the Democrats were selecting a majority whip. John put himself up to be one, to which one of his peers quipped, "Yeah, cuz you did such a great job last time." The perception of his peers that John was not an effective campaign manager meant he did not get a second chance at a leadership position during the Congress Game in the second half of the unit. In this example, John's interpersonal standing meant he had to work to get the role he wanted, and when his peers predictions were fulfilled at the completion of the first simulation (at least in how they viewed his performance), his future opportunities were limited.

On the Republican side of the campaign, there were not the same problems, and Lauree, who acted as campaign manager, seemed to effectively and efficiently complete her job. While I never captured any explicit interaction between her and her peers, I do clearly recall her moving from person to person with clipboard in hand, checking in on progress and suggesting to those who were done whom they might aid.

While the campaign manager job had a heavy interpersonal component, it had rather low demands in terms of the disciplinary content with which the students in the role had to interact and learn. In fact, aside from their additional responsibility as a policy expert, they could leave this unit (and do well on the final quiz) without having learned anything about either specific campaign, or the presidential election process in general.

In contrast to the interpersonal/disciplinary demands of the campaign manager, consider the two students who were role-playing Obama and McCain. Their jobs required

both disciplinary knowledge about the campaigns in that they had to research their respective candidate's positions in order to write the two speeches (a nomination acceptance speech to rally the base, and a stump speech about core issues), but they also had to present both speeches to the whole class, and generally act as leaders for their teams. Thus, the presidential "job" required much of the students interpersonally and academically. Consider how Elise, who was acting as Obama, managed the assignment of tasks in the Democratic group. Earlier I shared the dissent over John being campaign manager. Despite such dissent, Elise asserted her authority to install John as campaign manager, as shown in the selection above.

This incident is largely representative of Elise's approach to dealing with her peers, which does not always have the best results for her, which we will see more of in looking at the Congressional simulation shortly. Elise had the following comments about her selection and position as Obama and her role in the simulation:

> I really didn't expect it [being Obama]. I was like, I don't think I'd mind. I'll be headquarters manager or something. They're all [the Democrats] like, 'Elise!' I was like, oh, okay.

> [W]ell my responsibilities were first off, to write the acceptance speech and then the stump speeches and I'd gotten those done within the first couple of days. Cause they were due in the first couple days. And once I'd given them I was in on a couple debates because people were missing […] or they asked me to be on them cause they needed more people to make it an even debate. However, our group was smaller than the other groups. They had a hard time keeping on task, keeping, getting all their things done, so it was just kind of easier to see who was struggling and you know, Donna came in three days late, and she was the co-headquarter manager, so I helped her out with making the list of what everyone had done […] and went around kind of polled everyone to make sure they'd done what they're asked to. That (inaudible) people in particularly, but I kept a couple people on task that were having a little bit of a hard time being appropriate as to what is appropriate in a campaign. So I just kind of kept everyone on task when they needed it.

Elise had been the party leader in the previous unit, so that may explain why her peers

selected her to be Obama. She was interested in being campaign manager (which

involves keeping others on-task), and she was surprised to be universally nominated by

her peers for the presidential role. The presidential requirements did not seem

overwhelming to her, and as she notes, she was able to assist her peers, helping the

campaign managers since one of them was absent for much of the simulation, and

jumping into debates when students were missing, or providing other forms of assistance.

For example, when some of her peers appeared unprepared for the debate, she assisted

them:

> Brian: Okay, and then I also saw you doing like sort of providing advice to people as well, before their debate. So talk a little bit about that.
>
> Elise: What I had done was, Ricky and Lennon, I believe were on the economy, and they weren't too knowledgeable of it, and my stump speech was on the economy. So when they had really nothing to say and they were looking all flustered cause they didn't know what to say, I brought up my […] stump speech and showed them the major points of Obama's economic plan and how it all started. And I kind of highlighted it for them so they were able to pull parts of it out during the debate and knew what they were talking about.

In addition to the interpersonal dimension of the presidential candidate role, Elise

and Dan, who was acting as McCain, had to learn the most about the candidates and a

range of policy topics, as seen in their acceptance and stump speeches. For example,

Dan's stump speech focused on the war in Iraq and McCain's stance, highlighting his

position and how he was for "the surge" that seemed to have worked. Dan was savvy in

his choice because it also allowed him to highlight McCain's service in the armed forces,

while also aligning with Republican themes of a strong national defense. Elise's stump

speech focused on the economic woes of the country at the time and Obama's plan to fix

them. In constructing these talks, both candidates had to select a topic that would resonate

with their base, research the issue, and then construct and deliver the speech in front of the entire classroom. This job required work along both the disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions of the classroom community.

Finally, consider the voter contact coordinator job as a contrast to both the presidential candidates and the campaign managers. Here is a job that does not require much interpersonal interaction, since the only responsibility is to create yard signs and a tri-fold brochure. The yard signs do not require knowledge or consideration beyond the names of the candidates. The brochure requires some knowledge of the campaign's main talking points. Each side produced a pamphlet that had short summaries of key positions from their respective candidate, although the Democratic version appears copied directly from some web or campaign literature, but there is no campaign strategy involved in the creation of the brochures, a potential missed opportunity with the simulation. Other jobs seem to have similarly isolated roles and center on completing what seems to be essentially busy-work. For example, the scheduler simply makes a schedule of appearances based upon what the real campaign calendar is—a largely content-free exercise, despite Mr. Daniels's efforts to have the students think strategically about where it would make sense for candidates to visit in the waning days of the campaign. Here is an example of a job that had the potential to require real intellectual work (strategizing campaign appearances based on potentially winnable states), but the simulation structure did not press students to do such thinking.

So if the primary job required of students has such variable interpersonal and academic responsibilities, what of the secondary job that all students shared of being a policy expert/political advisor around a key campaign topic. Students were required to

write position papers and debate their topic in front of the class. To understand how this job played out, I provide an overview of how the activity unfolded across the week.

Over the five days in which the campaign simulation occurred, students had large portions of two classes to complete both their campaign roles. The first opportunity came on the second day, when after a brief lecture about Congress and the nomination acceptance speeches from the presidential candidates, the students had the remainder of the period to check out laptops from a classroom computer cart Mr. Daniels had reserved and work on their jobs. Student used this time to work on their unique jobs, and paid little attention to their policy debate responsibilities.

Overall, the time on the second day had mixed results in terms of student time-on-task. As I circulated the room, as many students seemed to be working as were off-task and using the internet connection to check their email or other websites not related to the campaign work. Mr. Daniels spent the time helping individual students find the information they needed and clarifying what particular jobs entailed. These exchanges predominately consisted of students asking Mr. Daniels for advice on where to find the information they needed (e.g., the candidates schedules or campaign finances) or what a product should look like (e.g., brochures, campaign advertisements). As Mr. Daniels noted during my second interview with him, he knew that the students would need more information, but he did not have the time to create lists of resources or more detailed job descriptions.

On the third day of the simulation, the presidential candidates gave their second speech and students had over half the ninety-minute block to prepare for the debates. Mr. Daniels was expecting to start the debates on this day, but the students pushed back,

saying they were expecting to debate on Friday. The confusion stemmed from the fact that their position papers for the debate were due on Friday (the fifth and final day of the simulation—although this conflicts with the assignment sheet which said the papers are due the day of the debate), but Mr. Daniels had noted on the weekly agenda that debates would start. Facing a united front of student concern, he conceded and planned for the debates to be pushed back a day.

Although delayed, Mr. Daniels added three tasks for the day for the students regarding the upcoming debates. First, by the end of this class session students must show him their talking points for their issue, perhaps a check against the lack of progress made on the second day of the simulation. The second requirement has an interesting intertwining of the interpersonal and the disciplinary—he wanted students to share their talking points with the "opposition." In order to improve the quality of the debates, Mr. Daniels wanted the students to be informed about their opponent's position. Given the time constraints, he was able to have students share what they knew rather than requiring students to do opposition research on their own. This seemed to be effective leveraging of the simulation's division of labor.

The third task also stemmed from a time restriction, since the students only had two days to complete all seven debates, with the further complication that the final day was shortened because of a pep rally for homecoming weekend. Mr. Daniels needed volunteers from both sides to be ready the next day. The general preference amongst the students was to debate on Friday, because they would have an additional day to prepare. He set the campaign managers to resolve this social dilemma, yet another example of the interpersonal relationships they had to manage. Rather than each campaign manager

talking with their respective groups to determine who was in the best position to debate

the next day, they met with one another and decided on the topics and simply announced

them to the class: "If you have one of these three topics, be ready to debate tomorrow."

Rather then confronting the social challenge of obtaining volunteers from both sides who

would align on topic, the managers, along with the party leaders, collaborated across

party lines and made an executive decision. The campaign managers avoided the social

work necessary to put their team's best prepared groups forward, which the authority of

their position afforded, and the time constraints reinforced. The social challenge of

finding groups outweighed the simulation's reward structure. If the leaders were

operating under the goals of the simulation (i.e., to garner "electoral votes" by having a

superior debate performance on each of the seven topics), then it would be logical to

select the debate teams who were most likely to be successful with only one day of

preparation. It appears that the campaign managers and leadership did not take this route

because the interpersonal challenge was too great.

The debates occurred on the fourth and fifth days of the simulation. On the fourth

day, before the debates occurred, Mr. Daniels shared with the class that he had gotten

some assistance from his AP government class to focus the questions around each topic.

The timing of such an announcement was less than ideal in that students had not had a

chance to prepare to the particulars. While Mr. Daniels did give them some time to

prepare, he provided similarly "too little, too late" help before each specific debate,

previewing the narrower range of questions he was going to ask. Students may have

benefited from such scaffolding earlier, while they prepared for the debates.

While there were initially seven policy topics slated for debate (war in Iraq, economy, immigration, environment, campaign finance, internet, & social security), in the end only six topics were used because the students responsible for the "internet" topic were absent. Below is an example of the debates that typifies the structure, length, and contributions from the students involved and from Mr. Daniels. It occurred on the second day of the debates and the topic was the environment.

> Daniels: Okay welcome ladies and gentlemen to the Daniels Convocation Center on the campus on the University of Northern City, where we have our next in a series of debates. Today the topic is the environment and we have representatives of both candidates here, we even have one candidate, that would be Obama, right there [*points to Elise*].

> Students: [*giggle*]

> Daniels: Anyway, let's get started, we have Elise, we have Natalie, we have Selena and we have Victoria here representing the McCain camp. Alright, the question is on environment. First of all I'm gonna ask both of you the question and we're going to start with the Republican side first. We're going to ask you, do you believe the environmental climate change that has been experienced in the world recently, has man contributed to those are they the result of man made actions? And if so what do you think the US's role should be in correcting some of these problems and cleaning up the environment? Start with McCain.

> Victoria: Okay. Climate change has definitely been contributed by people obviously and the government should make policies to lower emissions of greenhouse gasses from industries and companies and stuff.

> Selena: McCain thinks that we should have like a cap and trade policy that's like making it so the companies have a limit on how many greenhouse gasses they are allowed to release in the environment and if they like stay under the cap they can sell their like credits per say to other companies that are like older and don't have like the technology not like to not release that many.

> Daniels: Okay, thank you. Same question goes to the Obama camp, what do you think, if you agree that climate change is man made what do you think the US should do?

> Natalie: We do think it's man made and I er–we think that the government, the US government should create more laws that will help protect the environment like by creating green jobs and green sources of energy.

133

Elise: We also hope to have extreme amounts of government funding put towards green jobs for people to not only boost the economy and jobs going around, but the reason then the economy–er the environment and the reason the jobs are held.

Daniels: Okay, would either of you like to follow up um on the Obama statements or have anything else to add on the U.S.'s role in cleaning up the environment?

Victoria: Well we believe that people should not be forced to turn green, but we should limit the amount of greenhouse gasses, 'cause that's where most of it comes from and if we limit it by the percent will go down in about—

Selena: Like in around like ten years. And then McCain, he's planning like a market based system so that people want to help the environment, instead of being like forced to like he'll make idea— er he has ideas to make it profitable and um like incentives for companies to want to help the environment.

Daniels: Okay, thank you. What do you guys think about that idea? Marketplace reforms.

Elise: We believe that at this point we're not in a position to give people the choice our um econo— er environment has gotten so bad and there's– it's been extreme inclines in the CO_2 levels if you just look at the stats, there's no longer a choice to lay back and let it happen or not. I think we need to get an extreme action on this.

Daniels: Okay, thank you very much. Okay you are done.

The debate format followed the general form of televised debates in which a moderator, in this case Mr. Daniels, asks questions and controls who speaks. This example is typical in length, it lasted just shy of five minutes, and the debates ranged from three to seven minutes long, with most being roughly five minutes. Because of the time frame, these were not substantive policy debates. Rather, students had a chance to share their candidate's position, and generally were provided an opportunity to comment on the other side's position. The students faithfully represented the positions of the Obama and McCain campaigns, and on occasion knew enough about the opposition position to critique it, as Elise, Victoria, and Selena do in the example, but it was Daniels who

prompted such responses, and the structural constraints meant that conversations were not allowed to play out or develop beyond the short talking points, resulting in constrained interpersonal and disciplinary relationships for the students. The interpersonal relationships were constrained by the format, which limited the time and kinds of interactions possible between the participants, and this in turn meant that the disciplinary relationship was kept to an informational level, rather than a more critical level that could arise through a freer debate and questioning between the different camps.

The campaign simulation ended after the final three debates were completed on the final day and the campaign managers turned in the completed campaign binders with all of the relevant student work inside. The class then took a quiz on Congress and campaigns that was also worth some "electoral votes" in determining who won the simulation, although winning did not actually affect students' grades.

The quiz consisted of twelve "matching" items, in which students were given a list of terms related to Congress and campaign roles (e.g., bicameral, gerrymandering, Speaker of the House, campaign manager, fundraising coordinator) and had to associate a definition or description with the right term. There was also a short answer question in which they had to list three qualifications and the lengths of office for members of both houses of Congress. Aside from understanding what certain campaign jobs required (three of the twelve matching were job descriptions), students did not have to apply anything they learned during the simulation; instead the quiz focused on the readings and lectures that were concurrent with the simulation.

Although students had a two-day hiatus from Civics & Economics the following week while they had sessions with a career counselor, Mr. Daniels did have an

opportunity to share the campaign winner with them on Monday before they headed to the Career Center. Rather than simply announce which side had won, he shared which side had won each smaller set of points. The AP Government class made the determinations of which side had produced higher quality materials across all the jobs, with the exception of the points from the aggregate quiz scores. For example, Mr. Daniels presented both the Republican and Democratic TV commercials produced by the public relations directors, and then the AP students voted for the one they thought was better. In the end, the competition came down to the quiz, with the Republicans eking out a narrow "electoral" victory. At this announcement the Republicans cheered and the Democrats seemed dejected, and then they left for the Career Center, the campaign simulation completed.

The Campaign simulation designed by Mr. Daniels and enacted by the classroom community encouraged certain kinds of interactions among students and provided some opportunities for students to develop disciplinary literacy, but those opportunities were not equitably distributed. Instead, the roles students assumed shaped their interactions with both content and their peers, providing some with robust possibilities and others with constrained interpersonal and disciplinary relationships. The affordances and constraints of the Campaign become even clearer when held against the second simulation of the unit, the Congress Game.

The Congress Game Simulation

While the students were conducting the presidential campaign simulation, they were also learning about Congress in preparation for the Congress Game, which provides an interesting comparison in the variety of interpersonal and disciplinary relationships

that are constructed by two seemingly similar simulations. In the Congress Game, students took on the roles of members of the House of Representatives who conduct the work of a legislator, debating and passing (or blocking) legislation while navigating a field of influences including their constituents, party leadership, lobbyists, and their own beliefs, all the while trying to raise money in order to be re-elected for another term.

The second simulation started after a four-day absence from the classroom caused by a combination of a weekend and then two days in the Career Center for the students. Near the start of class Mr. Daniels voiced his overall vision and goals for the simulation:

> It is a game and there is an objective for each of you. Let me give you just a real brief overview to kinda whet your appetite a little bit about it. First of all you're all going to be a Representative in the House of Representatives. You automatically get the job, you didn't have to run for election to get it. […] This object of the game however will be that you have to run for reelection. So essentially what you're going to be trying to do is gain enough support from your constituents so that they vote you back into office. And how do you do that? Uh we're not—you're not actually going to be campaigning per se, you're gonna actually be operating as if you were a Congressperson in office. You will be dealing with constituent issues, you'll be looking at bills, considering whether or not they should be passed or amended or changed. You'll be working with your political party. There'll be interest groups coming to lobby you. […] And then all of this combined with your own personal political ideology. What do you really think? So this is—I guess we'll call it a role play, but I'm going to let you pick exactly what party you want to represent, but even though you're in a party most of this is really on your own. You're operating as your own representative and an individual in Congress. So you'll learn about the process, you'll learn about a lot of the competing pressures on Congresspeople, what it's like to have the job of being in Congress […] And in the end, the only judgment of whether you're successful or not is are you reelected or not. […] So you'll have to kind of balance [constituent and party pressures] with your own opinions and it's kinda an experimental game in a way so that we'll see how you operate under all those competing pressures.

The way Mr. Daniels frames the activity as being about the real work of being in Congress is consistent with the vision that he laid out on the first day about the Civics & Economics class teaching students the "rules of the game." The simulation is meant to

help the students understand not simply the functioning of Congress, but the more difficult and nuanced aspects of being a representative and the competing demands that they face, *if getting re-elected is their goal*. This could be considered a cynical reading of the motivations of representatives in the House. What I think is valuable about this construction is providing a more nuanced picture for students about the way government operates, the demands of different factions, and why Congress does not always seem to function as it should.

Understanding the multiple influences on congressional behavior is not the only goal, however. There is a larger disciplinary question that undergirds the design of the Congress Game, which Mr. Daniels shared with the students later the first day of the sub-unit while going over the directions sheet. Not only did Mr. Daniels want them to reach an understanding of the competing influences upon representatives as was detailed above, but he also wanted them to consider whether such a system is really the best way to do things:

> So there's a basic overall question that I want us to be able to answer when we're done with this unit studying how Congress works, it's called "Is our system of elections and politics and law making okay the way it is or does it need reform to work more efficiently?" So basically we're going to look at the way Congress operates, how they make laws, how they run our country, and you're going to determine for yourself, is this the best way to organize the government and to organize this process so that we can get […] the work of the people done most efficiently. Alright? So essentially in a way, that's like the ending question that would be asked of you for the essay at the end of this unit. So keep that in the forefront, don't lose that. So highlight that or star it or something [on your assignment sheet] so you remember to look at it, and think about that while we go through this role-play.

Despite Mr. Daniels's suggestion to make a special note of this motivating question, I do not have any evidence that students kept the question in the forefront of their thinking while enacting the simulation. At the end of the unit, Mr. Daniels did have students write

in response to this "big picture" question, and I will look at those responses shortly, but first back to the set-up of the simulation on the first day.

Whereas the student groups for the Campaign simply carried over from the previous unit about political parties and ideology, the Congress Game began with the opportunity for students to change allegiances by switching parties or declaring themselves independents, although the latter option was discouraged by Mr. Daniels and in the end no students remained independent. Students were given the opportunity to reconsider their positions while reviewing the Unit 2 test, which included an essay about their own political ideologies. Mr. Daniels expressed some concern that a subset of students argued persuasively in their essays for defining themselves in one way, but then placed the wrong label on that position. He cited the example of a student who talked about his belief in a strong military and low taxes and then labeled himself a liberal.

Mr. Daniels gave students some time to review the test and their affiliations before deciding which party to identify with for the Congressional simulation. He had to help some students figure out which side to affiliate with (including those who seem confused, like the "liberal" mentioned above), and had some of the ideologically clear students try to convince those on the fence to join their "side." Once students had all clarified their affiliation, Mr. Daniels conducted a brief review of Congress before explaining the simulation itself.

In contrast to the Campaign, in the Congress Game all students took on the same role, a representative, with similar set of expectations and workload. Each student was expected to complete the following tasks:

  • Create a "political avatar" who the student will "play" in the simulation, which includes

writing a brief biography, stating his or her core political issues, and a legislative agenda based on the core issues and constituent concerns. As the instruction sheet clarifies, "Your Political Avatar is different than you as far as name and biography. Your Political Avatar is the same as you regarding Core Political Issues and Legislative Agenda."
[Political Avatar Assignment Sheet, handed out in class 10/23/08]

• Participate in the simulation via caucus meetings and floor debates. A sample of the levels of participation from a rubric for participation given by Mr. Daniels:
"30 points = Actively took a leadership role, gave 100% effort, dressed for the role (business casual), accurately reflected the role in terms of duties and political party opinions . . . all written work submitted early or on time. […]
20 points = Gave nearly 100% effort, participated in all aspects of the activity, made some mistakes in portrayal of role. Most work submitted on time. […]
10 points = Participated the bare minimum. Handed in all assigned written work. Major errors in portrayal of role was evident.
0 points = Did not participate at all."
[The Game of Congress Assignment Sheet, handed out in class 10/22/08]

• For each of the two bills (Education and Immigration) students must prepare a voting sheet on which they specify whether they are voting for or against the bill, a short essay explaining their position with evidence supporting their stance, and provide 6-8 talking points that could be used in the floor debate.

In contrast to the variety of tasks assigned to different students, the Congress Game levels the tasks required from each student, asking them to both construct and reflect on their ideological identities, participate in the simulation with their peers (as party co-members, oppositional members, and lobbyists), and make judgments about the legislation based on consideration of their ideologies, peer interactions via the caucuses and debates, and on their fabricated constituents (represented through written materials).

There were two exceptions to this equitable workload. For each of the two bills that the class considered as a mock Congress, some students were assigned the role of lobbyists on both sides of the issues. In this case, the students stepped outside one role and temporarily inhabited another for a class session or two. The other exception to the uniformity of the roles came from a leadership structure that mirrored that of the actual

House of Representatives. Each party selected a leader (Speaker of the House and minority leader) as well as some lieutenants in the role of "whips." These leaders did not have different responsibilities in terms of the products they produced, but they did have a different interpersonal load in that they had to lead caucus meetings, determine the "party line" for voting and communicate it to their party members (and hence disbursement of party re-election dollars), determine who will debate, and in the case of the Speaker, lead the floor debates, allotting time and calling on students to speak.

The work of the simulation occurred in three different social configurations: individual, party caucus, and whole class. The individual work dominated the second and third days of the game, when students were in the Media Center creating their political avatars and working on their talking points for the bills to be debated and voted upon in the days to come. As the simulation moved forward, the social structure moved from solitary work early on to small and whole sessions intermingling as the mock Congress played out, and ended with a reflective individual writing session and group sharing of ideas and experiences.

The first two days after the initial introduction of the Congress Game, students spent time individually working in the Media Center on their avatars, and creating a biography and blending it with their own political views. The actual productivity of the students during these days ranged widely. As a hook for students, their first task consisted of creating pictures of their avatars using a Yahoo avatar creator on the internet. Essentially, this picture was a cartoon representation of the avatar. Especially on the first day, many students spent the entire block playing with the program, easily the least important aspect of the entire simulation. Students had fun making silly pictures and

showing them to their friends. Mr. Daniels circulated and attempted to keep students on-

task, but was frustrated with this outcome, and he noted that he was "already thinking of

ways to change this next time I teach it." In fact, during a subsequent class session when

Mr. Daniels reviewed what the class had done, he mentioned how the avatar pictures do

not really have anything to do with the simulation and that he would eliminate them next

time. At this news, the class sighed and one student interjected, "But that was the best

part!"

While many students, who presumably finished the required work at home,

wasted the early days of the simulation, other students did make productive use of the

time. For example, I encountered Donna working diligently in one corner of the room on

the first day. Not only had she already completed her avatar picture and begun writing her

biography, she was studying her "Congressional District Profile" sheets to better

understand her district. These fact sheets, given to all students, came in four varieties that

were randomly distributed. Each consisted of a short description of a congressional

district (roughly representing rural, suburban, near-suburban, and inner-city district

archetypes), a breakdown of voter party registration, and fabricated polling data, showing

how the district felt about a variety of issues, including school funding, gun control,

health care, federal intervention in the economic downturn, taxes, the war in Iraq, and

immigration. For example, here is the description of the rural district with voter

breakdown and a sample of the survey data:

> Congressional District A: This district is rural, 40 miles from the nearest city.
> Small private religious college located in town (1200 students). The district is
> comprised of many small villages. Most residents have lived here their while
> lives. Main occupations of residents are in agriculture [. . .], the college, the public
> schools, and small town "mom and pop" businesses […]. The area has many
> Protestant churches and a large amount of farmland and woods. Crime rates are

very low. The population is 80% Caucausian, 15% Hispanic, and 5% other. The people are fairly conservative and have voted for a Republican Presidential candidate every time since 1976. They are supporting John McCain in this election.

Voter Breakdown: Republican 35%; Independent (Republican-leaning) 35%; Independent (Democrat-leaning) 20%; Democrats 10%

20. We should allow amnesty for illegal immigrants. Allow them to stay but require them to pay a fine.							
Strongly Agree	Agree	Sort of Agree	Sort of Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Undecided	I Don't Know Enough
5	10	40	15	20	0	5	5

There are twenty-nine other survey questions like this one about immigration. When I came upon Donna, she was taking a highlighter to her polling data. When I asked her why she was marking the sheet, she explained that she was highlighting the majority opinion on the issues so she could more easily read the chart and summarize her constituents' views. Using the immigration example above (since it was the topic of one of the two bills that would be debated), Donna would highlight the three far left columns, which together represented a majority of constituents supporting amnesty for illegal immigrants. This was a practice that did not spread to other students, even after Mr. Daniels shared the strategy with the whole class.

Donna's work represents the productive extreme on a spectrum of "use of individual work time," and she was not alone, although the students who were this on-task were certainly in the minority. Other diligent students worked hard to reconcile the biography they were writing with the nature of their district. Those students who received the suburban district (which seemed modeled on the community in which they live) had the easiest time. Because of the random distribution of districts, students from both parties found themselves with an unlikely set of constituents, given their political orientations. This structural and content mismatch impeded the believability of the

simulation for some students. It seemed that those students with such mismatches simply

disregarded considering their district, whereas students whose affiliation aligned with the

district were more likely to take it into account in their deliberations.

After the two work days in the Media Center, the weekend arrived, presenting a

break in the action. When the class reconvened the following Monday, the participation

structure shifted from an emphasis on individual work to students working in their party

caucuses, and with the first floor debate on the Education Bill. This group emphasis

lasted for the majority of time for rest of the unit. After conducting some start-of-class

business, Mr. Daniels prepared students to work in their caucuses in preparation for

debating and voting on the first bill. On the first day of class Mr. Daniels said he wanted

students to be talking to one another, and here he was on the cusp of fulfilling the

promised structure. Here is how he instructed the students about what they should be

doing during their party caucus, setting up the model for how the caucuses should

proceed:

> Mr. Daniels: [*bangs gavel*] Okay, here is what we are going to do. We are going
> to start with what we call the party caucus, and you need to know the meaning of
> that word, "caucus."
>
> Bobby: Meeting.
>
> Mr. Daniels: It means a meeting for your party. What you are going to do in the
> caucus is the leaders, if they haven't already, are going to talk with you about
> what positions they would like you take on this issue. I want you to consider
> carefully what they say, and think about and weigh in your mind, how important
> do my constituents feel about this issue, how to I feel personally about this issue,
> and if it's different than what my party leadership is saying to me, 'What should I
> do?' You'll have to balance that in your head. How should I approach this issue?
> Some of you told my on Friday that you don't like the bill in its current form, that
> you might like to change it. In this caucus meeting would be the chance to discuss
> these changes. […]

Mr. Daniels: The Rules Committee in the House sets up rules for debating. One of the big things they do is designate how much time should be spent on the debate. So, what might happen is, let's say we schedule an issue to debate today, let's say it's immigration, I'll ask leaders from both parties for them to either be in control of their debate team and the time they have, or select somebody else to do that. They might want to select other people to do that, although today I would suggest they do that themselves. In the future, they can pick other people to control, you know, their side– basically coordinating their team for the debate. And what I mean by that is, they help to find people who are really— feel strongly about an issue, have good arguments. You'll want to look at each others arguments while in caucus, and share ideas, and make sure you are all on the same page. If possible, if you have the same opinion, be on the same page for the debate. If by chance you disagree with your party, and think you want to vote differently, you are always welcome to talk to people in the other party. I don't want to discourage that at all. And that does happen in the real Congress that people talk to people in the other parties. Now, you'll not always be convinced to join their side. But on occasion, on an issue you feel strongly about, you are welcome to do that. It's not against the rules. […] Especially if you are from a district, and I know there are a couple of you who are in a political party, Robert for one I know, his district is kind of opposite of his political beliefs. So sometimes he is going to have to vote the other way than what he really thinks. So I'm going to be watching for that, looking at your districts, and who you are, and what party you are in. […]

Mr. Daniels: Everybody agrees we want a legislature, we want representatives who do the business of the people, that work hard, that are ethical, that follow the rules, and try to make the playing field for everybody in this country even, so we all have a chance to succeed. Ultimately that is what the goal of the game should be. Now, the way we structured it, though, is you are trying to gain campaign contributions from interests groups, good will from constituents and campaign contributions from them, and the party itself is going to give you money, so the only way I can really measure if you are achieving your objectives is how much money you raise for your re-election bid. Those are the three influences you always have to remember: the people back home, the political party, and the interests groups. For today we'll focus on those. There are other interests and influences but we are going to focus on those.

Mr. Daniels outlines several kinds of information in this mini-lecture. He sketches how the caucus meetings should operate (both in terms of interactions among the students, as well as the kinds of questions each student should be asking and answering for themselves) and what they need to accomplish, while also reminding students of the larger learning goals. After spending roughly ten minutes with these sorts of

explanations, a student asked Mr. Daniels what the class was doing now, which led

Daniels to think that the students were confused, which might be understandable given

the amount direction he provided in a short span. After taking a quick poll of the class,

his fears seemed to be confirmed, so he made two teacher moves to try to clarify what

would come next for students. First, he referenced Princess's desire for debate that she

expressed at the start of the year.

> Mr. Daniels: Here's a simple way to answer this. Remember when Princess asked the first few days of school "When are we going to debate? When are we going to actually figure out what we think about these issues?" Well my goal was for you guys to debate in this class as often as possible, but do it in a way that you understood how the rest of the government worked, and big part of our government is Congress. You are pretending to be Congress-people, you are going to debate the issues, and you are going to learn how all of these different influences effect how Congress-people do their everyday job.

It is remarkable that Daniels remembers this particular comment from almost two months

prior, and he referenced it several times other times over the semester, including his

introduction to the Campaign Simulation a week earlier. In this case, he used the remark

rhetorically to position the activity as something students (like Princess) *wanted* to do,

while connecting it to his learning goals for the students. It is worth emphasizing the

learning goal of the simulation, as Mr. Daniels framed it here and in the explanation we

saw earlier. He wanted students to understand how representatives in Congress make

decisions by understanding the competing influences that they face. In his earlier

explanation, he noted other characteristics we want from our representatives, and by

conducting a simulation that complicated the work such that students have to wrestle with

the variety of influences, he was using the social affordances of such a simulation to meet

the learning goals he had for the students. In other words, the ways in which the

interpersonal dimensions in the class interact with the learning of the disciplinary content

mirrors the way that politics (as represented by the influences highlighted in the simulation) interact with the "pure" notion of a representative who "does the people's work."

The second teacher move Mr. Daniels made at this point in the simulation, in order to increase the chances of students having successful party caucuses, was to conduct a practice caucus meeting with the whole class to model what it might look like. He used a different topic, changing to a later start time for high school, as the example bill under discussion. Although he termed it a practice caucus, in the end students did not actually practice, rather Mr. Daniels performed a monologue, and took on the different roles that might occur in the meeting, as well as language students might use. He started by acting as the party leader, and said that his party was going to support the bill on changing the start time of school. He cited some made up statistics and readings that were equivalent to the information he provided students on the education and immigration bills they would consider. This was a model of how he expected the party leaders to begin the caucuses: share the party line on the bills and support that with evidence.

He then imagined representatives who know their constituents are opposed to this sample time change legislation and that these views could mean that he would not be re-elected next term. Mr. Daniels pointed out that each student could determine this by consulting their district surveys. In this way he was animating that piece of paper to play a more active role in the students' deliberations on the matter. He then suggested that those representatives who find themselves torn between their party's position and their constituents could bargain within the caucus to amend the bill to be less problematic for their standing with their district. Daniels was providing an example of one avenue of

147

appropriate disagreement, the conflict between party affiliation and constituent demands. This was important both for the functioning of the simulation, and for students' understanding of the legislative process. Mr. Daniels emphasized the party coming together to find compromises that everyone could live with given their varying demands. He concluded by asking students if his talk-through of the caucus was helpful for clarifying what they need to do, to which he received a resounding "yes!" from the class as a whole. Mr. Daniels modeling of the kinds of interactions and thinking he expected seemed to help students enter the caucus meetings with clarity of purpose. The Republicans headed into the hallway for their caucus and the Democrats remained in the classroom since they were the larger group and there was more space for them in the room.

The Caucuses

When set "loose" in their party caucuses to consider the bills for debate, the Democratic and Republican groups operated rather differently. In particular, I am interested in looking at how they fulfilled the guidelines Mr. Daniels laid out for what needed to occur (1. leaders lay out the party position; 2. negotiations occur to modify the legislation; 3. students consider constituents, personal ideology, and party lines), and the ways the students modified the activity for their own purposes.

The first major difference was in the designation of party leadership, both how students were appointed and who ended up with the roles. Chuck, the student who acted as Biden in the Campaign, retained a leadership position, becoming Speaker of the House. To determine who would be majority whips, students came forward if they were interested, and then the rest of the Caucus voted for two. Five students were interested in

the job, and Princess and Natalie were elected the majority whips. In contrast, the Republicans allowed an entirely different group of students to take on the party leadership positions, something that Mr. Daniels suggested to them after a listless start to their caucus meeting where they seemed collectively to be unsure of how to proceed. While the students who were leaders in the Campaign were active and vocal participants in the Congress Game, they stepped aside to allow other students to take the leadership roles.

From these two different starting places, the interaction patterns that existed within each caucus were different, and followed from the difference suggested in the leadership choice made by (or for) each group: the Republicans were much more egalitarian and many students offered their opinions in the meetings, whereas the Democrats had a leadership that seemed to dominate the party and resulted in fewer students actively participating in the discussions. For example, despite the same set of directions, the Democratic and Republican caucus meetings had very different atmospheres. The Democrats, who were in the classroom for the meetings, held a more formal meeting with the Speaker and whips at the front of the room. They directed discussion of the bills and amendments, and the tone in the room was more agitated and tense. The leaders often had to call for order and get the whole caucus refocused. In contrast, the Republicans, who were in the hallway for the caucus meetings, had a much more casual arrangement; they sat in a circle and attended to the work at hand.

Three factors seemed to contribute to these differences. First, the Democrats had a larger group of students to work with, and second, they included some of the more commonly disruptive and disengaged students. Such circumstances could be seen to

require a more centralized, organized social arrangement, whereas the smaller numbers allowed the Republicans to be more informal in their organization. These dimensions were then reinforced by the physical settings of each group: the Democrats were in the classroom with set desks and a clearly defined "teacher" space at the front of the room that was occupied by the leadership, with the Speaker in Mr. Daniels's chair and the whips perched on the edge of the desk. The Republicans, in contrast, were seated in the hallway, and had more freedom to arrange themselves, while also lacking any semiotically-imbued spaces to confer authority.

A telling contrast between the two groups can be seen in one case of interaction. Dan, the student who had been McCain in the Campaign but did not have an official leadership role for the Congress Game, still exhibited leadership in the Republican caucus. In particular, on more than one occasion he was able to use his social standing to "clear space" for a quieter student, Emma, to gain the floor to speak. When in their first caucus, while discussing possible amendments to the Education Bill, some of the more vocal students bantered back and forth about the nature of standardized tests. Emma had made several attempts to gain the floor, but the other students simply talked over her. Dan interjected: "Hold on, Emma has something to say," at which point Emma brought up evidence from the reading packet about the difference between norm-referenced and criterion-reference tests, which was salient to discussion underway.

This sort of student assistance of one another did not happen in the Democratic group, where leaders were more prone to tell students to be quiet than to help them gain the floor. Dan was one of the students I interviewed, and I had the opportunity to ask him about his intervening to help Emma, and what brought it about.

Brian: I remember, in sort of, I felt like you were very aware, like when Emma, um, wanted to sort of get in the conversation. She's sort of a quiet person and you were sort of like, guys, hold on, she's got something to say. […] So can you say a little bit about how you noticed that or what?

Dan: Yeah, […] like the certain people were very outspoken and very outgoing, I mean, Emma, she's really smart but like, sometimes she's not that loud or she doesn't like put herself out there. […] I felt they had good things to say so, I wanted to, plus Emma was like one of these people who was like right on the border of Democrat and Republican, so she, I thought like could maybe change opinions and stuff and really add her [perspective]. [Dan Interview 12/4/2008]

While this case may be idiosyncratic, in the sense that I do not claim that the participation structure differences are responsible, it is a telling example of how interpersonal relationships shape students' opportunities to participate in such group activities, and in turn have opportunities to engage with the disciplinary content (as well as other students' opportunities to learn from peers like Emma). Dan's explanation consists both of his general view of Emma, that she is smart and worth listening to, but also he ends with what he viewed as her special standing in the Caucus, because she was on the fence about whether to join the Republican or Democratic caucus at the start of the simulation. He viewed her as having a special standing because of this choice, and thought her perspective would be helpful for the caucus to hear.

The Floor Debates

In addition to the individual and party work that students engaged in during this simulation, they also participated in whole class participation structures. There were times when Mr. Daniels taught and directed in order to set up some aspect of the simulation (e.g., the party caucus "talk-through" outlined above or the explanation of the simulation's goals). These examples are reminiscent of more traditional participation structures, like teacher lectures. But an equally prevalent participation structure,

especially during the second half of the simulation, was the whole class "House Floor Debates" during which both parties debated the bills and amendments at hand. These sessions were ostensibly chaired by Chuck, who had been elected as the Speaker of the House by his party, but Mr. Daniels played a sort of shadow-Speaker role, supporting Chuck's enactment by giving him cues about what he should do at various points.

These debates occurred on three different days, and while similar, they did evolve over time as students learned the system, and Mr. Daniels adapted the structure to the needs of the moment. The first day of a floor debate occurred on October 27th, after the class had spent its first significant time in party caucuses considering the Education Bill. As the session got underway, Mr. Daniels clarified that this would be something of a trial run, and while he would be assisting Chuck, he would eventually like students to operate without his assistance As the debate began, with both sides making arguments about aspects of the bill, it did not seem that the students were really disagreeing about the points they were making and were starting to talk in circles which is both boring and unproductive, so Mr. Daniels interceded more directly to suggest that they propose an amendment to the bill. This move accomplished two advances for Mr. Daniels. On the one hand, it moved students past simply agreeing with one another and continuing the "debate" in a somewhat pointless way, and it also introduced a legislative process that he wanted them to learn about.

The most successful debate happened on the penultimate day of the unit when the students debated the Immigration Bill. By this third day, both Mr. Daniels and the students seemed to be more comfortable with the format. Mr. Daniels curtailed the time for debate, and the number of amendments that could be proposed, both of which helped

to keep the discussion brisk and on point. Grace even said admiringly, "This is really organized!"

The vote on the immigration bill was particularly exciting because it was not clear that the Democrats, who were the majority and who had a bill that was aligned with their desires, would be able to pass it because of some defectors to the Republicans. When the simulation began, I wondered if students would be able to hold true to the set of influences that Mr. Daniels had laid out for them: personal ideology, views of their constituents, lobbyists, and the party line. Since I am interested in the role of interpersonal relationships in classrooms, I was looking for students who would use their friendships to sway peers to vote against their best interests as framed by the influences specified by Mr. Daniels. I found no evidence of any students resorting to personal pleas for students to change sides. Mr. Daniels was very active in speaking with students who were going against their party, and each of the students provided evidence for why they were switching, based usually on either their personal ideology or their constituent profile. Overall the lobbyists didn't seem to be able to be very persuasive.

What Did Students Learn from the Simulation?

The last day of the unit, Mr. Daniels asked students to reflect on their experiences in the simulation and what conclusions they drew from participating in it. In this section I will present not only the students' thoughts and work (and reflect on what that says about what they learned), but also consider how Mr. Daniels supported them in constructing their reflective responses. The reflection had two parts, first to reflect on how and why they voted the way they did, and then second, to consider the legislative process as it

operates today and if it needs improvement. Here is Mr. Daniels explaining the

assignment to the class:

> What I want you to think about is, as a legislator, how did some of these influences affect how you voted? Like how did you like balance this in your mind? And I want you to talk about the specific parts of each of the bills with regard to that. And then, like when you were thinking about how should I vote on this bill, what made you vote the way you voted? Why did you vote yes? […] Was it most important to look at your district, your constituents? […] how much of a role did your own political beliefs play in this whole activity? […] I want to make this clear, this is not necessarily an examination, but it is a writing assignment and I want to discuss it in class. And it will be graded, but this is somewhat of an informal, kind of some feedback I can get on how we worked with this Congress Game the first week or so.
>
> The second part that I really want you to think about is, can you evaluate the legislative process from how you experienced it? And my question is; do you think it works effectively? Is it a good way for how laws are made and policies are made in this country? Are there some changes you'd like to make or you think should be made to our system to make it work better? Think back to some of the core democratic values we talked about related to when the founding of this country occurred. Y'know is this what the founding father's intended our system to look like? I mean there certainly weren't the number of interest groups back in 1780's and 1790's competing for the interests of our leaders back then as there are today. It's changed a lot. How about the role of money? Is that a good thing or a bad thing? There's a lot of some of us citizens that have some say in government, but does it kind of defeat the purpose of democratic government? Does it give the groups that are really well funded and rich more say then they should have? So I want you to think about all those things.

Mr. Daniels's instructions seem to be specific and clear, and he provides elaborated

questions to supplement what he is asking students to write about. In order to help

students further, Mr. Daniels had the party leaders write a brief summary of the bills and

amendments that the Congress considered on the board, and also had students get out

their constituent information sheets and bill packets, so that they had as much information

as possible available to answer the two questions. While the students began writing, Mr.

Daniels circulated to check on their progress, and in doing so realized there was some

confusion, and the students who were on task were not supporting their positions, so he

clarified the central confusion: the students should evaluate the real Congress as experienced through the simulation, not critique the simulation itself. He also stressed the need to provide support for the evaluation they made, not to simply answer "I think it works" or "I think it is broken."

Mr. Daniels tried to push students to more analytical answers both through individual discussion and by using other students, but he was not always successful. For example, in an effort to get Bobby on task with writing, Daniels directed him to look at a model written by Chuck:

> Daniels: I don't think you got any farther than last time I was over here Bobby. Bobby do me a favor, [to Chuck] is there anyone sitting next to you right now? Guys would you sit next to Chuck, just for a moment? […] yeah, just for a moment. I want to see if– I want to do an experiment here.
>
> Bobby: Naw, I – I – I just– I was just looking for [inaudible].
>
> Daniels: Oh he's got the information. [*12 second pause as Bobby moves*] Okay here's what I want you to do. I want you to read what Chuck wrote.
>
> Bobby: I have to read something?
>
> Daniels: Yeah I want you to read it. Not that it's perfect or anything y'know.
>
> Bobby: I don't like reading out loud.
>
> Daniels: But I just want you can get a different perspective on like what– how somebody else might answer the question, okay?
>
> Bobby: But I don't like this perspective.
>
> Daniels: You didn't even read it yet.
>
> Bobby: No, but it could be different.
>
> Daniels: It doesn't matter. The format and how we answer the question, because he was pretty specific I think on especially with [question number] two. [*Daniels moves on to other students*]
>
> Bobby: Chuck?

Chuck: What?

Bobby: Why do you have so much done?

Chuck: I'm not done, I'm still adding stuff.

Bobby: Okay you need an edit.

Chuck: No! Read it.

Bobby: No, it's okay [laughter] because if I read it the sentence [inaudible].

Chuck: The more I add the longer it's going to be.

[*several seconds of silence between Bobby and Chuck*]

Bobby: This is torture.

Male Student: No it's not.

Chuck: Well the quicker you read it, the faster you'll be done.

Bobby: [inaudible] I'm a slow reader.

Brian: [commenting into recorder] Bobby promptly just ignores Chuck's paper, and turns around and starts talking to Robert and Ricky. The experiment is a failure.

On the surface it may have made sense for Mr. Daniels to attempt to provide Bobby with Chuck's example to help Bobby see what how he might go about answering the questions himself. However, Bobby was not interested in producing anything, as can be seen with each exchange in which he either tried to avoid the pairing or was obstinate and uncooperative. Chuck's tone indicates that he is probably not thrilled with the pairing either. This attempt at peer tutoring failed, it seems, because of several factors. First, Mr. Daniels's admonition that starts his exchange with Bobby, followed by pairing him with Chuck, had a punitive cast, which is not generally a successful starting place for interpersonal relations. Second, Bobby and Chuck occupy very different standings in the

classroom. Chuck is a high-performing student who has just served back-to-back

leadership roles in the two simulations, whereas Bobby is the most frequent disruptor of

class, the student whom Mr. Daniels disciplines the most, and he generally acts as the

class clown. The differences in their standing may have made Bobby unwilling to

cooperate, despite Mr. Daniels's efforts to soften Chuck as a paragon (i.e., "Yeah I want

you to read it. Not that it's perfect or anything y'know."). There are limits to the value of

leveraging peers to aid in learning, and the interpersonal dimensions of the classrooms

can be a hindrance as often as an aid, as this exchange demonstrates.

In contrast to this failed experiment in peer assistance is Mr. Daniels's exchange

with John shortly afterwards. At this point Mr. Daniels had explained what he was

looking for in the students' written reflections, the second time emphasizing the

importance of supporting claims with reasons, and this conversation continued the point,

as he helped John, and we can see some of the misunderstandings John has about both the

question and about the Congress writ large.

> Daniels: You say it [Congress] has too much power, like what powers make it too powerful? Like, maybe list a couple examples here.
>
> John: Yeah.
>
> Daniels: You say, it needs to be limited a little more because it has the power to declare war to make laws etc.
>
> John: What's the [inaudible] that gives it–
>
> Daniels: Making laws is, it's not really a power, that's just responsibility, that's its job, is to make laws. That's what it was designed to do so in order to make law. I mean y'know the types of laws it can make deal with those specific powers, declaring war, um tax bills, like raising taxes.
>
> John: I thought the President raised taxes.

Daniels: No this whole—the whole balance of power between the two works in such a way that the House—or bills regarding taxes are originated in the House and Senate would approve or would continue to make a bill that would be related to that.

John: Oh.

Daniels: And in order for it to become a law the president has to sign it. Does that—do you understand what I'm talking about when it's—

John: Yeah.

Daniels: Say like specific powers that Congress has? It's those delegated powers in Section Eight.

John: What's the difference between what you're asking and what I'm doing?

Daniels: Well what you did was, look at what you wrote, it needs to be limited a little more, because it has the power to declare war and make laws. How is that a reason it needs to be limited?

John: Because it gives it way too much power.

Daniels: Why is that a bad thing? First of all, making laws is a job.

John: Yeah.

Daniels: So you can take that out. Okay, the power to declare war—so anyway, give me an example of a time when Congress declared war when they shouldn't have or they overstepped their bounds. That's what you need to argue. If you're going to say it's too powerful you need to show how it abuses power.

John: [inaudible]

Daniels: I think part of the problem is that you're looking at like the structure of government and powers as opposed to the process of how laws are made. That's what I'm asking about.

John: [inaudible]

Daniels: Yeah. The legislative process.

John: Well that changes everything!

Daniels: Why?

John: 'Cause I thought it was just the legislative branch overall.

Daniels: Well that's not the question I asked. Does the process work?

John: Man! [exaggerated noisy exhale of frustration]

Daniels: Keep working.

I provide this example of Mr. Daniels helping because it shows how the authority and knowledge of the teacher can help students work through misunderstandings in a way that peers are not always able to do. Mr. Daniels's insight that the real problem with John's answer was that it was focusing on the wrong element of the legislative process (critiquing the balance of powers between the branches) helped direct John to answer the right question. It took Mr. Daniels a few moments to realize the problem himself, and I think it is unlikely a peer would have been able to make the same correction for John. Based on student writing, John's misunderstanding was not a widespread problem.

The exchange between John and Mr. Daniels also presents a window into one student's thinking at the end of the unit, and it makes clear that there are gaps in John's understanding of the powers of Congress (i.e., who has the power to raise taxes). This misunderstanding is not surprising given the emphasis of the unit on passing policy-specific legislation, but it does highlight that simulations cannot necessarily do everything well, and that having an "active" approach alone does not guarantee students meeting the learning goals. Further misconceptions from the simulation were revealed in the students' written responses to the final reflective questions, which will be discussed further shortly.

After giving the students forty-five minutes to write, during which time he circulated further and pushed students to complete the assignment to his specifications,

Mr. Daniels brought the class together to discuss what they wrote about. First, he clarified the sources that might influence students-as-representatives by asking the students to share what they had written with the class. Across the conversation the main points were raised and used by students, but Mr. Daniels was concerned that students were only addressing one influence in their responses, so he changed the assignment so students had to write about the influence (or lack thereof) of each of the four sources he had been emphasizing in the unit (i.e., personal ideology, party line, constituents, lobbyists).

With only a short amount of time remaining in the class period, Mr. Daniels asked for a short discussion of the student responses to the big unit question: does the legislative process work or should it be changed? Before the discussion was somewhat derailed by student questions (which are legitimately related to Congress, just away from Mr. Daniels's goal of reviewing answers to the big questions), Chuck and Elise shared their concerns about how Congress operates, specifically the influence of lobbyists and the power of the majority party. The discussion focused on the majority, and seemed to have implications for how students answered the question in their written responses, which are taken up below. Mr. Daniels ended the period by assigning students to further develop their answers and type them up to be turned in on Monday.

I was able to review seventeen of the twenty-seven student written responses. This sample ranged in the scores received after Mr. Daniels graded them from a high of 38 out of 40 points, down to a low of 20 points, with over half scoring 35 points or more (roughly a B+). Thus the papers offered a range of student success, but many students did quite well. I did not see all the students' papers because of a combination of reasons:

some students did not turn it in on-time for Mr. Daniels to share it with me, or they (or their parents) had declined permission for me to examine their work.

In reviewing the essays, I focused on the students' descriptions of, and reasoning about, the influences on their voting in the simulation, and the conclusions they drew about the legislative process from this experience. Three patterns were clear in their responses, and these responses appeared in both high-scoring and low-scoring students' papers.

In describing the influences on their thinking and voting on the bills and amendments, students consistently mentioned their own ideology, their party, with fewer mentioning their constituents. In this regard, the simulation seems to have met the goals, in that students balanced multiple pressures in considering legislation.

Not all elements of the simulation were effective however. Not a single student credited a lobbyist with shaping their vote. Two factors contributed to this outcome: the students whom Mr. Daniels selected to act as lobbyists were some of the quieter students, and the incentives lobbyists had at their disposal did not have sufficient appeal to draw the representatives without an accompanying interpersonal draw. Mr. Daniels, I believe, selected the lobbyists because they were generally quieter than their peers—by giving them this job he hoped to provide them with an alternative avenue for participation that did not involve gaining the floor in caucus discussions or debating in front of the entire class[16]. The lobbyists were supposed to approach individuals and convince them to vote with their position, a much less public exchange that might be more comfortable for them.

---

[16] I did not have an opportunity to member-check this interpretation at the time. Regardless of his intentions, it is true that the students who acted as lobbyists were those who rarely or never spoke in class.

However, from what I was able to observe and what the students wrote about in their final reflections, the lobbyists were not successful. I saw very few of them ever approach representatives, and they did so sheepishly. Mr. Daniels's laudable effort to find alternative forms of student participation fizzled. It is possible that a different structure or weight to the "money" the lobbyists had to offer would have helped make them more successful, but the interpersonal challenge of the role seemed to be the more pressing roadblock to student success in the role.

The most common pattern across student responses came in their answering the big unit question ("Does our legislative process work effectively? Or, are there some changes you would propose to make it work better?"). Eight of the seventeen responses to this question cited concerns over the power of the majority party in Congress, and these responses came from students from both parties, so it was not simply the minority party feeling that the simulation was unfair because they were in the disadvantaged position. Was this opinion influenced by students' interpersonal relationships in the classroom? Consider these examples from some of the students:

> I do not believe our legislative process works effectively. Because of the amount of power given to the majority party, it is much more likely that decision [sic] made will be in favor of the majority party. While that is not always a bad thing; many decisions could be bettered if the two parties worked together on them. […] Over all, I believe both parties need a much more equal amount of power in order to make the bills as effective as possible, and for the decisions that are made to be closely watched. [Elise, 11/01/08]

> I think our legislature works effectively, but not perfectly. One thing we should change is the fact that if majority rules, the bill, or amendment, automatically passes. Even though there is more to passing a bill than a majority rule in congress [sic], I think the "winning" party should be willing to compromise. The minority party should have more of a voice in Congress. […] [Grace, 11/01/08]

Elise and Grace were on opposing sides, and yet they and some of their peers felt the majority party had too much power. However, that does not seem to be their real critique. Rather, behind the upfront claim about majority power, the reasoning suggests that the problem is a lack of communication and compromise across party lines. Whether this is true of the actual Congress is debatable, and certainly varies with time and the policy considered. It does, however, reflect the relationship between the parties in the simulation. When considering this secondary interpretation of the majority rule critique, it becomes even more prevalent in students' responses. Several students cited the fighting between parties in their answers, or how this disagreement gets "rough" in debates.

It is also interesting that Grace claims that the majority is able to pass whatever they want, when in fact she and her Republican colleagues were able to block the education legislation from passing despite being in the minority. She seems to acknowledge this herself in her hedge, "Even though there is more to passing a bill than majority rule [. . .] ." This hedge suggests that her critique is aimed more at the actual dynamics of the simulation than at her understanding of Congress. This raises a troubling possibility; the interpersonal dynamics enacted over the course of the simulation "overwrite" what the student has learned about the legislative process. The responses to the final reflection suggest that while students learned about the legislative process, the structure of the simulation may have contributed to misconceptions or misunderstandings.

Comparing the Simulations

Both of the simulations that constitute the third unit of Mr. Daniels's Civics & Economics course had beneficial elements. While it may be tempting to compare them in

terms of which was a "better" simulation, that is not my interest. Rather, what I would like to consider in comparing the two simulations are the different interpersonal and disciplinary affordances and constraints present in their structures and enactments.

As I noted in my earlier analysis of the kinds of jobs students were required to do in both simulations, the differentiation of work and roles was much more pronounced in the Campaign than in Congress, where student responsibilities were more equitable. These differences existed not just in terms of the variety of roles—where in the Campaign there were many more titles and responsibilities—but those different roles themselves had different disciplinary and interpersonal demands, whereas the Congressional representatives shared roles, and the interpersonal and disciplinary work loads were more equitable. The exception to this was the party leaders and whips, who did have more responsibility on both fronts, but the differential was markedly less than between, for example, the president and the voter contact coordinator in the Campaign.

One of the consequences of the differences between the simulations is the disciplinary content students *interacted with* and hence had the opportunity to *learn about*. The differences in jobs, and the breadth of topics to debate in the Campaign meant that students had a more narrow exposure to the issues and aspects of the Presidential Campaign, whereas with the Congress Game all students learned and debated about two policy issues, education and immigration. Furthermore, in the Campaign, students' engagement with the topics was limited to learning about "their" candidate's position on the issue, whereas as a member of Congress, the students had to construct positions on the issues that took into account their own political philosophy, as well as their constituents' and their parties' views. Finally, the participation structures in the

Campaign had students working independently or in pairs, but most of their work was never shared with the group as a whole, the exception being the debates and the presidential speeches. Thus, through the division of labor, the task orientation of researching a set position, and the sequestration of student work and products, the Campaign afforded students fewer opportunities to construct meaningful learning experiences with the relevant content from the unit. Such limited opportunities meant fewer opportunities to develop disciplinary literacy.

A corollary of this point about content is the differences in the information students were provided with versus information they had to seek out. In the Campaign students used the school's Media Center and internet research to find information to complete their campaign jobs and to develop talking points for their debates. So while they were simply representing the positions of the actual candidates, they had to find the information themselves.

For the Congress Game, Mr. Daniels provided students with packets for each of the two bills[17]. These packets began with a cover page that provided the details of the bill and scaffolded the students' position-taking by providing space for them to note their votes and why they had voted that way. After the cover page were articles that supported different sides of each issue. In this case, then, students were given the information, but more was expected of what they would then do with it (i.e., apply their own ideologies to the different arguments and determine their own stances, further modified by party, constituent, and lobbyist pressures). As for the expectations for what the students would do with the information, Mr. Daniels decreased the effort they had to put forth into finding the information for Congress, and increased this effort for the Campaign.

---

[17] Please see Appendices for sample cover sheets.

The structures and enactments of the different debate styles in the simulations provide a clear example of the differences in student interaction and Mr. Daniels's presence and influence on such exchanges. As was shown earlier, the Campaign debates were brief exchanges moderated by Mr. Daniels during which each side would state their candidate's position, followed by short counter-arguments. In contrast, the floor debates in the Congress Game were extended affairs, with a back-and-forth between the sides, asking each other questions, and rebutting claims made by the opposition. Furthermore, these exchanges were from student to student, with Chuck serving as the Speaker who recognized whose turn it was to speak. On the first day this was heavily scaffolded by Mr. Daniels, but by the day of the immigration debate, his support had receded and he mostly help keep time so Chuck could concentrate on moderating the debate.

The contact and interactions Mr. Daniels had with students over the course of the simulations outside of the debate format also differed. When the class was not in a teacher-centered mode in the simulations, which was similar across them (especially the launching of the lesson at the start of each day) Mr. Daniels had different encounters with the students. During the Campaign, he frequently answered short questions about where to find information to complete the various jobs, or provided examples for students to work towards with their own campaign products. His help tended to be individualized, insofar as he was talking with one or two students at a time, and utilitarian, insofar as he was helping them complete their tasks.

During the Congress Game, Mr. Daniels's interactions tended to address students in their caucus groups (in part because they were very rarely working alone), and while he was still at times directive (e.g., "You need to determine your position on this issue."),

he did much more strategic suggesting. For example, when he learned that one of the Democrats, Rain, was not aligning with his party on the immigration debate because of his personal beliefs and his constituents, Mr. Daniels addressed the Republican caucus and suggested they send a representative to negotiate with Rain about potentially voting with them on the legislation (which he eventually did). In this way, Mr. Daniels strove to keep the simulation dynamic and students interacting with one another and working through the simulated legislative process with real challenges (as opposed to the Democrats always getting their way since they had the majority).

The differences in these interaction patterns can be explained by the added interpersonal management that was required by the Congress Game. Students had to interact with one another to a greater extent, and more students were involved in such interactions (e.g., the difference between the campaign managers circulating between individuals working and caucus meetings in which who would debate and what they would say).

One advantage the Campaign had over the Congress simulation was the "current" nature of the content. The presidential race was reaching its pinnacle while the students were learning about it, and the work in school seems to have connected students to the current events and in a few cases actual involvement as volunteers. Other students were watching the televised debates (which were then informally discussed in class) and talking with their parents about the election. While some of this may have happened without the students having been enrolled in civics that particular semester, the class did give them an introduction and entrée into the candidates and issues that I believe most fourteen and fifteen-year-olds do not have. While education and immigration are both

certainly important and current topics as well (even more so as I write this), during the time of this unit such topics lacked the media exposure and "water cooler" talk emphasis of a presidential campaign.

The two simulations presented here in comparative relief provide a window into one teaching strategy with the potential for developing pedagogical relationships oriented towards disciplinary literacy. Simulated roles provide a clear view of the intertwining nature of the disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions of pedagogical relationships. Such roles have the potential to reshape or recast interpersonal and disciplinary relationships for students by providing them with new responsibilities and positions *vis a vis* the content, their peers, and the teacher, but they also must contend with the student's prior positioning. The teacher can support such new roles, but needs to attend to the challenges along both the interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions. Not properly supporting students, or structuring roles in an unbalanced way, could lead to adverse affects in developing their disciplinary literacy.

Chapter 6

Teacher Support of Student Disciplinary Thinking with Disciplinary Scaffolds

The instructional triangle consists of relationships between people, both teachers and students, as well as teacher and student relationships with the discipline under study. In previous chapters I have attempted to show how two high school social science teachers began the school year utilizing two distinct relational dimensions of the triangle, emphasizing instrumental and syntactic relationships with the content; then I looked more closely at how one of those teachers, Mr. Daniels, conducted two different simulations back-to-back in a single unit of instruction, and how he considered the ways in which the different participation structures enabled different forms of social mediation of the content, and in one case more effectively simulated the real-world dimensions that he was interested in achieving.

In this chapter, I shift to a different kind of teacher intervention, one that has less to do with social interaction between students, and more to do with individual students' relationships with the content, and the ways in which the teacher, Ms. Stark, mediates that relationship through disciplinary tools and scaffolding tools. In terms of the theoretical framework of this study, this chapter highlights how Ms. Stark attempts to build the disciplinary relations of students with history by giving them practice with the tools of the discipline, while also supporting that practice with teacher-produced scaffolding tools.

I will analyze some of the disciplinary scaffolding that she constructs for her students to improve their historical thinking and understanding, as well as look at how the students take up and use these supports. Chapter 4 described how, on the first day of class, Ms. Stark emphasized thinking about how World History is constructed by providing a series of disciplinary analogies for students to begin thinking about the content. Ms. Stark's scaffolding of historical thinking did not stop on the first day, and in this chapter I will look at the ways she continued to help students think historically. This analysis includes specific lesson-level scaffolds for looking at particular historical documents, pictures, and her lectures; I will also examine her "Green Unit Sheets" that attempt to help students make sense of content and to answer "big questions" on a unit-wide scale.

A central challenge in supporting student disciplinary thinking is summarized well by Lemke in the context of science teaching:

> In fact, it can be difficult or impossible to teach a thematic pattern one piece at a time because it often takes a mastery of the whole pattern before any of its parts seem to make sense. It is not just in science that we find concepts that can only be fully understood in terms of one another: Each piece of the puzzle makes sense only if you already have all the other pieces. This is one of the fundamental problems of science teaching, and indeed of teaching and communication generally […]. (Lemke, 1991, p. 17)

While he is discussing science teaching, Lemke's point about the difficulty of understanding parts without knowing the whole is certainly true in history as well. For example, in understanding the significance of events for other events in the future while studying content chronologically, which happened at the end of Ms. Stark's unit discussed here when studying the peace process. The peace that lays the war blame and reparations at the feet of Germany plays a role in setting up the conditions for the rise of

the Nazi party and World War II, but until students study that portion of history they cannot yet understand the full importance of the Treaty of Versailles.

Teachers, ideally, are aware of these difficulties and their job is to help mediate the students' relationships with the content in a way that allows them to build the bigger picture out of the details and to develop increasing competence and understanding over time. Grant (1977) explored the notion that teachers are mediators of culture, and he defined such mediators as "a person who both transmits knowledge of the culture and interprets the knowledge being transmitted" (103). This view translates to teacher as disciplinary mediator, a more specific job than that which Grant describes, but whose dual process remains the same. Teachers do not simply hand over disciplinary content; by teaching they are interpreting the discipline for students through the materials, activities, and texts they select for students to interact with and the narratives they provide around such artifacts and activities. Students, in turn, make their own interpretations of the teaching they encounter.

This role makes good sense in the context of sociocultural theory, which suggests the importance of the social context of learning and doing. Mediation as a general concept is central to such theory, although it has perhaps been applied too broadly (Roth, 2007). Likewise, the use of artifacts (Cole, 1996) as mediators, and the ways a competent community member can support a less-able other as exemplified in Vygotsky's (1978) concept of the zone of proximal development and Bruner and colleagues' notion of scaffolding. Before delving into the ways in which Ms. Stark supports students in developing historical disciplinary literacy, I would like clarify the distinctions between disciplinary tools and scaffolding tools.

Pea (2004) draws a clear distinction between scaffolds, which are meant to "fade" (Collins, Brown, & Newman, 1989) over time as competence develops, and tools that are persistent supports for human activity. Furthermore, Pea distinguishes two kinds of scaffolds, a) those that channel and focus, and b) and those that involve modeling. These distinctions are worth attending to because if developing disciplinary literacy is an important goal of secondary education, then it seems essential to understand which elements being taught are meant to be scaffolds to be withdrawn and what elements are part of the historian's toolbox and are permanent features meant to support them. We would not think of training a carpenter with the expectation that they would someday not need their hammer and saw. I use the term *disciplinary tool* to refer to those permanent tools of the discipline whose facility of use is the goal of disciplinary literacy, whereas *scaffolding tools* are teaching tools that are meant to support student thinking in history, but should "fade" in use over time.

In this chapter I will examine how Ms. Stark attempts to overcome some of the challenges of teaching in a robust disciplinary manner by supporting students' historical thinking through a variety of strategies, most importantly by trying to help the students put the pieces of individual lessons together into a larger historical understanding and argument. This is relevant to the construction of the instructional triangle in that it represents the disciplinary relationship building between students and disciplinary content at different scales.

Unit Overview

In this chapter I will be using the fourth unit in Ms. Stark's World History class as the focus for analysis. This unit deals with World War I, and occurred in late October

through early November of 2008 over eleven days of class. I have selected this particular

unit because it is located midway through the course, where the students and Ms. Stark

have had an opportunity to get to know each other, develop routines, and the flow of class

is only minimally disrupted by days out for breaks. Below is an outline of the unit with

the key classroom activities on each day.

Table 6-1: Calendar for Stark, World History II, Unit 4: World War I

10/22 (W)	10/23 (Th)	10/24 (F)	10/27 (M)	10/28 (T)
• Stark absent for conference • Students investigated materials on nature of war from soldiers' perspective.	• Theories of the Causes of the War lecture • Causes of War exploration by students	• Lecture on Causes of War • Students evaluate two theories of the cause.	• Students use sources to answer question: Why did assassination cause WWI?	• Lecture: Was it the war they expected? • Propaganda analysis • Map activity
10/29 (W)	10/31 (F)	11/3 (M)	11/5 (W)	11/6 (Th)
• Research and present newscast about major battles of the war	• Students assigned countries and research their position at close of war.	• Peace Talk Simulation • Analyze Wilson's "14 Points"	• Lecture on Russian Revolution • Prepare for exam	• Unit exam

Note: 10/30 Ms. Stark was out and students watched parts of the film "Gandhi"; 11/4 there was no school because it was Election Day.

In this chapter I explore how Ms. Stark intervened in the students' relationship with

history through various scaffolding tools at both the lesson and unit levels. In addition to

looking at the particular scaffolds at both levels, I will also analyze how they interact

with one another and work towards (potentially) supporting student thinking and writing

in history.

Day-to-day class activities focused on particular historical content and thinking

about that content in a variety of ways. One day the students practiced interpreting

historical documents, and another they practiced historical empathy by taking on the perspective of particular historical actors. While we might hope that students experience the series of classroom activities and homework over the course of the unit as a coherent narrative, that cannot be taken for granted, especially in World History with its broad coverage. To assist students with making sense of the details of the unit, Ms. Stark created a scaffolding tool through her "Green" Unit Sheets. These handouts provided structure for the unit through stating a central problem, posing questions that helped to understand the problem, and by providing a worksheet to help students synthesize all they had done in class and think about how the activities and information relate to the unit problem. In what follows, I share models of the kinds of lesson-level scaffolding tools for historical thinking practices Ms. Stark built into her classes and how students made use of these scaffolding tools. I then move on to examine the Green Unit Sheets and how students used them.

Both kinds of scaffolding tools (lesson and unit) I investigate here foreground the intervening arrow of the instructional triangle, where the teacher mediates the students' relationships with the content. By examining the forms of participation in historical thinking they afford students, I seek to provide a clearer picture of the challenges and potential for developing disciplinary literacy with high school students.

Lesson-Level Supports

At the lesson level, Ms. Stark utilized a number of strategies to support students in beginning to construct historical arguments with evidence, to read primary sources effectively, and to determine significance. In this section I will present and analyze

examples from a worksheet and a lecture and consider the ways the scaffold and Ms. Stark supported student historical thinking.

Scaffolding Interpretation of Evidence

On the first day of the World War I unit, Ms. Stark had to attend a conference in her capacity as department chair, and so was not able to be in class. In order for students to be able to begin thinking about World War I, she created a worksheet that supported students analyzing four texts in order to answer a historical question, "What was it like to fight in the First World War?" Ms. Stark provided the four texts along with the worksheet. These included a clip from *The Blackadder Goes Forth* (a British satirical historical program), a selection from the novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* by E.M. Remarque, and the poems "Base Details" by Siegfried Sassoon, and "Disabled" by Wilfred Owen.

The texts themselves are notable in their variety and literary basis (TV, novel, and two poems), and most likely were viewed by students as somewhat unusual in that regard (even within this unit these selections stand out, as the other texts involve political documents like Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points," war propaganda posters, and secondary historical accounts). These texts may have presented a challenge for students because they are a different kind of evidence then they were perhaps used to dealing with in a history class.

Ms. Stark structured the support into five sets of questions, with the first four each focusing on one particular text, and then the fifth set asking students to integrate the information from across the evidence. For the text-specific sections, the sheet identified the genre of each (poem, selection from novel, satirical TV show). The Blackadder clip

was first, and Ms. Stark asked students to "Please list what you learned about what it was like to be a soldier in the First World War from Blackadder (consider environment, attitude, leadership, etc.) below:" and then provided space for notes. The TV show is unique among the texts in its ability to provide a visual representation of the nature of trench warfare, which words alone cannot necessarily capture.

For each of the three subsequent texts, Ms. Stark asked the same series of questions (slightly modified by the text genre):

1. "Explain a bit about the source . . . who wrote it? When? Why? (check the background information)"
2. "Please list the information about the soldier's experience below" or "What does the poem mean?"
3. "Explain how [e.g., Owen's poem] supports, extends, or challenges [e.g., Black Adder, [sic] Remarque, and Sassoon's] impressions of the war."

Once all four texts were read (or viewed) and the relevant questions answered, the sheet ended with a final synthesizing question: "Finally, based on all four sources, describe what it was like to fight in the First World War. Use at least <u>two direct quotes</u> to support your response."

The form itself then has several implicit and explicit messages about the nature of historical argument. First, it sends a message about what can count as evidence, including texts that students might not normally construe as being appropriately "historical," like novels and poems. This broadened scope also presents a possible misconception about the nature of movies as evidence. While Ms. Stark gives the students context about the *Blackadder* satire and its genre, she does not clarify that this is not normally a source of evidence for historians in the same way that a novel or poem *from the time period under investigation* could be, which may foster a misconception about the nature of appropriate evidence, and hence present complications for the developing disciplinary literacy.

The "support, extend, challenge" tool for thinking about evidence reinforces history as an evidence-based discipline. The other questions asked of the texts also scaffold historical thinking processes like contextualization (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008; Wineburg, 2001) embedded in the first question for each text (except for *Blackadder*). Furthermore, the sequence of the texts, supported by the third question for each text suggests that students must corroborate evidence in light of other evidence as they build an understanding and an argument. In this case, Ms. Stark selected a series of texts that support and extend one another across the readings, and her selection acts a invisible scaffold. The teacher selecting the texts so students can more easily practice building an argument without sifting through archives seems to be one of the most important ways that a teacher mediates students' interactions with the disciplinary world of history at large, although students may come to challenge this scaffold (see Bain, 2006).

There is also a comprehension element to the questions, where students have to determine what the text is saying about the experience of being a soldier in the war. Here, there is little support for students. How does one read a novel or poem in a historical way? A quarter of the students made the mistake of taking the voice of the poem to equate to the poet, so they assumed that Owen had lost limbs like the narrator of his poem (he did not) or that Sassoon was a general (he was not).

The final question, in which students had to craft a description based on the four sources, follows logically from the structure of the exercise in which they were comparing source to source to build an understanding. In writing their final descriptions,

they were required to cite evidence through quotation from the sources so that they must ground their descriptions in the evidence provided.

This worksheet has clear disciplinary underpinnings and is structured to help students work through thinking about particular evidence around a historical question: "What was it like to fight in the First World War?" While reading comprehension is certainly part of what is required, it is only the start—students must then use what they read to build a description. In this way Ms. Stark constructed a scaffold for students to practice thinking historically, including historical habits of mind like contextualization and corroboration between sources.

Given that she was not present while students worked through the documents, how successful was the document in helping them understand the documents and answer the question? In reviewing the students' completed worksheets[18], I found a range of success across the different literacy requirements of the activity.

Use of Support/Extend/Challenge & Corroboration

Almost all the students were able to identify ways in which sources supported each other. However, some students were able to connect particular details, or see how one source extended a new dimension of understanding. For example, one student noted about Remarque's novel, "It supports [Black Adder's depiction of the front] because it shows how the soldiers had harsh conditions but it also extends because it shows the

_____

[18] This analysis was conducted on seventeen completed student worksheets. The work was analyzed by asking the following questions of the different sections and taking note of patters:
Comprehension – did the student understand what the text had to offer relative to the question?
Contextualization – was the student able to correctly locate the text in time and place, and determine why it was written? (They were given the author and time period)
Corroboration – did the student make valid connections or extensions between evidence?
Use of evidence to support a claim – did the student use appropriate quotations to support his or her description?

178

emotional aspects." In this case, the novel excerpt was able to provide a look at the "inside" of a soldier's experience, more so than a television satire. Other students noted how Owen's poem extended their understanding by showing the lasting effects of the war on the injured.

Three students applied the support/extend/challenge criteria to the tone of the pieces rather than to their content; they noticed that the three written texts challenged the tone of the British TV satire. While certainly true, this approach misses the point of the exercise to gather evidence about soldiers' experiences in the trenches of WWI, and reflects a challenge in using "literary" texts in history with students. However, the rest of the students navigated the challenge perfectly well.

Struggles in Contextualizing

While students were able to note when the texts were created, and their general message, none seemed to be able to explain why, for example, Remarque may have written his novel in the late 1920s in Germany (during the rise of the Nazi party and its belligerent character). The most common comment from Ms. Stark to students was along the lines of "Consider the 'whys' of the sources more" or "Overall nice work, but consider why all these sources were created. What were they trying to do?" Only one student avoided such commentary from Ms. Stark by elaborating on the "why" of each text. Understanding the context may have been more difficult for students because this was the first day of the unit and they were relying on their background knowledge of the war.

The difficulty in contextualizing speaks to Lemke's (1991) point regarding understanding the parts without having a full grasp of the whole that I cited at the start of the chapter. As students are learning the particulars of history, it is difficult for them to

put such specifics into a larger frame because they do not yet have enough information to do so, in this case either about the people who wrote the texts, or about the larger swath of history before and after the war that would help them contextualize the novel and poems. It seems to me that this is a key area in secondary history instruction where the teacher needs to provide more help rather than less.

<center><i>Quality of Description and Citing Evidence</i></center>

The final task students had to complete in this exercise was to create a description of what it was like to fight in World War I, using two direct quotations from the sources. All of the students successfully created a description of the horrific conditions of trench warfare. However, there were several patterns of difficulty across the work. The most common, occurring in five of the student descriptions, was an over-reliance on the quotations, and a lack of student contribution. The basic pattern was to say the conditions of the war were bad, and then simply provide two quotations. Two students had the opposite problem, in that they wrote detailed summaries, but failed to use any quotations to support their description. In both cases, students needed more practice incorporating evidence into their own arguments.

Two students' summaries were particularly weak. Although they captured the general notion that the conditions were terrible, each student's work suggested a difficulty. Marissa misused a quotation from the Sassoon poem. She was trying to express the lasting impact of the war on the soldiers, even after it was over, but she used a line that was critical of the leaders, not about the soldiers' lasting trauma ("toddle safely home and die—in bed."). The weakest writing came from Michelle, who used two quotations that do not express much without some explanation, which she does not

provide ("Now he will spend a few sick years in institutes," and "Poor young Chad"). In both of these cases, the use of quotations suggested that the two students were not able to or interested in selecting relevant quotations.

Despite the challenges faced by some students, and given the overall success of the final descriptions, I consider this assignment to have been a very effective scaffold, especially since Ms. Stark was not present while students completed the exercise. It served as a way for her to be "present" through its structure and the guidance it afforded students while analyzing evidence to answer a historical question. Of course, some students may have been successful in analyzing the evidence and writing a description without the scaffold, but given the mistakes that occurred even with the support, it seems likely that overall it had a positive effect on the student analysis of the evidence and final products, strengthening their relationship with the disciplinary content. Next, I investigate a scaffold in which Ms. Stark is very present, in that she is supporting students through building a historical argument via her lecturing. In this case she provided the text and the scaffold at the same time. The interpersonal dimensions of the triangle are more explicitly present in such a setting.

Lecture Scaffold

Ms. Stark sometimes actively supported students as they interpreted lecture texts, while at other times her support was more passive, often in the form of an outline on the board at the front of the classroom. An example of a more significant support came at the start of the World War I unit, during the second day when Ms. Stark lectured about the pre-war context, setting up what came before the war and an argument about the start of the war. The support came through the same cognitive tool that students experienced the

prior day while working through texts about what it was like to fight in the war: how does

"x" support, extend, or challenge what you already know? In this case, students started

with their understanding of the causes of World War I, of which they had some prior

knowledge from their United States History course their freshman year. Ms. Stark

brought this knowledge to the surface by beginning class with the journal prompt, "On a

blank sheet of paper, write out an explanation of what caused WWI." Students shared

their ideas, centering around imperialism and nationalism (which also happen to have

been the emphases of the last two units of instruction). From that starting place, Ms. Stark

set up the note-taking scaffold she wanted students to use:

> Ms. Stark: Imperialism, nationalism, global competition. […] That's what we're
> going to look for evidence for today. So below your hypothesis if you put three
> columns, support, so if we read anything or go over anything about nationalism it
> would support or imperialism, support. Extend, World War I happened because of
> this, which is tied to imperialism or nationalism but might push them to the next
> level. Or a challenge; this caused World War I, but it has nothing to do with any
> of this other stuff and it's just random information or it overthrows what I thought
> before. Completely challenges what I thought before. So as we go through this
> PowerPoint you're going to add to these three columns, and what we're going to
> hope to have by the end of the block is a fuller explanation of why World War I
> began when it did. What was the event that set it all off, the spark that set off
> World War I?
>
> Students: [inaudible mumbles]
>
> Stark: Good, it's the assassination that sets it off, but had imperialism and
> nationalism and some other factors that we're going to talk about not come into
> play, then that assassination might not have escalated into world war.

Ms. Stark began with students' prior student knowledge. She also gave students a

purpose (corroboration) in their listening and note-taking. They need to make judgments

about historical evidence as she presents her lecture. A more subtle aspect of her

historical teaching here is worth noting as well: she introduced students to historical

views on cause and effect and the nature of contingencies in such explanations. This

lecture structure also potentially helped the students build a better understanding of key disciplinary concepts (nationalism, imperialism) by providing further concrete examples that contribute to the concepts they have already begun to grasp in the prior units. At the start of the lecture, Ms. Stark took the time to practice with the students in assigning the information to a particular category. She began with some "support" examples first.

> Stark: Alright, so these first two slides go with each other and […] I think these are going to be supportive slides. I'll point you in the right direction on some of these, but some of them are up to you to figure out if it supports, extends or challenges what you already know about the cause of World War I. Applying Darwin to people increased the need to be victorious in athletic competitions— actually the first three slides go together. What does this mean? What is applying Darwin to people talking about?

> Students: Survivalism.

> Stark: So survivalism, survival of the fittest. What are they proving in the athletic competition?

> Female Student: Who is stronger.

> Stark: Mm-hmm. So at the turn of the century […] there was a rising popularity of team sports. Coubertin brought back the Olympics in 1896 to pay homage to Europe's Greek heritage, but also to give Europeans a chance to compete against each other without going to war. This development of sports culture also reflected the mood of aggressive nationalism at the time. This opportunity to show that your nation was better. And in 1901 you have the biggest crowd ever at the English cup soccer match. 11,000 spectators. […] The new century brought the first major brawl between supporters of rival teams. A match between the Catholic Celtics and the Protestant Rangers of Glasgow ended with the stadium being burned to the ground. What does this sports competition, aggressive sports competition to the point of burning down a stadium tell us about the mood prior to World War I?

> Female Student: It wasn't just competition, it was personal. Like they were actually—

> Stark: Personal like me personal or personal how?

> Female Student: Like country personal.

> Stark: So is it about nationalism or imperialism?

Male Student: Nationalism.

Stark: So does this support, extend or challenge, this intensifying athletic competition. Does it support, extend or challenge what you know about the cause of World War I?

Female Student: Support.

Stark: Okay, good. Okay, it supports this idea of nationalism. It's not just nationalism by conquering countries, it's nationalism by beating them in athletic competitions.

Ms. Stark also provided some vocal support to help students use the support/extend/challenge framework when she presented her first evidence that counters the argument they were building about the mood in Europe pre-war.

Stark: Let me move into a few quotes. "Society has no justification if it does not bring a little peace to men. Peace in their hearts and peace in their mutual interactions. If then industry can only be productive or be productive by disturbing their peace and unleashing warfare it is not worth the cost." So what does that underlined part talking about? [pause 4s] Countries keep doing what?

Female Student: They're industrializing and– but they have to go to war and like fight other people to industrialize so they're saying that if it comes to warfare then it's really not worth it.

Stark: Okay, so industrialization, modernization all that not worth it if we have to go to war. Right, so does this support, extend or challenge the other things you've been saying? This guy says it's better to be peaceful and not keep competing.

Students: Challenge.

Stark: So Emile Durkheim is challenging it by saying that peace is better than fighting. Peace is better than competition.

In these two examples, Ms. Stark provided information for the students, checked their comprehension, and then asked them to apply the support/extend/challenge label to that information. In doing so, she was also asking them to draw on what they already knew about the causes of the war, as well as to connect the information to central historical

concepts like nationalism and industrialization. Thus, she built and extended their relationship with new disciplinary content by connecting it with their prior knowledge, and better prepared them for future encounters with the concepts of nationalism and imperialism (Donovan & Bransford, 2005).

The pattern of this lecture was roughly equivalent to the structure of the "What was it like to fight in WWI?" worksheet: evidence was presented, students worked through comprehension and corroboration, and then moved on to the next piece of evidence. In both cases, the students approached the evidence with a historical question they were trying to answer. The central differences between these classroom activities were the participation structures and the presence or absence of Ms. Stark. In the lecture, the whole class worked through the evidence with the assistance of Ms. Stark, allowing for modeling the application of the support/extend/challenge scaffold from both the teacher as well as peers.

In both the lecture and the worksheet, Ms. Stark attempted to help students think according to history's disciplinary norms of evidence use and corroboration, while also building their substantive knowledge about different aspects of the First World War. This scaffold also had the potential to help them make use of the unit level scaffold, because as they practiced considering evidence, they were learning skills that would hopefully lead them to better selection of evidence when answering the unit problem in their essays on the unit exam.

The Green Unit Sheets: Scaffolding Student Thinking Across a Unit

The most ambitious disciplinary scaffold Stark employed is somewhat infamous among her students: the Green Unit Sheets[19]. These artifacts from Ms. Stark's classroom operate on a different scale than the lesson-specific approaches explored in the previous section. Rather than dealing with a particular text or small set of texts, the Green Unit Sheet is meant to help the students bring together what they have learned across the entire unit and assemble it into a coherent historical argument that answers the unit question.

Near the beginning of each unit of instruction Ms. Stark handed out the new unit sheet, printed on green paper. This was meant to provide students with a visual aid for the start of each new unit within their history binder, where they were supposed to keep all class materials organized. She also used a different font for each unit sheet, which were also used for all associated handouts for the unit as a means to help students remain organized as well. However, a conversation while handing out the World War I Green Unit Sheet revealed that the majority of the students were unaware of this organizational dimension of Ms. Stark's classroom materials.

To understand the role of the Green Unit Sheets as artifacts in this World History course, I examine a variety of evidence from across the World War I unit, and the course as a whole. In what follows, I begin with a look at the Green Unit Sheets themselves, including a general introduction to their layout and Ms. Stark's explanation of their origin in the pedagogical problem of helping students think historically. Then I explore the ways the Green Unit Sheets are talked about in class, both during the World War I unit and Ms. Stark's initial support in using the sheets during the first unit review. Finally, I will look

---

[19] This it the name that both Ms. Stark and the students used for the piece of paper, so I will be using it as well.

at how students talked about and made use of the Green Unit Sheets through my interviews, and their completed versions of the sheets and the unit exam essay.

Annotated Sample

Below is a re-creation of the back of the Green Unit Sheet from the World War I unit, along with an annotated guide to understand the key parts of the artifact. The actual version and an example of a student-completed version are available in the Appendix. I will be focusing on the back of the sheet, where students have blank space to write their thoughts. The front page of the Green Unit Sheet provides a brief overview of the unit, a series of "Questions to Guide our Investigation," which are really phrased more as unit objectives rather than questions, and finally a "Problem to Investigate," that is the central question of the unit. For the World War I version of the sheet, the problem was "What is the role of war and competition in globalization?"

On the back of the Green Unit Sheet is where things get interesting. Ms. Stark designed the back to help students examine the evidence across the entire unit, and then help them synthesize it in answering the unit problem, or a close variation thereof, on the unit exam. I have recreated a truncated version here for ease of reading[20]:

Table 6-2: World War 1 Green Unit Sheet

World History
Constructing a Complete Historical Argument

Identifying the Problem: Inductive Reasoning	
1. State the problem	
2. List class activities and readings that could be used as evidence (sources) a. b.	3. Study the selected evidence and list key points from sources here: a. b.

---

[20] I have eliminated much of the blank space for writing, as well as additional letters for entering elements of evidence (e.g., c., d.), designated by the "etc." in sections two and three. No words were removed. Again, please see the Appendix for a sample.

187

[etc.]	[etc.]
4. Surface patterns and ideas – List patterns and common ideas that emerge from the evidence here:	
Constructing the Argument: Deductive Reasoning	
5. Rough out a response to the problem (thesis) and an outline	On a separate sheet of paper write out your thesis and outline.

During our second formal interview, which occurred the day after the unit exam for the

World War I unit, I asked Ms. Stark about the genesis of the Green Unit Sheets and how

she envisions students making use of them:

> Brian: […] this is the unit plan […] from the World War I [unit], can you just talk through this a little bit about your goal behind having this, and specifically then, on the back [of the unit sheet] about how you envision them using this and what effect do you think it's had on their work?
>
> Stark: Yeah, so what I do when I design classes and I work on the curriculum, I look at the major themes of the class and I come up with the course questions, "What is globalization?" […] but every time I start a new unit, I read this, does the question that I designed for this unit help us answer the bigger question? And then we had designed this course around the national standards cause we're not state standards yet […] Long story short, the "Questions that guide our investigation" are just simplified standards. They might bridge several standards, but that way I know that I am meeting my standards. And so what the district asks us to do is to break it down into student-friendly language. Even before I knew about standards I always did this cause I thought it was important for the students to know what material they were accountable for at the end of the chapter right away. So you do an overview so that they see where we're going, and give them questions to break down, you know, day-by-day, sometimes it's three days to answer one question, sometimes it's half a lesson to answer one question.

So the front of the Green Unit Sheet is meant to provide students with an overview and

clarity about the content the students will be expected to master. The questions and

problem on the front are also evidence of how Ms. Stark plans with the course-wide

question in mind as she works on individual units, as well as the way she represents the

standards for the students (and makes sense of units for herself as well). The "Questions

to Guide our Investigation" are meant to help students "break up" solving the unit

problem into smaller parts, but the front of the unit sheet was not accomplishing Ms.

Stark's goals:

> [T]he goal is when they get this [the Green Unit Sheet], they know what's on the test. Do any of them use it that way? I don't think so. It doesn't matter how many times I tell them, I review with them, I tell their parents at conferences. I think they just see it as another thing to do and I don't know how to make it more relevant and that's why I started doing this on the back and letting them use it on the test. Because if part of the goal in my class is to get them to write a strong historical argument they need the tools to do that.

The back of the Green Unit Sheet is an effort to provide the students with a tool that will help them accomplish the kinds of historical argumentation in writing that Ms. Stark is hoping to cultivate in her students. The evolution of the Green Unit Sheet is a result of her experience trying to make it "relevant" for her students, but a "use" relevance like a needed tool, as opposed to how the term is often used in education circles of making the content relate to student interests or life circumstances. Including the scaffolding on the back of the unit sheet is probably the biggest change to it over time, but Ms. Stark is still developing and adapting it. In addition to being a tool for her students it acts as a way for her to assess students:

> I can test recall with short answer and multiple choice, but if I'm testing their skill, then their ability to pull good evidence, you know if they don't pull good evidence, this is not really going to be that much value and their score's still not going to be that high. So I'm testing their ability to draw evidence from the sources. And if they copy someone else's and they use it […] they might not understand what's on here to be able to write a strong historical argument from it. And so, by letting them use this on the test I'm hoping that they're starting to see the value of visiting this day-to-day and drawing from it. And I tried to remind them to update it but I'm not so good about that. I feel like they've got so many things that they need to do daily that if they're not their norms it becomes too much work for me to remind them. Like I set it all up in the beginning but then it's kind of up to them to keep revisiting it and they don't because they're not used to it, they don't like, […] taking accountability for their learning every day […].

Ms. Stark recognizes that students need support in writing a strong historical argument, and she believes that if students have developed an understanding of the material that having a completed sheet, does not guarantee success. In other words, she does not feel that having such a tool for the test gives students an unfair advantage, or that it is possible to cheat by simply copying another student's version of the evidence portion of the back.

By making the Green Unit Sheet available to the students during the exam, Ms. Stark is also hoping that students will use the sheet on a day to day basis, but she acknowledges that she is not able to support that reminder of how to make use of the tool, and that the students do not seem interested or able to complete the sheet on their own. Instead, they seem to wait until right before the sheet is due, which is not necessarily an ineffective approach as part of a review of the class material, and the surfacing of patterns, as required in the fourth section of the back of the Green Unit Sheet. Ms. Stark explains that portion of the sheet:

> […] then this thing about surfacing the patterns and ideas. When we look across this evidence, the goal is that they see what the big ideas are from the chapter. Granted, they're stated in the questions in the front but what do they draw from the evidence so that when they get their essay on the test, they've already started thinking about big things in the class. And the question, which is, a simplified or a variation of the problem to investigate here reflects that. […] Should be something they already thought through. Now, I have down here constructing the argument, I never assign that, potentially I could. But the point is, is that that's their essay on the test.

In the last sentence, Ms. Stark notes that part five of the grid is never assigned, but that it is a reminder for students in preparation for the unit exam. If the back of the sheet was a response to students not capitalizing on the value of the front matter of the Green Unit Sheet, what is Ms. Stark's assessment of how the students are using the "back" of the sheet?

> I've told them that many times, I know I do have kids that practice that, like my kids that are getting a hundred percent on their, well not quite a hundred percent but they're doing well of their tests usually have this filled out in detail. They usually have the questions answered completely correctly, they know exactly when they come in the day before the test, what's unclear, they'll ask me to explain one of these questions, and so they do know. But the kids that it's meant to help, they don't get how to use it. And for them it's just more work. […] They don't want to work. But it's also good defense when the parents ask, well how does my kid prepare for the class if you're jumping all over the book and you're not using the book? I say they get this on the first day.

So from Ms. Stark's perspective, the students who do well on the essays are making use of the Green Unit Sheets, at least in terms of making sure they understand the different questions that lead to answering the unit problem. Ms. Stark also discloses that sometimes parents are frustrated on behalf of their children because she does not simply go through the textbook, chapter after chapter. It sounds as if parents are defending their children for not being able to make sense of what she is teaching, and she uses the Green Unit Sheets to show parents how she tries to build coherence for them. Ms. Stark reported that it was effective in such exchanges. In this way, the Green Unit Sheets help to mediate her interpersonal relationships with her students' parents, an interesting secondary benefit. But as a primary benefit for the students who are struggling, Ms. Stark is not satisfied.

> […] you would think a kid's getting a D, what can I do to help to fix my grade? Do that [pointing to Green Unit Sheet], what you don't understand come in on seminar and ask, and they don't. Cause they don't take responsibility for their own learning and I don't know how to get them to do that. I'm not a hand-holder. Like I give them the tools and they're 17 and 18 years old, I'm not going to follow them around. They have to go to college, they have to move on, and if that makes me a cold teacher, it does. Because that's one thing I want to teach them is personal responsibility.

I find Ms. Stark's self-assessment to be overly harsh, but perhaps she is too hard on the students as well. Her comment in this regard highlights the kind of interpersonal

relationship Ms. Stark views as necessary for students to develop personal responsibility towards disciplinary work of her class. In a short while I will share how students made use of the Green Unit Sheets and utilized them on the unit essay (or did not). But first, I want to examine her claim of not being a "hand-holder" and how she encourages personal responsibility by exploring how she talks about and models use of the Green Unit Sheets during class time.

The Green Unit Sheet in Class

Ms. Stark introduced the sheet for World War I on the third day of the unit, October 24th and used it to preview what was coming and how this information was connected to the first two days of class:

> Ms. Stark: You guys have your new unit plan. We're going to do all of chapter 27, we'll probably only do part of chapter 28, it's on the Russian Revolution, which happened simultaneous to and then after World War I and it's all a huge mess and big thing to deal with and sort out, so it depends on how far into it we're able to get. What we've been working on so far is the causes of war, yesterday, we're going to do some today, and even a little bit on Monday. 'Cause there's quite a bit to do with what caused World War I. Of all the things that go on in World War I this is the one thing historians are still arguing most about. Is what actually caused it, why did it start in 1914 and there are so many factors that come into play. Yesterday we looked at art and culture and just the way people were thinking about the world. Today we're gonna look at the political side of it and then Monday you're going to look at the actions that people actually started to take that started this war. Um, so this is your unit plan; anyone know what these pictures are at the bottom?
>
> Richard: The tomb of the unknown soldier and … something in Britain, I don't know.
>
> Stark: Nope, they're both tombs of the unknown soldier. One is in the US.
>
> Richard: That one is in France.
>
> Stark: Shh. [directed at side-talk] One is in Italy. It's also their national monument to unification, but right in the center is their World War I memorial to the tomb of the unknown soldier. Why does World War I have the first tombs of the unknown soldier? And almost every country has these, but why World War I? . . . Jane?

Jane: Well 'cause it involved so many more people and it involved much more like violent methods of fighting. So like people were blown up and you couldn't tell who they were.

Stark: Right. It is the most destructive war we have to date. And we could not identify those that were killed in battle so every country has these tombs. They've since been used for other wars, but they start out originally being created for World War I. Um, so that tells you whatever causes this war, [it] becomes [an] incredibly destructive war. […] So make sure you're keeping up with your unit plans. Four questions to work on. We'll finish resolving question number one on Monday. So put it in your binder, keep track of all the stuff with this font to put by it.

In this introduction, Ms. Stark focused on explaining the pictures with which she adorned the front of the Green Unit Sheet. She also used the handing out of the sheet to offer some other information. She specified which textbook chapters align with this unit, which is also printed on the sheet itself, and clarified where classroom instruction was relative to the questions of the Green Unit Sheet. Ms. Stark also noted how the causes of the war and their complex interrelation are still debated by historians. After discussing the significance of the first tombs of the unknown soldier, she directed students to the practical and organizational aspects of the Green Unit Sheets. This short excerpt shows the Green Unit Sheets' potential to bring together historical understanding and classroom concerns.

At the end of the unit, near the end of class when she gave students time to review and prepare, Ms. Stark reminded them about using the Green Unit Sheets to make better arguments:

You do need to finish filling out the back of your green sheet. Keep in mind that's where many of you are falling down on the essays, you don't have enough evidence. Use the back of the green sheet since you get it, put things that are going to be useful there. Look at the big problem to investigate on the front, 'cause you're essay is usually closely related to that. So, what evidence can you pull that will be helpful, this doesn't mean we're sitting and doing nothing for the

next thirteen minutes, it means you're using this time to study. Use the people in this room, ask me questions if things are unclear, [inaudible] use a map and I think that's it. [11/05/08]

Ms. Stark is suggesting that students use the social and material resources of the classroom to prepare, as well as applying pressure for students to remain involved in the work rather than digress into social matters without academic relevance. This explicit reminder about the Green Unit Sheet, along with the slightly longer discourse when introduced at the start of the unit, are the only mentions of it over the eleven days of the unit. While such short shrift to such a seemingly central tool of the course might seem odd, and perhaps students would benefit from more explicit use and modeling of the Green Unit Sheets by Ms. Stark, this was the fourth time students were given such a tool. In order to see Ms. Stark giving students more thorough support, I must go back to the first unit of the course to demonstrate that she did not simply leave students to their own devices.

Looking Backwards: Ms. Stark's Model of Historical Inquiry & Unit 1 Review

While there was little discussion of how the Green Unit Sheets could be used at the end of the World War I unit, Ms. Stark did do more explicit work with the students to model how the sheets could be used to help them. In this section, I will go back to the first unit of the World History course to demonstrate how Ms. Stark laid the foundation for student use of the Green Unit Sheets. First I will show how the sheets' structure provided a reified version of historical inquiry as understood by Ms. Stark. Then I will present segments from the final class session of the first unit in which Ms. Stark provided students with several kinds of support in making use of the Green Unit Sheets in preparation for the unit exam.

On the third day of the school year, Ms. Stark continued to teach students about

the structure of history, along the lines of what I showed in Chapter 4 from her first day

of class. She began the class, like every class, with a journal question for students to

answer as she took attendance and checked homework. On this day, the question was,

"When you are conducting a historical investigation, what are the steps?" Once students

had a chance to answer in their journals, Ms. Stark conducted a whole-class discussion

about the question, and recorded the process on the board.

> Stark: So starting off with this question, "When conducting a historical
> investigation what are your first steps?" […]

> Male Student: Define problem.

> Stark: Define the problem, good and how do you define the problem, what do you
> do to define a problem?

> Male Student: Research.

> [… student side-talking]

> Stark: [inaudible] research, yes.

> Male Student: [inaudible]

> Stark: So define a problem [writes on board] research […] We need to find a
> problem and you're conducting a historical investigation, how do you frame that
> problem, what do you have to do to know that you have a problem or something
> research?

> Female Student: Problem is the question?

> Stark: Ask a question. You define the problem by asking a question. [writes on
> board] So this is something you should take note of because it's something we'll
> be working with all semester. When you research it, what do you research?

> Male Student: [inaudible]

> Stark: You might look for the time period. What else might you look for so that
> you know not to study all of history, but the small slice of it. What else?

Male Student: Where it took place.

Stark: 'Kay, you might research the location, good. What else? [3 second pause] Hmm?

Female Student: The people involved.

Stark: People involved. [writes on board] So what are you gonna do to get this information? The time period, the location, and the people involved? How are you gonna collect all that?

Male Student: You have to get evidence.

Stark: You need to get evidence, good. And what is this evidence? How do you find out who was involved and their location and place. What sorts of things are you gonna look up, what's our evidence you collect?

Adam: Signatures.

Stark: Maybe. Signatures on what though?

Male Student: [Inaudible] artifacts.

Stark: Doc— artifacts, documents. […]

Stark: And are you gonna use every artifact, every document, every map, every picture from that time period and that location?

Students: No.

Stark: No. Once you've collected all this evidence, all this research what are you going to do with it?

Students: Organize it.

Stark: Organize it in what way?

Students: [inaudible] [talking at once]

Stark: This one? Maybe chronological, what else? If you're trying to answer a question, what are you gonna do with this research you've collected? Pick out evidence that what?

Female Student: Answers it.

Stark: Yeah. [writes on board] 'Kay so you're gonna organize your evidence in a way that answers the question. Once you have your evidence all organized what can you then do?

Male Student: [inaudible] question.

Stark: Yes, you're gonna answer the question. […]Um so the last step is to answer the question. There's a few more variations on this, but this is a good start and this is what we will be doing today. The way we're going to start, the first question is "Why does 1815 matter?" That's when the class starts, I talk about it a little bit when I gave you your syllabus yesterday, but in order to answer that question the first bit of research we're gonna do, or evidence we're gonna use is my lecture […].

The model of historical inquiry Ms Stark constructed with her students in this sequence is nearly identical to the structure of the back the Green Unit Sheet. Of course, this is no accident; Ms. Stark has worked to create a document that leads students through the steps she outlined on the third day of class with student assistance. She highlighted that this process is worth taking notes on because it will be used throughout the class. Ms. Stark also made an important point at the end of the discussion that bears on evidence: she clearly stated that her lectures are to be used as evidence in addressing the unit problem, and this discussion was followed directly by a lecture, the first of the course. The way Ms. Stark helped students use such evidence, and other class activities, can be seen on the final day of the first unit.

The final class session of the first unit on the Age of Revolutions consisted of a number of review games. The first involved students taping key terms printed on strips of paper to their backs and then having to guess what the term was based on clues given by their peers. Once the answer was guessed correctly, they then placed the term on the board, and when doing so they were to attempt to group them. Ms. Stark made a few

197

modifications to their grouping scheme, and the final result can be seen in the figure below.
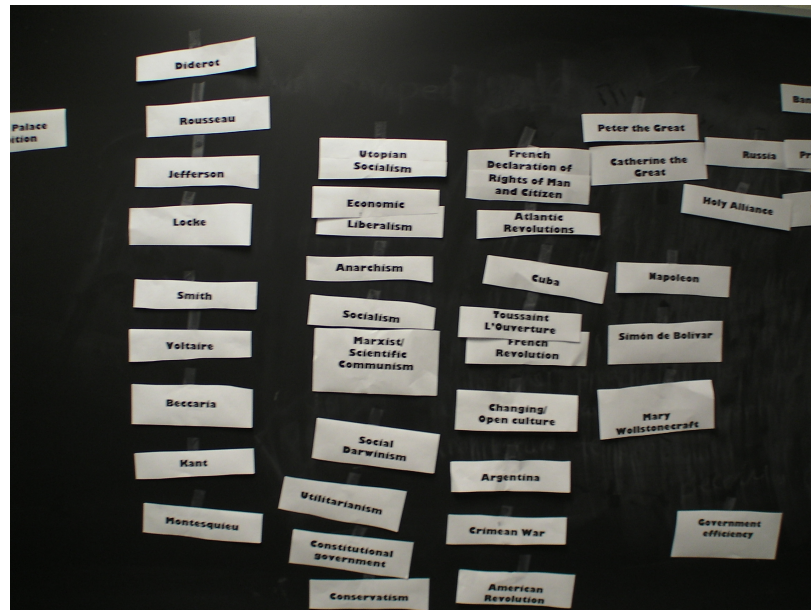
Figure 6-1: Key Figures & Concepts of the Age of Revolutions Unit on Blackboard

Ms. Stark then connected these categories formed out of the review of key terms to the back of the Green Unit Sheet:

> Stark: But before we move to the game, something that will be helpful in remembering these is what that fourth row is on your green chart on the back, looking for themes and patterns. As you look at the categories you guys set up, what are some of the major themes of this unit?
>
> Edward: People.
>
> Male Student: (Philosophes)
>
> Stark: (What kind of people?) Philosophes. What do the Philosophes represent?
>
> Male Student: New ideas.
>
> Stark: New ideas. 'Kay, so one of the themes of this unit is new ideas, but new ideas about what?
>
> Male Student: Government.
>
> Stark: Government, what kind of government?

Edward: [inaudible] beneficial government.

Stark: Democratic or at the very least what?

Adam: Liberal.

Male Student: Organized?

Female Student: Free?

Stark: Free, because they signed what?

Male Student: Constitution.

Stark: Constitutional government, right? So one of the big themes here was they're all speaking around is forming a constitutional government. With these 'isms' come out of is different ways to shape that constitutional government. Some of them want to get rid of it, but there are different ways of shaping it. Um and then we have the revolutions that were trying to form it. And what's going on parallel to the stabilizing government? This constitutional government? So one theme is forming a constitutional government, another theme is what? What is the stuff on the far right of the board all about?

Female Student: Technology.

Male Student: Industrialization.

Stark: Industrialization, because the revolutions that shaped the modern world are industrial and political. So those are the two major things that should have emerged from this unit and that's what you can fill in, in that fourth column on the back of your green chart. Does that make sense? … Political and industrial revolutions. ………. And that's why on the front you have the Statue of Liberty, representing political revolutions and the Crystal Palace representing industrial revolutions, because both come together in France with the Eiffel Tower.

The first striking thing about the content of this review is the way some students first attempted to provide the relevant category name for each grouping of names and concepts using an everyday term that is not necessarily associated with the content they have been learning about (e.g., "people," "government," and "technology"). Ms. Stark waited, sometimes asking prompting questions, for students to provide the relevant

disciplinary term that was more specific to the items on the board and the historic context of the unit (e.g., "Philosophes," "constitutional government," and "industrialization"). Here she places responsibility for the ideas onto students, rather than providing the answers herself.

This discussion constitutes a modeling scaffold as Ms. Stark verbally walked students through the inductive reasoning she wanted them to conduct in completing the 4th portion of the Green Unit Sheet, which asks them to look for themes and patterns in the specifics of the unit. She even began and ended this series of exchanges with reference to the Green Unit Sheet, explicitly indicating the relevance of the discussion for student preparation and the significance of the images she used for this version and their relation to the political and industrial revolutions of the period they were studying. It is important to understand that Ms. Stark conducted this kind of support for students early on in making use of the Green Unit Sheets. By the time she taught the World War I unit, she had stopped doing this level of explicit support, but it is not as though she had never helped the students with these concepts.

From this discussion about the major themes of the unit, Ms. Stark moved the class on to the second review game, in which students competed in pairs to answer questions she posed by pulling the answer off the board. She framed this activity to the students as another opportunity to "make sure we have the facts down." Once this portion of the review was complete, Ms. Stark returned students' attention to thinking about the questions of the unit (i.e., "Questions to move our investigation along" on the front of the sheet) and what resources they could use from class to review whether some elements of the two review games helped them identify a gap in their understanding. This portion of

review essentially provided two intertwining supports. First, Ms. Stark walked students through answering the Green Unit Sheet "Questions to move our investigation along," while also connecting the information to particular class readings, activities and lectures. This second dimension provided a model for how the students might construct the 2nd and 3rd portions of the Green Unit Sheet, where they could list class activities as evidence and summarize their salient points for the unit problem.

At the start of the section, we see Ms. Stark helping students make connections between the central ideas of the unit and the classroom experiences and artifacts related to them:

> Stark: Now that you have hopefully a better understanding of some of these facts, they look familiar, you know that you need to look over some things, that if the Philosophes didn't sound familiar, what should you look back over?
>
> Richard: Your notes.
>
> Female Student: The quotes page.
>
> Stark: The quotes page. If the political ideas didn't look familiar?
>
> Adam: The political ideas sheet.
>
> Stark: The political ideas sheet. If you didn't remember why Russia, Cuba, and Argentina could not catch up, you should look at the "Necessary Factors" lecture. Okay? So the point is, look back at all your work to find out how this all fits together. The first question [on the Green Unit Sheet] was "Compare and contrast the reality that Atlantic revolutions to the ideas that inspired them." What were those ideas that inspired the Atlantic revolutions? Whose ideas?
>
> Students: Philosophes

From this point the class collectively rehashed the importance of the development of constitutional governments that were described earlier, but in this instance the activity was tied to answering the specific question from the Green Unit Sheet, and involved reviewing the specifics of what they studied in class (namely the political revolutions in

the United States, Haiti, France and Venezuela). Ms. Stark made such connections for

each of the three "questions to move our investigation along," but broke the second

questions about the domestic and international impacts of industrialization into separate

discussions. Here is a sample from the classroom discussion about the international

impact of industrialization. While reading, please note the ways in which Ms. Stark tied

the content to the course question about globalization.

> Stark: So at home conditions worsened in the cities, things were unhealthy, things were dangerous. How does this change, the second part of the question? So that was at home, second part of the question is abroad. How does the fact that England industrialized change it's interactions with the rest of the world? Or that the U.S. and Germany are trying to industrialize change their interactions with the rest of the world?
>
> Male Student: Made [inaudible]
>
> Stark: What does it have—
>
> Male Student: Self-sufficient.
>
> Stark: Were they self-sufficient or did they need things from other places?
>
> Adam: Trade.
>
> Stark: What did they take? What did England take from other countries?
>
> Richard: Resources.
>
> Stark: Resources. And what did they sell back?
>
> Students: Products.
>
> Stark: Goods. So some countries were reduced to just producing raw materials for these industrialized countries and then having to buy the finished products from them. Changed the global interactions. Why was it that Russia was fighting the Turks? What did they really want?
>
> Male Student: Trading routes.
>
> Stark: Trading routes. They're trapped, okay they needed warm water ports. So industrialization, again, changes global interactions, encourages Russia to expand,

encourages the British to continue taking resources from other parts of the world that are weaker.

Finally, at the end of the review, as class time was running out, Ms. Stark conducted one final version of review that connected the unit's activities to their key ideas, in an effort to model how students might "fill out" the back of the Green Unit Sheet, sections 2 & 3 in particular.

> Stark: Yeah? Alright, and the last thing on the back [of the Green Unit Sheet], which I know is confusing. It'll be a little easier next time.[21] The evidence that we used, I'm just gonna go through the lists so that you can check it off, the things you might want to look over. …… Maybe, there we go, and as we're going through these we can mention a few pieces of evidence you might have drawn from them. The first thing we did in class for this unit was the Crystal Palace Exhibition. What should you have taken away from that?
>
> Male Student: China is weak.
>
> Female Student: [inaudible]
>
> Stark: China's behind, whose ahead?
>
> Male Student: England.
>
> Stark: England. What were some of the major things that put them ahead? What did they have? (What did they show off?)
>
> Students: (Steam power.)
>
> Stark: Steam power and what did they build?
>
> Male Student: Railroads.
>
> Stark: Railroads. Okay so Crystal Palace is one. Another one was the lecture: Why does 1815 matter? Who's defeated in 1815?
>
> Students: Napoleon.
>
> Stark: 'Kay and it's then that you have this conflict in Europe between liberalism, which is what we traced more of, and conservatism, which we kind of ignored. But Europe is fighting these two ideas and that's why these revolutions have so

---

[21] This is a reference to the layout of the back, which Ms. Stark improved. The difference between the two sheets can be seen in the samples in the Appendix.

much trouble taking hold. Next, "Why did England lead?" Those are all the things that we just mentioned. They had resources, they had transportation routes, they had a supportive government. So look back at why did England led. You have the worksheet "Comments by the Philosophes." You had the reading on the American Experiment, how they implemented those ideas of the Philosophes. One thing you might want to be careful to look over or look up their names if you didn't get good information on the grid, is "What did the Atlantic Revolutions share?" That's where some people read the French Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen, some read Toussaint L'Ouverture, some read Simon Bolivar, and some read Wollstonecraft. So if you're not familiar with those four people make sure that you look them up, they are in your book. […] Next lecture: "Necessary Factors." That's where we looked at Russia, Cuba and Argentina and why they were not able to industrialize. They might have been doing better than some other countries and if you looked at their stats they really were, but they didn't industrialize. And last, what we just finished today, "What were the politics of industrialization?" Make sure you're familiar with those political ideas. … So look over those, if you can list anything in the square below it, if you haven't done it yet about what helps you answer our problem to investigate.

In this segment, Ms. Stark quickly reviewed every activity, lecture, and reading that would be worth listing in the 2nd section, as well as a brief gloss of each to start them on summarizing the key points of each for the 3rd section. This is the most explicit support out of all the kinds of review she conducted on this final day of the unit related directly to the Green Unit Sheet.

Across this single day of instructional review, there were several different approaches that Ms. Stark employed to help students to build connections between the historical content and their classroom experiences, as well as the connections between larger historical themes and concepts and the historical particulars of the time period. She started the day by having students work from particular key terms and people, building up key concepts that help define the unit. Then, Ms. Stark related these concepts to the 4th section of the Green Unit Sheet, where students were supposed to connect patterns and themes from the evidence of class. Students then reviewed the terms on board with another game, followed by a discussion of each of the "questions" from the front of the

Green Unit Sheet, relating the answers to elements from class, drawing connections between the front and back of the tool. The review day concluded with an explicit overview of class activities and their ideas. By the time class was over, every aspect of the Green Unit Sheet had been discussed and connected to other parts, however the course question about globalization had only been briefly noted.

Back to the Present: How Students Use the Green Unit Sheets for WWI

The previous section demonstrated that Ms. Stark did model and support student use of the Green Unit Sheets during the first unit of the course, even though such support seemed to have faded by the World War I unit. Given that there was limited support from Ms. Stark in the fourth unit, how did the students actually make use of the Green Unit Sheets? Is Ms. Stark's pessimistic reading of their use accurate? I have limited direct evidence from the students themselves about how they used the sheets, and those response are mixed, but in analyzing the completed Green Unit Sheets and the essays they students wrote, I can provide a sense of how they were utilized in answering the unit question on the written portion of the exam.

First, the (somewhat) contrary response by the two students, Michelle and Brenda, in whose interviews the topic arose. Brenda was concise in her response to my question about how she uses the green unit sheets:

Brenda: I never used it. [laughs]

Brian: In filling them out though, do you think they're helpful? I mean is that a helpful thing to help you organize your thinking at all?

Brenda: I think the questions on the front, the like essay ones helped, but that thing on the back with all the little like taking notes, not really, cause I just flipped through them anyway if I was studying so writing it down didn't really help.

From Brenda's perspective, the Green Unit Sheet was not a useful tool, insofar as it seemed to duplicate what she would already do in her preparation for a taking a history test. She did acknowledge that the unit problem and "questions" were helpful, although it is not clear why. My supposition is that Brenda is a savvy enough student to appreciate essentially being given the essay question on the exam ahead of time.

In contrast to Brenda, Michelle had a more positive view of the Green Unit Sheets, although she did not fully endorse their value either. Her response begins with a consideration of the "front" of the page:

> […] a lot of times this helps with the essay on the test cause mainly it's usually based off this […]. I like that this goes over what happened throughout what we were learning, which kind of sums it altogether. Cause a lot of times um, Ms. Stark, which I'm not sure if it's just the way that they have to teach it or, cause I haven't had any other world history teachers, but […] instead of saying like from 1915 to 1920 like this is what happened, she kind of throws well this is what's happening in Germany, this is what happened here, it happened here. You're like, oh my God, is it all happening at the same time?! I don't know what's going on. Um, where this sometimes helps you like put it in place right before the test. So it sometimes helps out a little bit. Um, and then this [Flips paper to back page], does actually help for, sometimes it helps and sometimes it doesn't, I think it depends on the question or on the test.

The first part of Michelle's response echoed Brenda's view that the front was helpful because the essay test question was prefigured by the unit problem, but she went on to explain a different perspective. In a slightly rambling way, Michelle expressed her confusion about the coherence of world history as taught by Ms. Stark (acknowledging it might not be the problem of the teacher, but rather the nature of world history). For her, the front matter of the Green Unit Sheets helped her make sense of the welter of information she experienced day-to-day in class.

When I asked Michelle about how she went about completing the evidence portion of the back of the Green Unit Sheet, she confirmed Ms. Stark's impression that

students were not updating it every day the way she would like, but Michelle provided a

rationale for not doing it that way:

> I actually usually do it at the end cause then I can take everything that I learned and instead of like filling it out with the first 10 lectures and then, do you know what I mean? Being run out of room.

Michelle made the case for waiting until the end in deciding to pull out the evidence she

is going to compile, because if she did it as she went along, then she would conceivably

run out of room given the limited space on the back of the sheet. Finally, Michelle

revealed what she sees as the value of the back of the green unit sheets:

> Brian: Does it [the back of the green unit sheet] actually help you to study or does it, just [feel like] jumping through hoops?
>
> Michelle: Yeah, I mean, this [section 1] doesn't, I don't really think helps me. I think it's just kind of filling in a box [laughs]. Um, this stuff [sections 2 & 3] I think it does help me a little bit cause like when I'm writing the essay, and we are allowed to use these at least triggers memory, like triggers stuff that like I might not have thought about five minutes ago when I didn't have it.

The back of the Green Unit Sheet served as a memory aid for Michelle as she was

completing the essay, helping her to remember particular evidence she could add to the

essay as she wrote. These explanations from Michelle suggest that the Green Unit Sheets

were helpful, but they jumped over a description of the cognitive work Ms. Stark was

looking to support, namely selecting appropriate evidence from their experiences to apply

to constructing a historical argument.

The Completed WWI Green Unit Sheets & the Exam Essays

From Michelle's and Brenda's responses, there is no unanimity about the

usefulness of the Green Unit Sheets, and the parts these students do point to do not

address the central disciplinary concern embedded in the tool. It is possible that the

students do not have the words or ability to fully discuss how the tool "works" for them.

In order to further explore how students actually made use of this tool, I analyzed the actual completed Green Unit Sheets from the World War I unit. I began my analysis of the completed forms by considering what students actually selected for inclusion out of all the possible classroom activities, lectures, and documents. I had completed Green Unit Sheets from eighteen out of the twenty-three students in the class. Those missing were either not completed or the student had not given permission for me to collect his or her work. Below is a table showing the frequency with which different elements were cited by students in parts 2 and 3 of the Green Unit Sheet, excluding elements only used by one student.

Table 6-3: Frequency of Classroom Activity Selection on Green Unit Sheet

Title of Instructional Element Cited	Instructional Category	# Students
What Caused the War?	Lecture	15
Was it the war they expected?	Lecture	14
Peace Talks Simulation	Simulation	11
Wilson's 14 Points	Document	11
Treaty of Versailles	Document	11
What was it like to fight in the war?	Worksheet	10
Why were they fighting?: Propaganda Analysis	In-class Activity	8
Where's Russia?	Lecture	7
Book Homework, pp. 701-705	Textbook	5
How did the war begin? Document Analysis	In-class Activity	4
Gandhi Movie Guide	Worksheet	3
Battles Newscast	Student Presentations	2

Several elements of this table are worth noting for clarification. First, the three elements that each were cited by eleven students, the Peace Simulation, Wilson's "Fourteen Points," and the Treaty of Versailles, are intertwined because the two documents were involved with the Peace Talk simulation. Also, it was not the same eleven students who cited the three together. Rather, almost all the students cited at least one of the three, and one cited a Venn Diagram worksheet which compared the two documents. It may be that in student thinking these three elements are able to represent the ways in which the peace

talks at the end of the war are an important part of steps towards globalization, which is

one possible approach to answering the final question. It is striking that the two

instructional elements most frequently cited as evidence were teacher lectures. I imagine

this is because the students had notes from these lectures to draw on and hence the

lectures were an easy classroom activity to include, as well as information-rich and

central to the unit (as opposed to the Russian Revolution lecture, for example, which was

portrayed as more of a detour from the main historical narrative). Additionally, the three

most common activities cited represent the beginning, middle, and end of the war's

trajectory, so it would seem students are collectively selecting the most important

activities that would have evidence for them to utilize.

Seeing what the students cited in aggregate is a starting place, but more important

is to follow the thread from the inclusion of a classroom element as evidence to answer

the question to see how it was then used in the student essays. The question, as it

appeared on the exam:

> On a separate sheet of paper respond to the following in minimum of three
> paragraphs. Be sure to use specific evidence in your responses. Evidence can be
> facts, terms, and concepts from Ellis and Esler [the textbook], lectures, activities,
> primary documents (poems and agreements), and secondary sources. Citing
> **specific** people, events, and concepts will improve your score.
>
> In a **three paragraph** response, determine **whether** and **how** World War I **and** its
> immediate **aftermath** represent a step/steps **towards** (or away from)
> **globalization**.
> [World War I Final Exam, 11/06/2008, boldface in original]

In order to explore the connections between the student-completed Green Unit Sheets and

the exam essays, I conducted an analysis of both. I began by splitting the completed

Green Unit Sheets into two categories, based on the amount of the sheet completed, the

accuracy of what was represented on the sheet, and the relevance of the information for

the unit problem. If a student had the sheet completed, included relevant course materials in section 2, and accurately and substantively summarized that information in sections 3 and 4, then they were placed in the "high potential for use on essay" group. Students were placed in "low potential for use on essay" group if they failed to complete the sheet, completed it with inaccurate information, or included materials not related to the unit problem.

Next, I divided the student essays into two groups based on the score they received from Ms. Stark. She assigned the essay to be worth 15 points and assessed students based on the following criteria: 1) Did they take a clear position on whether WWI and its aftermath was a step towards or away from globalization? 2) How? 3) Accounting for both during and 4) aftermath of WWI. 5) Did they define globalization? 6) Evidence use. Students received scores ranging from 8 to 15 points. I separated students based on whether they got in the A-B range or C-F range, with a score of 12 or higher being the cut between the two. This resulted in four groups of students, seen in the table below. The number in parenthesis after each name represents their essay score.

Table 6-4: Student Performance on Green Unit Sheets and Unit Exam

	"Low Potential" Green Unit Sheets	"High Potential" Green Unit Sheets
12-15 points on essay	Jane (15)	Rachel (13) Brenda (13) Gerald (13) Priya (12.5) Marissa (12) Darren (12)
8-11 points on essay	Edward (11) Adam (10) Michelle (10) Bryce (9) Richard (8)	Melissa (11) Kent (10) Leigh (10) Alexandra (10) Cassidy (10) Asim (10)

On the surface, the most surprising intersections are with Jane, who had a "low potential" Green Unit Sheet, but had the best score in the class, and the six students who had "high potential" sheets but scored only 10 or 11 on the essay. The other two categories make more intuitive sense, as one would not be surprised that those who had high potential sheets would do well, and those who had not completed them thoroughly would do less well.

Jane's case is the simplest to account for because she had taken AP European History with Ms. Stark in the past, and hence most likely knew the content better than her peers, and did not need the support offered by the Green Unit Sheet to construct a successful historical argument. The other group is harder to explain without comparing their Green Unit Sheets with the essays they wrote. I looked across the sheets and the essays to see if and how the students utilized evidence from the sheet in their essay. In short, there were two patterns in the connections. Some of the students used nothing, or only one or two items from the unit sheets in completing their essays. What was particularly odd is that they used evidence from a particular activity, but not evidence that was on the Green Unit Sheet. For example, Leigh cited Wilson's "Fourteen Points" on her sheet, and in the 3rd section noted several key points—but in her essay when she cited the "Fourteen Points," she referred to other parts of the document not noted on her sheet. This suggests she, and other students like her, did not use her Green Unit Sheet in completing the essay, but relied on memory and some other form of preparation.

Cassidy is an example of a different pattern in this group of students. Many of the elements from her Green Unit Sheet appeared in her essay, but they were poorly aligned with answering the question relative to her argument about the First World War and its

aftermath being a step towards globalization. For example, it is difficult to support her position using information from a reading about advancements in weapons used in the war, like mustard gas and tanks. In Cassidy's case, and in the cases of other students like her, the challenge seemed to be a matter of selecting relevant evidence for answering the specific question.

I can hypothesize about why the students would not, or were not able to, take advantage of the Green Unit Sheet scaffold, which I will do shortly, but to more fully understand the use of the scaffold, some more analysis of student work is needed. I turned to the students who did well on the essay and had "high potential" Green Unit Sheets to see how they had made use of the scaffold, hoping to find better connections between the two. I was surprised to find that these students did not seem to be making any better use of the Green Unit Sheets than those students who had scored more poorly on the essay, with one exception.

Gerald was the only student who seems to have filled out the Green Unit Sheet with the unit question in mind. Whereas other students completed the 3rd section of the sheets with brief narrative summaries or lists of key concepts, people, and events that pertained to the relevant classroom activity in the 2nd section, the 3rd section of Gerald's sheet initially came off as oddly specific. In fact, in my first memo about his Green Unit Sheet, I wrote "Doesn't always have the most important info in [section] 3 related to [section] 2." But what I mistook at first for a lack of care, I realized was Gerald selecting evidence from the classroom activity that was most relevant to the unit question (What is the role of war and competition in globalization?), namely the information that had a distinct international interaction component. For example, his summary of Wilson's

"Fourteen Points" highlighted the League of Nations, and his summary of the lead up to the war lecture highlighted international diplomatic conflicts and the alliances between nations. In contrast, other students had a mix of information, not all relevant to answering the question. Not only did Gerald apparently complete the Green Unit Sheet as Ms. Stark envisioned, but he also applied his work to the writing of the essay. With one exception, every piece of evidence he deployed in writing the essay came from his sheet, which suggests that it was a useful resource for his work.

Analysis of student work with the Green Unit Sheets and exam essays suggest several points of "breakdown" in the student use of the scaffold. First are the students in the lower left quadrant who neither effectively completed the Green Unit Sheets, nor did well on the essay. They seem to have essentially never taken up the use of the scaffold in the first place, even if they were the students most in need of its potential assistance. Second, are the students who despite completing the Green Unit Sheets did not do well on the essay. I identified two patterns among this group of students, those who apparently did not make use of the Green Unit Sheet while writing their essays (based on the lack of parallel information used between the two), and those who tried to use the scaffold, but inappropriately applied the evidence to the historical argument they wrote. Third, there was Gerald, whose work suggests he made model use of the Green Unit Sheet, both in selecting evidence to include and making use of that evidence in his essay. Finally, there was Jane, who did not use the Green Unit Sheet, but had the best score in the class. Given her performance, as well as past experience in AP European History, I surmise that Jane's historical thinking skills have outgrown the need of the scaffold. Gerald and Jane aside, what dynamics might be responsible for students not seeing the Green Unit Sheet as

useful, or unable to use it when it is completed? In the next section I consider the obstacles to student use of the scaffold, and possible solutions to overcome such difficulties.

<p align="center">*Potential Obstacles & Possible Solutions*</p>

Ms. Stark's view is that the students who do not take advantage of using the scaffold simply do not care enough about their grades to put forth the effort. While she may be correct, I believe several other issues are potentially at work. Students may not see the Green Unit Sheet as a scaffold at all, but rather as just another worksheet to complete, as Brenda suggested in her interview. Students may have needed more practice and modeling from Ms. Stark in both selecting evidence and applying it to writing a historical argument. In particular, students may need the most assistance in transitioning from using the Green Unit Sheet as a way to synthesize information at the unit level, to using it to apply that synthesis to help answer a unit essay exam question related to the larger course question.

I outlined the support and modeling Ms. Stark provided students at the end of the first unit in completing the Green Unit Sheets and thinking about applying it to the unit question. Some of the students may have benefited from such continued support, which might address the "breakdown" of selecting appropriate activities and the evidence to draw from them. In particular, it seems students needed assistance selecting evidence from the activities that was relevant to answering the particular unit *question*, as opposed to a general relevance to the unit *topic*. The students who seemed to try to use the sheet but were not able to fit the evidence into the argument they were making might benefit from modeling such selection. This addition might be as little as more persistent

reminders about the unit question and its connection to the course question of globalization. For example, of the many kinds of connections between classroom activities, historical content, and disciplinary key concepts we saw Ms. Stark reminding students of in her Unit 1 recap, she never emphasized the unit question as a focal lens.

The fact that Ms. Stark withdraws such explicit support over time, based on her conviction not to be a "hand-holder" to these juniors and seniors, demonstrates the connection between the kind of interpersonal relationship she views as appropriate with students this age, and the development of their disciplinary relationship with the content. Some students, like Jane and Gerald, match her expectations, but others seem to need more support. In fact, more modeling from Ms. Stark (or examples from students) in utilizing the Green Unit Sheets might help the students who do not see its value in helping them complete the essay.

Discussion

While Ms. Stark attempted to enact history instruction that would foster disciplinary literacy, in the class I observed, she had mixed success in supporting student disciplinary relationships with history and its practices. Part of the variation in her success may stem from the differences among the scaffolding tools she deployed, how she deployed them, and how students took them up. The differences among the scaffolds are instructive, and here I will compare the four main scaffolds analyzed above: 1) the soldier experience corroboration worksheet; 2) the lecture note-taking guide; 3) modeling use of the Green Unit Sheet; and 4) the Green Unit Sheets.

The most apparent difference between the scaffolds is in their grain size, both in the amount of material to which they were applied, and the time scale of their use. With

the exception of the Green Unit Sheet, each of the scaffolds was applied to a narrow goal at a particular moment (e.g., a set of four related texts, a single lecture, and another scaffold, respectively). In contrast, the Green Unit Sheet was more expansive in that it attempted both to support students across a broad range of texts (i.e., lessons and activities), and was meant to be used by the students at several points in time (after each lesson, preparing for the test, and when writing the test essay). Further, as noted in the analysis of the text corroboration, an additional scaffold in that activity was the way Ms. Stark selected four texts that largely supported one another in relation to the question the students were asked. And students were even able to use the scaffold productively in Ms. Stark's absence. In contrast, the unit questions were open-ended, and students had a larger pool of historical evidence from which to draw in developing an argument. Students had less success working on them independently. So the way that the teacher selected materials and the range of free moves that choice opened for students are key differences that may help explain differences in students' success with the tools. Another key difference may have been the sheer number of questions to which students were asked to respond on the Green Sheet versus the lesson-level scaffolds. As noted above, some students seemed to treat the Green Sheet like a worksheet and did not seem to know how to use answers to the multiple questions in addressing the overall unit question. The danger is in building an overly cumbersome architecture of support that insulates students from the actual cognitive work of the discipline. Thus, these features may help account for why students had difficulty using the Green Unit Sheets effectively.

Pea's (2004) discussion about the types of scaffolding points to another difference between the later use of the Green Unit Sheet and two of the earlier scaffolds. As Pea

notes, scaffolds can aid through focusing student attention (how does this support, extend or challenge the other texts?) or modeling (here is how you might summarize the activity in the 3rd section of the Green Unit Sheet). With the two earlier scaffolding activities, Ms. Stark modeled how they were to be used: she led the class through sample applications of the support/extend/challenge scaffold to her lecture and she modeled completing parts of the Green Unit Sheet, although she did not model how to use the Green Unit Sheet to address the overarching unit question. Thus, modeling and focusing attention worked together to support students earlier use of the disciplinary tools. With the later use of the Unit Sheet Ms. Stark wanted students to be able to utilize the Green Unit Sheets without her assistance, but perhaps they were not ready for that.

This points to the issue of the way in which the scaffolds did, or did not, seem to meet students where they were in their learning trajectories. In other words, the issue is the appropriateness of the scaffold to help students when they need it, and the assistance comes both through the teacher's timing of applying the scaffolds, as well as the way the teacher matches the scaffold to the task. The lesson-level scaffolds seem to provide students with the kind of assistance they needed, based on the way they seemed to take them up in writing and discussion. Analysis of the fourth Unit Sheet and associated student essays revealed that only one student seemed to be beyond the need of the scaffold, and one student was making effective use of it, while the rest needed additional support in using the scaffolding tool.

This raises another point, namely the different learning trajectories of students in progressing towards disciplinary literacy, and the need for Ms. Stark to adapt instruction across this range of proficiency. For example, should a student like Jane be required to

complete the Green Unit Sheet when she is able to accomplish the goal of writing a

historical argument with evidence without the assistance? Perhaps Ms. Stark could

leverage Jane's experience and knowledge to support the work of her peers, and such

assistance could serve to keep Jane engaged in similar work, but at a higher level.

To summarize, differences among the scaffolds involve grain size, the extent to which the

relevant information is provided, the level of detail in the scaffold, and the modeling

involved in their implementation. A productive scaffold needs to balance between being

too wide open such that students are left without sufficient guidance, and being so

prescriptive that there is no thought or effort involved and these design choices will need

to take into account where students are, individually, and collectively, in their learning

trajectories, as discussed above.

Chapter 7

Discussion & Conclusion

While the literature focusing on teacher-student relationships has tended to foreground their interpersonal relationships (e.g., Davis, 2003), my theoretical framework and empirical findings suggest that doing so without considering the role of the disciplinary content involved in that relationship would be a less fruitful exercise. Likewise, the interpersonal relationships amongst students are important to attend to as well. In order to incorporate subject matter and student relationships into my investigation, I have adopted Lampert's (2001) instructional triangle as a representation of the different relationships that collectively form the pedagogical relationships of my research questions and that suggests analytic questions that can be asked of any classroom.

The social science classrooms of Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark have provided a naturalistic setting in which to consider the interpersonal and disciplinary relationships that are constitutive of pedagogical relationships. In the preceding chapters I have used the instructional triangle, and associated resources from sociocultural theory, to raise questions about the strategies employed by Mr. Daniels and Ms. Stark to facilitate different dimensions of the pedagogical relationships. Disciplinary literacy provides a normative goal against which to evaluate the answers to the questions illuminated by my theoretical framework. These examples from two social science classrooms both illustrate how the theoretical tools can be used to analyze and evaluate teaching, and in doing so,

point to particular pedagogical approaches that either move the class community on a trajectory towards disciplinary literacy, or do not.

In this chapter I will synthesize the findings from the previous three chapters, consider the implications of this ethnographic investigation for teaching and teacher preparation, share the limitations of the study, and propose future directions for this line of research.

Synthesis of Findings

In order to begin to better understand the nature of the pedagogical relationships in classrooms and their implications for disciplinary literacy, I have studied three different strategies in the teaching practice of Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels that the instructional triangle helps to illuminate. From this investigation, I draw the following set of four primary conclusions.

First, the interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions of classroom communities are intertwined, and can influence one another in important ways. My theoretical frame suggested this was the case, and my empirical findings support such a view, as further detailed with the following conclusions based on the case studies presented. Furthermore, this intertwining means that students' opportunities to learn disciplinary literacy can be influenced by the concert or conflict between dimensions of the pedagogical relationships.

Second, how teachers launch the pedagogical relationships in their classrooms can vary along different dimensions of the disciplinary content. Ms. Stark emphasized a

syntactic approach and Mr. Daniels emphasized an instrumental[22] approach in launching their respective courses. This difference is important for the kind of disciplinary literacy practices that can develop in the classroom. Ms. Stark oriented students toward disciplinary literacy by equipping them to confront some of the most challenging aspects of world history, namely shifting scales of focus in time and space. Mr. Daniels's instrumental approach has potential to engage students in the material by providing them with a purpose and value for the content, but such engagement alone cannot develop disciplinary literacy.

Third, this study highlights how simulated roles in social science classrooms depend on both the interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions working in concert in order to develop disciplinary literacy. Such roles provide an opportunity for students to recast their interpersonal and disciplinary relationships. In designing such roles, the findings suggest that teachers consider both the disciplinary and interpersonal demands, and the kinds of support students need in both dimensions. Even though students receive a new role, the enactment of that role is still negotiated in the context of the student's prior disciplinary and interpersonal trajectories. Students may not be adequately prepared to take on new roles without support from the teacher or peers. When successfully enacted, the roles can help simulate experiences that align with the learning goals, but there is possible danger in the way in which students can interpret unintended aspects of the interpersonal relations as part of the intended learning.

Fourth, scaffolding student thinking increases in difficulty as the scope and scale of what is being supported grows, and requires more interpersonal monitoring to know

---

[22] Mr. Daniels instrumental aims are related to civic participation and engagement, as well as success in school in the short term.

when fading or reducing the scaffold is appropriate. Even though the Green Unit Sheets do not function as well as one might expect, understanding the shortcomings of that scaffold in Ms. Stark's classroom suggests that teachers must consider the role their interpersonal relationships play in how and whether the students use scaffolds, and whether the students may need additional support, based on their locations on a disciplinary learning trajectory. This finding has implications for how teachers plan and enact scaffolds, and how teacher educators support them in doing so.

In what follows, I elaborate on these last three findings and demonstrate how they further support my central claim about the interdependence of the disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions of pedagogical relationships. I also integrate implications for teachers and teacher educators into these considerations. Comparisons within and across cases, taken together with the theoretical framework, suggest productive questions that teachers might ask in designing and enacting instruction. Examination of the extended examples—what happened, in particular contexts, when teachers made particular decisions about how to build pedagogical relationships—suggest specific strategies that were more and less successful and support readers in drawing comparisons to their own contexts. Thus the findings elaborated below have implications for teachers, especially of secondary social science, who want to develop disciplinary-oriented communities in their classrooms, and for teacher educators who support their learning. I consider not only the implications for the construction of pedagogical relationships, but also how those relations orient with regard to disciplinary literacy.

Orienting Discourses

On the first day of school, Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels highlighted different facets of their subject matter through provisional *orienting discourses* that amount to teacher "bids" for particular kinds of pedagogical relationships. On the basis of a single day, such discourses are only provisional, but both teachers attempt to orient the students towards the content in consistent ways through talk, language being a powerful mediational tool. The orienting discourses used by Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels, as described in Chapter 4, present two different approaches for how the teachers framed the nature or value of the content they would be teaching. This introduction to the course also revealed how the teachers considered the content themselves, and what dimensions were either likely to connect to student interests, or to cause them difficulties.

Mr. Daniels emphasized the instrumental value of the course content for students in the both the near and more distant future, whereas Ms. Stark provided a disciplinary introduction to the class, emphasizing syntactic[23] metaphors about world history. This contrast highlights different dimensions of the content that teachers can leverage to connect the material with students in an effort to shape the students' disciplinary relationships. What Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels demonstrate are two points of entry into disciplinary relationships that cut across the topical variation between their classes: the syntactic facet in the case of Ms. Stark and the instrumental value facet in the case of Mr. Daniels. While other work has analyzed the impact of teaching approaches on student views of history (e.g., Grant, 2003), or the ways in which teachers approaches contain disciplinary foundations despite differing surface features (Wineburg & Wilson, 1991), classroom studies in social science education have not explored how teachers launch and

---

[23] Syntactic in the sense Schwab (1978) uses to describe structure of the discipline.

enact disciplinary orientations in the classroom community. Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels's different orienting strategies are an important addition for understanding pedagogical relationships because they illustrate different channels with which to address a central dilemma of teaching: how to begin the course and shape the community in a way that encourages learning trajectories towards disciplinary literacy.

Ms. Stark's use of metaphors describing world history characterized much of her first day, and in doing so she provided students with ways to think about the nature of history generally, and world history specifically. An implicit reason for taking this approach, made apparent in my interviews with her, is the difficulty students have thinking historically, and Ms. Stark tried to support students' thinking before they approached substantive history by arming them with some understanding of the nature of world history, and with lenses with which to make sense of the broad spans of time and place that can constitute world history.

Mr. Daniels's efforts to orient students towards civics and economics based on the disciplines' instrumental value for students and as adults-to-be, is implicitly supported by the way he portrays his own relationship with the content, namely that he has experience in both the domains of politics and economics as a union leader and small-business owner. This in turn provides a message about his relationship with students, that he is someone worth learning from given his knowledge and experience. He frames both his past experiences and current positions as credentials for his teaching position and he uses his own relationship with the content as a model for students. Here we can see how one set of relations within the instructional triangle can potentially influence other relationships. In the case of Mr. Daniels's orienting efforts on the first day, his own

relationship with the content acts as a model of the instrumental value he is suggesting students can buy into, while his relationship with the content also serves as a basis for students to view him as qualified and worth learning from.

While I do not (and cannot) make claims about the consequences of emphasizing instrumental or syntactic aspects of the content at the start of the course, I can consider the qualitative differences in the kinds of disciplinary relations suggested by each strategy, and the trade-off of suggesting one over the other. Ms. Stark's approach seems to be more aligned with disciplinary literacy, because helping students see what makes world history function, in different ways of representing time and space, in different scales of analysis, prepares them for the challenge of thinking historically. However her approach lacks an explicit reason for students to be engaged in the work. In contrast, Mr. Daniels provides students with a "hard sell" about the value of the content, and how it can be of use to students. While this may increase student engagement with the work, it does not provide students with as strong a basis for developing disciplinary literacy. It does however give students a vision of a range of practices related to participatory democracy.

In the same way that the teachers provided explicit orienting discourses to begin the students' relationships with their particular classroom content, the first day is also the start of the development of the classroom's interpersonal relationships. While neither the students nor the teacher enters *tabula rasa* (some students know each other already, and all students have some expectation about either the teacher or the class—at a minimum they have expectations about a range of possible interpersonal relationships with a teacher based on their past experiences) each classroom community is a unique collection

of individuals (and evolving content as taken up by the individuals), and teachers have an opportunity to shape how the community will develop through expressing their expectations.

Mr. Daniels provides two pieces of guidance for students when talking or debating with one another in his class. First, students need to be thoughtful about what they say because the content can be controversial and he does not want students to be upset or offended by the comments of their peers. Likewise, he asks for students to be restrained listeners and not be too quick to take offense at what others say. At several other points during the class he emphasizes the importance of student participation in class. Mr. Daniels's orienting discourses around the quantity and quality of student participation in the course suggest both the kinds of interpersonal relations he hopes students will form with one another, but also reveal something of his view of politics as a controversial topic. In this instance, Mr. Daniels's own relationship with the content seems to inform the kinds of interpersonal relationships he encourages between students, highlighting the connections among relationships in the instructional triangle.

Mr. Daniels also positions himself as a particular kind of teacher in relation to the students. As discussed above, he presents himself as a model of the disciplines in his own life, and as someone worth learning from about civics and economics. Additionally, there are several moves Mr. Daniels makes which suggest he is trying to build a friendly relationship with the class, including the use of humor or sarcasm to present himself in solidarity with the students, and presenting information about himself outside of the school context (and hence perhaps providing students with a sense of him beyond the teacher position). This openness and friendly affect was combined with messages about

Mr. Daniels as the locus of authority in the classroom, including the way he framed his PowerPoint presentation around an employer orienting new employees, as well as his control of the floor for nearly the entire class.

In contrast to Mr. Daniels, Ms. Stark does not have any explicit orienting discourse about the nature of the interpersonal relationships, but that is perhaps consistent with her view about teaching juniors and seniors that they should not need "handholding." While a classroom community is being built despite the lack of such explicit orienting moves on her part, there are moments that signal the future of their time together. For example, Ms. Stark uses humor or simply ignores Adam's challenges to her, and projects a friendly demeanor through her facial expressions and tone.

In Ms. Stark's and Mr. Daniels's teaching later in the semester, we can see echoes of the initial orienting discourses from the first day of class. For example, the genesis of the Presidential Campaign simulation came from Mr. Daniels's desire to impart to students what he had learned in a political leadership seminar about running campaigns— such activity being a key civic end for the students to participate in now and later in life. Ms. Stark's scaffolds emphasize syntactic dimensions of history, and attempt to guide students in enacting such thinking practices. I highlight these echoes both to demonstrate that the orienting discourses deployed on the first day are not anomalous, but also that such ways of approaching the disciplinary content can be instantiated in activities and documents, not just in teacher talk.

The different strategies of Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels to shape their own relationships with the students, as well as the students' relations with one another, demonstrate a variety of dimensions inherent in such interpersonal relationships,

including expectations for interaction quality and quantity and the use of humor to soften issues of power and authority. Through the use of both interpersonal and disciplinary-orienting discourses, the teachers initiate the pedagogical relationships in their classrooms. Although they use different strategies, both teachers orient students in ways that have the potential to engage them in building disciplinary literacy. Mr. Daniels works toward disciplinary literacy by positioning the students as active agents in the subject matter who connect with the content beyond the classroom (as the "political experts" in the school, watching/reading news, talking with family), and by attempting to shape a social space where respectful dialogue is possible. Ms. Stark lays the groundwork for disciplinary literacy by illustrating how disciplinary metaphors provide opportunities for understanding how the discipline is structured, and by preparing students for some of the more challenging aspects of the discipline, like shifting scales of investigation between local case studies and global comparisons. Ms. Stark's approach may appear more obviously "disciplinary," but Mr. Daniels's efforts to motivate students to engage with the material and his positioning of them as active in relation to the content seem fruitful for developing positive pedagogical relationships.

Implications

Talk is arguably the most important form of mediation that occurs in classrooms (Wells, 1999). The analysis of the first day of class in Chapter 4 revealed at least two orienting discourse strategies to connect students to disciplinary content, an instrumental approach and a syntactic approach. When should teachers use such orienting discourses? Each of these facets need to be dealt with across the time students and teachers spend together in a classroom, and an overly strong emphasis on any one facet at the expense of

the others is detrimental to the learning of the students. The instrumental dimension, while important for engaging students, cannot foster disciplinary literacy alone because it does not provide a sense of how disciplinary thinking is accomplished, only that it is worth doing. Similarly, the efficacy of learning the syntactic elements of a discipline without also engaging in the purpose to which such work is directed is less productive. Furthermore, it is possible to imagine other dimensions of the disciplines that could serve a similarly important role in the disciplinary relationships students form, namely the substantive aspects. For example, imagine a teacher who began the course by throwing students into solving a disciplinary dilemma that introduced them to core concepts in the field.

My findings suggest that teachers carefully consider the kinds of pedagogical relationships they encourage based on their talk in class. How do they presuppose student competence and agency relative to the content? How do they explain, model, and hold students accountable for using disciplinary norms? How do they set expectations for classroom interaction that acknowledges the possibility of respectful disagreement? More research needs to be done exploring the efficacy of different orientations and the ways in which they intertwine over the course of a classroom community's time together to support or impede disciplinary literacy.

Simulated Roles & the Intersection of Disciplinary & Interpersonal Relations

Simulated roles are potentially a powerful tool for teachers in providing students opportunities for recasting their relationships with content, with each other, and with the teacher. While any classroom participation structure has particular roles for students to occupy (as does any social situation), the simulation-specific roles provide an opportunity

for a "break" from the relationships students have participated in by recasting the interpersonal and disciplinary relationships through new responsibilities and positions. As opposed to an external artifact that scaffolds student thinking by providing guidance, reminders, and/or focus, a simulated role gives them (potentially) new relationships to peers, content, and the teacher through the responsibilities assigned to the role. This is especially important for students whose disciplinary and interpersonal trajectories prior to the class were not positive, since the goal is to have all students on productive trajectories.

For example, John, in taking on the mantle of the campaign manager, assumed a more prominent social position than his day-to-day social standing in the class. Elise expressed distaste for social science classes in her interview, but brought energy and effort to her role as the leader of her political party, a potential sign of her recasting her relationship to the content by having an opportunity to interact with it in a different way (e.g., synthesizing information, writing speeches, making decisions). Rather than viewing social science courses as a matter of remembering information, the role as party leader allowed Elise to experience that learning about government can involve complex public policy issues.

Of course, simulated roles may not always be successful in reshaping pedagogical relationships since they are only tools which students might utilize or ignore. Students might not choose (or be able) to fulfill the role, or they might use it in a way that reinforces existing relationships. Mr. Daniels tried to provide some of the quieter students with more peer interaction through giving them the role of lobbyists in the Congress Game, but he did not provide sufficient scaffolding for the students to be able to

accomplish either the interpersonal or disciplinary dimensions of the job. The students were not effective in convincing their peers, as indicated almost universally in their written considerations of the simulation and through my observations.

In comparing the roles students were assigned between the two simulations in Mr. Daniels's course, I found the Presidential Campaign simulation to have roles that varied widely in terms of their interpersonal and disciplinary demands, with some roles having a robust mix of the two, while others asked primarily for one or the other to be completed satisfactorily. This meant that some students had roles in which there was no expectation to interact or learn with information or decisions relevant to the campaigns being studied.

The Congress Game, in contrast, had all students taking on the roles of representatives with a shared baseline of responsibilities in both the interpersonal and the disciplinary realms. All students had to consider their own ideologies, the opinions of their constituents and party leadership, and the financial pressures of lobbyists in thinking about and deciding whether to vote for particular legislation addressing education and immigration policy. This structure provided the opportunity for students not only to build knowledge about the legislative process and important public policy issues, but also to construct their own positions on the issues, alter the legislation through amendments, and attempt to persuade peers to their positions, all of which support dimensions of civic disciplinary literacy.

While there were variations, like the Speaker of the House and the temporary lobbyist roles, such role responsibilities were in addition to the baseline expectations, not unequal experiences with core disciplinary material, as was the case in the Presidential Campaign. That said, the lobbyist role was the least successful aspect of the

congressional simulation. In their written evaluations of the simulation, no students cited the lobbyists as having been a factor in their final decisions, and in my observations I witnessed the lobbyists unsure of how to enter into conversation with representatives.

The comparison of the two simulations Mr. Daniels conducted, as recounted in Chapter 5, generates consideration of how he designed student interactions with subject-matter information. While my analysis focused on the roles provided to students and the ways in which those roles scaffolded (or did not) their interpersonal and disciplinary relationships in the context of a simulation, there are lessons here for additional aspects of instructional design, such as how access to information can shape participation. The most significant difference between the two simulations in terms of student interaction with information was the way in which information was shared or sequestered.

The division of labor in the Presidential Simulation sequestered the information relevant to each job and debate topic to the students with that job or topic, and the sharing of the information was limited to either certain people (e.g., party leadership seemed more likely to know what other individuals were working on) or by small frames of time (e.g., the debates that lasted only two to three minutes). One partial exception was when Mr. Daniels encouraged students on opposing sides of the debates to share information with one another. I say partial because even though students may have done as he asked, the sharing was still limited to the four to six students who were involved with that particular topic, and when those students debated, the rest of class had no responsibility for that information, but only had to act as a respectful audience. While making students responsible for teaching others could be an effective strategy, that was not the outcome in this case.

In contrast, the Congress Game was characterized by shared information about common topics. The shared nature was both a common set of teacher-provided texts, including a base bill that students amended through the course of the simulation and position papers from Republican and Democratic perspectives, as well as "shared" in the sense that students interacted around this information, sharing their perspectives. The structure of the game meant that students considered the information from a variety of perspectives, including taking into account their own ideologies and those of their "constituents," then opinions within their party in the caucus meetings, and finally opposing views in the floor debates between parties.

Wortham (2004) demonstrated through his examples of classroom interaction he termed *participant examples* that the interpersonal positioning and relationships in the class can serve as a resource for disciplinary learning, albeit negatively in his examples. The Congress Game provides a different kind of example of using the interpersonal relationships in a classroom to serve as a corollary for the disciplinary content being taught. Mr. Daniels was trying to teach students about Congress generally, but more specifically about the way the legislative process works and the different pressures representatives contend with in making legislative decisions. Mr. Daniels could have lectured about this topic, providing students with a list of pressures on representative decision-making. However, the structure of the Congress Game allowed students to experience those pressures through the structure of the simulation, in which they had to make such legislative decisions while interacting with peers and artifacts that apply such pressures. This differs from Wortham (2004) in that the interpersonal relationships are

created via the simulation parameters rather than the "naturally" occurring social positions of the students, as his work highlighted.

While this finding points to simulated roles as a potentially powerful tool for teachers to utilize, such a pedagogical approach is not without its own problems that the case of Mr. Daniels also warns us of in his execution of the Congress Game. As seen in the writing students produced in response to their experience in the Congress Game, students can take up elements of the simulation that are not necessarily relevant to the content the teacher is trying to convey. In this case, the tenor of the conflict between students shaped their evaluation of the legislative process. Students erroneously interpreted some of the classroom features of the simulation, mostly interpersonal conflicts between students, as being analogous to the functioning of Congress in their evaluations. Thus, when using student interpersonal interactions as the basis for a learning experience, teachers need to design and monitor those interactions, as well as the reflective debriefing portion of the simulation, to bring such to light such influences lest misconceptions flourish.

<div align="center">Implications</div>

The success and failure of Mr. Daniels in implementing different simulations prompts several considerations for teachers to weigh carefully when designing and assigning roles (or tasks more generally) to students. First is the balance between their interpersonal and disciplinary demands. When thinking about disciplinary literacy, it is easy (and important) to focus on the disciplinary dimensions of work, considering the opportunities presented by the task for students to engage and practice in disciplinarily-grounded substance and process. However, it is important not to lose sight of the interpersonal

dimensions of the task, and the challenges the task may have for students. For some students the interpersonal interactions may be more daunting than the academic work.

A contrast of the two simulations enacted by Mr. Daniels illustrated how different roles had different affordances for students, with some providing little opportunity to build their relationship to the discipline (e.g., the contrast between affordances in the roles of the presidential candidate and the scheduler). In terms of the mix of disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions in a task or role, then, a balance would seem to be a good rule of thumb unless there are compelling reasons for emphasis of one over the other. It may *not* be necessary for any given role to have a "balanced" construction between the two, depending on the goals of the instruction and the students who are given the roles. The more important idea is that students are given opportunities to take on different kinds of interpersonal and disciplinary loads across a given course, and their education writ large. It seems problematic for the interpersonal relationships of a classroom for some students to always have particular kinds of roles. The most obvious implication is making sure students are not continually in leadership roles or positions of authority because that might create reified patterns of disempowerment for those who are in other, less central roles.

This study and its theoretical framework suggest that teachers consider the following questions when designing simulations or other tasks for students: What are the disciplinary and interpersonal demands of the different roles (or role)? Are differences between roles in both disciplinary and interpersonal dimensions likely to lead to differences in the opportunities to learn amongst students? Which students might benefit from taking on new kinds of roles (e.g., leadership positions), and what kinds of support

might they need to enact it successfully? How will the teacher support student interactions with one another?

The simulations conducted by Mr. Daniels should also prompt teachers to consider carefully what information is essential and the heart of the learning goals, and how students will interact with and learn about that content, whether it be from texts, the teacher, or their peers. Mr. Daniels approached this differently in each of the simulations, wherein students were responsible for finding their own information (with some guidance) in the Presidential Campaign, while in the Congress Game the students were given a packet of relevant readings. A related example arose in the invisible scaffold I pointed out in Ms. Stark's corroboration worksheet about what it was like to fight in the First World War, where she selected texts ahead of time so some of the complexity of the task was constrained. Thus, teachers need to consider carefully how students will get the information. Is searching for information worth the time it takes to have students gather it, or does it make more sense to provide students with relevant information? And if students are going to collect their own information, how can teachers ensure that access to key ideas is not limited to those able to find the "right" materials?

Scaffolding Student Thinking in World History

In supporting students' disciplinary relationships, the cases of Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels both highlight the difference between disciplinary tools and scaffolding tools. Disciplinary tools are physical and ideational artifacts that are central to the work of the relevant discipline and that students need to be taught to use. Scaffolding tools are meant to support student learning of disciplinary tools and norms, but are a product of the classroom or of the teacher's effort to support the students.

Ms. Stark had success in her WWI unit in designing and implementing lesson-level scaffolds for students to practice historical thinking as demonstrated by the student work and participation produced in light of her support. The opening exercise for the unit, in which students were led through a worksheet to create a historical description of what it was like for soldiers to fight in World War I, gave students practice corroborating evidence amongst sources in order to construct a description. Corroboration is a key procedural concept in history. Ms. Stark employed several strategies to support students in this activity, which she was particularly mindful of since she was not present while they conducted the work. First, she selected a set of texts that generally supported one another, making the process of corroboration easier, and that were potentially engaging for students. Second, she focused student attention by addressing a series of questions to each source, helping students to build an argument by methodically connecting one piece of evidence to the next. This included a particular scaffold, a guiding question, that resurfaced throughout the course: how does the new text support, extend, or challenge the perspectives of the prior text(s) (see Bain, 2005).

In short, her design provided students with a procedure to follow (i.e., a scaffolding tool), that in turn allowed the students to participate in historical habits of mind. Students were most successful in corroborating evidence and writing a description, but they were less successful with the parts of the activity that asked them to contextualize the sources, which as Wineburg (2001) has documented can be difficult for history teachers as well. By providing students with both practice with disciplinary tools and the support to be successful in such practice, while also developing substantive

knowledge about World War I, Ms. Stark helped build a positive relationship between students and the discipline, and moved them towards disciplinary literacy.

A similar strategy put to different effect was in evidence in Ms. Stark's use of the support/extend/challenge scaffold to focus student attention and thinking during her initial lecture about the causes of World War I. In this instance, she applied the scaffold to arguments she presented about the roots of the conflict in relation to students' prior knowledge, which they had written about at the start of class. In other words, rather than corroborating between texts, she had students connect their prior knowledge to the new information she presented. This had strong potential to further bolster student knowledge of key concepts they had learned in prior units, like imperialism and nationalism, because the lecture provided further instances of the concepts. While I did not gather direct evidence on the growth of their knowledge of these concepts, the lecture seems to present a strong opportunity for such learning. Ms. Stark also supported students by modeling the application of the support/extend/challenge scaffold. The lecture and the associated scaffolds provided the opportunity for students to build both substantive and syntactic disciplinary relations through Ms. Stark's efforts.

Ms. Stark took on a larger challenge of helping students build coherence out of their daily experiences in class and relate them to disciplinary practices of evidence and argumentation through her design and implementation of the Green Unit Sheets. Although not successful in helping most students construct a historical argument in the form of a final essay, one source of evidence for how students made use of it as a tool, the Green Unit Sheet provides evidence about the kind of relationship Ms. Stark attempts to foster for students: namely as active historical thinkers who can synthesize information

and concepts across a unit and course and use that knowledge to answer complex historical questions.

The few students, like Gerald, who used the Green Unit Sheet in the way in which it was intended also provide evidence that it has potential to accomplish the goal that Ms. Stark set for it. Furthermore, students may have used it in unintended ways that were useful to their own purposes, even if the actual completion of the sheet did not indicate its use. Michelle suggested in her interview that the Green Unit Sheets were helpful for her, although not in completing them, but rather in the way that they helped her make sense of the breadth of material.

The Green Unit Sheets were generally unsuccessful for other possible reasons, including the fact that Ms. Stark may have withdrawn the support students needed to use the sheets effectively, instead of providing support as she had during the first unit. If students needed more modeling and support from Ms. Stark to successfully use the sheets, then the difficulty might rest not in the scaffold, but rather in Ms. Stark's view that the appropriate interpersonal relationship between her and her students was that they need to develop more independence from her. Another possible obstacle to student use of the Green Unit Sheets in the way intended may be students' own prior experiences with school; given the form of the Green Unit Sheet students dismissed it as just another worksheet to be filled out, as Beth expressed in her interview.

The lesson-level and unit-level scaffolds Ms. Stark designed and implemented demonstrate the double-edged nature of scaffolding tools in supporting student historical thinking and developing disciplinary relationships. On the positive side, Ms. Stark implemented scaffolding tools that allowed students to practice key historical procedural

thinking, such as corroborating evidence between sources. In contrast, the relative lack of use of the Green Unit Sheets despite their disciplinary promise highlights that the use of scaffolding tools are not problem-free. Two possibilities about why students did not utilize the affordances of the Green Unit Sheets suggest cautionary lessons. One possibility is that the scaffolding tool alone did not meet the needs of most students based on their developing disciplinary literacy, and so it was more cumbersome than helpful for the students, acting as more of blockade rather than a bridge to the discipline. The other possibility is that the students' interpersonal relationships with Ms. Stark and her position of teacher influenced the ways students interpreted the scaffolding tool, seeing it as just a worksheet to be completed for credit rather than a tool for helping them to construct strong historical arguments.

These insights build on the work of Bain (2000, 2005, 2006) about supporting student thinking in high school history classrooms. Bain emphasizes permanent, public tools available to all. Ms. Stark's classroom allows us to see the way students' interpersonal and disciplinary relationships influence the efficacy of such scaffolding tools, and that teachers need to attend to both dimensions in making decisions about the application and withdrawal of support from student thinking. The lesson-level supports show the appropriate application of such scaffolding tools, as ways to help students in areas where they need help, whereas the Green Unit Sheet demonstrates the application of a scaffolding tool that is beyond the use of the majority of the students, Gerald and Jane aside. This difference seems to stem from multiple sources, including the scope of the scaffolding tool and where it intersects with the students' learning trajectories.

Implications

The case of Ms. Stark provides a model of applying disciplinary scaffolds that support historical thinking at the individual lesson level. She applied the support/extend/challenge scaffold both to support student reading of historical evidence in order to construct an historical account, and to connect student prior knowledge from earlier in the class to new information in a lecture. The apparent success of these scaffolds depended on other choices made by Ms. Stark. She thoughtfully selected the texts (written, visual, and spoken) that the scaffold was applied to, and that she surmised would lead to its successful application. One important consideration for teachers, then, is not just providing students with disciplinary tools and scaffolds, but further supporting their learning and success by aligning their current ability with the appropriate tools and materials.

The Green Unit Sheet created by Ms. Stark to support student thinking and provide coherence across a unit presents an example of an ambitious scaffold whose full potential does not seem to be taken up by the students in a way that she intends. As hypothesized earlier, there are several possibilities for why this was less successful, including student perception of the scaffold as a scholastic worksheet with little value in helping them complete the essay, Ms. Stark's lack of modeling of how the Green Unit Sheet could be used to assist the students, or that it might be more cumbersome of a tool than students need. After all, students managed to write successful essays without using the Green Unit Sheet. This raises questions about both the kind and amount of scaffolding used. When designing support for students, teachers should be careful that their plans do not actually impede learning by being too cumbersome.

Students' evolving disciplinary relationships are also a moving target that this work suggests teachers closely attend to in lesson design. A scaffold that might be helpful early on in a class might become constraining as the students develop proficiency in the cognitive activity it is trying to support. To further complicate teacher decision-making, students will most likely progress at different rates, meaning scaffolds may be faded for some students, but not others. Remaining attuned to the feedback received through discussion and various forms of assessment about the "fit" of scaffolds for where students are in their development is likely essential for the successful application and fading of such scaffolds.

Pedagogical Relationships: In Concert and in Conflict

The successes experienced and difficulties faced by Ms. Stark and Mr. Daniels in the instruction presented and analyzed here provides a window into the ways that the pedagogical relationships of the instructional triangle can operate in harmony with one another to achieve the desired goals, or ways that those relationships can impede one another and make the goal (in this case a trajectory towards disciplinary literacy) less likely to be accomplished. The interpersonal relationships in the classroom appear to mediate the students' disciplinary relationships. It is not as simple as concluding that positive interpersonal relationships amongst students or between the teacher and the students will promote productive learning trajectories for the students. Rather, differences in the structuring of interactions that the teachers enacted at different points in the semester (e.g., one simulation to the next for Mr. Daniels, early in the semester versus later in the semester for Ms. Stark) seem to make the disciplinary learning the teachers aimed for either more or less difficult. At such points, when the interpersonal

relationships seem to complicate the disciplinary relationships, disciplinary literacy learning appears harder to accomplish—like running uphill, or using a short-handled broom—it is possible, but harder than it needs to be.

Limitations

In retrospect, my biggest regret in conducting this investigation is that I was not able to interview more of the students, and to interview the students I did speak with more often. It would have been beneficial to explore their evolving sense of their relations to the content, teacher, and peers over time with multiple interviews. Because I was trying to collect data across so many classes, and the limited number of blocks in a day, it was difficult to find time to interview students. Because of the single interviews, I had to have students rely on their memories of events a number of weeks prior to our discussions. For example, student accounts of their knowledge about each teacher prior to the start of class occurred in interviews several weeks after the course had begun.

Similarly, I was not able to debrief each teacher about every instance of teaching that took on significance through latter analysis. Again, this is a result of a single researcher trying to collect data across multiple classes. Ideally I would have either interviews or teacher journals about each lesson that address both the teacher's goals for the lesson, their reasoning behind the instructional decisions they made, and an evaluation of how the class went in retrospect.

While I collected a large amount of classroom materials, there were times I found myself wishing I had had the opportunity to collect certain student work or capture conversations between students that I was not able to, either because the students involved had not agreed to participate in the study, the timing of collection did not work

with the rhythm of the class's normal functioning, or I reached the limits of my technological resources. For example, I would like to have recorded more student-to-student conversations during the two simulations in Mr. Daniels's class. This would have allowed for stronger evidence on the functioning of the simulated roles and the ways students took them up, or did not.

Finally, there are elements of my data corpus that have the potential to strengthen and expand the findings I have presented here, including further comparisons between the two teachers, as well as a third participating teacher whose work was not included in this study. I highlight these areas for further work with existing data in the next section.

Future Directions for Research

In this study I have identified and analyzed several teacher practices that seem relevant to initiating and maintaining pedagogical relationships, and furthermore I have analyzed the participating teachers' implementations of such practices for the degree to which they move students towards disciplinary literacy. I was able to collect such a large corpus of classroom information between the five classes I observed that I could only begin to scratch the surface of such work in this dissertation. Below I first address the future work I see coming from this set of data, and then future research projects that could further build on those studies.

Extant Material from this Ethnographic Data Collection

My first step in future work with this data will be further comparison and longitudinal analysis from Mr. Daniels's and Ms. Stark's classrooms. For example, I plan to investigate Ms. Stark's use of simulations and Mr. Daniels's use of disciplinary scaffolds and tools. Such work can further bolster the claims I have already made, as well

as potentially lead to new findings through further comparison. Furthermore, I would like to incorporate a more time-sensitive dimension to the analysis, looking more explicitly at changes in the pedagogical relationships across time in the classrooms. I am interested in how teacher choices and enacted moments accrue into relationships over time. I also have data from a third teacher whose classroom proceedings can provide further comparisons with the two classrooms highlighted in this study. I plan to incorporate him into the same kinds of comparisons. For example, he employs a different orienting discourse strategy on the first day of class that may allow me to further elaborate the work around orienting discourses.

In portions of Mr. Daniels's teaching reported here there is a hint of the interaction in his own mind and in the practice of Civics & Economics and AP U.S. Government courses. For example, during the Presidential Campaign simulation when he has the AP students judge between the two campaigns' efforts on all of the jobs, or when he distinguishes between his expectations for the AP students and Civics & Economics students on the first day. I want to further explore this connection and the ways in which Mr. Daniels's envisions the continuum of development from one course to the next, and the ways that the content of AP Government increases in difficulty and scope over Civics.

A similar comparison is possible between Ms. Stark's AP European History class and the World History class detailed in the dissertation. Although Ms. Stark does not have as explicit connections between the courses she teaches as Mr. Daniels does, a comparison of the pedagogical relationships between the two would be fruitful, as well as perhaps a comparison across the AP courses. In particular, I am interested in the ways the

AP courses function as a "next step" in the disciplinary learning trajectory of students in history and government, seen through the ways the teachers change their expectations for student work, classroom participation, and pedagogical support. Such work is important because current education reform trends call for high expectations for all students, while a parallel strand calls for better differentiation of instruction based on student need. Better understanding of how teachers think about and enact different approaches to similar content could inform such reform efforts.

Future Studies Building Off this Work

Although I have collected what I consider to be a rich archive of social science classroom data that will be used in the ways described above, I also intend to seek new contexts to further explore the nature of developing pedagogical relationships. Other schools of thought in sociocultural theory, which I have not explicitly drawn on in my work here, emphasize comparisons between systems (e.g., Engeström, 2001). In order to elaborate and extend understandings about pedagogical relationships, I need to draw comparisons across larger scale contexts of schools and communities. To that end, I would like to conduct work in different kinds of schools with different populations of students. Northern High School was a well-resourced, predominately white, large, suburban institution. I am interested in exploring classrooms, for example, in a charter school with a social science emphasis to see how the larger school community focus influences the development of pedagogical relationships. Likewise, I would like to work in different cultural communities with different norms for classroom interaction to examine how these norms influence the strategies teachers utilize interpersonally while still focusing on disciplinary literacy as a goal (e.g., Lee, 2007). I would also like to

explore the development of pedagogical relationships in extracurricular, but discipline-related, activities sponsored both in and out of the school context. For example, Model United Nations is a popular extracurricular activity that has a strong academic learning component, but in the context of an activity that has value for students beyond receiving a grade. It also can be a very student-centered operation in which teacher-sponsors are in much less "control" than in a classroom. By investigating pedagogical relationships in this variety of setting, I would hope to better understand how different histories of institutions and individuals shape disciplinary literacy.

In addition to adding other contexts, and the associated complexity that goes with such broadening fields, I would remove a complication of the dissertation in dealing with different disciplinary content areas by focusing on history instruction. Such a focus on history would be prudent because it has the strongest foundation in what is known about the discipline and its cognitive challenges, and is also the most common of the social sciences to be taught in secondary settings.

One question that my work on this study has left me considering is the character of the pedagogical relationships across the school day for students. Not only must students navigate different topics, as they "shift gears" from one subject to the next, but they must also adapt to the interpersonal differences of classrooms across a given school day, as well across their entire schooling trajectory. Stevens, Wineburg, Herrenkohl, & Bell (2005) have suggested studies to better understand students' experiences across the school day—I am interested in pairing such work with an investigation of the interpersonal elements as well in order to understand the ways disciplinary and

interpersonal relationships are consistent or discordant in student experiences as they navigate between classes, which might increase the challenges they face in learning.

As I mentioned in the limitations section, I would have preferred to conduct more interviews with the students, and in the end this study had a teacher-centered bias in its focus. While important to understand the dynamics of pedagogical relationships from the perspective of the teacher, I would also like to continue my work by developing a better understanding of students' unfolding perceptions, particularly of their peer interactions across a course, and across courses. Such work could help teachers develop a better understanding of the consequences of their choices for students' experiences in school. This might be coupled with the study of student experiences across the school day suggested above.

In addition to studies in learning settings with adolescents, I also imagine future work thinking about how to incorporate knowledge about pedagogical relationships into teacher education, since the questions raised by the work are especially relevant and important for those about to enter the profession. This might involve application in both field practica and methods courses.

Conclusion

This study attempts to take up and apply the idea that interpersonal and disciplinary dimensions of learning are intertwined. In order to develop a better understanding of how to foster disciplinary literacy, we should embed such analysis in the larger web of relationships that are present in the typical classroom, including relations between students, and the teacher's and students' relations with the subject matter. I have concentrated on three strategies that the participating teachers deployed in

the classrooms I observed to build and reshape the pedagogical relationships. This only nicks the surface of the potential work in this area, and more work needs to be done to specify further characteristics of pedagogical relationships that support disciplinary learning and literacy.

APPENDICES

Mr. Daniels's Civics & Economics: Congress Game Simulation – Bill #1

Information Sheet

Civics
Bill #1: "No Child Left Unfunded"

Bill 1 Provisions:

A. The No Child Left Behind Act, passed in 2006, is set to expire in June of 2009 (Not really—just for our simulation).

B. Expand funding of NCLB by $300 billion over the next 3 years. Major funding provisions: make funding equal in all districts, improve infrastructure in declining districts, provide more teacher training to improve instruction, provide more support staff for students.

1. Your Vote: Yes?   No?   No, but Amend?

2. Position: Type out your position in 100-300 words. This is a space to explain your position your reasoning.

3. Evidence: Provide 6-8 Talking Points. Stats, facts, quotes, etc. See class discussion on this. Please cite your talking point source in parentheses next to each bit of evidence. For example, if you use a quote from the second research source, which is a speech by President Bush, you would write **(George Bush, 6/10/03)**. If you use a bundle of stats from the first source you would write **(facts.com)**.

How can you tie in concepts we've discussed?

> Government Activism/Government Power
> Small Government/Low Taxes
> Equal Access
> Federal Power
> States Rights
> People Power

The Research attached is divided into 3 parts:

I. facts.com: The details of NCLB
II. Pro Argument: George Bush
III. Con Argument: Monty Neill

Mr. Daniels's Civics & Economics: Congress Game Simulation – Bill #2

Information Sheet

Civics
Bill #2: Immigration Reform Bill of 2008

Bill 2 Provisions:

+Increase immigration levels from 535,000 annually to 900,000 annually (for permanent residency).

+Preferential treatment given to applicants with a college degree.

+Guest-worker program, whereby undocumented immigrant workers are registered with the federal government and offered jobs that native-born U.S. citizens do not want.

+Employers must guarantee that the immigrants will be paid at least the federal minimum wage while operating under safe working conditions.

+Guest workers are eligible for federal and state benefits while in the United States.

+Guest workers must agree to leave the country after their work visas have expired.

+Immigrants must register with federal government.

+Immigrants from "at-risk" countries (see list) are subject to greater scrutiny.

1. Your Vote: Yes?   No?   No, but Amend?

2. Position: Type out your position in 100-300 words. This is a space to explain your position your reasoning.

3. Evidence: Provide 6-8 Talking Points. Stats, facts, quotes, etc. See class discussion on this. Please cite your talking point source in parentheses next to each bit of evidence. For example, if you use a quote from the second research source, which is a speech by President Bush, you would write **(George Bush, 6/10/03)**. If you use a bundle of stats from the first source you would write **(facts.com)**.

How can you tie in concepts we've discussed?
   Government Activism/Government Power
   Small Government/Low Taxes
   Diversity
   Federal Power
   States Rights

Ms. Stark's World History: Unit 1 Green Unit Sheet (Front)

World History II
Unit I: How did revolutions shape the modern world?
Chapters 18-21

Overview

Although we established the importance of capitalism, representative government, and communication including an openness to new ideas, that is not the whole story. Many historians call this period "The Age of Revolutions." As we did at the Exhibition these characteristics which allowed the West to "catch up" also gave them the lead and became their criteria for judging others. In this unit we will look more carefully at the components of that criterion. Most specifically we will study the background and interconnectedness of the Atlantic Revolutions and the development and spread of the Industrial Revolution. As our study moves deeper we will also study the support for this changes at all levels of society and how these two revolutions truly transformed local governments and economies, but the interactions of the world, population movement, balance of trade, and most importantly power.

Problem to investigate

How did revolutions shape the modern world?

Crystal Palace, England 1851
Statue of Liberty, USA 1886
Eiffel Tower, France 1889

Questions to move our investigation along

1. Compare and contrast the reality of the Atlantic Revolutions to the ideals that inspired them
2. Explain how industrialization changed business and life at home and global interactions abroad
3. Explain how and why Europeans were able to create the criteria for modern societies, as well as the impact of applying this criteria

World History
Constructing a Complete Historical Argument

The Process	Your work
Studying the Problem: Inductive Reasoning	
1. State the problem	
2. Use class activities and readings as evidence (sources)	List class activities and readings here:
3. Study the evidence selected	List key points from sources here (be sure to id the sources):
4. Surface patterns and ideas	List patterns and common ideas that emerge from the evidence here:
Constructing the Argument: Deductive Reasoning	
5. Rough out a response to the problem (thesis) and an outline	On a separate sheet of paper write out your thesis and outline.

6/24/08

World History II
Unit IV: What is the role of war and competition in globalization?
Chapters 27 and 28

Overview

European powers just finished dividing the world, having petty squabbles about who would control what, minor skirmishes against indigenous peoples and amongst themselves, but nothing lasting more than a few months. Tension, competition, and a dark view of the world were all bubbling beneath the surface waiting to emerge. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand seemed to uncork all the tension and the Great War, later World War I, began; the first war to achieve such a scale in both scope and destructive capabilities. When it began, Europe dominated the world – the view of the rest was seen as acted *upon* by Europe. Did the Great War represent a shift in the pattern of world history? Was the balance altered? Did it define modern warfare?

Questions to guide our investigation

Students will be able to:
1. Analyze the causes of war
2. Analyze the distinctive characteristics and impacts of the war on the soldiers and people at home
3. Explain the major decision made in the Versailles Treaty and its consequences
4. Determine the cause and results of the Leninist phase of the Russian Revolution

Problem to investigate

What is the role of war and competition in globalization?

Ms. Stark's World History: Unit 4 Green Unit Sheet (Back)

World History
Constructing a Complete Historical Argument

Studying the Problem: Inductive Reasoning

1. State the problem

2. List class activities and readings that could be used as evidence (sources)	3. Study the selected evidence and list key points from sources here:
a.	a.
b.	b.
c.	c.
d.	d.
e.	e.
f.	f.
g.	g.
h.	h.

4. Surface patterns and ideas - List patterns and common ideas that emerge from the evidence here:

Constructing the Argument: Deductive Reasoning

5. Rough out a response to the problem (thesis) and an outline	On a separate sheet of paper write out your thesis and outline.

Ms. Stark's World History: Sample Student Complete Unit 4 Green Unit Sheet

Example of "High potential for usefulness" Category

World History
Constructing a Complete Historical Argument

Studying the Problem: Inductive Reasoning

1. State the problem

   what is the role of war and competition on globalization?

---

2. List class activities and readings that could be used as evidence (sources)

   a. could they accomplish total peace?

   b. what was it like to fight in the first world war?

   c. what caused the war?

   d. was it the war they expected?

   e. woodrow wilson's 14 points

   f. The fighting

   g. where's russia?

   h.

---

3. Study the selected evidence and list key points from sources here:

   a. The U.S wanted what was best for the global economy instead of selfish reasons. 14 points Each had goals for peace. French want Alsace Lorraine.

   b. Generals didn't want to get th hands dirty. feel the war is silly. painful & miserable. The option was the worst. they could never escape the war. the impacts lasted forever.

   c. Nationalism → social Darwinism political instability. romanticized natr morrocan crisis. Allies were created feared serbia. shady alliance system France had 3 repub. laborparty → GB

   d. serbia nationalists → black hand ultimatium → i. Ser b allapologize Blank check → Germany will help A with everything. Schlieffen plan new weapons → gac masks

   e. — no private treaties - all waters open: free trade - reduce armies; German have to leave russia, restore Belg. France gets Alsace Lorraine - Italy will - self determination & league of nations. it gets b. coo

   Marne - Germans to invade paris,
   f. Tannenburg - defeat the western + or russia, leader committ suicide

   gallipoli - block & surround ottoman empire.

   Trying to have a strong army. farm army desert they & factory owners repu owners. lenin promises peace, bread, land whites, cadets & allies reds = lenin & bolshevik! CHEKA. 4 part plan. rid of opp. power to bol. all power to lenin. soviet republic w/ executive legislative

   h.

---

4. Surface patterns and ideas - List patterns and common ideas that emerge from the evidence here:

   - Everyone wanted to prove themselves
   - There was a lot of failed fighting
   - peace
   - not the war they expected

Constructing the Argument: Deductive Reasoning

5. Rough out a response to the problem (thesis) and an outline

   On a separate sheet of paper write out your thesis and outline.

Ms. Stark's World History: Sample Student Complete Unit 4 Green Unit Sheet

Example of "Low potential for usefulness" Category

World History
Constructing a Complete Historical Argument

1. State the problem

What is the role of competition in Globalization

2. List class activities and readings that could be used as evidence (sources)	3. Study the selected evidence and list key points from sources here:
a. What caused the war notes	a. cultural, Political, and Diplomatic instability
b. What has it like to fight in the war?	b. most brutal & horrific war to date
c. what are your goals for peace	c. Britain & the world blame Germany
d. Treaty of Versailles	d. Germany pays for war, sets up WWII
e.	e.
f.	f.
g.	g.
h.	h.

4. Surface patterns and ideas - List patterns and common ideas that emerge from the evidence here:

5. Rough out a response to the problem (thesis) and an outline	On a separate sheet of paper write out your thesis and outline.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderman, L. H.,& Anderman, E. M. (1999). Social predictors of changes in students' achievement goal orientations. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 25,* 21–37.

Anderson, A. R., Christenson, S. L., Sinclair, M. F., & Lehr, C. A. (2004). Check & connect: The importance of relationships for promoting engagement with school. *Journal of School Psychology, 42,* 95–113.

Bain, R.B. (2000). Into the breach: Using research and theory to shape history instruction. In *Knowing, teaching and learning history: National and international perspectives*. P.Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.). New York: New York University Press.

Bain, R.B. (2005). "They though the world was flat?" Applying the principles of *How People Learn* in teaching high school history. In Donovan, S., Bransford, J., (Eds.). *How Students Learn: History, mathematics and science in the classroom*, 179-214. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.

Bain, R. B. (2006). Rounding up unusual suspects: Facing the authority hidden in the history classroom. *Teachers College Record, 108*(10), 2080-2114.

Bain, R.B., & Shreiner, T.L. (2005). Issues and options in creating a national assessment in world history. *The History Teacher*, *38*(2), 241–72.

Barton, K.C. (2008). Research on students' ideas about history. In L.S. Levstik & C.A. Tyson (Eds.), *Handbook of research in social studies education* (pp. 239-258). New York: Routledge.

Billet, S. (2009). Conceptualizing learning experiences: Contributions and mediations of the social, personal, and brute. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*,16(1), 32-47.

Brown, D.F., (1999). The value of advisory sessions: Perceptions of young adolescents at an urban middle school. *Research in Middle Level Quarterly, 22*(4), 41-57.

Brown, D.F., (2003). Urban teachers' use of culturally responsive management strategies. *Theory into Practice, 42*(4), 277-282.

Bruner, J. (1960). *The process of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1966). *Toward a theory of instruction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cochran-Smith, M. & Zeichner, K. (2005). *Studying Teacher Education: The Report of the AERA Panel on Research and Teacher Education*. Washington, D.C.: AERA.

Cohen, D.K., & Ball, D.L. (1999). *Instruction, capacity, and improvement*. CPRE Research Report Series, RR-43.

Cohen, D.K., Raudenbush, S.W. & Ball, D.L. (1999). Resources, instruction, and research. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 25*(2), 119-142.

Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once a future discipline*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Collins, A., Brown, J. S., & Newman, S. E. (1989). Cognitive apprenticeship: Teaching the craft of reading, writing, and mathematics. In L. B. Resnick (Ed.), *Knowing, learning, and instruction: Essays in honor of Robert Glaser* (pp. 453–494). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Davis, E. A. (2003a). Prompting middle school science students for productive reflection: Generic and

Darling-Hammond, L., & Bransford, J. (2005). *Preparing teachers for a changing world: What teachers should learn and be able to do*. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass.

Davis, H.A. (2003). Conceptualizing the role and influence of student-teacher relationships on children's social and cognitive development. *Educational Psychologist,38*(4), 207–234.

Donovan, M.S. & Bransford, J.D. (2005). Introduction. In *How students learn: History, mathematics and science in the classroom* (pp. 1-30). Washington: National Academy of Science.

Dunn, R.E. (2000). Constructing world history in the classroom. In P.N. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives*, (pp. 121-140). New York: NYU Press.

Engeström, Y. (1987). *Learning by expanding: An activity-theoretical approach to developmental research*. Helsinki: Orienta-Konsultit.

Engeström, Y. (1993). Developmental studies on work as a testbench for activity theory. In S. Chaiklin & J. Lave (Eds.) *Understanding practice: Perspectives on activity and context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Engeström, Y. (2001). Expansive learning at work: toward an activity theoretical reconceptualization. *Journal of education and work, 14*(1), 134-156.

Erickson, F. (1986). Qualitative method in research on teaching. In M.C. Wittrock (Ed.) Handbook of research on teaching. (3rd ed.) (pp. 119-161). New York: Macmillan Press.

Erickson, F. (2006). Definition and analysis of data from videotape: Some research procedures and their rationales. In J. Green, Camilli, Elmore (Eds.) *Handbook of complementary research methods in education research*, (pp. 177-192). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Fine, M. (1986). Why urban adolescents drop into and out of public high school. *Teachers College Record, 87*, 393-409.

Flynn, N.K. (2009). Toward democratic discourse: Scaffolding student-led discussions in the social studies. *Teachers College Record, 111*(8), 2021-2054.

Foster, S. J., & Yeager, E. A. (1999). "You've got to put together the pieces": English 12-year-olds encounter and learn from historical evidence. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision, 14*, 286-317.

Ford M.J., & Forman, E.A. (2006). Redefining disciplinary literacy in classroom contexts. *Review of Research in Education, 30 ,* 1-32.

Gee, J.P. (2005). Semiotic social spaces and affinity spaces: from The Age of Mythology to today's schools. In, D. Barton & K. Tusting (Eds.), *Beyond communities of practice: Language, power, and social context*, (pp. 214-232). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gee, J.P. (2008). A sociocultural perspective on opportunity to learn. In P.A. Moss, D. Pullin, E.H. Haertel, J.P. Gee, & L.J. Young (Eds.), *Opportunity to learn*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Grant, S.G. (2003). *History lessons: Teaching, learning, and testing in U.S. high school classrooms*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Grant, S.G., & Vansledright, B. (2001). *Elementary social studies: Constructing a powerful approach to teaching and learning*. Wadsworth.

Greeno, J. G. (2002). *Students with competence, authority and accountability: Affording intellective identities in the classroom*. The College Board.

Greeno, J., & Gresalfi, S. (2008). Opportunity to learn in practice and identity. In P.A. Moss, D. Pullin, E.H. Haertel, J.P. Gee, and L.J. Young (Eds.). *Opportunity to learn*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Grossman, P. & McDonald, M. (2008). Back to the future: Directions for research in teaching and teacher education. *American Educational Research Journal, 45*, 184-205.

Grossman, P.L., & Stodolsky, S.S. (1994). Considerations of content and the circumstances of secondary school teaching. *Review of Research in Education, 20*, 179-221.

Grossman, P.L., & Stodolsky, S.S. (1995). Content as context: The role of school subjects in secondary school teaching. *Educational Researcher, 24*, 5-23

Gutierrez, K. & Rogoff, B. (2003). Cultural ways of learning: Individual traits or repertoires of practice. *Educational Researcher, 32*(5), 19-25.

Gutierrez, K., B. Rymes, & J. Larson. (2003). Script, counterscript, and underlife in the classroom: James Brown versus Brown v. Board of Education. *Harvard Education Review, 65*(3), 445-471.

Hammersly, M. & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. New York: Routledge.

Hamre, B. & Pianta, R.C. (2001). Early teacher-child relationships and the trajectory of children's school outcomes through eighth grade. *Child Development, 72*(2), 625-638.

Harris, L.M. (2008). Building coherence in world history: A study of instructional tools and teachers' pedagogical content knowledge. (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan).

Hawkins, D. (1974). *The informed vision*. Edison, NJ: Agathon.

Hess, D. (2002). Discussing controversial public issues in secondary social studies classrooms: Learning from skilled teachers. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 30*(1), 10-41.

Hess, D.E. (2009). *Controversy in the classroom: The democratic power of discussion*. New York: Routledge.

Hess, D. & Posselt, J. (2002). How high school students and experience and learn from the discussion of controversial public issues. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 17*(4), 283-314.

Hexter, J.H. (1971). *The History Primer*. New York: Basic Books.

Hinde, R.A. (1987). *Individuals, relationships & culture: Links between ethology and the social sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Howard, T.C. (2001). Telling their side of the story: African American students' perceptions of culturally relevant teaching. *The Urban Review, 33*(2), 131-149.

Kozulin, A. (1998). *Psychological tools: A sociocultural approach to education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers*. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass.

Lampert, M. (1990). When the problem is not the question and the solution is not the answer: Mathematical knowing and teaching. *American Educational Research Journal, 27*(1), 29-63.

Lampert, M. (2001). *Teaching problems and the problems of teaching.* New Haven, CT: Yale.

Lave, J. (1993). The practice of learning. In S. Chaiklin and J. Lave (Eds.), *Understanding practice: Perspectives on activity and context* (pp. 3-32). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lave, J. (1996). Teaching, as learning, in practice. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 3*(3), 149-164.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lemke, J.L. (1991). *Talking science: Language, learning, and values.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Lemke, J.L. (2000). Across scales of time: Artifacts, activities, and meanings in ecosocial systems. *Mind, culture, and activity, 7*(4), 273-290.

Lee, C.D. (2001). Is October Brown Chinese? A cultural modeling activity system for underachieving students. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*(1), 97-141.

Lee, C.D. (2007). *Culture, literacy, and learning: Taking bloom in the midst of the whirlwind.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Lee, P.J. (2005). Putting principles into practice: Understanding history. In *How students learn: History, mathematics and science in the classroom* (pp. 31-77). Washington: National Academy of Science.

Lee, P.J., and Ashby, R. (2000). Progression in historical understanding among students ages 7-14. In P.N. Stearns, P. Seixas, and S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching and learning history.* New York: University Press.

Levstik, L.S., & Tyson, C.A. (2008). Handbook of research in social studies education. New York: Routledge.

McNeil, L.M. (1986). *Contradictions of control: School structure and school knowledge.* New York: Routledge.

Mercer, N. (2000). *Words and minds: How we use language to think together.* New York: Routledge.

Midgley, C., Feldlauder, H., & Eccles, J.S. (1989). Student/Teacher relations and attitudes toward mathematics before and after the transition to junior high school. *Child Development, 60*(4), 981-992.

Moje, E.B. (2007). Developing socially just subject-matter instruction: A review of the literature on disciplinary literacy teaching. *Review of Research in Education, 31*, 1–44.

Moje, E.B. (2008). Foregrounding the disciplines in secondary literacy teaching and learning: A call for change. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy, 52*(2), 96-107.

Moos, R. H., & Moos, B. S. (1978). Classroom social climate and student absences and grades. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 70,* 263–269.

Moss, P.A., Girard, B., & Haniford, L. (2006). Validity in educational assessment. *Review of Research in Education, 30*, 109–162.

Muller, C., Katz, S.R., & Dance, L.J. (1999). Investing in teaching and learning: Dynamics of the teacher-student relationship from each perspective. *Urban Education, 34*, 292-337.

Murray, C., & Malmgren, K. (2005). Implementing a teacher-student relationship program in a high poverty urban school: Effects on social, emotional, and academic adjustment and lessons learned. *Journal of School Psychology, 43,* 137–152.

Murray, C. & Pianta, R.C. (2007). The importance of teacher-student relationships for adolescents with high incidence disabilities. *Theory Into Practice, 46*(2), 105-112.

National Research Council and the Institute for Medicine. (2004). *Engaging schools: Fostering high school students' motivation to learn.* Washington,DC: The National Academies Press.

Newmann, F.M., Secada, W.G., & Wehlage, G.G. (1995). *A guide to authentic instruction and assessment: Vision, standards, and scoring*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin Center for Education Research.

Newmann, F.W., King, M.B., & Carmichael, D.L. (2007). *Authentic instruction and assessment: Common standards for rigor and relevance in teaching academic subjects*. Iowa Department of Education.

Nieto, S. (2000). *Affirming diversity: The socio-political context of multicultural education*. New York: Addison Wesley.

O'Connor, E., & McCartney, K. (2007). Examining teacher–child relationships and achievement as part of an ecological model of development. *American Educational Research Journal, 44* (2), 340 –369.

Osterman, K. F. (2000). Students' need for belonging in the school community. *Review of Educational Research, 70,* 323–367.

Parker, W.C. (2008). Knowing and doing in democratic citizenship education. In L.S. Levstik & C.A. Tyson, *Handbook of research in social studies education*, (pp.65-80). New York: Routledge.

Pea, R.D. (2004). The social and technological dimensions of scaffolding and related theoretical concepts for learning, education, and human activity. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences, 13*(3), 423–451.

Phelan, P., Davidson, A.L., & Yu, H.C. (1993). Students' multiple worlds: Navigating the borders of family, peer and school cultures. In *Renegotiating cultural diversity in American schools*. P. Phelan & A.L. Davidson (Eds.) New York: Teachers College Press.

Pianta, R. C. (1999). *Enhancing relationships between children and teachers.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Pianta, R.C., & Steinberg, M. (1992). Teacher-child relationships and the process of adjusting to school. In R.C. Pianta (Ed.), Beyond the parent: The role of other adults in children's lives. *New Directions for Child Development, 57,* 61–80.

Pianta, R.C., & Walsh, D.J. (1996). *High-risk children in schools: Constructing sustaining relationships.* New York: Routledge.

Rex, L. (2000). Judy constructs a genuine question: a case for interactional inclusion. *Teaching and Teacher Education 16*, 315-333.

Rex, L. (2002). Exploring orientation in remaking high school readers' literacies and identities. *Linguistics and Education 13*(3), 271-302.

Rex, L.A. (2006). Acting "cool" and "appropriate": Toward a framework for considering literacy classroom interactions when race is a factor. *Journal of Literacy Research, 38*(3), 275–325.

Roeser, R.W., Eccles, J.S., & Sameroff, A.J. (2000). School as a context of early adolescents' academic and social-emotional development: A summary of research findings. *The Elementary School Journal, 100*(5), 443-471.

Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rogoff, B. (1992). Three ways to relate person and culture: Thoughts sparked by Valsiner's review of *Apprenticeship in Thinking. Human Development, 35*, 316-320.

Rogoff, B. (1995). Observing sociocultural activity on three planes: participatory appropriation, guided participation, and apprenticeship. In J.V. Wertsch, P. del Rio, & A. Alvarez (Eds.) *Sociocultural studies of mind,* (pp. 139-164). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Roseth, C.J., Johnson, D.W. & Johnson, R.T. (2008). Promoting early adolescents' achievement and peer relationships: The effects of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic goal structures. *Psychological Bulletin, 134*(2), 223-246.

Roth, W-M. (2007). On mediation: Toward a sociocultural understanding. *Theory and Psychlogy, 17*(5), 655-680.

Ryan, A. M., Hicks, L., & Midgley, C. (1997). Social goals, academic goals, and avoiding seeking help in the classroom. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 17,* 152–171.

Schwab, J. (1978). Education and the structure of the disciplines. In *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*, 229-272. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Seixas, P. (1993). The community of inquiry as a basis for knowledge and learning: The case of history. *American Educational Research Journal*, 30(2), 305-324.

Seixas, P. (1994). Students' understanding of historical significance. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 22*(3), 281-304.

Seixas, P. (1996). Conceptualizing the growth of historical understanding. In Olson, D.R., & Torrance, N. (Eds.), *Handbook of education and human development*, pp. 765–783.

Seixas, P. (1997). Mapping the terrain of historical significance. *Social Education, 61*, 28-31.

Seixas, P. (2001). Review of research in social studies. In V. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. Washington, D.C.: AERA.

Sewell, W. (1992). A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation. *The American Journal of Sociology, 98(*1), 1-29.

Shemilt, D. (1987). Adolescent ideas about evidence and methodology in history. In C. Portal (Ed.), *The history curriculum for teachers* (pp. 39-61). London: Falmer.

Shanahan, T., & Shanahan, C. (2008). Teaching disciplinary literacy to adolescents: Rethinking content-area literacy. *Harvard Education Review, 70*, 40–59.

Shreiner, T.L. (2009). *Framing a model of democratic thinking to inform teaching and learning in civic education*. Doctoral Dissertation: University of Michigan.

Shulman, L. S. (1987). Knowledge and teaching: Foundations of the new reform. *Harvard Educational Review, 57*(1), 1-21.

Sterns, P.N. (1987). Periodization in world history teaching: Identifying the big changes. *The History Teacher, 20*(4), 561-580.

Stevens, R., Wineburg, S., Herrenkohl, L.R., & Bell, P. (2005). The comparative understanding of school subjects: Past, present, and future. *Review of Educational Research, 75*(2), 125-157.

Stodolsky, S.S., & Grossman, P.L. (1995). The impact of subject matter on curricular activity: An analysis of five academic subjects. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*, 227-249.

Thornton, S.J. (1994). The social studies near century's end: Reconsidering patterns of curriculum and instruction. *Review of Research in Education, 20*, 223-254.

Turner, J. C., Meyer, D. K., Cox, K. C., Logan, C., DiCintio, M., & Thomas, C. T. (1998). Creating contexts for involvement in mathematics. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 90,* 730–745.

VanSledright, B.A. (2002). *In search of America's past: Learning to read history in elementary school*. New York: Teachers College Press.

VanSledright, B.A. (2010). What does it mean to think historically . . . *and how do you teach it?* in W.C. Parker (Ed.), *Social Studies Today: Research and Practice*. (pp. 113-120). New York: Routledge.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes* (M.Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner, & E. Souberman, Eds.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1986). *Thought and language*. (A. Kozulin, Ed.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wells, G. (1999). *Dialogic inquiry: Towards a socio-cultural practice and theory of education*.

Wells, G., and Claxton, G. (Eds.) (2002). *Learning for life in the 21st century*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (1995). The need for action in sociocultural research. In J. V. Wertsch, P. del Rio, and A. Alvarez (Eds.), *Sociocultural studies of mind* (pp. 56-74). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (1998). *Mind as action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wertsch, J. V., Del Rio, P., and Alverez, A. (1995). Sociocultural studies: History, action, and mediation. In J. V. Wertsch, P. Del Rio, and A. Alverez (Eds.), *Sociocultural studies of mind.* (pp. 1-36). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wentzel, K. R. (1993). Motivation and achievement in early adolescence: Role of multiple classroom goals. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 13,*4–20.

Westheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? *American Educational Research Journal, 41*(2), 237–269.

Wiggins, G. & McTighe, J. (2005). *Understanding by design* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/ACSD.

Wineburg, S. (2001). *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: Charting the future of teaching the past*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wineburg, S.S. & Wilson, S.M. (1991). Models of wisdom in the teaching of history. *The History Teacher, 24*(4), 396-412.

Wortham, S. (2004). The interdependence of social identification and learning. *American Educational Research Journal, 41,* 715–750.

Wortham, S. (2006). *Learning identity: The Joint emergence of social identification and academic learning*. New York: Cambridge University Press.