Chapter I

Introduction

As a former social studies teacher in an urban high school, I was drawn to research the intersections of adolescent literacy, history learning, and civic engagement among urban students. In particular, I became interested in exploring the use of historical reading and inquiry around real world problems with students in urban high schools. In previous research (Stockdill & Moje, 2008), I found that many high school students in a particular urban community were not engaged by their history classes, and yet many of them also read about and expressed interest in socioeconomic and political issues that affected their community and lives. One student I interviewed effectively captured this larger pattern of disjuncture in my findings when I asked him what he felt about his history classes.

> I think they need to come up with better assignments, assignments to keep us
> more awake, more interested, y'know what I mean? 'Cause reading a book and
> doing questions, is all… like, 'why I gotta do this again?'

I asked him if he would be interested in learning more about his community and how its current problems developed. He replied, "To tell you the truth, I kind of already know how it got the way it is. I have lived here all my life…. but I would be interested in learning a way how to fix it though."[1] I wondered how much he actually did understand the historical roots of contemporary problems in his community, and I was intrigued by

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[1] Verbal quotes from students are transcribed verbatim in throughout. Quotes from written materials are presented unchanged as well with student spelling left intact.

his desire to learn more about solutions. My observation of this disconnect between school learning and student interests then laid the foundation for this dissertation, which analyzes the design and implementation of an instructional unit of historical inquiry into a community problem.

My teaching experience in this same community, as well as my reading of relevant literature about achievement trends nationwide, presented an important and related pedagogical problem: how do we motivate and interest young people to engage more effectively in historical reading and inquiry? In other words, how do we provide students with the knowledge and skills necessary to become civic actors able to find solutions to human problems rooted in the past? I became particularly interested in the "how" aspect of this pedagogical problem, noting that few recent studies focused a critical eye on the complexities of instructional design and teacher decision making in real classroom contexts.

I began to wonder if instruction that focused on a local problem of interest to students, and utilized disciplinary practices of historical reading such as comparing diverse accounts of an event, would engage students and thus provide an avenue for apprenticeship into disciplinary literacy practices. Such a program could also embed knowledge building and reading strategy instruction into the inquiry process to help students read effectively and analytically. However, in classrooms where students were not accustomed to learning history through inquiry and the use of multiple texts, this approach would likely present a range of challenges. For example, if students saw history learning as a process of answering fact-based questions in preparation for tests, I would have to disrupt this model in the process of introducing problem-based inquiry.

These concerns and questions about the difficulties of engaging students in a new instructional design thus shaped the direction of my dissertation work and led me to more specific research questions.

Research questions and design overview

To explore the complexities of this approach to history learning and literacy, I developed and carried out a design study to document the design and teaching decisions made in this process. I also explored the benefits and difficulties of using historical inquiry and scaffolded reading activities to study a problem connected to the students' community. I focused on the following research questions during this process:

- What decisions did I make during the process of designing this program and what principles drove the design process?

- What decisions and changes did I make in the process of implementing this instructional design and why were they made?

- What were the affordances and challenges provided by this particular instructional design and what did I learn from them?

The project, called the TERRA project (Teen Empowerment through Reading, Research, and Action), involved the implementation of both an after-school and in-class historical reading and research program for students in one urban high school during the 2009-2010 school year. For the after-school component, I carried out weekly meetings with a small group of student participants. Overall I conducted 22 after-school sessions during which we brainstormed about problems of interest to study historically, selected a problem (urban blight in the city), and then engaged in research into the causes and

effects of this issue. Towards the end of the program, participants worked to produce their own accounts of the problem and suggest possible solutions. I made additional revisions to my design as the after-school program ended, and then adapted it for the classroom.

With this updated design, I carried out a classroom version of this program in April and May of 2010 including 23 class sessions during which we engaged in a similar process of research. Most of the same documents used after school were used in the classroom, although there were some differences in presentation and activity based upon previous refinements. During reading and other activities, a range of instructional scaffolds were used including guided questions, graphic organizers, metacognitive modeling, vocabulary previews, questioning strategies, and summarization.

My data collection during the study focused on the decisions I made to design this learning activity system and later to modify the activities and instructional supports, as well as on how students engaged in this process of problem identification and research. To understand the students as readers and learners, I obtained achievement and attendance data from the school as well as survey data from each participant. I also gathered reading assessment data, and I interviewed a sub-sample of six students, three from the after-school group and three from the classroom. Finally, I took field notes, audio taped after-school sessions and video-taped the class sessions, collected student work, and also wrote theoretical memos over the course of the program. To analyze this data, I used complementary methods including descriptive analysis of survey and achievement data, content analysis of student projects, and Constant Comparative

Analysis (Straus & Corbin, 1998) processes of coding and categorization to look across all data sources.

Besides looking at my decisions and student participation, I also analyzed the tensions that emerged between this new activity system and the pre-existing patterns of classroom practice to which students were accustomed, attending to the ways in which this instructional design disrupted the models already in place. I identified clear patterns in my planning and instructional decision making framed by the interactions of these activity systems and models of learning. Finally, I also identified several affordances and challenges that my design presented to the students in this context.

In the following chapters of my dissertation, I analyze this project and what I learned through this experience. In the remainder of this chapter I explain in more detail how I became interested in this approach to history and content area reading instruction and how my research questions developed. I also present my rationale for why this is an important topic of study. In the second chapter I locate these issues in the larger research literature on learning and literacy, and in the third chapter I provide a detailed description of my research methodology. In Chapter Four I explore my findings with respect to the factors I considered in my initial design of the TERRA Project and the patterns of decisions I made. In Chapter Five, I move on to discuss the instructional decisions and design changes I made during the process of implementation in response to interactions between the students, the texts and content, and the classroom environment. In the final chapter, Chapter Six, I discuss my conclusions from this analysis and their implications for curricula, practice, research, and policy.

My path to these questions: From teaching to research

Before beginning my doctoral studies in education and initiating this research project, I was a history and English teacher in urban schools for 10 years. During this time, I heard many negative comments from students about their schooling in general and about history education in particular. I often sought to learn more about what they thought was engaging with respect to historical or political topics, and in the process I had many discussions with young people about what were, for me, inherently cultural, historical, political, and economic issues. We talked about gangs and violence, the drug trade, their cultural identities, immigration, and the poverty and racism that have indelibly shaped the history of their city. There was, on the part of many of these young people, a sincere interest in those aspects of culture, history, politics, and economics that touched their lives. In my view, they wanted to understand their own experiences and their community, they wanted to improve their community, yet they were also not engaging with the historical and civic content that would enable them to do so.

I also grew frustrated with my own lack of training in reading and adolescent literacy, and I struggled to help my students improve their analytical reading skills. My frustration led me back to graduate school where I began working as a graduate student research assistant on the Adolescent Literacy Development Project (ALD) (P.I. Dr. Elizabeth B. Moje). In this work, I again encountered the disjunction between students' everyday interests and their academic engagement. The ALD project was a four year study of the in and out-of-school literacy practices and attitudes of adolescents in the same urban community. As a former history teacher, I was disheartened when my descriptive analysis of ALD survey data demonstrated that social studies tended to be the

least favorite class among our study participants. Given their lack of interest in their history classes, I began to explore what students did value in relation to this domain. Motivated by the literatures on learning through everyday experience and funds of knowledge, I delved more deeply into young people's out-of-school literacy practices and interests with respect to historical, social, and cultural themes.

I was quickly struck by a vexing contrast. Whereas students consistently reported negative attitudes towards their classes, they also reported caring about a variety of social issues and topics outside of school that connected to history and other social sciences. This connection, however, took place most often through choice reading and discussion. The students were the same, in school and out of school; it was the texts and contexts in which these interactions took place that were different. The opportunities afforded by their out-of-school reading and experience, when compared to the opportunities afforded by classroom texts and instruction, led to greater engagement with these topics. In my scholarly paper based upon this work, I recommended that scholars in the field look at ways to bridge this gap between out-of-school interests and in-school engagement. I also raised the possibility that dynamic instruction that connected disciplinary practices to students' lives could improve literate proficiency and foster civic engagement. This dissertation and the TERRA project thus emerged in part from my scholarly paper as I took up these challenges.

Rationale

This study seeks to explore and utilize student interests with the idea that they can provide a foundation upon which to build reading and research capabilities. Through the

development and enactment of an instructional design, I centered inquiry upon a student-selected problem connected to their community. I then framed this problem to develop the students' academic knowledge about the issue and its history. Of central importance in this type of work is students' ability to identify such problems, engage with textual resources to learn about them, and then begin to apply what they have learned to the real world.   How teachers design instruction, engage students in these processes, and then adjust activities when problems arise are equally important questions for researchers.   If educators want students to develop these capacities, teachers have to be prepared to support this process.

The ability of young people to read and think critically in order to understand social issues will ultimately effect their engagement in the political life of their communities and nation. Numerous studies demonstrate that "literacy is now clearly implicated in health maintenance, academic success, avoidance of the criminal justice system, and social and civic involvement, including voting and keeping informed of public issues" (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 42). Verba (2003) also reported more generally that education was the best predictor of how effective people are in terms of civic action. If we seek to engage young people as active citizens, then, we must pay greater attention to their ability to analyze and learn about the wide array of issues they may confront in civic life.

Unfortunately, the evidence at hand suggests that we are not doing a very good job at preparing young people for, and involving them in, civic engagement. In a society that publicly lauds the ideals of broad civic participation, less than half of all voters 18-29 years old voted in the 2004 presidential elections, and less than one quarter voted in the

2002 midterm elections (Barrios Marcelo, et al., 2007). While the national voter turnout in 2008 for young people ages 18 to 29 was higher than average, fewer young people were registered to vote and fewer voted when compared to adults over 30 years of age. Furthermore, young people of color were less likely to be registered voters when compared to white youth (Project Vote, 2011). Moreover, by the 2010 midterm elections, the increase in youth voting had largely disappeared, even when considering that voter turnout tends to drop for all people during midterm elections (Project Vote, 2010). Of course, voting is by no means the only indicator of civic engagement, but it does provide a baseline to assess at least one form of participation.

Achievement in history and civics at the secondary level of schooling, as demonstrated in standardized assessments, also appears to be low. In 2006, only 32% of 12th graders assessed in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) exam scored proficient or advanced in civics, and "Black and Hispanic youth [were] more than twice as likely as White children to lack basic proficiency" (Lutkus & Weiss, 2007, p. 229). On the NAEP history test the same year, only 14% of twelfth graders scored at the proficient or advanced level (Lee & Weiss, 2007). Moreover, within this larger picture, urban adolescents tended to have lower levels of civic understanding and participation than teens in the suburbs, most likely due to a lack of civic activity by adults, inadequate education, and fewer opportunities for participation in community activities (Hart & Atkins, 2002). Perhaps one logical area in which schools can help address these issues is in history and civics education. Nevertheless, in the wake of No Child Left Behind, one

third of the school districts surveyed by the Center on Education Policy have actually reduced instructional time in the social studies[2] (NCSS, 2007).

Students' disciplinary literacy skills at this level add to the challenges described above. Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) reported that many secondary students struggle with the complex disciplinary literacy tasks required in middle and high school, and they called for instruction in literacy strategies that incorporates discipline-specific thinking analyses and approaches. Conley (2008) echoed this argument with respect to reading related cognitive strategies and tasks, stating that young people need to call upon increasingly complicated literacy skill-sets with high cognitive demands in both post-secondary study and workplace contexts.

These challenges clearly come into play in history classrooms, where many students, especially those in urban schools, struggle to interpret historical texts and have difficulty judging the quality of the information they encounter (Wineburg, 2004). Students often view history texts as voices of authority and accept their conclusions without question, yet they also find the texts disconnected from their lives (Bain, 2006). Students already experiencing difficulties with reading face an uphill battle in this context. Biancarosa and Snow (2004) reported that there were "eight million struggling readers in grades 4-12 in schools across our nation" based upon "the results of the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)" (p. 7). It seems likely that the low scores in reading and the low scores in history and civics are interconnected.

On the other hand, even in the face of the statistics cited above, we should not assume that young people are disinterested in their communities, their nation, and civic

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[2] "Social Studies" is an umbrella term often used to group together the academic content areas associated with the disciplines of the social sciences including history, political science, economics, sociology, and psychology.

and social issues. In fact, the opposite may be true. Studies of adolescent out-of-school literacy practices demonstrate that youth are interested in a variety of social issues (Collatos *et al.*, 2004; Moje, 1999; Morrell, 2002). My own research for my scholarly paper, utilizing survey data from over 700 students and interview data from more than 30 students, revealed that, within this sample of mainly urban Latino youth, many participants were interested in a variety of issues related to the health and welfare of their community (Stockdill & Moje, 2008).   Student interest is an important variable to consider; research on task values and interest has shown that students tend to achieve greater academic success and reading proficiency when they value what is being studied (Durik, Vida, & Eccles, 2005; Alexander, Kulikowich et. al 1994; Tobias, 1994). However, it is necessary to explore how to effectively channel student interest into disciplinary inquiry and reading practice.

Many researchers and educators have in fact demonstrated success in getting students more effectively involved in learning about history, politics, and culture (Bain, 2005; Beck, McKeown et al. 1995; Jewett 2007). Continuing this work is important as the quality of school experience and learning, especially in history, has real implications for students' lives outside of school. Positive school experiences prepare young people for civic engagement and teach them to value such participation.   Drawing on the results of the IEA Civic Education Study, which tested 90,000 14 year olds in 28 countries on civic knowledge and surveyed their attitudes towards civics, Torney-Purta (2002, 2007) argued that school experiences can help students learn to participate in political processes as well as understand how policies affect their lives. In a different study, Torney-Purta and colleagues found that schools that provided opportunities to study political topics and

had open classroom climates more effectively promoted civic knowledge and participation (Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2006). Similarly, Kahne & Sporte (2008), in a study of over 4,000 students from 52 high schools in Chicago, reported that school-based experiences with "civic learning" and service learning had a positive relationship with students' commitment to future civic participation (p. 753). Even so, acknowledging that civic activity and learning in schools can have this sort of positive impact is not enough for teachers; attention also needs to be paid to how this sort of education gets carried out at the classroom level, and an important component of this process involves the instructional choices made by teachers every day.

Beyond the classroom, after-school and civic service opportunities are important for students in the development of their civic engagement and participation (Hart & Atkins, 2002). As is discussed later with reference to work by Gutierrez (2008), there is a need to explore learning and literacy development in contexts outside of the traditional classroom. After-school programming is one such venue, and research that raises the question of how after-school learning can complement classroom learning is an important area of inquiry. Moreover, for the purposes of a design study such as this one, carrying out part of the study in an after-school setting allows for the flexibility and freedom necessary to work innovatively and inclusively with students. By developing this program as an after-school project in its first and longest phase, I was able to involve the youth and take the time to engage them in a focused learning project with a limited scope. In this way, I was able to continually develop and modify the materials and instructional approach. This enabled me to then utilize my experience as a teacher in the same

community, along with my findings from the first component of the program after school, to plan and implement the classroom instructional unit.

In considering these questions, I also worked with a population that deserves attention and active engagement in educational research. The interests of urban adolescent students are not always well represented in education policy and research. Moje (2002) stated that, "when literacy policies are made or funding proposals advanced (at least in the United States), youth culture and literacy almost always remain invisible" (p. 98). Furthermore, the majority of the students in my study were Latino. Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld (2006) reported that there have only been a limited number of studies on Latino adolescents to date "within the positive youth development framework" (p.113). They argued that as the Latino population in the United States is increasing at a rate greater than any other ethnic group and is gaining political power and access, it is important to attend to the civic development of Latino youth, including that which happens in schools both during the day and after school. This project contributes to theory and practice related to both adolescent literacy and secondary history instruction both within and outside the classroom in culturally diverse, urban schools.

Because instructional recommendations are often made based upon studies that do not explicitly discuss and analyze the challenges of design implementation in real classrooms, there is need for this type of research in the area of historical literacy and learning. Reinking and Watkins (2000) posited that design research has an important role to play in education because it can help to determine "what factors enhance or inhibit a classroom intervention's effectiveness in achieving a particular pedagogical goal and

determining how the intervention or its implementation might be modified to better achieve that goal" (p. 387).

Ultimately, understanding the actual implementation of an instructional design is a necessary first-step to evaluating its effectiveness, and, as Collins and Joseph (2004) point out, "any implementation of a design requires many decisions that go beyond the design itself" (p. 17). Collins and Joseph argue that no design can account for every possible challenge, thus decisions have to be made consistently throughout the process of implementation that may impact the very nature of instruction. Experimental research does not take this reality into account very well, thus formative design studies can play an important role in illuminating the process of decision making during an instructional program. Design research can also provide teachers with a model of how to analyze why a lesson or activity is not going as intended and then use available data to figure out how and where to intervene. This process of decision making itself needs to be documented so that the success of the changes made can be evaluated (Collins and Joseph, 2004). In this context, my discussion of the choices made during instruction can help teachers and teacher educators look beyond a recommended set of pedagogical practices and think more deeply about how such practices get enacted and refined in the context of content area classrooms.

In the process of instructional design for the TERRA project, the primary decisions revolved around the selection and framing of our problem of inquiry, the selection of texts for student use, and the development of the activities and tools for inquiry. This work was shaped in many ways by factors related to our problem of study and related historical content and texts; by the students themselves; and also by the

contexts in which activity took place. Analyzing both the development and enactment of the design, I observed that it introduced a different model of learning into the classroom, one that did not always align with, and even disrupted, students' deeply ingrained patterns of classroom learning practices.   As a result, and despite the fact that I had considered factors such as student interest, student skill and knowledge, and text complexity, I still faced a range of instructional dilemmas connected to these variables during implementation. To resolve these emerging problems, I made a range of interactive decisions that attempted to shift the structure and flow of learning activities. These choices often targeted the interactive space between readers, texts, activities, and context (Rumelhart, 1984; Snow, 2002) and attempted to reframe the interaction between these three components.

This discussion of disjuncture between models of history learning and reading contributes to the literature on history learning and disciplinary literacy by analyzing the process of instructional design and implementation in the complicated context of a real classroom. The analysis presented in this study provides insight to, and has implications for, educators and researchers seeking to engage in this type of work. Introducing new curricula and materials is necessary, but not sufficient, in order to change the learning dynamics in classrooms. There are patterns of thinking, learning, reading, and participating that likely will not align with the demands of new designs, and these models and practices must be disrupted and the divides must be bridged in order for change to take root.

In my analysis of the data from this study I found that the instructional design challenged students at times with texts and activities that were not adequately scaffolded

and that came into conflict with their past experiences of, and expectations for, history learning. Nevertheless, the TERRA project design also offered students many important opportunities to interact with texts in a process of inquiry they found interesting and engaging. Through this study of my own design and teaching moves, I discuss the types of choices and dilemmas experienced teachers face when implementing innovative curricula, and also suggest some principles and approaches to help other educators consider their own options in similar circumstances.

Chapter II

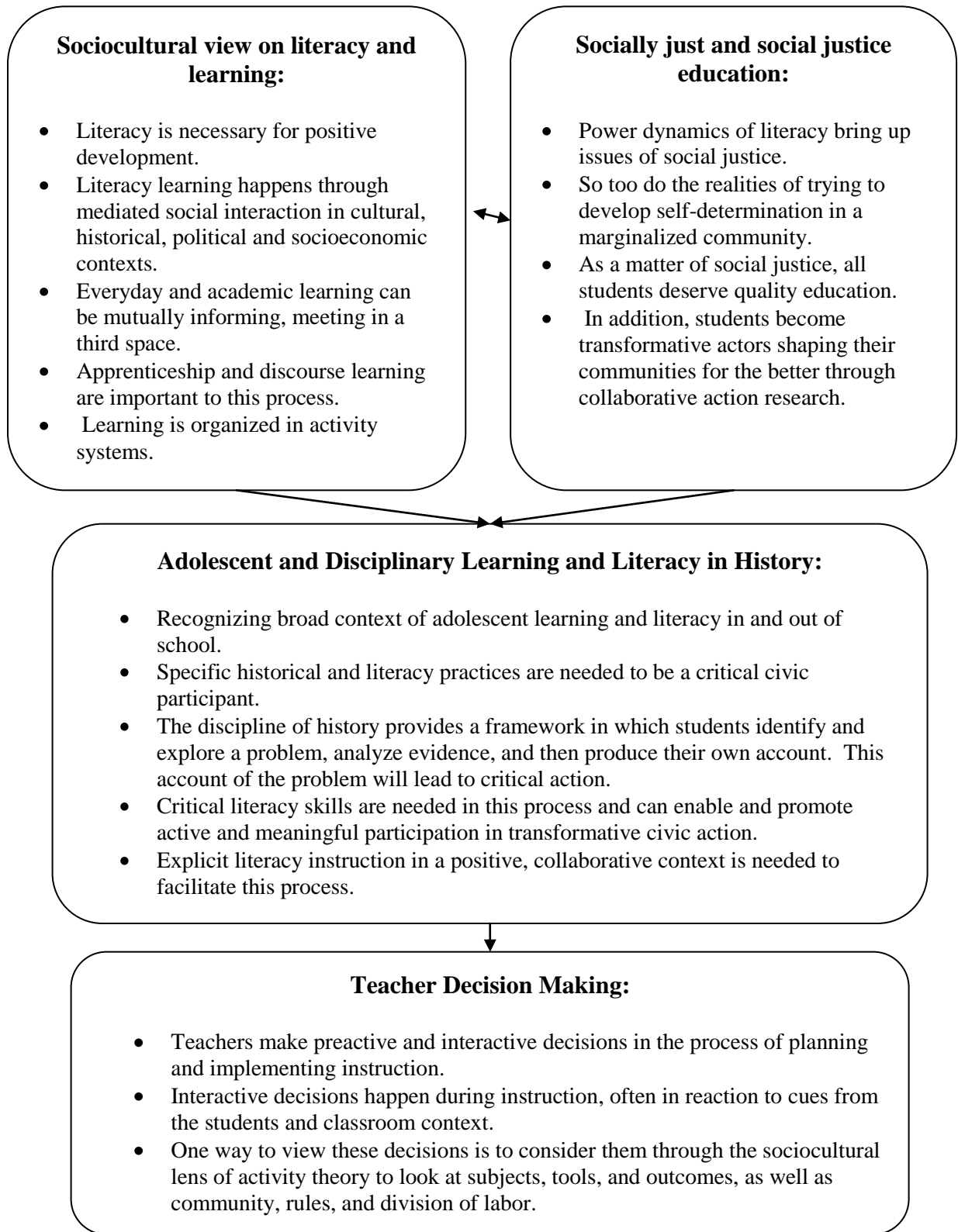## Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives

To investigate these questions and shape the design of the TERRA project, I turned to interrelated bodies of literature, including sociocultural theory, social justice perspectives, and scholarship around adolescent learning and literacy, history learning, and teacher decision making. I argue that these areas complement each other and are in fact incomplete without each other. I first looked to sociocultural views on literacy, informed by social justice theory and approaches, as I recognized that proficiency in literacy – especially in the more official literacy of dominant institutions – is of great value if one seeks to learn about social problems and engage in civic action. I utilized the sociocultural stance that literacy encompasses linguistic and cognitive processes embedded in interconnected cultural, historical, political, and socioeconomic contexts.

Recognition that literacy is contextual thus required me to look to the disciplinary and classroom contexts of the work I would be doing, which was located in the discipline and content area of history. Historians typically identify and describe a problem, they then locate, select, and analyze evidence to help solve this problem, and then they produce their own accounts of the problem (Bain, 2000; Collingwood, 1999; Fischer, 1970). Students in the TERRA project engaged in this process of asking a question, learning about it, and then developing an interpretation of the evidence. Practices of historical reading and consideration of evidence also informed their approach to reading.

When students in politically and economically marginalized communities use reading and research to analyze the structural causes of local problems, issues of inequality may come to the fore. In addition, there are links between socioeconomic status and literate proficiency, as well as access to quality education, in that students from more affluent families tend to have higher scores on standardized reading tests and attend schools with more resources (Lee & Burkham, 2002). In that respect, this project addresses these realities of systemic inequality by adopting a social justice approach. I maintain that students living in politically and economically marginalized communities can not effectively engage in civic action unless they confront the inequalities that have shaped their current conditions. In addition, they are deserving of quality education with high expectations for the learning of both important content and skills.

As I designed and implemented instruction in this framework, literature on teacher practice and decision making helped me analyze my own teaching decisions in the design process. In particular, my discussion of teacher practice and decision making helped me to frame the analysis of my design implementation, the challenges I faced, and the choices I made to resolve them. This focus on decisions in design and enactment was important given that one of my goals was to explore *how* this type of instruction takes place along with looking at the strengths and weaknesses of the design. In particular, I contribute to the literature on teacher practice by providing an in-depth analysis of the complexities of introducing new learning models into classrooms. The overall theoretical and empirical framework for this study is displayed in the diagram below.

Figure 1. Theoretical framework model

Sociocultural view on literacy and learning:

- Literacy is necessary for positive development.
- Literacy learning happens through mediated social interaction in cultural, historical, political and socioeconomic contexts.
- Everyday and academic learning can be mutually informing, meeting in a third space.
- Apprenticeship and discourse learning are important to this process.
- Learning is organized in activity systems.

Socially just and social justice education:

- Power dynamics of literacy bring up issues of social justice.
- So too do the realities of trying to develop self-determination in a marginalized community.
- As a matter of social justice, all students deserve quality education.
- In addition, students become transformative actors shaping their communities for the better through collaborative action research.

Adolescent and Disciplinary Learning and Literacy in History:

- Recognizing broad context of adolescent learning and literacy in and out of school.
- Specific historical and literacy practices are needed to be a critical civic participant.
- The discipline of history provides a framework in which students identify and explore a problem, analyze evidence, and then produce their own account. This account of the problem will lead to critical action.
- Critical literacy skills are needed in this process and can enable and promote active and meaningful participation in transformative civic action.
- Explicit literacy instruction in a positive, collaborative context is needed to facilitate this process.

Teacher Decision Making:

- Teachers make preactive and interactive decisions in the process of planning and implementing instruction.
- Interactive decisions happen during instruction, often in reaction to cues from the students and classroom context.
- One way to view these decisions is to consider them through the sociocultural lens of activity theory to look at subjects, tools, and outcomes, as well as community, rules, and division of labor.

Sociocultural Perspectives

In this project, I was particularly interested in helping students use texts as problem solving resources. Looking at both text use and production, I approached the construct of literacy with a sociocultural perspective that stresses the importance of social interaction and mediated learning. Vygotsky (1975) argued that learning takes place through social interaction rooted in cultural and historical contexts and involves the dialectical relationship between, on the one hand, social and contextual factors and, on the other hand, cognitive and psychological factors. More recently, Gee (2001) wrote that the sociocultural perspective emerged from a focus on "language and literacy in their full array of cognitive, social, cultural, institutional, and historical contexts" (p.30). In other words, people use and understand literacy in different ways in different situations for different purposes.

Knowledge and cultural models: From the everyday to the academic.

For Vygotsky (1986), learning also takes place across and in different contexts, and he posited that we learn concepts differently through our everyday experience when compared to how we learn them through formalized instruction. Vygotsky (1986) wrote that we learn "spontaneous concepts" from our encounters with "everyday-life material", and we develop our understanding of "scientific concepts" that represent "systematic knowledge" through classroom instruction (p.146). Within this framework, as Au (1998) wrote, "School literacy learning activities can be restructured to allow students to acquire academic knowledge (scientific concepts) by building on the foundation of personal experience (everyday concepts)" and "students may gain insights into their own lives through the application of academic knowledge" (p. 300).

Various educators and researchers have explored and extended these ideas in both research and practice. For example, Moll et al. (1992) wrote about the concept of "funds of knowledge" as the "knowledge and skills found in local households" (p.132). Funds of knowledge represent the resources that students can call upon in their learning through life experience and in connection to social networks in their community. Moll et al. posited that the resources in students' funds of knowledge could help mediate school learning, asserting that there are many possible connections between funds of knowledge and academic funds. The concept of cultural models offers another way to think about the knowledge and worldviews students bring with them to school, and that interact in different ways with the ideas and content presented by teachers. According to Gee (1996), cultural models "involve (usually unconscious) assumptions about models of simplified worlds... in which prototypical events unfold" (p.78). Gee argued that cultural models are learned in the process of acculturation, through "experiences within a culture or social group," and also through the "language and interaction in natural and meaningful contexts" (p. 88).

Cultural models thus involve the expectations and assumptions about the world, including schooling, that students maintain. As Gee (1996) described, when people from different background come together, their cultural models may come into conflict, and this clash of expectations occurs in classrooms when teachers' models do not align with those of students. Nevertheless, Gee argued, these moments of conflict can "become part of the instruction. Brought to the students' attention, allowed to become part of on-going discussion with teacher and peers, they can themselves serve to focus students' attention on relevant aspects of cultural models" (p. 89).

Mediated learning and activity theory.

From the sociocultural perspective, in order for such connections and interactions to take place, learning through instruction needs mediated scaffolding (Bruner, 1975) in which a more experienced and/or knowledgeable person helps the learner expand their knowledge and skills. Vygotsky (1975, 1986) termed this space for learning – where support and mediation are needed - the zone of proximal development (ZPD). With scaffolding, the student can meet learning goals, develop knowledge and skill, and move towards mastery and independence as scaffolding decreases. For Vygotsky (1986), language, as the primary symbolic system through which meaning is created, was a key component to this process of mediation. Other theorists have since looked beyond language and focused on more involved models of mediated learning through experience and activity. Rogoff (1990) discussed the concept of apprenticeship, in which novices in a "community of practice" develop their capacities and problem solving abilities through exchange with others in culturally situated interactions. In essence, those without much skill and background can learn from more experienced others, including experts, through observation, participation and feedback. Lave (1991) contributed to this discussion with the idea of legitimate peripheral participation, in which learning begins with the learner on the periphery; through immersion in the learning environment and increasing involvement over time the learner gradually assumes more independence in problem solving.

The framework of activity theory, and more specifically Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) (Cole & Engestrom, 1993; Roth & Lee, 2007) is a related idea that focuses on human activity as the unit of analysis as opposed to speech and dialogue.

In particular, CHAT looks at learning in activity systems in which there are subjects (the participants); a range of cultural tools, artifacts, and signs (including language) used to mediate the activity and help the subjects participate; an object (the topic of investigation or focus of activity); and an outcome (the final product). Such a framework is very useful with adolescent literacy, as students move through several activity systems in a school day. Learning in different classrooms takes place among different groupings of subjects, has different objects, as well as different outcomes. In addition, these activity systems are all situated in cultural and historical contexts that need to be taken into account. Engeström (1999) advocated that, when studying activity systems, the unit of analysis should be the interaction between all the component parts of activity systems. This entails looking at activity systems at the level of a community, a classroom for example, instead of at the level of the individual using tools with certain goals as part of a system. At the community level, there are rules that shape activity and divisions of labor to assign different roles to subjects. The rules, community, and division of labor then represent additional social and contextual factors that shape an individual's activity (Engeström, 1999).

In the CHAT model, the purpose driving an activity system is a crucial component, and meaning and choice can play important roles in creating motivating activity systems. Roth and Lee (2007) argued that young people become more engaged in an activity system when they have input into its purpose. They stated that in a CHAT based classroom, "students learn neither to memorize content matter to prepare for the next academic level nor merely for the purpose of passing tests or obtaining grades. Rather the students learn science (and other culturally valued content matter) because it

expands their action possibilities in and for the production of knowledge and artifacts that ultimately benefit their community" (p. 194). Thus, in this model, young people produce artifacts of knowledge that are exchanged and distributed in a community; the community serves as the consumer of this knowledge, and students therefore take on identities as producers of knowledge providing something of use to others.

Engeström (1999), in discussing the development of activity theory and our understanding of activity systems, stressed the importance of recognizing that activity systems are complex and multi-layered. Tensions and contradictions within larger activity systems may produce unexpected results or drive changes in the system. Engeström (2001) noted that, "When an activity system adopts a new element from the outside... it often leads to an aggravated secondary contradiction where some old element.... collides with the new one. In addition, there are networks of activity systems across which conflicts and tensions can develop with respect to objects/goals and outcomes, and in this tension issues of power come into play around who has the right to establish the goal structure for activity (Engeström, 1999).

Franzak (2006) in her discussion of sociocultural work on adolescent literacy, effectively ties activity systems back to Moll's work on funds of knowledge and raises the question of how to situate literacy instruction in a legitimate activity system. She writes that funds of knowledge are "activity based" and "acquired as a result of desire and purpose" and goes on to argue that "marginalized readers" often lack desire and do not see purpose in conventional classroom reading activities. However, "literacy experiences which are embedded in their funds of knowledge, which are largely employed outside the official school context, are easily identifiable as active and

purposeful" (p. 224). Given this dynamic, Franzak raises an important question for literacy educators, which is "how to foster authentic school-based reading activities that recognize and extend the literacy values that marginalized readers bring into the classroom" (p. 224). It was precisely this question I explored with the TERRA project as I worked to create an activity system with the program participants in which they could develop their literate proficiencies through collaborative, meaningful, and mediated inquiry around a problem topic of their choosing.

Learning in Third Space.

In what Engeström (2000) termed a "third generation" of activity theory, he argued that analysis of learning activity should "include minimally two interacting activity systems" (p. 136). In a classroom context, this would suggest, for example, that the teacher is operating within an activity system that interacts with, but is not the same as, the activity system of the students. Engeström (2000) connected this interactive space across the two systems to the related sociocultural construct of "third space."

The idea of "third space," where at least two paradigms of thinking or learning come together and interact, is also related to a critique of Vygotsky's binary of spontaneous and scientific concepts. It has been argued that some conceptual learning may exhibit characteristics of both types; for example, young people learn systematic, rule-governed language practices in everyday contexts (Lee, 1995). Recognizing that the spontaneous/scientific divide may set up a false binary, some scholars have looked more closely at literacy and learning in out-of-classroom contexts or across contexts. In this work, activity systems are also important in that there is a recognition that young people move through varied and connected activity systems in which they learn in diverse ways.

Moje et. al. (2004) discussed the need to look beyond the binaries of spontaneous and scientific, or in-school and out-of-school, and into this "third space," a hybrid space in which the supposed binaries come together to shape alternative forms of knowledge and discourse. Moje and her co-authors described different conceptualizations of third space put forward by other scholars in the past, but stated that, "more research, using a variety of methods, needs to be conducted on third space as a space wherein everyday and academic knowledges and Discourses are challenged and new knowledges are generated" (p. 44). This notion of third space was important to the development of the TERRA project, for I worked with students to both utilize and challenge their everyday knowledge about a problem in their community, and then to measure that knowledge against more academic conceptualizations in the process of shaping new understandings.

Gutierrez (2008) also took up the notion of third space in her work on learning outside the conventional classroom. For Gutierrez, third space is more specifically a hybrid zone where everyday conceptual learning can be moved or "reorganized" into more scientific learning. Through collaboration, play, and problem solving, learners in a third space can collectively move their understanding of the world into a more critical and analytical place. Gutierrez (2008) presented an empirical case study of the Migrant Student Leadership Institute (MSLI) at the University of California, Los Angeles using it to demonstrate the characteristics of this type of third space. In this program, high school students whose families are/were migrant farm workers participated in an intensive four week summer program of learning and study in order to develop their critical literacy.

A primary goal of the program was to help students "begin to reconceive who they are and what they might be able to accomplish academically and beyond" (p. 148).

Students in MSLI "use social theory and an emergent sociocritical literacy to locate and relocate their experiences in a personal, political, and cultural-historical context" (p. 150). They read and learned about social theory as well as history, and then created personal *testimonios* that located their own life experiences in larger social and historical patterns. Gutierrez provided powerful examples of students' writings, showing that they were able to begin to connect their own lives to historical and political events and trends. The ability of the students to take hold of these ideas and use them in complex ways lead Gutierrez to call for a breaking down of the separation of school and out-of-school to place more focus on "what takes hold as children and youth move in and across the various settings and contexts of their everyday lives" (p. 150-151).

Social Justice and Socially Just Education.

Complementary to the idea of engaging young people in learning through dynamic social interaction in activity systems is the perspective of education for social justice, in which learning is directed towards shaping informed action to challenge injustices such as racism, poverty, or other forms of inequality. Although the sociocultural perspective, in general, does not explicitly attend to issues of social justice, the focus on cultural and historical contexts – as well as on power dynamics and literacy-certainly establishes the need to do so. Lewis, Enciso, and Moje (2007) argued that much of the work coming from the sociocultural perspective did not attend to issues of "power, identity, and agency" (p.2), and they called for a "critical sociocultural theory" that takes these factors into account. The realities of social inequality in a community affect the available resources, learning objects, and even outcomes related to school. Social

inequality has been clearly tied to achievement gaps in reading between students in middle class, largely white, communities and those in less affluent communities with larger populations of people of color (Lee & Burkam, 2002; Rothstein, 2004). Inequality is part of the contextual picture and macro-level activity system. Education from a social justice perspective acknowledges this reality and seeks to mitigate the impact of inequality by both providing effective education and involving students in working toward greater equality. In the words of William Ayers (1988), social justice education involves,

> teaching that arouses students, engages them in a quest to identify obstacles to their full humanity, to their freedom, and then to drive, to move against those obstacles. And so the fundamental message of the teacher for social justice is: You can change the world (p. xvii).

Paulo Freire (1990) explored these ideas in Brazil and related them more globally to struggles for social justice and liberation. For Freire, the development of critical reflection and literacy could help marginalized people better understand their own reality and thus more effectively work for change. Freire argued for a "pedagogy of the oppressed," an educational approach based upon dialogue and active study of lived realities. In this process, teachers and students share their roles as learners and instructors and together engage in critical study of their lives and the forces that affect them. Freire maintained that by studying their own realities, people can begin to work to change the conditions that hold them back from fulfillment. In these conceptualizations of education and social justice, the sociocultural concepts of integrating everyday learning with more systematic learning in communities of practice through language and purposeful activity

take on a new dimension. The activity in a combined sociocultural and social justice framework thus gains the purpose and motive of libratory action.

Thus, this is an endeavor that encompasses far more than just seeking to impart knowledge to students. It involves teacher and student moving forward together, problem solving, analyzing, and seeking to use knowledge and learning to create a better world. In this context, Ayers argued, teaching cannot be neutral, "it must be situated in a cultural context, an historical flow, an economic condition" (1998, p. xvii). Banks (1997) similarly discussed what he called the Social Action Approach to multicultural education, in which the teachers become "agents of social change who promote democratic values and the empowerment of students" (p. 240).

Moje (2007) also discussed education for social justice and related it to what she termed *socially just* education that provides "all students with equitable opportunities to engage currently valued forms of disciplinary knowledge." Education for social justice takes this further and "demands that youth learn to question and perhaps even offer changes to established knowledge" (p. 4). In this paradigm, a desire for social justice demands that all students receive effective education and learn to be critical thinkers and readers across academic disciplines. In addition, they should learn to use these proficiencies towards social justice oriented ends.

Participatory Action.

One concrete approach to involve youth in learning and action projects with social justice goals exists under the more general framework of participatory action research (PAR). When this approach is undertaken in educational and community settings with youth, youth research problems in their communities and then take research-based action

to help solve them. Morrell (2006a) argues for such programming, calling for a new paradigm of knowledge production in which students move from consumers to empowered producers of knowledge. He carried out an extensive review of the literature on participatory action research, focusing on both youth involvement and literacy education in participatory action research, searching several databases and locating an initial sample of over 100 articles. Morrell (2006a) found that many projects that had been written about were carried out as collaborative efforts with adults from schools, community organizations, universities, and other educational and service institutions.

The research projects he reviewed were all related in some way to social justice, challenging inequality, or areas related to social change and involved complex literacy practices and demands. The young participants engaged in a diverse range of reading, writing, and speaking activities that paralleled, and in some cases surpassed, the literacy demands of schooling. Morrell found that youth in these projects were highly motivated to carry out their research projects and were more open to receiving feedback.

Morrell (2006b) also wrote about his work over several years at the Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access (IDEA), in which local teens take on the role of critical researchers. The young people in this program actually develop and carry out research projects in urban schools and communities. Drawing upon field notes, interviews, videotapes of sessions, student work, and other sources, Morrell studied the impact of the program on its young participants over time. In the program, students carried out research in teams of four of five supported by teachers from local schools. Over five weeks, students read and learned about research methods and the sociology of education. They created research questions for their projects, read from the literature

pertinent to their questions, collected data and analyzed it, and wrote reports on their findings that they presented to other members of the community. As a result of this participation, Morrell states, "the young people involved became powerful researchers and advocates for social change. Even though their research revealed gross inequities in access to learning resources, the group left the process with a sense of urgency to work for social change" (p. 123). In this study though, Morrell did not provide a detailed discussion of any of the challenges or complexities involved in transitioning students into this type of learning activity system. Although my design was not a participatory action research project per se, it was informed by this approach and contributes to our understanding of how complicated this type of work can be.

Adolescent Learning and Literacy.

The theoretical and research works described above provided important foundations for the approaches I incorporated into the TERRA project, and they also inform important theoretical and empirical work around the more focused area of adolescent literacy and learning. To effectively engage in social justice work with youth, for example, it is important to consider the literacy demands of the range of texts and tasks young people might encounter in this process (petitions, legal documents, letters to the editor, personal testimonies, etc.). Attention to social justice in education thus necessitates, I would argue, attention to literacy. Moreover, in order to effectively challenge social inequality it is helpful to understand its roots, and the study of history therefore also becomes necessary in this work.

Scholarship in the area of adolescent literacy, particularly with respect to literacy and learning in history, provided important background for the development of this study

as it focuses on high school students reading and learning in school. In the middle and high school years, students typically range in age from 11 to 18 and thus fall into the fairly flexible category of adolescents. Both in and out of school, they engage with a vast array of encoded texts, making meaning and communicating through diverse symbol systems. This broad range of activities makes up what we call "adolescent literacy." In school, adolescents engage with more complex texts as their reading becomes more disciplinary in nature in their content area classrooms (e.g. English, math, science, social studies). In their history classes for example, they may read textbooks, primary documents, and other texts that require critical historical thinking and reading practices. Out of school, adolescents use diverse texts for a broad range of personal and social purposes, some of which do not align well with their literate practices in school and some of which do. Finding ways to bring these practices together in third space learning was one of the goals of my project as I engaged students in reading historical texts.

Adolescent literacy out-of-school.

Work in adolescent literacy outside of school by scholars such as Alvermann and Moje has argued that students' out-of-school literacy practices and interests may help mediate and inform their academic literacy.   In a qualitative study of 30 youth identified as struggling readers, Alvermann, Hagood, and Williams (2001) found that the participants – despite their labels - utilized complex strategies to learn and communicate about popular culture. Moje (2004) presented similar findings with respect to the literacy practices of gang-involved youth, arguing that an analysis of their reading and production of complex texts could inform better pedagogy.

In recognizing the importance of non-academic literacy practices, it is important that, as Hull and Schultz (2001) wrote, "in our efforts to document and validate the plethora of personal and local literacy practices, we should not abandon the opportunities that school historically has provided to develop particular forms of text-based expertise, forms that may provide a power absent in many everyday literacies" (p. 598). Thus, it is crucial to understand that adolescents may regularly engage in complex literate practice, but also that they may need clear and effective instruction in academic literacy to broaden their capacities to be critical consumers and producers of knowledge. In this respect, I developed my project knowing that my study participants likely engaged in a range of literacy practices, but that many of them also likely needed deeper instruction in the literacy practices necessary to learn about the history of their city.

Literacy and Instruction.

In planning to intervene on disciplinary literacy with respect to what are essentially problems of the social sciences, I also attended to some more general ideas in the literature with respect to literacy instruction. In particular, I relied heavily upon the interactive model of reading (Rumelhart, 1984; Snow, 2002) in which reading occurs as a complex interaction between reader, text, and activity embedded in a range of institutional, social, and cultural contexts. The ability of an individual to understand and use a text depends not only upon their own reading skill and knowledge, but also on the nature of the text and the activity in which the reading is embedded. Contextual factors also come into play, and these might range from events in the larger society that shape textual interpretations (imagine the difference in reading about terrorism on September 10, 2001 compared to September 12, 2001) to classroom norms for content reading.

Using this theoretical model to guide both my planning and implementation of the design, I examined the impact of contextual factors on student participation and my own instructional moves. Even more important for my own research and teaching practices, I also attended to each of the key components of reader, text, and activity as part of the classroom and activity systems. I positioned the students as knowledgeable about the problem while also building their repertoire of reading strategies, choosing texts about topics of interest, and structuring meaningful activities with active participation. Moje (2006) has used a similar model to argue that reading motivation is about more than just the reader but also about the text and the activity context.

The instructional activities I provided to students engaged them in a range of scaffolded reading strategies as recommended by Biancarosa and Snow (2004) in the Reading Next report. This type of direct instruction, especially for students outside the mainstream culture of America, is necessary to help them unlock the language and literacy practices that can help them expand their possibilities for action and participation in society (Delpit, 1988). Looking to Biancarosa and Snow's (2004) outline of key programmatic elements, reading instruction in the TERRA program relied upon comprehension and metacognitive strategies, modeling, collaborative learning from text, diverse resources, and the use of technology, all embedded in a disciplinary context. In a recent meta-analysis of thirteen studies of interventions with high school age, struggling readers, Edmonds et. al. (2009) found that comprehension could improve when clear, direct instruction was provided with reading comprehension strategies. Comprehension and reading strategies that demonstrated effectiveness in their review included reciprocal teaching, strategy instruction in previewing, comprehension monitoring, analyzing text

structure, use of questions and questioning while reading, and the use of graphic

organizers. In incorporating these ideas, the activities were designed so as to scaffold

student reading by engaging their knowledge and interest before reading, guiding and

activating their comprehension during reading, and processing and analyzing what they

had read after reading (Graves et. al., 2001). These approaches then guided my

implementation of instructional activities related to reading during the TERRA project.

Academic and disciplinary literacy. As suggested above, literacy practices in

school tend to shift as young people move out of the primary grades. At that point their

school studies become more focused on specific academic domains, and they should

transition into learning how to read and write in these disciplines.   In this context,

disciplinary literacy refers to how literacy practices are used to produce and share

knowledge in different academic disciplines and function as activity systems of the

discipline. These disciplinary literacies can inform the reading, writing, and discourse

that takes place in content area classrooms where students learn the content and processes

of academic disciplines – in particular those associated with the social sciences, the

natural and physical sciences, mathematics, and language arts. In her discussion of

socially just pedagogy, Moje (2007) described four different approaches that have been

taken towards research in the area of disciplinary literacy, including a focus on "cognitive

literacy processes;" work looking at the "epistemological processes of the disciplines;"

scholarship attending to the "linguistic processes of the disciplines;" and studies looking

at "linguistic and discursive navigation across cultural boundaries" (p. 13). Practice and

research around disciplinary literacy should, argued Moje, attend to all of these areas.

In the TERRA project, I directly took up this recommendation and worked to include strategy instruction related to three of the approaches described above. In terms of cognitive strategies, I utilized graphic organizers, models of reading processes, and other cognitive approaches. I adapted these strategies taking into account the need described by Conley (2008) to present cognitive strategies with extensive "explanation, modeling, and guided practice" (p. 95). Participants were also exposed to specific thinking practices of the disciplines, such as the ways that historians seek to corroborate evidence across multiple texts and also to apply disciplinary practices of sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization as they read diverse texts (Wineburg, 2001; Bain, 2005). Finally, by encouraging students to call upon their own interests and insights, this design allowed them to cross the boundaries between their own worlds and texts and those of the school.

History learning: Interpreting and building accounts of the past.

The above frame of disciplinary literacy forms an integral part of overall disciplinary learning, which, in the case of this study, focused on learning in history. As described by Bain (2000), history exists in two forms: history-as-event and history-as-account. History-as-event involves the actual unfolding of events and processes. However, history-as -event is bounded in time. What lives on after an event is the account (or accounts) of what happened, which are developed based upon the observations of participants and other types of historical evidence. Historians study history-as-account and also seek to create their own accounts. In order to do this, the disciplinary practice of history consists of problem framing, the analysis of evidence, and the production of historical accounts based upon this analysis (Collingwood, 1999; Bain,

2000). In this work, historians pose problems or questions, they identify and select useful resources including a variety of documents that provide evidence with respect to their problem or question, and they use their study of the evidence to develop their own accounts that address the original question (Collingwood, 1999; Bain, 2000).

In this perspective on history, much of what is considered historical reading takes place in the process of analyzing evidence. To develop historical knowledge and practice, it is important to search for and analyze evidence across multiple texts (Perfetti, Britt, & Georgi, 1995; Rouet, Britt, Mason, & Perfetti, 1996). As they engage in this process, historians typically use the disciplinary heuristics of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration as outlined by Wineburg (2001). As they source textual evidence, historians consider who the author of the document was and think about how the identity, purpose, and audience of this author may have affected the production of the text. In contextualization, historians think about the historical, cultural, and social context in which the text was produced, asking questions about how contemporary events and culture may have shaped the construction of the evidence. Finally, historians seek to corroborate their interpretations of documents by reading across a variety of sources looking for patterns.

Historians also employ different explanatory models that look at the causation of events at different scales. Two models for historical explanation described by Jacott et. al. (1998) include the "intentionalist" frame that attributes historical events to more immediate human motivations and actions, and the "structural" model that looks at larger causal factors such as economic, political, and social conditions during a given time.

Historians, when explaining events of the past, need to consider multiple causes across both types of causation.

How these historical practices get enacted -or not- in classrooms is then a valuable question to consider. It is important for students to develop these critical skills of questioning, thinking, and explaining, yet young people in the middle and upper grades typically do not enter history classrooms with these skill sets already developed. In conventional history classrooms, teachers often ask students to summarize and retell information from their textbooks without deeply analyzing the actual accounting of events, and both adults and younger people tend to find these textbooks uninteresting (Paxton, 1999). In addition, history textbooks are often seen as authoritative accounts of the past and students do not typically question the historical narratives they present (Bain, 2005).

Peter Lee (2004), studying the historical thinking of elementary and upper grade students over several years in England, found that "many students see the past as fixed" (p. 3) and often conceptualize history as a series of discrete, disconnected events. This "restricted ontology," as Lee calls its, "may be a crucial factor in preventing students developing a more organized and usable 'big picture' of the past" (p. 6). Other scholars have found that students who are learning history tend to favor more personal, "intentionalist" explanations of that past (Carretero et. al., 1997; Hallden, 1993). These understandings of the past held by young people thus represent cultural models of history as a domain and also of history as a content area with related ways of learning in school.

Perhaps related to such constrained conceptualizations of history, the ability to use evidence from a range of sources to develop historical accounts has also been

difficult for students in some studies (Rouet, Marron, Perfetti & Favart, 1998). Van Drie and van Boxtel (2008) reviewed some of the literature on historical learning and argued that students' struggles with the development of cohesive historical explanations appeared to stem from a lack of necessary historical knowledge, failure to consider the reliability of sources, presentist ways of thinking, and a lack of consideration of multiple causes for historical events.

Seixas (1993) studied the issue from another angle, exploring what factors besides classroom instruction influenced students' understanding of the past. He carried out an in-depth study of six students' development and construction of historical knowledge. Categories of historical thinking discussed by Seixas (1993) included identifying significant events and considering what made them significant, historical empathy (putting one's self in the place of historical actors and considering their dilemmas), moral judgment, the use of evidence, and identification of cause and effect relationships. The students in the study were 11th graders in a large, urban, multicultural school and had varied backgrounds and achievement levels. Using interviews and participant observation, Seixas found that students' thinking about the past was shaped primarily by their own personal experiences, their family background, television, and images from popular culture. In addition, Seixas discovered a wide range of facility and proficiency among the students with respect to their development of frameworks for historical understanding.

Cultural models for history learning. Cultural models, again as Gee (1996) described them, are "pictures of simplified worlds" where "prototypical events" take place (p. 78). Applied to history learning then, the expectations and understandings that

students have of how and why they will learn history in school, as well as their general attitudes towards history as a content area, help shape cultural models for history as a school-based activity system. These conceptualizations develop as a result of students' experiences in school, but also as a result of their experiences in society and in their communities. Research into the perceptions that people have on history learning, both with adults and school-aged youth, reveals a common perception that history is not very interesting. Bass and Rosenzweig (1999), reporting on results of a survey of over 1400 people in the United States about their attitudes towards history and the past in general, reported a widely held perception that history was "boring." Stodolsky, Salk, and Glaessner (1991) reached a similar conclusion after interviewing 65 fifth grade students in a Midwestern urban center and asking them to compare different classes.

When considering this view that history is not interesting, it is also important to consider how people actually conceptualize the practice or structure of history. As discussed above, many students view the past as a series of unrelated events to be remembered (Lee, 2004), and individualized "intentionalist" perceptions of history are also common among primary and secondary level history students (Carretero et. al., 1997; Hallden, 1993).   These cultural models of history may stem from how young people have learned history in school. Bain (2000) observed that his students held a "static, formulaic view of history," in which "the past is filled with facts, historians retrieve those facts, students memorize the facts, and this all somehow improves the present" (p. 337).

My own research for my scholarly paper (Stockdill & Moje, 2008) as well as my experience as a teacher in the school where I conducted this study, supported the idea that

such conceptualizations of history are common. Investigating attitudes towards social studies classes and learning in this same community, I analyzed survey data from over 700 students and interview data from more than 50. I found that the students participating in this study liked social studies the least among their core classes, and they also tended to view it as less useful than other subjects. Reasons given in interviews for this dislike often related to the manner in which instruction took place. One student commented that her history teachers "sound like that ... commercial. The guy that's just talking and talking and makes you go to sleep or something."

In the survey data, students also reported higher rates of using their textbook in class for social studies than they did for math, English, or science classes, and, on average, they also found these textbooks less useful for developing understanding than they did the books in other areas. One female student described her history textbooks as "too much information being told," and another, when shown a history textbook and asked what came to mind, responded, "Headache.... headache." After I asked her what the book made her think of, she replied "history," and when I asked her what that was, she stated, "Wars." A male student in the 10th grade reported that he liked his social studies classes "pretty good," and when asked why he explained that he started liking them when he found out that "you could find some of the answers in the back of the book." He then went on to describe his study of history as learning "key terms."

Although this model of history learning as a dull process of memorization does indeed seem to be common, it would nevertheless be a mistake to assume that this is some sort of universal cultural model held by all students. Seixas (1993) and Epstein (2000) discussed the role that family, cultural background, and other sources outside

school affected students' ideas about history and the past. It may be then that some students see history in school just as another subject to learn and not directly related to their own understanding of family or community history. This is hard to verify, yet I did find in my scholarly paper study that some students only saw history as a part of schooling, and thus they focused on the grade and credits they earned and not the history that they ostensibly learned. In one interview I conducted, a female student reported having no memory of the material learned in her history classes, commenting, "I don't even remember having any of those classes. I had them.... but I don't remember them." Nevertheless, she did remember that she had "passed them all." Asked to talk about her United States history class in particular, she stated, "History.... man... that was... I don't remember doing anything in that class... I know I passed it with a B."

Working for new models of history learning.

Despite the patterns described above, research in history education has provided some tools and ideas to help teachers supplant ineffective models and develop students' thinking about historical accounts. Bain (2000) argued that students do not approach texts, historical information, and historical arguments in the same ways that historians do, and thus they may reject activities structured as authentic historical practices, or such activities may even be misinterpreted and used to maintain their existing views of history. Thus, to engage students "in some legitimate disciplinary activity," Bain posited that it may be necessary to restructure "the social interaction" and challenge "students' presuppositions" (p. 335).

Bain (2006) wrote about his work in this area, describing how he shaped instruction to de-center the textbook and engage students in critical inquiry and problem

solving. He observed that his students saw the textbook as the historical authority, and he sought to develop a "transformation in [his] students' relationships to the books, to the historical content in the books, and to the authors who wrote them" (p. 2084) by having them first create their own accounts of an historical event and then compare that to the account of the textbook. Working with his own classes, Bain carried out a case study on this effort with three classrooms and a total of 76 students across a three week unit on the plague in 14th century Africa, Europe, and Asia. As he taught, he collected archival, ethnographic, and observational data on his students. The students engaged with a document set of 40 primary sources "ranging from woodcuts to papal bulls to stained-glass windows to excerpts from official documents. Students also used data compiled by historians, including population estimates, mortality rates, and economic indicators…" (2087). They used these diverse historical resources to construct their own accounts of the plague, only then did they engage with the textbook. They compared their accounts to that of the book, and then wrote letters to the text authors in which they questioned historical representations and choices with respect to evidence and focus in the book. The students were also encouraged to question Bain's own construction of the text set.

Through this experience, the students developed varying ranges of understanding and knowledge about the Plague and the use of primary sources in history. Bain provided evidence of varying levels of complexity of student reading; some students did not question sources or read across documents whereas others did a better job. More successful students connected authors and documents to a historical context and used their own accounts to judge the quality of the textbook account. As these students began to question the decisions made by the textbook authors and by their teacher, they began to

shift the authority from the book to the evidence found in their own analyses, thus approaching more authentic historical practice.

Moje and Speyer (2008) also took up the challenge of engaging high school learners in historical practice, and their analysis of their own teaching also focused on the literacy and knowledge demands placed upon students during their unit of instruction. Working in an urban community with a large immigrant population, they developed a series of lessons focusing on the topic of immigration in the early 20th century to help students contextualize contemporary discussions of immigration. Moje and Speyer reflected upon the challenges students faced during instruction, and their analysis of the texts they used revealed that students needed a broad base of knowledge to engage with the document, the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. They categorized this knowledge into different types or skill sets, including semantic, mathematical, historical, geographical, discursive, and pragmatic (p. 188).

Moje and Speyer (2008) argued that student engagement with such texts requires a clearly explained and well developed purpose, and raised the question, "how often do high school teachers help readers set such purposes for the various texts they read? And when we do set purposes for student readers, how clear and specific are they?" (p. 193). To set purpose for the reading they wanted students to do, they established some driving questions that students would explore with the texts. Nevertheless, they found that the students "did not appear to have much experience answering *why* questions" (p. 204). Students in this class seemed confused or at a loss for words when pressed to explain the thinking beyond the answers they gave to questions in class discussions. Moje and Speyer had to devote a substantial amount of their time to the use of probing questions

around just one point in order to get students to articulate their reasoning. This instructional decision represented a trade off; using more time to press for understanding meant less time was available for other things. However, in order to engage in the types of historical literacy practices needed for this inquiry, the students needed this type of instructional scaffolding.

Linking history and civics to social justice through critical literacy.

The historical practices that Bain infused into his instruction, and the focus on knowledge and questioning discussed by Moje and Speyer, offer teachers and students tools to use in their consideration of public issues or social problems. In order to address any community problem effectively, the history of that problem needs to be considered so that possible solutions are based upon historical evidence and take multiple contributing factors into account. Social science and historical inquiry are thus necessary for the exploration of issues of democratic participation and social justice. To engage in this type of learning activity, young people need a certain base of knowledge and literacy.

Harper and Bean (2006) discussed the use of historical knowledge and thinking, as well as student production of knowledge, in the consideration of public policy and civic issues. They recommended and described an instructional program in which classroom discussion and analysis began with the identification of a public issue by participants; they then identified stakeholders in the issue and explored their positions; next they investigated policy solutions to the problem taking into account cost-benefit analysis; the next step involved deciding what action to take; and finally the experience proceeded to actual taking of action. Critical reading and analysis were embedded in the

activities, and this approach was designed to promote the "intersection of literacy and democracy" (pp. 157-158).

Another project, the Social Justice Education Project as described by Cammarota (2007) took a similar approach and also tied together social justice and critical literacy practices.   In this initiative, high school students participated in a program with an innovative social science curriculum that guided students to explore social and historical conditions that affect their personal future opportunities. Students engaged in critical reading of theory and conducted their own action research, looking into issues related to schooling and education such as the media, multicultural education, and racism. Cammarota presented interview data from students, as well as survey data from a program evaluation questionnaire completed by 17 students. Students gained skills in critical thinking and also developed their historical and cultural perspectives, learning to connect their own lives to broader issues and patterns. Learning about past struggles for equality, for example, helped motivate students to view their own struggles to succeed as part of a larger social effort to improve their community and nation. The survey responses also showed positive effects upon students, but the sample was small, and there was little exploration of changes in academic proficiencies of disciplinary literacy.

What the programs discussed above have in common is that they actively engaged students in meaningful social science inquiry around social justice issues using a variety of resources. This framework of active inquiry into historical and civic issues is a cornerstone of the approach I took with the TERRA project. What seems to missing in many of the studies discussed above though is an exploration of how engagement in these different inquiry processes, where students take on the role of researchers reading across

documents to solve problems, interacts with already existing and potentially conflicting

ways of learning with text in classrooms. Furthermore, there is little discussion of the

instructional problems encountered in these efforts or of the instructional moves and

choices made by teachers to meet these challenges. Most of the studies cited above

present qualitative data based on observations and interviews on student perspectives and

attitudes. Even though this is important information – I gathered and analyzed similar

data myself – this body of work generally did not take on the question of how

instructional designs engage students in literate practice, or on the difficulties inherent in

this type of instructional program. Thus my study contributes to the literature by

focusing analysis on clear descriptions of actual student participation in, and reaction to,

the new activity system of my instructional design, as well as on the problems faced and

the solutions utilized when trying to implement this design.

Teacher Practice and Decision-Making.

In this context, I conclude this chapter by turning to the literature on teacher

practice and decision-making to help frame my own processes of problem solving during

the implementation of my instructional design. Cohen and Ball (2001) have argued that

attempts to reform and improve education have often failed "precisely because they do

not take account of the dynamics of teaching and learning" (p. 74), and they called for

research into what actually takes place during classroom instruction. Ball and Lampert

(1999) discussed teaching and learning framed around inquiry and investigation, positing

that investigation involves not only "core knowledge" but also "the processes of knowing

and figuring out" (p. 371). They argued that teaching itself is an important area to be

investigated, calling on education researchers and teachers alike to look beyond *what* should be taught and also focus on *how* it should be taught, as well as at the interaction between the *how* and the *what*. They discussed how they studied their own teaching, writing that, "As we encountered challenges and dilemmas, we tried to identify and understand better what shapes them and how we might manage them" (p. 372). This approach, in their eyes, could help to more effectively represent the true complexity of teaching and learning in classrooms and add to our understanding of instructional practice. In my study I ground my discussion of teaching and instructional design in what Ball and Lampert called the "swamp of messy challenges of helping all students learn" (p. 373). In other words, pedagogical recommendations will be discussed in the context of the complex and changing environments in which they may be taken up.

Classrooms indeed are complex sites in which to research, and are shaped by a range of contextual and institutional factors. As Laborde and Perrin-Glorian (2005) argued though, in recognizing the constraints placed on teachers and students by these larger factors located outside the classroom, the study of what happens inside the classroom "offers the researcher the opportunity to gauge the boundaries of the freedom that is left with regard to choices about the knowledge to be taught and the way of organizing the students' learning" (p. 2). Laborde and Perrin-Glorian described the "classroom situation" as a "unit of analysis" with "three main components of the teaching process:" content and domain knowledge, time management, and "the activity of the teacher who prepares and manages the class so as to ensure the progress of students' knowledge as well as his or her own teaching experience" (p. 2). During this activity, teachers make adaptations when problem arise, as described by Ball and Lampert with

respect to the management of "challenges and dilemmas." These pedagogical moves, based on decisions to address developing instructional problems, are thus important moments to study.

Studying pedagogical decisions is potentially very useful, yet it is also very challenging. Labaree (2003) has suggested that there exists a dichotomy between educational practice and educational research that makes this venture difficult, especially for researchers like me who were originally classroom teachers. Labaree argued that teachers and researchers approach education from divergent paradigms that are difficult to bring together. In his analysis, teachers have a perspective that is normative, personal, particular, and experiential. Researchers, on the other hand, work from a paradigm that is more analytical, intellectual, universal, and theoretical. In other words, teachers are more likely to consider teaching and learning in a more immediate, connected way rooted in their own experience whereas researchers are more removed from the context and are looking at a larger picture. This depiction of a dichotomy highlights the challenges of studying instructional decision making and practice. Researchers may question this type of study by asking how anything useful and generalizable can be learned from it if each classroom is so unique and complex. On the other hand, teachers might wonder how more general, universal claims about educational practice will apply to the idiosyncratic world of their classrooms. As both teacher and researcher, I considered both perspectives.

Bulterman-Bos (2008) provided assistance in this difficult task by challenging Labaree's main argument and suggesting that the dichotomy between teacher and researcher need not exist. She argued for a more "clinical approach" to education

research that can bring these perspective together in a productive way. By viewing

teacher practice through a clinical lens, Bulterman-Bos posited that the personal and

intellectual can be brought together to bring teacher practice and decision making into

focus with an analytical frame that still recognizes unique contexts. The dichotomies can

then come together to shape a different conceptualization of both research and practice:

balancing out analysis by grounding it in real contexts; providing personal ownership and

connection to intellectual pursuits; moving across generalizations to more particular

cases; and grounding practice in theory and valuing both. In this model as described by

Bulterman-Bos, the roles of researcher and teacher overlap, and the overlap allows the

use of both sets of lens so that researchers "are automatically inclined to tailor their work

to what serves the needs of the professional practice" (p. 418). This study is thus

situated in this intellectual space.

This consideration of how to approach the study of practice led me directly to the

question of what aspects of teacher practice – a very broad and general concept– were to

be studied. As already stated, I explore my own practices of decision making both in the

development and implementation of the instructional design. In particular, I focus on

choices made in moments of instructional dilemmas (Ball & Lampert, 1999). Calderhead

(1984) described two primary types of decisions made by teachers: preactive, which take

place when the teacher is planning before instruction, and interactive, which take place

during interaction with students and activities during instruction. When planning

instructional tasks and making preactive decisions, teachers consider their own goals, the

content they are to teach, the available materials, the students, the activities they plan to

use, and the social community of the classroom (Shavelson & Stern, 1981, p. 478).

Shavelson and Stern (1981) described the planning process learned by many teachers in teacher education programs, in which instructional planning begins with an objective, moves on to assessment of student knowledge, then to the planning of activities to move students from where they are towards the objective, and ending with some sort of evaluation to determine if students met the objective or not. However, they argued that practicing teachers generally do not use this model because "teachers must maintain the flow of activity during a lesson or face behavioral management problems" (p. 477). In other words, "the teacher must decide how to entertain his or her audience while attending to the curriculum. Activities, then, and not the prescriptive model are the focus of teacher planning" (p. 477). Duffy and Hoffman (1999) argued that, "reading instruction effectiveness lies not with a single program or method but, rather, with a teacher who thoughtfully and analytically integrates various programs, materials, and methods as the situation demands" (p. 11). Duffy and Hoffman go on to state that teachers who are effective in this way assess students and analyze situations before making decisions about methods and materials, and they adapt "to the students and the situation" (p.12).

As they implement their plans, teachers make countless interactive decisions; every action from walking around the room to calling a student's name to what to write on the whiteboard has potential impact on students and the learning environment. In particular though, the decisions that teachers make when a lesson is not going well are of great importance. Shavelson and Stern (1981) argued that experienced teachers primarily "monitor (i.e., have to attend to) only indicators that the activity is not going as planned" (p. 462). They used the term "antecedent conditions" to describe the types of information

that influence teachers' classroom decisions in these situations. These conditions include teacher characteristics, but also information about the characteristics of the students, the activity in which the students are involved, as well as information about the classroom and school environments (p. 462).

As Shavelson and Stern describe the process, teachers use information about their students (ability, participation, and behavior), guided by their own beliefs about teaching, the content area, and the complexity of the material being taught, to attribute student behavior to a range of probable causes. These attributions are also affected by the instructional tasks they have developed and the activities, materials, and group structures being used. Working with these causal attributions for student behavior, teachers make judgments about their students and also about the content level and pace of the lesson. These judgments then form the basis for pedagogical decisions. This whole process takes place under the influence of institutional constraints. As laid out by Shavelson and Stern, however, this description of teacher decision making is rather general and vague, and although it may be useful in helping teachers think about how they monitor the success of an activity, it does not provide much information as to how and where to intervene if the lesson is not going as intended.

Gerald Duffy (1998) described effective teachers as those who "combined philosophies, modified methods, and altered programs as demanded by a given situation. Sometimes they looked like whole-language teachers; sometimes they looked like basic-skills teachers. Sometimes they used one form of grouping; sometimes they used another" (p. 780). Yet his description also is very general and may be difficult for novice teachers to imagine. He wrote that, "Instructional decision making based on their own

moral convictions about what is important, it seems to me, promotes the mindful invention typical of inspired teachers" (p. 779). Though I agree with the sentiment behind this, I also have to acknowledge that this doesn't provide teachers with much to work with… which moral convictions translate into effective pedagogy?

Providing clearer recommendations, Duffy and Hoffman (1999) suggested that teacher educators, "give examples of instructional situations that require methods to be modified, "teach teachers how to solve problems in such situations, and also "provide instruction on a range of approaches and methods and on how to adapt and combine them to meet various situations." They also advocate for teacher education in which these recommendations are illustrated with "case studies of teachers who have successfully combined programs and methods" (p. 15). Donald Freeman (1996), discussing the potential importance of attending to decision making processes, posited that, "decision making offers the promise of a potential point of contact between teaching per se and the processes of teacher education." He continued, suggesting that once studied, "certain decision-making strategies can be taught to potential teachers to improve their classroom practices" (p. 351). Freeman cautioned though that any examination of decision making take into account the larger scale contextual factors that constrain and shape decisions. The implications of this reminder seem to be that different decisions might be more appropriate in different circumstances, and so decision making strategies should not be over-generalized.

This study of my own instructional decisions therefore provides a useful framework within which to think about instructional decisions, particularly for beginning teachers. The framework for teaching decision making that helped me analyze my own

decisions, when compared to those discussed above, de-centered the student as the focal point and instead looked at the activity systems at play in the classroom context. In particular, I examined the interaction between the range of purposes or goals for learning and the use of mediational tools such as texts and the materials and reading practices used to engage with these texts.

Studies on teacher and student interaction.

Looking at a few examples of studies on teacher and student interaction during learning activity, I found that education researchers do address similar questions about decision making behavior, but they are often centered upon individuals – the teacher or students- and have less of an explicit focus on the *how* and *why* of instructional decisions. Erickson (1996) studied teacher and student interaction focusing on discourse and specific speech acts. In his analysis of classroom interaction, he explored how conversations developed and how a range of cues, both verbal and nonverbal, helped to organize opportunities for thinking and learning. This approach to studying the choices made by teachers focuses on very immediate causes and frames decisions as moments of communication. This line of inquiry provides valuable information about how teachers pick up on cues that students are not learning as expected, yet it does not directly consider the factors that may be prompting the cues, such as difficult texts or poorly structured activities with ill-defined goals. Moreover, on it own, it does not consider the impact of systemic inequality or unequal power relations in the classroom.

Walker and Bean (2005) presented a qualitative case study of three different teachers and their perception and use of multiple texts sets in content area instruction. Each teacher used texts in different ways to try and stimulate the interests of their

students, but they were all also constrained in different ways by content standards and assessment demands. They gathered a range of data from the teachers including surveys, e-mails, observations, field notes, classroom products, and interviews about the teacher's ideas about texts and how they planned on using text. They found that "teachers' use of multiple texts could be viewed along a continuum ranging from the heavily orchestrated use of multiple texts with a great deal of teacher guidance, to more independent student use of diverse text material" (p. 71). Nevertheless, they did not discuss many concrete examples of instruction in process and did not directly address interactive decisions made by the teachers with respect to what to do when interaction between text, reader, and activity did not go as planned. The role that students played in this process and the goal structures they brought to the activities also were not directly considered. Even so, they acknowledged the interactive nature of instruction and described it as involving teachers and their teaching practices, students and their learning practices, and the activities where these all come together. Walker and Bean also recognized patterns of problems in instruction, including, "coordination, (managing different needs, levels, demands); resource use, including knowledge, people, and materials, and also managing incentives" (pp. 75-76).

Ivey and Broaddus (2007) also analyzed teacher practices, directly discussing decisions made by teachers during a design study seeking to develop engaging literacy experiences in the classroom for Latino/a secondary students learning to speak English. When students struggled with a set of reading passages in small group work with guided reading, one teacher decided to use smaller chunks of the same passages. This choice seemed to reflect the belief that the texts were worthwhile for students to explore, and the

level of challenge could be lowered enough by simply providing less text. Another

teacher in this same situation, found alternative, less complex texts with photographs and

had students work with them independently. Over the course of the study, the primary

modifications made to Ivey and Broaddus' (2007) design involved changes to the

materials, the development of instructional scaffolds for both reading and writing

activities, and proactive individualized support in which particular students received

targeted assistance. Their modifications then focused on text, activity, and reader. In this

instance, although not framed in this way in the article, decisions were made at the level

of the activity system and considered the intersections of text, reader, and activity.

Using this interactive lens to analyze two studies discussed earlier, it becomes that

clear that Moje and Speyer (2008) and also Bain (2006) made teaching decisions that

shaped the developing activity systems in their classes, and focused on shaping the text,

reader, activity interaction. For example, in the process of delivering instruction during

their unit on immigration, Moje and Speyer discovered a weakness in their design. They

observed that, "Specifically, although our students could visually represent a surface-

level meaning of the texts they read, they were not able to dig deeper into the texts to

comprehend more nuanced meanings, and nothing in the task's purpose demanded in-

depth reading" (p. 193). They realized that the text was challenging for the students, but

also that the activity they had designed did not have a clear purpose that resonated with

the students.   Asking themselves the question, "comprehension to what end?" (p. 193),

they reframed the activity in order to provide a stronger purpose for the deeper reading

they wanted students to practice. In a specific example, they presented students with data

tables related to immigration and found that the students "could engage in analysis of the

numbers and the words and ideas, but only with our support and direction" (p. 196). In terms of reshaping one of the activity systems at work, they maintained the object of study but clarified the outcome of the activity and added in tools to help students move towards the goal of learning valuable information from the text.

Bain (2006) encountered a different type of instructional dilemma as he worked with his high school history students. He found that his students "assumed conventional stances towards texts and had participation patterns that afforded the books an authority that my teaching methods barely dented" (p. 2084). He found that he needed to completely reshape their interaction with text, textual content, and with the texts' authors. "Given the weight of textbooks – literally and figuratively – in the lives of my students, such a transformation required me to do something different" (p. 2084). As a result, Bain found that he had to completely alter the patterns of textual interaction to which students were accustomed. He eventually shaped instruction in the class so that students created their own historical accounts using a range of evidence and only then worked with textbooks. Through comparing their own accounts to that of the textbook, they were apprenticed into a more critical and historical role of text critic and not just text consumer

In this same framework I thus explore my own choices and practices as a teacher as I engaged my students with text. By considering the activity systems and models for learning my instructional design was, in a sense, disrupting, this study complexifies the ongoing discussion around introducing new pedagogies into classrooms. Dillon et. al. (2000), in a discussion of pragmatic approaches to literacy research, asked very important questions that I also asked myself: "Is our research meaningful, credible, and prone to making a difference in students' learning and teachers' pedagogy? Does our inquiry

work toward concrete alternatives for students and teachers?" (p. 25). In describing my own design and implementation then, I worked to provide an affirmative answer to these queries and to examine how students can move towards becoming empowered community members.

In sum, this study of my teaching design and decisions integrates a range of perspectives and approaches that are not often analyzed simultaneously. I consider literacy and learning around historical content using sociocultural frameworks of activity systems, third space, and funds of knowledge. I analyze reading and reading instruction as an interaction between texts, readers, activities, and contexts. These perspectives are then tied to the discipline of history and to disciplinary practices of thinking and reading used in the construction of historical accounts. Finally, this work is also informed by a commitment to social justice education and learning with students using historical inquiry to understand problems rooted in social inequality in their own community.

Of course, this type of reflective study – analyzing one's own planning and teaching decisions- is no easy task. As both the researcher and instructor, I faced the difficult work of reflecting upon my own practice and, in a sense, removing the self during analysis. However, the advantage to being both researcher and instructor is that I had access to my own thinking about design and decision making. I discuss changes in my own practice in response to instructional challenges in the classroom as well as my attempts to work through these moments. In the next chapter, I lay out the design of my research study before moving on to present more in-depth analyses of my design and implementation processes as well as my findings related to the affordances and challenges of my design.

Chapter III

Research Methods and Design

I approached this research from a stance informed by both sociocultural and social justice perspectives, and the design and framing of my research model was similarly grounded. Research from the sociocultural perspective with respect to learning and literacy often considers questions related to the joint construction of knowledge through participation in activity systems (Lee & Smagorinsky, 2000). In addition, this type of research often studies the interaction of different forms of knowledge from everyday to academic. How knowledge develops and is then distributed through social interaction is frequently studied through observation and ethnographic methods, interviews, and other qualitative means (Moll & Amanti, 1992; Lee, 1995). Thus I collected pre and post survey data, interview data, field notes, and student products that enabled me to examine language in interaction with the larger activity structure and ultimately served to inform the refinement of my design.

A social justice orientation was also important to my research approach. Such research, as described by Fine (2000) involves reflexive study with transformational goals and seeks to, "transform public consciousness and 'common sense' about the poor and working classes, write in ways that attach lives to racial structures and economies, and construct stories and analyses that interrupt and reframe the victim-blaming mantras of the 1990s" (p. 108). I hope that this research will be taken up, questioned, and discussed by those committed to educational justice for urban students. As a researcher

within this framework, I strived to maintain a responsible reflexivity; that is, as a scholar with certain levels of privilege in society (I am a middle class, straight, white male) I recognized my own influence on the research process while still giving authentic voice to the research subjects. This involved, for example, carefully not presenting myself to the participants as an expert on the community and instead opening up dialogues to allow the students to serve as knowledgeable others capable of teaching me. In addition, I acknowledged that I came into this research project with prior experience as a social studies teacher in this same community. This gave me important insight and useful networks, and a certain level of authority not granted to those seen more as outsiders.

On the other hand, my experience also colored my expectations and undoubtedly shaped my approach to the research; for instance I began with certain expectations of students' interests and abilities because of my past experience in the same school, even though this was a new group of students. Being aware of this dynamic, I made a conscious effort to root any conclusions about this group in the data that I collected. I tried to present honest, accurate, and warranted depictions of my subjects with the goal of helping create positive change in their schools and communities. Ultimately, this research seeks to improve the education of these students by enhancing their access to valuable information and valuing and honoring the knowledge and experience they bring with them to school (Moje, 2007).

In this context, I developed a flexible model guided by principles applicable to different settings and contexts, and the methodology of design study was most appropriate in this situation. Rather than developing a model with the goal of comparing it to something different, I instead developed a model in which I could analyze my design

decisions and modifications in the process of working with students. As described by van den Akker et. al. (2007), research in the design study model seeks to develop "an intervention in the real world," and it is iterative with a "cyclic approach of design, evaluation and revision" (p. 4). The central task is to understand and develop the program in question and to assess the feasibility of the intervention for use in other settings. This type of study generally yields extensive amounts of both qualitative and quantitative data that is applied to a process of "progressive refinement" of the design involving a first run at implementation and continued cycles of informed revision and development (Collins & Bielaczyc, 2004, p. 18). Therefore the design itself must malleable enough to transform in response to the challenges of real life settings. Ultimately, the goal is to develop theory-based practice that emphasizes "workability" (Reinking and Bradley, 2004, p. 155). In this paradigm, I developed my instructional design and studied the process from planning to enactment.

Research Context

The enactment of this design took place in a school located in a particular community with its own economic, social, and political history. As posited by sociocultural theorists, learning takes place in a broad context of historical, social, and cultural forces, and thus history and community context provide important background for this study. The site for this project was a small public school in the community of Southwest Detroit, Detroit's Latino neighborhood. As the study involved historical inquiry into the current state of the city and the community, an overview of this history provides important background information about the research context and also about the

lives and learning of the student participants. In addition, it provides context for the content of the historical investigation carried out by the students.

Historical context.

Detroit was a booming, industrial center in the first half of the twentieth century as the epicenter of the nation's automobile industry, and people came from all over the nation and world to look for work in the area.   After World War I, many African-Americans from the south headed to Detroit to get away from legislated segregation and to find better jobs; Mexicans began coming as well, although in smaller numbers. As World War II began, even more African-Americans came to work in the automobile factories that had been converted to supply the war effort. In 1943, riots broke out in which racist white mobs angered by increasing integration attacked African-Americans. After the war was over, the black population grew even larger yet remained marginalized in the poorest neighborhoods and had little voice in government (Farley, Danziger, and Holzer, 2000).

Moving into the 1950's, the black community began to call for more rights within the city in the context of the national Civil Rights movement.   With the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education and the beginning of school desegregation across the nation, blacks in Detroit also began to mobilize for greater integration (Farley, Danziger, and Holzer, 2000). Many white families resisted integration and tensions rose; meanwhile, black youth still suffered in substandard schools. Riots again broke out in 1967 as an expression of African-American anger at racism in general and the unjust conditions in the city in particular, including police brutality and unequal access to housing. With the riots and the conflict around

integration many whites abandoned the city, taking their capital resources and property taxes with them (Farley, Danziger, and Holzer, 2000). The city has lost over one million residents since 1950 (Headlee, 2007).

Economically, the availability of inexpensive land outside of the city, as well as the development of the highway system and the growth of suburbs after World War II, sped up this decline by making it easy for industries and white people to relocate outside of the city. In the forty years between 1950 and 1990, around 350,000 jobs were lost in Detroit. As whites and white owned business left the city, housing and lending policies, discriminatory real estate practices, and restrictive housing plans led to even further segregation in the metropolitan area (Zenk, et. al., 2005). In the early 1960's, 28.9% of Detroiters were black, yet at the end of the 20th century they made up close to 90 percent of the city's population (Gavrilovich & McGraw, 2000).

The experiences of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and other Latinos in Detroit are often left out of this story, yet they have been an important part of the city for the past century. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans from Texas first began coming to Michigan in large numbers to work as agricultural laborers in the sugar beet industry in the early 1900's, and many of them stayed or came back to the area when the seasonal work was done. In addition, Mexican men who worked in railroad maintenance also came north to work on regional rail lines, and many settled in Detroit. General labor shortages due to the number of men fighting in World War I also led to an increased demand for workers. Yet it was the automobile industry and Henry Ford's promise of a five dollar work day that brought most Mexicans, and many others, to the Detroit area (Alvarado & Alvarado, 2003).

The United States census of 1900 counted 56 Mexicans living in Michigan and the 1920 census listed 1,268, but historians project that there were likely more than 4000 Mexicans and Mexican-Americans living in Detroit alone at that time (Alvarado & Alvarado, 2003). Yet the post-war recession of 1920 caused a temporary setback for the growing community. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans became convenient scapegoats for the economic crisis, and local authorities began a series of immigration sweeps and deported many people as well as coercing others to repatriate. By the end of this period, more than half of the Mexicans living in the city were either deported or left on their own (Alvarado & Alvarado, 2003).

Nevertheless, by 1922 the economy improved and immigration once again increased. Ford Motor Company employed a large number of Mexican workers and even offered them English instruction. By 1928, the community was solidly located in the southwest corner of Detroit near Michigan and Junction with numerous businesses including restaurants, bakeries, barbers shops, and a Spanish language newspaper. The 1930 census counted close to 10,000 Mexicans in Detroit (Alvarado & Alvarado, 2003).

Although an established presence in Detroit by 1929, Mexicans faced significant discrimination in the city. They were generally prevented from living outside of certain areas and faced segregation from many businesses outside the barrio who would not serve them. Resentment grew on the part of some African-American workers who saw Mexicans as competition for certain categories of jobs (Vargas, 1993). The advent of the Great Depression in 1929 made this difficult situation even worse. As companies began to lay off workers, Mexicans were often the first to go. White workers again blamed the lack of jobs on Mexicans, and many also saw Mexicans as draining the system by turning

to relief. The Detroit City Council ruled that no foreign-born worker, regardless of citizenship, be hired over a U.S. born worker. By 1931, all Mexican employees of Ford had been let go (Vargas, 1993).

As more people from all backgrounds lost their jobs, demands upon the relief system grew. Once again, local authorities began both trying to convince Mexicans to return to Mexico voluntarily, but eventually began a campaign of mass deportations, even deporting several United States citizens of Mexican descent. By 1936, only 1200 Mexicans remained in Detroit, a reduction of the population by almost 90% from 1928, and only 15% of those that remained were employed (Vargas, 1993). Yet with the New Deal and World War II, the economy improved and so did the demand for labor and the possibilities for community rebirth. With the beginning of the war in Europe, there was an increased demand for labor as production began again and many men were called to the armed forces. A new wave of immigration began and people from Mexico returned to Detroit and settled back into the same neighborhoods. By 1940, before the United States had even entered the war, the community had rebounded, and by 1950, the estimated Mexican and Mexican-American population of Detroit was 25,000 (Alvarado & Alvarado, 2003).

The end of World War II led to a national focus on urban planning and suburban development, and the discourse of this period focused on "urban blight" as a problem to be solved by the construction of highways and " 'higher-use' redevelopment of prime central-city property" (Villa, 2000, p.71). Federal initiatives, formalized by the Federal Highway Act of 1950, took a harsh toll on certain parts of Detroit (Donna Erickson Consulting, 2007). Older neighborhoods on the Southwest side of the city such as

Corktown, with large immigrant, working class and poor populations, were sacrificed by the city powers to the incoming freeway system and entire neighborhoods were razed to the ground. In addition, neighborhoods in the community that had always been connected were quite literally cut off from each other by new highways (Donna Erickson Consulting, 2007).

Despite these setbacks, this resilient community continued to grow, and second and third generation Mexican-Americans became a larger part of the Southwest Detroit community as more families set down roots (Alvarado & Alvarado, 2003). In addition, Puerto Ricans began to come to the barrio in significant numbers during the 1950's as a result of efforts to recruit Puerto Rican workers for employment in both agriculture and industry. Southwest Detroit remained a strong and developing community into the 1970s, with a thriving business sector, diverse cultural programs, and social service agencies. At the same time, those in the barrio still faced urban blight, gangs, drugs, institutionalized racism, and widespread poverty (Alvarado & Alvarado, 2003).

In the 1960's and 1970's, Cuban immigration as a result of political conflict linked to the 1959 revolution resulted in the growth of a small Cuban population in Southwest Detroit. In the 1980's, with civil war and extreme poverty in Central America, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and other Central Americans also found their way to the area, along with smaller numbers of South American and Caribbean immigrants (Badillo, 2003). Unfortunately, the 1980s also saw the decline of the local auto industry, and many Detroit employers connected to this business sector shut down and moved (somewhat ironically for Mexicans in Detroit) production facilities to Mexico; thousands of jobs were lost. Even so, Southwest Detroit has continued to see

some commercial development, continued immigration, and is seen as an area of growth in an otherwise contracting city. In 2000, Latinos made up somewhere between five and six percent of the city's population, and they are one of the only groups with population growth inside the city (Badillo, 2003). Although Southwest is Detroit's Latino community, it is also the city's most racially and ethnically diverse community, with approximately 50% of it's population being Latino, 25% black, 20% white, and 5% Arab-American (Rodriguez, 2008).

In 2001, the poverty rate in Detroit's Empowerment Zone, much of which is located in Southwest Detroit, was 47 percent for the general population and an astounding 63 percent for children under 17. The median family income was only $9,780 and unemployment was 29 percent (Citizens Research Council of Michigan, 2001). According to the 2000 U.S. Census, less than ½ of this community's adult residents are high school graduates or higher. Illegal dumping brings blight and an overabundance of trash to many streets in the community, and though residents have complained to the city for years, there has been little action (Bodipo-Memba, 2004). Southwest Detroit is also an area with extensive industrial activity that provides some jobs but also creates excessive traffic as well as air and noise pollution. Southwest Detroiters have to breathe the most polluted air in Michigan, and even some of the most contaminated air in the whole country (Krupa, 2004). In addition, although it does have a lower crime rate than many other neighborhoods in Detroit (Aguilar, 2000), violent crime as well as gang and drug activity are serious issues in Southwest Detroit, as a low crime rate in Detroit can still be quite high. In 2006, there were 411 homicides in Detroit, at the rate of 48 murders per 100,000 residents, which is seven to eight times higher than state and

national averages. It is estimated that at least half of the murders are drug related (Seidel, 2004). The education system in the city is also struggling to meet the needs of its students. In 2008, the Education Policy Center at Michigan State University reported that only 32% of students in Detroit graduate from high school in four years (Bouffard, 2008).

On the other hand, Southwest Detroit also has many assets, including a vibrancy brought to it through cultural diversity and a history of hard working, struggling people. There are numerous human service agencies working to develop the area as well as several churches that are invested in the community. Numerous restaurants, bakeries, and other businesses are run by and for Latinos. Although the "entire city of Detroit has faced considerable decline over the past thirty years, Southwest Detroit has continued to attract immigrants - mostly Hispanic families - and has maintained a sense of community and economic vitality"(Wayne State University Center for Urban Studies, n.d.). There is also a history of activism around social justice issues such as immigration and the environment (Badillo, 2003). This community is certainly a part of the larger story of Detroit; it's burned out buildings, low performing schools, and lack of resources are testament to the city's struggles. Yet Southwest Detroit's story is also unique; driving down Vernor, a main commercial strip, one can see the juxtaposition of growth and decline as new businesses go up next to abandoned buildings. It is not a dying community by any means, but one in a constant struggle to stay afloat, to move forward, to reinvent itself and yet still maintain its character. The students in this study live and go to school in this community, and the problems they addressed in the TERRA project are rooted in this dynamic context.

School context.

At the time of the study, the school had approximately 600 students. It is a small, public school academy with a student body that is around 85% Latino and predominantly Mexican and Mexican-American. There are also students from Puerto Rico and other Caribbean nations as well as several students from Central American nations. Of the remaining 15% of the students, around 10% are black and 5% are white. Approximately 25% of the students were born outside of the United States, and around 60% are bilingual in English and Spanish with 10-15% speaking primarily only Spanish. Most of the students come from low-income families; the school is a Title I building with over 85% of the students eligible for the federal free and reduced lunch program.

Academic achievement as measured by standardized tests in the community schools, including the school where the study was carried out, is well below state averages. In 2006, 68% of 11th grade students in the state met or exceeded the state standards in reading and 78% of 11th graders did so in social studies. By contrast, in the research site, 32% of juniors met or exceeded reading standards and 64% accomplished this in social studies. Nevertheless, scores at this particular school have improved. In 2010, 65% of 11th grade students statewide scored at or above the proficient level in reading, and 52% of the 11th grade students at the school where the study was located achieved proficiency or better in reading. In social studies in 2010, the statewide average was 79% and it was 64% at the school site.

Participants.

As both the researcher and the teacher in this project, I was a study participant; I analyzed my own teaching and made an effort to maintain a sort of meta-awareness of

myself in both roles. As the teacher, I shaped the design and delivered the instruction to the participating students, thus playing a direct role in establishing an activity system in which learning would occur. I took into account my own background as well as the backgrounds of my student participants. I have worked in the community where this research took place for over 16 years, first as a substance abuse and violence prevention specialist at a youth center, then as a secondary social studies teacher, and finally as a researcher. I was an English and social studies teacher for eight years at the school where this study was carried out. I therefore was familiar with the community and school context, and also with the range of student abilities and backgrounds I was likely to encounter. I had studied the history of Detroit on my own as well, and so I began the study with pre-existing knowledge about the community, as well as experience with history teaching. My background is important to take into account as I was able to call upon my own funds of knowledge in this project, but was also limited by my own assumptions, and any challenges I faced should be viewed in this context. An inexperienced teacher unfamiliar with the content and context would likely face even more difficulties, yet any teacher can and should take steps to learn their content, get to know the community, and learn about their students.

Student participants for the after-school program came from the general population of the high school and primarily included students who needed community service hours for a school requirement. I made an arrangement with the school to offer community service hours as a participation incentive for the program and offered participants one hour for every session. I gave presentations to students in their classrooms to recruit participants along with making announcements over the school's

public address system. I encouraged students to recruit their friends as well. I also met

with a parent group to explain the program and encourage student participation.   I

described the program as an opportunity to gain community service hours, learn about the

community, and be "a part of the solution and not the problem." In addition, I offered to

provide snacks every week and also to buy every participant a book of their choice.

For the classroom component, I worked with a history teacher at the school with

whom I have a long standing collaboration. He was teaching a social studies elective

using film to teach about different historical topics, and I taught my unit in this course.

The class consisted of 27 students, most in the ninth grade, who had been assigned to take

that class. I explained the research project to them and invited them to participate;

participation incentives included a free book for participants as well as a bag of candy for

bringing back signed consent and assent forms. Students who chose not to participate in

the study, or whose parents did not consent, received the same instruction as study

participants, but I did not collect data from them. In addition, I positioned my video

camera so that it only filmed half of the seats in the room and I asked the non-participants

to sit in the section that was not being filmed.

My total sample for the study included 27 students, 8 in the after-school program

and 19 in the classroom sessions. In the after-school program, there were 5 males and 3

females, and all of the students were Latino/a. Within this group there were 4 eighteen

year olds, 2 seventeen year olds, and 2 fifteen year olds. The six older students were all

seniors who were trying to complete their community service hours but also expressed an

initial interest in the program, and the two younger students were freshmen who were

interested in the project and not as concerned about community service. Four of the

students were born in Mexico, 4 were of Mexican descent but born in the United States (1 in California and 3 in Detroit), and one student was Puerto Rican and born in Detroit. All of these students were bilingual except one who spoke and read only in English. Within this group of eight, four of the males dropped out after only a few sessions. Two of them were arrested for vandalism; one of these never returned to school and the other eventually returned to school but did not rejoin the program. The other two young men joined an intramural touch football program that started after-school after my third session. Not long after, one of the young women made the cheerleading team, and her practice conflicted with the program.

One month into the project, this left me with three student participants for the after-school component who consistently participated throughout the whole school year. At that time, I chose to continue to work with only those three students as opposed to trying to recruit a new group. They were engaged and committed and we had many productive discussions. At the same time, if even only one student was absent, it became difficult to maintain a consistent flow of activity. This situation, in part, reinforced my interest in trying this design out as a classroom unit of instruction as well.

The classroom sample included 9 boys and 10 girls, and 17 of these students were Latino along with one white student and one African-American student (both born in the United States). Among the Latinos, 10 were born in Mexico, 1 in Honduras, 5 in Detroit, and 3 in California. Sixteen of these students spoke both English and Spanish and three spoke only English. This group primarily consisted of freshmen and included eight 15 year olds and nine 16 year olds. There were two seniors in the group as well though, one 18 year old and one 17 year old, both of whom needed an additional social studies credit

to graduate. Given that this was a class, the students were required to be there, even if they were not required to participate in the study. None of the students who were assented and consented withdrew from the study, although they were told they could do so, but overall attendance in the class was an issue and seven of the study participants missed anywhere from three to six of the 23 sessions.

Looking at the sample of 27 students as a whole, nineteen of the students reported being able to read in both English and Spanish. Fifteen students reported using both Spanish and English for communication, two relied primarily on Spanish, and ten mainly used English. Parental formal education levels as reported by the participants tended to be low. The profiles of mothers and fathers were similar; 14 students reported that their mothers had not graduated from high school, 6 stated that their mothers had graduated but had not gone on to postsecondary education, and 7 reported that their mothers had some education beyond high school – including one Master's Degree. Thirteen fathers did not graduate, 6 finished high school, and 8 had some education beyond high school. These statistics are consistent with the general educational profile of adults in this community.

Again across the whole sample, six students positively self-identified as readers when asked in an open-ended survey question, "Are you a reader?" Typical responses included a brief but enthusiastic "Yeah!" as well as self-confident statements such as the following by a ninth grader: "Yea, I'm a great reader. I have a 12th grade reading level." Five students responded with conditional statements qualifying their reading behaviors connected to their interest in the reading material. One student wrote that, "I only read what looks interesting.   About sports or something funny or educational," whereas

another reported that, "Sometimes, because I do like reading books, but I like only the ones that get my attention fast." There were eleven students who reported that they either did not like to read or that they did not consider themselves to be readers (in response to the same question). One student shared that he was not a reader "because I don't like to read, it's not my thing," and other simply wrote, "not really, bores me." Five students did not complete this portion of the survey.

Academically, there was a range of performance levels, but overall this group was not high performing on standard measures of academic achievement (I was unable to collect the achievement data for all students; data reported are the total amount collected.) Twenty-one students took the Degrees of Reading Power assessment, and only 1 student scored above the 70th national percentile. An additional six students scored above average, between the 50th and 70th national percentiles, but 14 students scored below the national average, including nine below the 40th percentile. Nine of these students in the whole sample had grade point averages between a 1.0 and 2.0; nine were between a 2.0 and a 3.0, and 4 obtained better than a 3.0 grade point average. Eleven of the students had a C or worse for their second semester social studies grade, seven had a B, and four had an A. Several students in this sample had serious problems with attendance as well. Seven students had less than 10 absences over the course of the year, six had between 10 and 20 absences, and ten had more than 20 absences in a 180 day school year.

To further describe the sample, I discuss some of the students who participated most actively and generated more data, both after school and in the classroom. After school, Ramon, Cristina, and Karina became the core of the TERRA group.[3] Ramon was a ninth-grader of Puerto Rican and Mexican descent. A tall, garrulous boy prone to

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[3] All student names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

laughing and sarcastic comments, he actively participated in discussions and demonstrated broad knowledge of the city and history in general. At the same time, he labeled himself "lazy" and openly acknowledged that school bored him. He learned about the program when I visited his class and came because he was interested in learning more about the city. Cristina was a senior, born in Mexico, but raised in Michigan. She was quiet and did not volunteer to talk, but always gave a thoughtful response when called on. She was an average student who worked hard, and she was very concerned about earning enough community service hours to graduate as she had put this off until her senior year. Karina, also a senior of Mexican descent, needed the community service hours as well. She was also on probation through the juvenile court system for reasons she did not discuss (and I didn't ask), and participating in this program was helpful in demonstrating good behavior to her probation officer. Karina was more talkative then Cristina and was very concerned about the abandoned buildings in her neighborhood.

As shown in the table below with data from the school (see Table 1), these three students ranged in their reading proficiency and academic success. Not one of them, however, by more conventional standards of grade point averages, was an outstanding student. Certain things stand out for each: Ramon's school performance clearly did not match his potential; Karina had an excessive amount of absences along with a below average score on the DRP; and Cristina appeared to be an average reader with average grades overall but with a good grade in social studies.

Table 1. After-school participants' background data

Student	DRP %[4]	GPA[5]	Absences	2nd Semester Social Studies grade
Ramon	72	1.13	8	D+
Karina	45	1.16	58	B+
Cristina	54	2.08	16	A

The classroom unit, given the mandatory nature of class attendance, had more consistent participants. Prior to beginning the actual instructional unit in the classroom, I had co-taught several lessons with the teacher and visited the classroom to introduce myself and my study as well. Thus, the students knew who I was, what we would be studying, and had, for the most part, decided whether or not they were going to participate in the study before I actually began teaching. A sub-sample of these students, those who participated most actively in discussions and are quoted in excerpts in the paper, are profiled in Table 2 below to add detail.

Table 2. Classroom participants' background data

Student	Language first spoken	Are you a reader?	DRP %	GPA	Absences	SS sem. grade
Antonio	Spanish, English	A little because I only read what looks interesting. About sports or something funny or educational.	17	2.27	12	C+
Dora	Spanish/English	No, I'm not a reader because most of the time I'm doing something else, I never make up time to read.	44	2.13	32	C-
Tomas	Spanish, English	I don't like to read at all.	9	2.73	36	B
Angela	Spanish and English	Yes. I read the Twilight Saga all the time.	51			
Reymundo	English and Spanish	one example to read is history book	42	1.67	12	B-

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[4] Based on national percentile rankings for the Degrees of Reading Power assessment.
[5] Cumulative grade point average for the school year

Aracely	English, Spanish	I am a reader, as long as the topic is not boring and not long. I like to read exciting books and about the human body (autopsies).	68	2.8	23	B-
Sara	English	I'm not a reader because I don't like to read its not my thing.	9	1.27	36	F
Rebecca	Spanish	Sometimes, because I do like reading books, but I like only the ones that get my attention fast. My favorite thing to read are "baby sitter books or the unfortunate events!	23	3.07	8	C+
Steven	English	Yes, I read Mad Magazine, mostly the real early ones.	45	1.27	17	C+

Overall, although there was a range of achievement and academic success among the students in this sample, more than half of them appeared to read below national averages as measured by the DRP. A similar proportion was not succeeding academically and many of them also had poor attendance. These students, almost all Latino, were generally from low income families with lower levels of parental education. Many of them expressed that they did not like to read, and most of them had learned English as their second language. Yet they also brought a wealth of experience and knowledge to the program, as will be discussed later, as well as the willingness to engage in a range of activities to which they were generally not accustomed.

Cultural models of learning in the research site. In working with students in the TERRA project, I found that the common cultural models of history learning discussed in Chapter 2 appeared to be at work in the minds of many participating students. In an interview, for example, I asked Ramon to talk about his perceptions of his history classes. He reported that he liked them because they were, "straightforward, y know….. it's like, this is what happened, and that's it, and then you just gotta remember that by the time

you take the test and you're straight… that's what happened and that's it." He went on to say that, "it's pretty easy, I'd be getting an A if I wanted to." Reymundo and Steven, participants in the classroom unit of instruction, also liked their history classes; Reymundo liked learning about "the battles, and what people had to go through to get to where we're at now. " Steven reported that he learned "a lot from them" and went on to say that, "history is something you should know." When I asked Reymundo if history was useful, he said that, "if someone asks a question, you can answer it, if they don't know it." In general, the cultural model of history as a series of events, and of history education as studying the past in order to remember details of these events, was something I expected to, and did, encounter in this project as will be discussed in grater length in Chapters 4 and 5.

Research Design.

Data Collection and Analysis.

Data collection in the study served three primary purposes in this study: to help understand and describe the sample; to develop, refine, and describe the instructional design, including the design and instructional decisions I made; and to analyze the student participation and activity over the course of the program. In terms of sample description, I collected data from the school on all consented participants including grade point average, grade for their second semester social studies class, and attendance. This data was then analyzed descriptively and used to profile the students and the overall sample. The different tools I used to collect additional data are described below.

Literacy Survey (see Appendix A). The Literacy Survey instrument I used was

adapted from the Adolescent Literacy Development (ALD)[6] project and was used in that

four year study with over 1000 middle and high school students. I utilized a shortened

version with 43 questions that was administered in the fall of 2009 at the beginning of the

after-school program and also in the spring of 2010 before the classroom unit began.

There was a follow up version with 34 questions that was administered at the end of the

school year to the participants in the classroom component only; this post-test version left

out 8 questions that pertained to basic demographic information that I only needed once.

The survey included both open ended questions and questions with Likert scale

response options. It provided important background information on students with items

relating to country of birth, language background, parent's level of education, and career

and education goals. There were also questions about students' self-concept as readers

and writers; for example, to explore self-concept as a reader, the survey asked students,

"Are you a reader? Why or why not? What is your favorite thing to read?" The Likert

scale questions pertained to the frequency of different literate practices, from use of the

internet to reading different types of materials; they included questions about students'

perceptions of the utility, value, and importance of different practices; and they also

related to students' self-assessment of ability and expectations for achievement both in

and out of school with respect to literacy. For example, the students were asked, "How

much do you like to read outside of school," "How important and useful is this reading?",

and "How good at it are you?" Students responded on a 1 to 7 scale with one generally

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[6] The Adolescent Literacy Development Project was a four year longitudinal, mixed-methods study of the literacy practices, attitudes, and achievement of youth in this community. Dr. Elizabeth Moje was the principal investigator; I was a graduate student research assistant on the project for two years and am still working as part of an associated research team.

being low frequency or low value and 7 representing high frequency or high value. There were similar questions with respect to learning in social studies classes (how much do you like it, how important is it to do well, how good at it are you) and literacy practices in social studies classes.

The purpose of this survey was to help me understand and describe how the students viewed themselves and their schooling, particularly with respect to literacy practices outside of school and also in the social studies classroom. Survey data were entered into an Excel spreadsheet and then transferred into a SPSS spreadsheet for analysis in order to provide general overviews of the sample with respect to their literacy practices and attitudes. Given the size of the sample and the short duration of the study, I did not analyze this data to look for significance of change in any responses.

The open-ended responses were coded and categorized using Constant Comparative Analysis (Straus and Corbin, 1998). Past analysis of similar data yielded categories of "Reader" and "Non-reader" in terms of self-concept, allowing comparison of other data across these groups, and I explored this data in a similar fashion in order to see if students who self-identified as readers, for example, demonstrated different patterns of participation compared to those who did not identify as readers. Language data were coded by language spoken and also with respect to literacy in different languages. Information about country of birth helped to describe the sample in terms of immigration status. These items were used primarily to develop an understanding of the cultural background of participants.

The second version of the survey (see Appendix A) administered to the classroom participants at the end of the unit included some additional items designed to help me

evaluate their attitudes towards the design and the project. The following questions were given with students responding on the 7 point Likert scale:

- In this project, how much did you like doing social studies on Detroit?

- In general, how useful was what you learned in social studies about Detroit?

- How good at social studies were you during this unit?

In addition, the following open-ended questions were administered on this final survey instrument for the same purpose, to gauge students' views on the design:

- How was learning about the history of Detroit, and focusing on a specific problem, different than what you usually do in social studies?

- What did you like about this unit?

- What did you not like about this unit?

- In your opinion, is history useful? Why or why not? If it is, why should we study history?

- What do you think about learning history to help us solve problems?

- How do you feel about HOW we learned about Detroit… using film, articles, speakers, interviews, etc. and reading strategies? What helped you and what did not?

This final survey, along with a final quiz (discussed with student products below), was administered by the teacher after I had finished instruction. The survey was given the week after we finished, and the final quiz was given two weeks after the unit. I had these tools used when I was not present in the hopes that students would be more comfortable providing honest answers if I was not in the room.

Semi-Structured Interview (see Appendix B). In addition, I conducted semi-structured interviews with a convenience sub-sample of six students, three from the after-school program and three from the classroom component. I had intended to do some follow up interviews, but scheduling and actually carrying out the six primary interviews proved enough of a challenge.   The semi-structured interview was based upon a guided interview protocol that took students through 16 questions about their literacy practices including reading, writing, technology use, self-concept as a reader and writer, and their attitudes towards social studies classes and issues of concern in their community. This was an abbreviated version of the semi-structured interview protocol used in the Adolescent Literacy Development Project over four years with over 100 middle and high school students. I asked students the initial set of questions, they answered, and I probed when necessary to get a more complete answer. These interviews generally lasted from 25 to 35 minutes and took place in the school, either after school or during the student's lunch period, and included questions such as the following:

- How often do you read just for fun in general? What sorts of things do you like to read?

- How often do you write for pleasure?

- What have you learned in your social studies classes that help you understand you own life and your community better?

The responses to these questions were analyzed using Constant Comparative Analysis and were triangulated with other data when appropriate. The overall purpose of these questions was to develop a background profile of participants in terms of their

literate practices and attitudes towards literacy, and also with respect to social studies education.

In general, I used the coding and categorization procedures of Constant Comparative Analysis to identify patterns or themes across student responses, and I then compared these to patterns found in data from other sources. Past analysis of similar data from the ALD project yielded codes and categories that revolved around students' self-concepts as readers and writers, their levels of engagement in social studies classes, and particular types of concerns about their communities.

Degrees of Reading Power (DRP). I used the Degrees of a Reading Power as a measure of general reading comprehension. All consented students present for testing were given the DRP both after school and in the classroom. This is a group assessment that can be used in grades 1-12. It utilizes a series of cloze exercises designed to ascertain how well students can identify important missing details/words. The cloze format is combined with readability formulas with the texts to generate an assessment of how well children read with different levels of text difficulty. The questions in the test are designed so that students can use information in the passage to help figure out the answer. They tend to not demand deep prior knowledge; thus the test items attempt to measure student's ability to comprehend the passage and interpret the questions. Items and passages range across difficulty levels.

The DRP is a useful tool in linking student reading scores to both in and out-of-school reading (Smith, 2004). Reliabilities for the DRP range between .94 and .97 for scores in grades 4-12, and an independent review found that the instrument demonstrates both construct and content validity (Widaman, 2004). Reviewers found the DRP easy to

administer and score as well, and they also stated that the scores appear to be consistent with other measures of students' reading (Smith, 2004; Widaman, 2004).

I used DRP data as a distal measure of reading ability for the participants in order to describe and understand the sample in terms of reading achievement. I did not use the DRP as a pre and post measure, as it would be very difficult however to link any pre and post changes in reading comprehension to the TERRA intervention given the additional amount of instruction students are receiving every day school.

Student Products. Over the course of the program, I also collected artifacts of student production from the program. These included summaries of articles they read in the problem investigation as well as any materials they produced as part of their action project. Other student products collected included guided reading worksheets, guided viewing worksheets for films, graphic organizers, and final projects. I analyzed these artifacts by looking for evidence of student thinking, content learning, and application of reading and/or thinking strategies. This component of my research allowed me to examine if and how students understood and applied knowledge and strategies from the instructional sessions. In the course of the intervention, I used this data to help make decisions about program modification.

Of particular importance in looking at how the design impacted student knowledge and thinking were their final projects. For their final project, students were asked to create their own historical account of the development of urban blight in Detroit. Using these projects, I was able to identify which students were more successful at creating coherent, content-rich accounts and then triangulate that information with student data such as the DRP scores and grades. I was also able to assess the overall

impact of my design and identify places it could be strengthened, as will be discussed below.

Text Analysis (see Appendix C). In order to assess and describe the complexity of the texts I used, I analyzed several representative texts with an on-line tool for linguistic analysis, Coh-Metrix (Graesser et. al., 2004). Coh-Metrix evaluates the difficulty of texts in terms of linguistic complexity and conceptual density and also in terms of overall text cohesion – how consistently the language and ideas in the text are presented. Whereas Coh-Metrix analyzes texts across a wide array of measures, I focused my text analysis on a limited set of measures in order to provide a broad, but relatively concise, evaluation of the selected texts. Specifically, I used the following measures available through Coh-Metrix (2006) to look at this text set in order to make rough comparisons across texts:

- Flesch-Kincaid Reading Ease Score – These scores are reported on a 0 to 100 scale with a higher score suggesting that a text is easier to read in comparison to texts with lower scores.   Most documents score between between 6 and 70. This score is calculated in part by using average sentence length and average number of syllables per word.

- Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level – A formula is used to convert the above described Reading Ease Score to a United States grade level equivalent (0-12). The higher the number, the more difficult the text.

Field notes and memos. One of the challenges of being both instructor and researcher was being able to record notes on what was happening. I took notes immediately after sessions were over, and more importantly, I used audio tapes of the after-school sessions and video tapes of the classroom session to facilitate the process of

stimulated recall (Shavelson & Stern, 1981), adding to field notes jotted down in the moment and immediately after. I also carried a tape recorder and tape recorded reflections as I drove home from the research site. These recordings were transcribed and added into my field notes where appropriate or kept as theoretical memos.

The field notes that emerged from this process were analyzed through Constant Comparative Analysis and were triangulated with data from other sources. During the study, I also used this analysis of data to adjust the design of the intervention at breaks between the instructional modules. These data were particularly important with respect to describing the actual design as implemented, analyzing how students participated in the design, and also exploring the different decisions I made and challenges I faced when implementing this design.

I also wrote theoretical memos to myself to keep track of my thinking and planning, particularly during the design, and later design refinement, process. These memos kept track of decisions and linked them to the theoretical models guiding the study. For example, I wrote a memo describing the decision I made to move away from more explicit instruction after school to more dialogic interaction around text, and then framed this decision with activity theory as a move to shift both the object and mediating tools (discussed more in detail in Chapter 5). I wrote these theoretical memos bi-weekly during the after-school program and weekly during the classroom program, and I then combined them with my field notes chronologically in a database to facilitate analysis.

Analysis across data sources. A particularly important phase of my analysis began with open coding (Straus & Corbin, 1998) of these supplemented field notes and subsequent triangulation with data from other sources. In this process, I looked through

my field notes for examples of moments when I made instructional decisions that changed or shifted the original plan of the lesson. I coded these as decisions, and then briefly described in note form what the change had been (see Appendices E and F). For example, on several occasions I stopped small group work by students and shifted into whole class instruction. These moments typically took place when I noticed that several groups were experiencing the same sort of problem, such as incorrectly interpreting statistics about automobile production rates in the Midwest. This type of change was coded initially as "Decision" and also described as "group to whole class to clarify information in text." Having open coded and described a range of instructional decisions, I went back through and looked for defining categories that might help me group and more precisely label my choices.

I then went back through the field notes, and also returned to the video when necessary, to examine the cues in the classroom that prompted my decisions to shift the planned lesson in some way. I found that these cues tended to come from either the students or the larger classroom context (interruptions to class, for example) and that when coming from students, they represented some sign that students were not understanding or not interested in the lesson. Having identified specific decision moments, I then turned to the student products from those lessons looking for further insight into when I made changes and what happened after the change.

In order to more effectively capture these instructional decisions, I developed what I call decision case studies, detailed descriptions of the activity context, causes, and effects of a limited set of instructional decisions that serve as exemplars of my evolving assertions. I identified key moments when I shifted the use of text, my interaction with

the readers, and the structure or flow of my activity, and I analyzed them by looking deeply at the interaction between text, reader, and activity. I then described them in narrative with this analytical frame in mind, continually going back to the video to make sure that my description accurately captured the interaction.

After focusing my analysis on instructional decisions and the cues that prompted them, I returned to the augmented field notes and looked for evidence of student engagement and learning in order to discuss the affordances of the instructional design. I looked for evidence in the notes of active student discussion and went back to the video if the notes were not clear. I also analyzed the survey and final quiz data to evaluate student attitudes towards the instructional design in order to assess their engagement in and understanding of the approach. Analysis of the student work was also useful in thinking about the affordances of the design with respect to looking at the types of reading, writing, and questioning evoked among students by the design. Categories of affordances emerged in this analytical process, such as "Positive student engagement," "student interest," and "opportunity to talk about historical event." These categories were continually refined and triangulation across the different data sources facilitated further refinement and description of the range of affordances of this instructional design.

In the same process, I looked for evidence that students were struggling because of the design so that I could discuss its challenges. However, the fact that students struggled with certain tasks was not, in itself, a sign of problems with the design. A good instructional design may introduce complex tasks that students find difficult. Nevertheless, an effective design will also provide instructional scaffolds that help students work through the challenges. So, when students struggled without adequate

support in the instruction, I considered it a design challenge, recognizing as well that enactment of instruction is part of the design process. For example (discussed in more detail below) I developed activities in which students were to work with data tables, and they were not effectively prepared for this kind of text. The struggles students faced in these lessons were a result of problems in the design and the organization of the activity system, and I looked for moments such as this for evidence of design challenges. I also looked through the student products for examples of student misunderstandings that were not effectively addressed.

In addition, I analyzed student speech during class and their work products to look for evidence of push-back, resistance, or use of their normal classroom practices to understand the tensions between my design their customary classroom models of learning. For example, students often wrote very short, detail oriented answers to reading questions that were designed to help students think at higher levels. In these cases, I analyzed classroom talk and their answers to try and ascertain if the students were just going through the motions of the assignment, if the assignment did not have clear instruction, or if the students lacked important skills or knowledge, or some combination of these factors. Finally, I analyzed the survey data, interview data, and the final quiz data to study students' attitudes towards the types of learning and activity they experienced in this instructional design.

I continually revisited the categories I identified and developed initial assertions in response to my original research questions. I then developed a key linkage chart (Erikson, 1996) that laid out the assertions, the categories identified in my analyses that supported these assertions, the properties of these categories, and then data exemplars

that served to illustrate the properties. I used the data I had already analyzed to provide exemplars, but I also continually returned to the data during this process, as well as to the key linkage chart, to refine my assertions and develop the conclusions from my findings.

As a result of these analyses, I arrived at the following assertion, which I will discuss in depth in the remaining chapters. I argue that changing the practices of teaching and learning in classrooms is a complex process that involves far more than introducing new curricula, materials, or learning strategies. The cultural models around knowledge, teaching, and learning held by students and teachers, and even represented in texts and contexts, must be shifted as well. Engaging students in deeper historical inquiry, for example, necessitates much more than introducing new reading strategies, multiple texts, or exercises to promote historical thinking; it requires the disrupting and replacement of existing cultural models around history and history learning represented in the views of teachers and students, in texts, and shaped by the classroom context. Shifting deeply ingrained models, moreover, is a lengthy process that requires constant and responsive revisions to the instructional design seeking to create such change. In Chapter 4, I present my findings with respect to my own design process for the TERRA curriculum and describe its disruptive intent with a focus on three primary design tasks. From this analysis I move to Chapter 5 where I discuss the enactment of the design and the modifications I made to it as a result of the tensions generated by disruptions.

Chapter IV

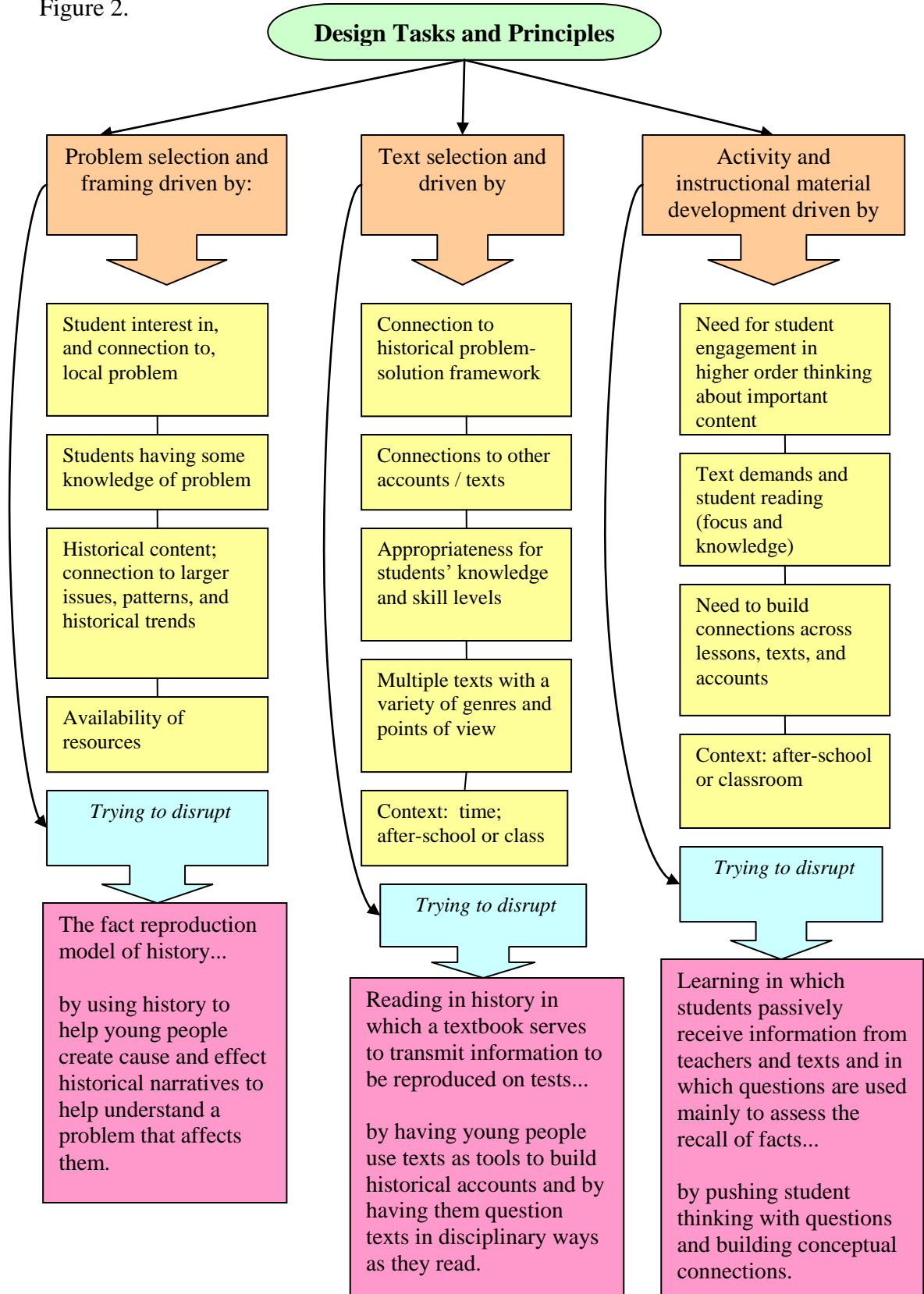## Instructional Design and Disruption

In this chapter, I argue that the development of a new instructional design that seeks to introduce students to different ways of learning must actively disrupt the models of learning already in place. Key tasks of instructional design, including problem selection and framing, text selection, as well as activity and materials development, function as potential sites for this disruption if they re-position the teacher and students with respect to the interactions between content, texts, and learning processes. Constant comparative and discourse analyses of the design artifacts indicated that the TERRA curriculum was intended to supplant the model of history learning as fact reproduction by centering learning on the development of historical accounts about a real world problem. The design also disturbed transmission models of teaching in which the teacher provides knowledge to students by engaging students in generating their own historical accounts. In this process, the design was also developed to shift the stances students took towards reading, texts, and authors, as well as the role of questions in the classroom.

This process of designing to disrupt old patterns and then engage students in new ones occurred through three primary tasks: problem selection and framing, text selection, and activity and materials development. By structuring learning around a problem, and then framing this problem, this design gave history learning a more critical purpose than the gathering of chronologically organized facts. Text selection was carried to support this disruption and position texts as tools for inquiry. Text selection was thus driven by

the problem and also by the abilities and interests of students, as will be discussed, thereby disrupting a typical model of text driven instruction in which learning units follow textbook chapters. Finally, activities and materials were developed to support students in becoming producers of knowledge. In addition, activities were designed to push student thinking beyond main idea statements and summarization into critical analysis, and to support them in this process.

In my analysis, I found that each of these activities was driven by a set of design principles, as illustrated in the key linkage chart below (see Figure 2). These principles were rooted in the interactions among the historical problem space and related content, the students and their interests, knowledge, and skills, and the classroom context. For example, in the design process I accounted for student interest and knowledge through the selection and framing of our problem for inquiry, yet I also considered the historicity of potential problems and the availability of resources. Similarly, I selected texts on the basis of their content and connection to the problem, yet text complexity in relationship to students' reading abilities and interests were also important factors in my choices. I thus approached text selection from more than one stance and considered a range of text characteristics; I considered the disciplinary or epistemic nature of the texts, the linguistic aspects, as well as the cultural and contextual characteristics of both students and texts (Moje, 2007). The needs and interests of students also helped shape activities, but so did the need to make historical connections and push student thinking. I also took into account the context of the actual classroom, both spatially and socially, throughout the development of the design.

Figure 2.

Design Tasks and Principles

Problem selection and framing driven by:

Student interest in, and connection to, local problem

Students having some knowledge of problem

Historical content; connection to larger issues, patterns, and historical trends

Availability of resources

Trying to disrupt

The fact reproduction model of history...

by using history to help young people create cause and effect historical narratives to help understand a problem that affects them.

Text selection and driven by

Connection to historical problem-solution framework

Connections to other accounts / texts

Appropriateness for students' knowledge and skill levels

Multiple texts with a variety of genres and points of view

Context: time; after-school or class

Trying to disrupt

Reading in history in which a textbook serves to transmit information to be reproduced on tests...

by having young people use texts as tools to build historical accounts and by having them question texts in disciplinary ways as they read.

Activity and instructional material development driven by

Need for student engagement in higher order thinking about important content

Text demands and student reading (focus and knowledge)

Need to build connections across lessons, texts, and accounts

Context: after-school or classroom

Trying to disrupt

Learning in which students passively receive information from teachers and texts and in which questions are used mainly to assess the recall of facts...

by pushing student thinking with questions and building conceptual connections.

The instructional design itself was shaped in part by Bain's (2000) framework for historical practice in that the design was developed as an activity system with three main goals: 1) Identify an important problem of concern to the students; 2) Gather and analyze a range of historical accounts and evidence in order to better understand the problem; 3) Develop our own historical, cause and effect accounts of the problem. In this process, sessions or lessons were developed as smaller activity systems in which students learned to use texts as tools in our study of the problem. The motive for this system then was to develop historical accounts of the problem that could help inform solution-oriented action in the future. Below I explore these patterns of design decisions as shaped by these principles and also discuss their disruptive nature.

Problem selection and framing: connecting students and content through inquiry

The first design task I undertook was the selection and framing of our problem of study; I carried out this process by considering the students' interests and knowledge and also by taking into account the historicity of potential problems and their possible connections to other important historical content. In addition, the object of study in this project, as an instructional program centering upon inquiry, needed to be a problem that could be framed as a question and then investigated. As Wells (2000) argued for, I saw inquiry as the "organizing principle of curricular activity (p. 62) and my role as teacher in the classroom would be that of a co-investigator with students and also as "leader and organizer of the community's activities" (p. 65). In history classrooms, as discussed in the section on cultural models of history learning, many students become accustomed to reading texts in order to gather and reproduce information as opposed to analyzing them

in a more authentic process of inquiry. They study topics, not problems or questions. Nevertheless, questions- when used to frame and drive learning- afford students the opportunity to engage in more authentic disciplinary practice. Driving questions also provide clearer purposes for reading and allow students to focus their learning as opposed to, for example, trying to learn everything in a chapter. Caron (2005) argued that a good question for historical inquiry pertains to "an important issue to historical and contemporary times"; is debatable; has a "reasonable amount of content"; can sustainably engage and interest students; is feasible to investigate "given the materials available"; and is "appropriately challenging for the students" being taught (pp. 53-55). A question developed following these criteria then drives the selection of the text and the development of the activities. In this framework, students use texts as tools to answer the larger question that drives their reading instead of answering a series of fact-based questions after reading to assess their recall of information.

The selection of the problem of study in this project was similarly guided by a few important principles. First, I hypothesized that students would more likely engage in historical reading and inquiry if it helped them understand a problem that affected them personally, so a key component of this study was to root the inquiry project in the local context of the community. I believed that students would be able to bring their own knowledge to bear upon this problem and then expand upon it, and this design was developed in part to explore this possibility. Therefore, it was important that students were aware of this problem and had experiences, views, or knowledge about it they were willing to share. Their own accounts could then be measured against other accounts and historicized if necessary. Bringing the experiences and learning that students had outside

of school into the classroom and then extending, supporting, or challenging them had the potential to disturb compartmentalized ideas about classroom and everyday learning and develop knowledge in the context of "third space" where they come together.

At the same time, beyond having some connection for the students, the problem of study needed to be suitable for historical inquiry and linked to larger patterns and events outside the local context. In addition, possible solutions to this problem had to be evident so that students could learn about and possibly enact them in the future. This design therefore was looking for what was essentially a social problem that could be framed historically. Finally, enough resources on the issue had to be available to carry out the investigation. This process of problem selection took place during the after-school program, because there was not enough time to engage students in the classroom in a similar process. I thus used the after-school setting to help frame the problem and then select texts, and the design was later refined and adapted for the classroom. Overall, problem selection and framing created the foundation of the inquiry unit and developed the basis for connecting students to local historical content while also allowing for broader connections to larger historical narratives.

Localizing a problem for study: Student participation and expanding the "local."

An important aspect of this design was to center inquiry on a problem that was important to students and that related to their community but that also lent itself to connection to larger narratives. The existence of some level of student knowledge about the problem was an important factor in selection as the design was developed to surface and then build upon or challenge if necessary, what students already knew about the problem. The identification of a "local" problem therefore was a process of finding an

issue to which students could connect and that could also be studied across time. As problem selection unfolded, "local" took on a range of meanings beyond the geographic sense of the spatially bounded community. Students connected to the idea of "local problems" not just geographically, but also emotionally, temporally, and culturally as they talked about issues of concern, as will be discussed below. A "local" problem then became one which students felt close to, but this closeness was about more than physical space. In their talk about abandoned buildings, for example, the students talked about the emotional impact this problem had on them growing up and a expressed a connection that was much more than geographic.

To select a suitable problem for study that interested them, I developed a brainstorming activity in which the participants after school listed possible ideas. I had previously interviewed over 20 students from the same community, some from the same school, and had asked them to identify problems in their community that concerned them. As a result of this research, and also from my experience as a teacher, I was confident that the students would be willing and able to generate several good ideas from which we could select a topic.

Working with a group of eight students in late October, I explained the overall purpose of my study, outlined the problem-based goals of the TERRA project, and then asked the students to brainstorm a list of possible problems. As students gave ideas, I wrote them down on the board. When the ideas were too general, I probed with questions to draw out more information as seen in the following transcript excerpt.

T: This is brainstorming, so throw out whatever ideas come to mind. We're

            looking for a problem that affects you and your community.... something

you would like to learn more about, something we could maybe even help

fix in the future.

Pablo: Buildings!

T: What about buildings… don't we need buildings in the city?

Pablo: No... abandoned buildings."

I asked why that was a problem and several students began to chime in, calling

out that abandoned buildings were "ugly" and "dangerous.   Alicia stated that, "People

just go in there and do things," and Karina added in, "illegal things." Ramon pointed out

that this behavior included "selling crack and using it." By the end of this discussion, we

generated the following list of potential problems on the white board:

- Arson

- Abandoned buildings

- Drug usage

- Police brutality

- Transportation (lack of bus routes)

- Not enough parks or recreation facilities

- STDs, teen pregnancy

- Student rights, teen rights

- Violence (gangs, crime, child abuse)

After a brief discussion about the list we ran out of time, but the students seemed

enthusiastic at the end of the session.

The next week, I presented the students with a summary sheet of our discussion

from the previous week. I considered each of the problems they had suggested and

grouped them into three main areas and listed them as follows, "Physical Environment (pollution, roads, abandoned houses);" "Few Opportunities for Recreation and Youth Activity;" and "Violence and/or crime (any particular kinds?)." I categorized their ideas in order to simplify the selection process by giving them only three alternatives from which to choose, but also to model the building of conceptual categories of problems with similar roots. These categories lent themselves to similar questions, and could also be explored with similar text sets as well, and thus could serve as broad frames of inquiry within which we could develop more specific questions. Students had a role in choosing the issue then, but I guided and managed this process to insure the selection of an appropriate problem for study.

After providing the categories to the group, I then asked the students to rank these topics with a 1, 2, or 3, with 1 representing their first choice and 3 their last choice of topic. They took a few minutes to do so, writing their rankings on the summary sheet, and I then gave them the initial TERRA literacy survey to fill out while I tallied the results of their ranking. The topic with the lowest number of points was the highest ranked in terms of interest. Environmental issues related to the physical condition of the city were the top choice with 13 points, followed by violence and crime with 16 points and recreation with 26 points.

In this way we selected a broad issue around which to frame a question-driven process of inquiry. It was important from the outset for students to have an active role, but also to manage the learning process in the context of the space and time limits of schooling, even after school. The goal was not to study the issue students found most

interesting or engaging, but rather to involve them in the selection of a problem they cared about that also afforded them the opportunity to engage in deeper historical inquiry.

During the next session, I began the process of framing the problem we had selected as I engaged the students with a series of questions.

T: What do you know... what do you think are some of the causes of the physical deterioration of the city?

Rick: People burning houses!

Alicia: People losing their houses.

Noting that they seemed to focus on abandoned buildings, particularly homes, and also curious about their own experience of this problem, I later asked them how living in a community with so many abandoned buildings affected them personally.

Pablo: You don't want to be here… you don't even want to walk through there.

Miriam: It makes you want to move out.

Ramon: It don't affect me much, I'm so used to seeing it, but I hate the smells… I want to smell something different, or the burned out houses, I don't like seeing them either…

Karina: I used to live on a street, and there's like three houses left on that street… and they built like a building there right now, and they cut off the street, so that street is like a dead end now, and uhh, my house actually burned down, I was like 11, and now there's only like three houses on that street, and I when used to live there was just four, and all around the rest are just lots...

In this exchange, they expressed their ideas about this "local" problem in emotional terms, with respect to the space around them, over a period of several years, and even as a sensory experience. The connection thus was about more than the physical space in which they lived, but also how it impacted them psychologically and over time. During this particular session, all seven of the students participated actively, and at the end of the meeting, when I asked if they found it interesting, Pablo commented, "Yeah, this could go on for hours." I was confident at that point that the students were indeed connecting to the issue of urban blight, and they seemed most focused on the particular problem of abandoned buildings. Moving forward, the inquiry was then framed for the students with the following question, written on the board for the next session and used afterwards many times: "Why are there so many abandoned buildings in Detroit? How did this problem develop over time, and what can be done to help solve it?"

Framing history learning around such a question functioned as one of the first disruptions of common patterns of history learning in school. Rather than studying a broad survey of events as preparation for assessment, or even for vague notions of "understanding the past," students would learn history in order to answer a specific question that had meaning for their everyday lives. They would have the opportunity to learn about this problem in an historical context that included the history of their city, but by necessity also touch on historical events on a larger, national scale. In this way, they had the opportunity to see how history had shaped the city in which they lived.

Students often study history one era at a time, following the organization of textbooks, and sometimes connections are not drawn between eras. The Progressive Era, for example, might stand alone for students and not have a clear historical link to the

Great Depression. Historical study to solve a problem or answer a question, on the other hand, required such linkages and had the potential to make the cause and effects chains of history more visible to students, and to even link these chains to their lives.

Student knowledge of problem: Utilizing, expanding and challenging local knowledge.

Analyzing my design moves also revealed the attention I paid to students' prior knowledge. Although it is well understood that curriculum design must account for the knowledge students bring to learning situations, too often designers appear to assume either that students know little about the content or that they have accurate and complete knowledge. By contrast, my design assumed that students knew a great deal about the subject of inquiry, but it also assumed that their knowledge was incomplete and maybe even biased or inaccurate. This was indicated by the number of opportunities I provided for students to surface and explore their views, together with the choices I made of texts and activities.

An important goal for the design was to take students' everyday experiences and knowledge (spontaneous conceptual knowledge in Vygotsky's framework) and expand upon them or even challenge them. The students demonstrated their background knowledge early on in the discussion about the environment of the city. In another conversation, I asked them to talk more about what they thought were the causes for the current problems with the physical condition of the city.

Alicia: People losing their houses

T: But why did they lose their houses?

Rick: Job loss... GM went broke, also Chrysler went broke, and a lot of jobs
            were lost at that time.

The students were making conjectures about change over time, but they needed to develop more knowledge in order to evaluate these conjectures and connect what they knew to a larger narrative. Nevertheless, the students' had the ability to bring these ideas into the classroom thus enabling me to look for alternative accounts against which to measure those of the students.

Trying to get a sense of their historical knowledge, I asked the students if they knew what the city used to be like, stating that, "The city hasn't always been like this, so do any of you know about what it used to be like?" At that point Alicia and Ramon talked about the old Amtrak station in Detroit, an icon of the city today because it was once a busy, beautiful building but now stands abandoned and derelict. Ramon pointed out that, "The train station used to be nice… marble floors… busy every day." After the discussion of the train station, Pablo muttered, "I guess, like… cars got us into it," to which Ramon responded, "That's the problem, we depend too much on selling cars." Alicia tried to sum it all up, stating that, "Everything just went bad." Again, these students clearly had a base of knowledge to call upon in this study, but they needed the opportunity to explore these ideas and integrate them or change them as they encountered new information.

Still in the process of problem framing, I wanted to probe their thinking at that time, but I also wanted to guide them to generate questions that would drive our overall inquiry. The following exchange, one of the most interesting to me in the whole program, then occurred.

T[7]:	So we have a lot of stuff here… so how do you think it changed? What is your prediction? It [the city] wasn't always like this, so what happened?
Rick:	I think that like, before, a lot of people cared, and the people that cared… moved out, so the people that don't care just stayed here…. they don't care…
T:	Wow… that's deep…
Ramon:	Powerful stuff.
T:	That is deep... but let's talk about why…
Alicia:	It's true.
T:	Is it?
Alicia:	Yeah, it is, but…
Pablo:	I don't think so.
T:	Why not?
Pablo:	Even though people live here, and it's not the best economy, here in Detroit… like, people care about this community…
Ramon:	The people who are here care.
Rick:	Yeah, but like those people that care is not enough to make it better….
Alicia:	Yeah…. they're outnumbered…
Rick:	They try to fix their houses and all that but….(pause)
T:	This is going to be a good time to read because we need more information… Some of the questions that we are raising are excellent questions, and this article is going to help us get at some of them.

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[7] When providing quotations from transcripts, I will use "T", representing Teacher, to denote when I was speaking.

It was during the above exchange that the importance of this type of instruction around a local problem became very concrete for me. Some of these young people looked around their community and essentially found themselves, their families, and their neighbors at fault for the condition of their community and city. Yet these young people were also, for the most part, from immigrant families and thus many of them did not have narratives of family history reaching back to even the 1960's. Their families likely had not been present in the city during some of the key events that indelibly changed it. They knew about the problem of the city's decay as it existed in their lifetime, but did not have funds of knowledge to tap much deeper into the past. Without these accounts, they made their best guesses based upon what local history they did know. In any case, Rick's statement reminded me of classic victim-blaming and deficit narratives, and it underscored the need for historical inquiry into such problems to help young people think more deeply about a range of causal factors.

This question also afforded students the opportunity to study national historical events as well as consider issues of social inequality both locally and nationally.   I also realized that I needed to disrupt the students' ideas about understanding their own community. In talking about the reasons for current problems, they tended to look only to the present for answers and thus were in need of instruction that could bring the past forward. This design, therefore, was structured around a problem about which students had some knowledge, but about which they also had much to learn. Moreover, problem-based inquiry in this framework gave students the opportunity to surface their knowledge and measure it against other accounts, and I designed activities then to support, extend, or challenge this knowledge as needed.

Historical content and connections: Expanding beyond the local.

Curriculum designs often begin with sets of problems assumed to be worth studying historically. My curriculum design disrupted that notion by situating itself in problems the students identified. At the same time, it would have been irresponsible to ignore the question of the usefulness of history to examine these contemporary issues or to ignore the state standards for history learning. As a result, my design disrupted traditional conceptions of problem—or topic—selection, but accounted for historical content and connections to contemporary issues.

As seen above, the students initially expressed interest in several different issues, including gang violence, teen pregnancy, and drug use. If they had chosen one of these issues as their first choice, I would have stepped in and suggested an alternative problem to study. Each of these issues is certainly important, and can also be connected to historical and economic developments over time, but in more complex ways that might be difficult to explore with high school students given the available resources. For example, Detroit's current youth gangs in this community have different origins; some are homegrown, others developed in Chicago, yet others originated on the West Coast. Tracking the actual history of these gangs and how and why they developed in Detroit would likely a long time to research, and I found very few articles and books on the subject in an earlier search. Teen pregnancy and drug use are generally considered national problems, and although there are local trends and related research, I have seen very few historical accounts of these problems upon which to call. Finally, the historical threads that tie different eras and events to these problems are less visible in these cases when compared to urban blight. Urban blight and property abandonment, however, were

clearly linked in my initial readings to the decline of Detroit's population and thus to larger historical narratives around race and racism, suburbanization, and the decline of the U.S. automotive industry.

Although Detroit's history is complex, most sources I read acknowledged that racism and social inequality, which led to conflict around integration and the related riots of 1943 and 1967, have played an important role in the city's history. In addition, the development of the freeway system by the federal government and the suburbanization of America also had a powerful impact upon Detroit, especially when seen in tandem with the racism and conflict that engulfed the city in the 1950's and 1960's. Finally, the automotive industry and its prominence in the economic development of the city, not unrelated to the two previously mentioned factors, played an important role in the story of Detroit. Early on in this process, for example, I located and read and essay by Detroit activist Grace Lee Boggs (2009) titled *Detroit: City of Hope*. Boggs wrote,

> When I arrived in Detroit in 1953, the population was 2 million, the majority white. Today, it is less than 900,000, majority black. Back then, racism was blatant and overt... Blacks could buy homes in inner city neighborhoods but could not rent apartments in buildings right next door to these homes.... Meanwhile, freeways were enabling white flight to the suburbs...

Racism and social inequality, the development of transportation networks through the freeway system and suburbanization, and the role of a key industry in economic development, effectively linked Detroit history to both national and international forces. These connections allowed – even required – our historical inquiry to go beyond the local

and into national and global patterns of change over time. Students would then have the

opportunity to consider their local knowledge in larger contexts and build conceptual

links between their everyday knowledge and more academic knowledge.

Availability of resources: The importance of multiple texts and accounts.

A last consideration in finalizing our problem of study was the availability of

resources students could use in the inquiry process. This design required that students be

able to analyze and consider a range of sources and documents, thus I needed to be able

to develop a large enough text set. In initial on-line searches looking for "Detroit

history" and "history of Detroit," I located several articles in established news media

outlets such as the *Detroit News* and TIME Magazine that presented secondary historical

accounts of the city's decline. The *Detroit News*, as a "local" source of information, had,

in particular, a range of useful resources and thus served as another way to localize our

inquiry process and then expand it outwards. During the first week of searching for texts

to use, I located more than 20 articles containing different accounts of important

components of Detroit's historical narrative, including a useful almanac on Detroit that

contained some information on general history (Gavrilovich & McGraw, 2000). I was

unable to find any one collection or book that provided a coherent narrative and tied these

threads together.

However, I located a wide range of articles from different newspapers, magazines,

and websites dealing with Detroit. I also located several primary documents particularly

with respect to the 1967 Detroit Riots as there were a series of retrospective studies of the

riots during its 40th anniversary year, 2007. *The Detroit News* also had collections of

photographs in their archives related to the riots of 1943 and 1967 in Detroit. It was not

difficult to establish that there was a wide range of possible resources we could use in the project, although I still had the task of selecting which texts to use and then prepare them. The availability of texts ultimately was a crucial factor in the selection of the problem and thus a constraining factor on the shaping of the design. In order to provide students the opportunity explore different genres of text and points of view, there needed to be a large enough pool of resources from which to select texts from the outset.

Text selection: Considering content, context, and readers

Having ascertained that enough texts were available, I began the process of identifying which texts to use. Analysis of my design artifacts showed that my choices of texts, and later excerpts from these texts, were guided by four important principles: 1) texts needed to connect to our problem and to each other; 2) texts needed to be appropriate for the students given their knowledge and skill; 3) texts needed to include a diversity of genres and perspectives; and 4) texts needed to be feasible for use given contextual factors of the classroom. It is important to note as well that my initial framing of the historical narrative and my perception of the texts' connections to this frame shaped the process of text selection as well. I looked for texts that dealt with what I saw as key events in this historical narrative.

Selecting appropriate texts was particularly important in this design as a primary goal of the project was to have students begin to use texts as tools for investigation in the process of solving a problem. This required a shift in students' use of text in the classroom to an active process of knowledge production in the service of a more focused

goal. In addition, the problem served to drive text selection, thus disrupting the common dynamic of textbooks driving classroom activity and learning.

Connection to historical problem- solution framework: Selecting multiple texts to build a narrative.

In order to engage in inquiry around the problem of study, students needed access to texts that could help inform their developing historical narrative, thus the content of texts was of particular importance.   As I gathered possible texts, I paid close attention to their connection to the larger questions students we would investigate during the TERRA project. Although a text did not have to touch on every aspect of the problem in order to be useful, it did need to clearly connect to the larger historical context of the problem of study, the problem itself, or to possible solutions. The selection and use of multiple texts during this design phase was of crucial importance to this project given the need to disrupt textbook based models of history learning. To find these texts, I used a wide range of search terms, some more broad as already mentioned and some more bounded by specific events, such as "Detroit 1967 riots."

Not every article I had originally located through initial searches met the standard of clearly connecting to our question. For example, I reviewed an article on the British Broadcasting Corporation's website titled "The decline of Detroit" (Schifferes, 2007). Reading the article, I saw only one sentence actually about the city of Detroit, "In the 1950s the Detroit area had the highest median income, and the highest rate of home ownership, of any major US city. But times are very different now." After this sentence, the article focused on General Motors and shifted to the use of "Detroit" as a reference for the "Big Three" automobile companies, Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler.

Discussing the shift these companies made to focusing on truck and SUV production, the author wrote, "Abandoning cars proved a costly mistake for Detroit." Despite the fact that background on the automobile industry could be useful, this article did not address, for example, the loss of jobs in the area, and its use of "Detroit" as a referent for the automobile industry could be confusing for students.

The texts I did select for use, on the other hand, directly addressed different aspects of Detroit's history or the current condition of the city and what is being done to change it. Some texts presented broad historical and economic accounts, such as Daniel Okrent's (2009) article in TIME *Magazine* and Grace Lee Bogg's (2009) essay from *In These Times*. Okrent argued, for example, that "the story of Detroit is not simply one of a great city's collapse. It's also about the erosion of the industries that helped build the country we know today" (p. 1). He went on to discuss the role of the automobile industry, the United Auto Workers, and former mayor Coleman Young as well. Boggs took a similar approach, although a different perspective, taking on issues of modernization and job loss, writing that "technology was replacing human beings with robots." These articles provided larger economic, political, and historical arguments in which we could situate different ideas about the root causes of Detroit's current woes.

Other texts more directly addressed specific historic changes or events, and helped to create an historical narrative that could be compared to other accounts, like those of Okrent and Boggs. These types of texts helped to answer smaller questions, which fed into the larger question of why there are now so many abandoned properties and homes in Detroit. One such question revolved around the demographic changes in the city, and I located census data for Detroit from 1910, 1950, and 2000 to explore this.

According to the census data, Detroit had less than a half million people in 1910, but went up to 1.85 million people in 1950, and then down to around 950,000 by the year 2000. In addition, in 1950 approximately 16% of the city's population was Black, but by 2000 that proportion had increased to 82%.

I decided to use these census data as texts to help the students generate questions around why the city's population changed so much. The demographic changes in Detroit have been very pronounced and have had a deep impact on the city. The statistics helped students discover the changes on their own through inquiry and analysis as opposed to learning about them by simply reading a paragraph that summarized the changes. This discovery led logically to the question of why these changes occurred, and thus helped apprentice students into the historical practice of continually digging into the "why" as one event or change leads into another. In this design, I often used reading to generate additional questions that could provide a purpose for a future reading or other instructional activity. This generation of questions to continually drive inquiry served to introduce students to disciplinary practice and the building of more complicated models of historical explanation.

Therefore, no one source presented all the necessary historical information, but each provided important pieces of the puzzle. Text selection then helped to disrupt the notion that only one text – a textbook- is needed to learn history. The use of multiple texts was necessary as there was no one text that could answer our question and all of the corollary questions generated in our inquiry. For example, related to the questions around demographic changes, I found and used an historical article from *The Detroit News* titled, "Michigan's greatest treasure – its people" (Baulch, 1999). This article

covers early white settlement of Detroit, immigration waves in the early 20th century, and the role of the automobile industry in attracting workers to the city (see Appendix D). The historical account in the article is problematic, however, because it discusses population shifts without touching on why they occurred. The author, Baulch (1999), wrote,

> In Detroit Germans settled on the east side along Gratiot. A few settled along
>
> Michigan Avenue. Many later moved to Macomb County.

Discussing the city's Polish residents, she stated that,

> Some later moved to the west side, near St. Hyacinth, then on to Dearborn.
>
> Others moved east to Warren, Sterling Heights and elsewhere in Macomb County.

Baluch offers no discussion of why or when these groups of people largely left the city of Detroit for the suburbs, and the resulting historical account is incomplete. Nevertheless, paired with the census data, this text helped to generate the next historical question, "Why did so many of the city's white residents leave?" To help answer this historical question, I then located texts about racism and segregation in the city, particularly with respect to the riots of 1943 and 1967, and also about suburbanization and the loss of automotive jobs.

In this process, one question led to another, and as a history teacher preparing a text set, I had to reconstruct the process of historical inquiry and engage in backwards design (McTighe & Thomas, 2003). In this way I created a collection of texts students could use to develop their own narrative without doing all the work that historians have to do. I had to have an historical narrative in mind in order to do so, thereby constraining to some degree the narratives to which students had access. As novice historians

however, they needed this structure and bounding in order to begin to develop core skills and approaches for historical inquiry and analysis.

Other articles I selected for use were less historical in nature but addressed the current conditions of the city and possible solutions. Collins (2005), for example, described the "estimated 40,000 vacant lots in Detroit" as "leftover land from the city's mass exodus," and addressed the question "what to do with it all?" She profiled urban gardening and farming projects in the city and described specific projects, including one not too far from the school with which many of the students were familiar. This was another way to help students connect ideas and information they had to the larger narrative, by placing something familiar into a new narrative

I located other resources that discussed a variety of other solutions as well, including an article on home deconstruction in Detroit, which claimed that, "Deconstructing homes in Detroit could cost less than demolishing them and create jobs in the process" (Oosting, 2009). Another article, titled "Students urge tear down of abandoned homes," described how "Thirty-three students convinced Detroit City Council to demolish abandoned homes in their neighborhoods." These texts provided ideas about potential solutions that students could explore, discuss, and evaluate at the end of the inquiry process. Overall, I used primarily texts I found on line, and many of these documents were secondary sources from the news media in one form or another. Authentic historical research might have entailed archival searches for a wider range of primary sources, but given the time available, these sources were more readily available and feasible to find. Moreover, there was a broad enough selection of potential texts that effectively tied to our purposes.

Connection to other accounts and text: Facilitating corroboration.

As described above, I selected articles that addressed the historical content and problem/solution framework of our project. Selecting texts that connected to each other and also to students' knowledge of the city was also an important principle in the design as it facilitated the apprenticeship of students into the practices of corroboration and cross text analysis. When texts clearly addressed similar issues, students could more readily understand and practice reading across them. Moreover, by framing these texts as accounts, I was disrupting the notion of history-as-event and privileging instead the idea of history-as-account (Bain, 2000), a framework unfamiliar to most students. To study history as account, students consider more than just one account and use a range of texts.

The census data and the article on immigration to Detroit, for example, provided different pieces of information that took on more significance only when they were considered together (see Appendix D). After reading the article and discussing the fact that so many white ethnic groups were described as leaving the city for Macomb County, I asked the class to think about this account, and followed up with a probing question.

T: Why did people leave for Macomb County? What is left out?

            Does anyone have a prediction about why they left?

35 seconds of silence

 T: Can we make a prediction, based on our graphs from the census data,

            about when they left?

Aracely: *(pulling out her graphic organizer with the census data)* In the 1950s.

T: Yeah, so the article doesn't give us the whole story...

Thus I was able to use the two texts in conversation with each other, and with the students as well. This led me to ask the class, "What happened in the 1950s and beyond that led to this change... why did all these white people go to Macomb County and other places?" This question then set the stage for further inquiry, and this connection was possible because I had specifically looked for texts I could use with each other.

In a similar fashion, I decided to use texts including economic data in the form of tables on national automotive employment from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. These data showed a decrease in assembly jobs between 1979 and 2010, and I paired that text with an article from Manufacturing and Technology News (Klier, 2005) that concluded that "Michigan has fared the worst during the past three years, losing more than 20 percent of its auto supplier employment." Although these texts did not directly mention Detroit, other sources I used touched on the role and importance of automobile employment in the area. In addition, the students had their own accounts and knowledge of job losses in their community and lived in the direct vicinity of at least two large abandoned automobile production facilities. I also chose to show Michael Moore's film, *Roger and Me*, a critique of General Motor that presents an argument about how GM policies harmed the people of Flint. Comparing the film's narrative to the students' own accounts of life in Detroit, I had the students respond on a viewing guide to the question, "What do you think this has to do with the history of Detroit?" Rebecca answered, "I think when people lost their jobs they lost their homes, then that is how we got the abondent building." Dora responded by writing, "I think it has to do with how Detroit is right now and how Detroit don't have much jobs."

By selecting texts that addressed similar topics in different ways, I wanted students to be able to read across them and evaluate their own developing understandings and knowledge. In the after-school program, for example, we used a graphic organizer to sum up some of the main causes of urban blight we had identified in our reading during the first few sessions. Cristina and Ramon had jotted down several ideas on their respective charts, including, "loss of jobs when car companies had trouble" and "white people leaving the city" on Ramon's paper (Cristina had similar answers). After completing this summary chart, we read an article titled "Shrinking Detroit has 12,000 abandoned homes." We read the article and then discussed it.

T: How does the article we just read match up with what we put on our chart? What do they say in the article about the cause of the problem? Go back to the text… can you find that in the article? Look back into it…"

Victor: *(skimming the article and reading out loud)* There are more than 12,000 abandoned homes in the Detroit area, a byproduct of decades of layoffs at the city's auto plants and white flight to the suburbs.

T: So does that match up to what we have on our charts?"

Both Ramon and Cristina nodded at that point and answered that it did. I planned for and promoted this type of interaction by selecting texts that spoke to the historical problem and that could be used together in different ways.

Appropriateness for students' knowledge and skill levels: Find challenging texts students could manage.

Another important principle driving text selection was the consideration of text complexity in relationship to the knowledge and skill levels of the students. As described

in the section on study participants, the students in the sample tended to be average or below average readers as measured by the Degrees of Reading Power. Given my past experience teaching in the school, I anticipated this general trend and took it into account as I selected texts. I did not avoid challenging texts, but rather I carefully analyzed texts to assess their challenges beforehand so that I could build appropriate scaffolds into my activities. I also chose not to use one or two texts I had found that were more abstract conceptually and linguistically. In these cases, the challenges these texts presented outweighed any potential benefits as there were other, more accessible, texts addressing similar content and I was still using challenging enough texts to help students grow.

One such text I chose not to use was an article I found in the Metro Times from 2001 titled "Down a green path: An alternative vision for a section of east Detroit takes shape" (Guyette, 2001). This article described the vision for an innovative development project in Detroit that would bring greenhouses, livestock grazing, dairy farming, a shrimp farm, a lumber mill, and community gardens to empty space. Although the idea was fascinating, the article was several pages long and conceptually dense as well. It began, "On Detroit's east side, in neighborhoods where vacant lots and burned-out shells of former homes dominate the landscape, a radical vision is emerging. It is a futurist view of urban redevelopment that draws heavily upon the past. It goes by the name Adamah." The author went on to write, "for development to be sustainable, it must come from the grassroots, and be horizontal instead of vertical." The complex ideas in the article like "futurist" redevelopment looking to the past, and "horizontal" development, would likely be difficult for students, and the project it described never fully materialized

in any case. I therefore chose not to use this article and instead utilized other sources that discussed actual ongoing projects in less abstract ways.

With the limited amount of time characteristic of classroom instruction, it simply was not possible to use every interesting and potentially valuable text, and decisions were thus made through a type of cost-benefit analysis. The time needed to work through the abstractions in this particular article did not, in my opinion, balance out the value in the information it presented as this information was available in other texts. Choices such as this further limited the narratives to which students had access, but at the same time these decisions kept the inquiry project manageable and sensitive to the limits of the classroom context.

Despite my decision to avoid highly abstract or complex texts, most of the articles I used were not "easy" reads, and several of them were potentially challenging. Although there was a range, all of the texts appeared to be close to the 9th grade level or above according to the rough measure of the Flesch-Kincaid score as analyzed using Coh-Metrix. One of the lower-level articles I used was a *Detroit News* article on the 1943 Detroit race riots, which had a Flesch-Kincaid grade level score of 8.7. At the upper end of the scale was the Boggs (2009) essay, which registered a Flesch-Kincaid grade level rating of 12. In addition to the syntactical complexity measure by Flesch-Kincaid, the Boggs essay was also somewhat abstract, as exemplified in her call to, "Reinvent work so that it is not simply done for a paycheck but to develop people and build community." The idea of reconceptualizing labor so that it is not about earning money is abstract, especially for teenagers often eager to get a job to earn money. Nevertheless, it was important to include at least one text that presented this larger, more theoretical argument

about Detroit and post-industrialism. Moreover, Boggs' essay also included several more concrete suggestions for solutions that connected to other texts, such as "expand urban agriculture and small businesses."

Overall then, I selected texts in part based upon their complexity, and I did not use highly abstract texts if a more concrete document with similar content was available. On the other hand, I did select somewhat difficult texts because I judged them to be within reach of the students with instructional scaffolds. When I later developed instructional materials and activities, I was mindful of these text demands and of the need for instructional support for students. This analysis thus suggests that an important disruptive design principle is to select texts based upon more criteria than just their content. When choosing disruptive texts, curriculum developers and teachers should also consider the complexity of the texts, the students' developmental levels and concomitant world and domain knowledge, students' reading abilities, and students' interest in the possible issues raised in the texts.

Variety of genres and points of view: A hallmark of disciplinary practice.

Disciplinary practice in history typically involves the analysis of accounts from multiple sources. Because my design sought to disrupt traditional classroom history teaching practice and to draw instead from disciplinary (i.e., historical inquiry) practices, a key design principle for me was the incorporation of multiple genres from varied disciplines and with diverse points of view. As a result, I included films, essays, editorials, photographs, secondary historical accounts, newspaper articles, and personal accounts. After school we used a text set of over 15 documents. In the classroom unit, we used 13 different texts or text sets, including four videos and nine sets of print

materials; within the sets of print materials were two sets of photos and excerpts from 18 different individual documents.

In addition, it is common practice for historians to use data and texts from other social sciences to help inform the historical inquiry. Thus, I used economic data with employment statistics as already described to compare to similar information in an article about the same topic. In the after-school component, where my time was more flexible, I was able to have the students consider our driving questions from different social science perspectives, so I located and used an article from the *Boston Globe* that was sociological and psychological in nature. This article, although not about Detroit, introduced the concept of the "broken window" theory that "disorderly conditions breed bad behavior, and that fixing them can help prevent crime" (Johnson, 2009). The article describes an experiment in Lowell, Massachusetts in which, "Researchers, working with police, identified 34 crime hot spots. In half of them, authorities set to work – clearing trash from the sidewalks, fixing street lights, and sending loiterers scurrying. Abandoned buildings were secured, businesses forced to meet code, and more arrests made for misdemeanors." As a result of these interventions, the author reported, there was a 20% drop in calls to police in the areas that received attention. This article provided a different perspective on using research to find solutions to urban problems and thus pushed forward the students' historical inquiry and introduced them to a different social science perspective.

Most of the texts I selected, however, addressed the issues from historical or journalistic approaches. Sources such as the *Detroit Almanac*, (Gavrilovich & McGraw, 2000) presented statistics, timelines, and largely voiceless descriptions of events. The

Almanac's description of the outcome of the 1967 riots in Detroit, for example, was described with basic statistics and little evaluative language: "The final death toll from the riots was 33 blacks and 10 whites. A Free Press investigation found that 30 of the 43 victims had been killed by the police or military" (p. 519). An article by Amy Lee (2007) commemorating the riots in the Detroit News, on the other hand, presented an account of the riot that demonstrated its effects on a more individual level. Alvin Woods, who was a teenager living in Detroit during the riots, was quoted in the article, saying that "Everything changed with us after that. We lost a great part of our history, our city and our culture." Reading both types of accounts was important for students so that they could become familiar with different genres and also learn to look at events in different ways. This dynamic enabled the disruption of the authoritative textbook model of history learning by providing students the opportunity to consider a range of perspectives and accounts in these different texts.

In particular, given the focus of our inquiry and the importance of corroboration, students needed to encounter different perspectives on Detroit and the issue of urban blight. The documents by Okrent (2009) and Boggs (2009) helped present two different voices in this context. Okrent, a former Detroit resident, was a member of a team of reporters sent by TIME *Magazine* to live in the city to report on its growing problems. Okrent wrote with a personal voice, stating, "If, like me, you're a Detroit native who recently went home to find out what went wrong, your first instinct is to weep." In his account, he made historical arguments about the roots of today's problems, and these claims can be measured against other commentators, such as Boggs. For example, Okrent placed some of the blame for the state of the city today on former mayor Coleman

Young, writing, "Coleman Young was a talented politician who spent much of his 20 years in office devoting his talents to the politics of revenge... Young was at first fairly effective, when he wasn't insulting suburban political leaders and alienating most of the city's remaining white residents..." (p. 3). Grace Lee Boggs, a longtime community activist in Detroit, presented a different (although not entirely contradictory) view on Young. She wrote that, "Young was a gifted politician who was able to eliminate the most egregious examples of racism, especially in the police and fire departments and City Hall." Yet Boggs also placed a bit of the blame upon Young, arguing that, "he was unable to imagine a post-industrial society."

Overall, Okrent seemed to view the city's problems as homegrown, connected to shortsightedness on the part of many stakeholders, and manageable with new industrial development. He concluded his piece stating, "For the first time since Henry Ford offered $5 a day to the men who assembled the Model T back in 1914, Detroit is open to new industry." Boggs, on the other hand, presented a Marxist analysis finding blame in the larger capitalist system, saying that Detroit is but a symptom for a larger problem and is "the national and international symbol of the devastation of deindustrialization." In her eyes, to solve the problem, "We need to build a new kind of economy from the ground up." Although Okrent's argument was more accessible to the participants, Boggs' view exposed them to a different analysis. Having students wrestle with at least two different perspectives again disrupted the notion of history as a singular account and presented the possibility of conflicting views about the past.

Finally, I selected some documents purposefully to expose students to historical accounts or views they might find problematic, with the express goal of surfacing

historical questions of bias and language in historical accounts. For example, I selected a *Detroit News* editorial from July 1967 that referred to people participating in the riots as "street corner loungers," "toughs," "mobsters," and "arsonists." The editor argued that, "these mobsters, arsonists, and looters were not fighting a civil rights battle," but rather were "looters who exploited the opportunity." I wanted students to consider the source of this text, as well as the context, and also think about the mindset of different groups of people during the riots. Although I did not always have time to delve deeply into the different voices and perspectives that emerged through these texts, I consciously created a corpus of texts for the project that would expose students to different accounts and lead them to corroborate and source these narratives. The design principle at work then was the use of multiple texts and accounts to begin to dismantle students' notions of history-as-event and move them towards history-as-account.

Temporal Context: The impact of time and space on disruptive design decisions.

The constraints of time and space in the different learning settings of this project also played a role in text selection as there were differences in the amount of time available, as well as other contextual factors, which affected how texts could be introduced and utilized. I made decisions to use texts differently depending upon whether they would be used after school or in the classroom component because of time constraints and also because of differing student expectations for activity in the two settings.

After school, time was more flexible and there were fewer interruptions. Students could stay after school a few minutes if they needed to because there was no bell or next class and they often had to wait for rides. In the classroom however, there were

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announcements at during the last few minutes of the class every day, and the students had developed the habit of getting ready to leave during the announcements as there were only two or three minutes left in the class when they finished. This aspect of the school context effectively cut as much as five minutes out of each class period. Analyzing my field notes from the classroom, I found notations on a range of other interruptions in almost every session, either from other announcements on the public address system or from other sources. In my field notes from one of the days during the first week in the classroom, I jotted down, "Disruption by students passing out notes from office, I allow it to happen… have to wait until done." Interruptions like this could take several minutes away from instruction, and I chose to use shorter excerpts of text in part because of this reality. Whereas the students after school read almost two pages of the Boggs essay, for example, in the classroom we only read three paragraphs, about a page in total, because of the time constraints.

Such differences in the length of text excerpts selected also occurred because I was more aware of the challenges students in the classroom might have with different texts having already experimented with them after school. In other words, my design decisions were shaped by the process of design research. When we read the Okrent text after school, I noticed, for example, that Karina seemed to struggle with it. When I later interviewed her, I conducted a short reading process interview to see why she might have had difficulty with it. After asking her to make some predictions about the article based on its title, I had her read the following introductory paragraph.

> If Detroit had been savaged by a hurricane and submerged by a ravenous
>
> flood, we'd know a lot more about it. If drought and carelessness had

spread brush fires across the city, we'd see it on the evening news every

night. Earthquake, tornadoes, you name it — if natural disaster had

devastated the city that was once the living proof of American prosperity,

the rest of the country might take notice. (Okrent, 2009, p. 1)

When she had finished, I asked her, "What are you thinking about now after

reading that?" She responded, "Um, more of uh, how global, like, weather or

earthquakes, tornadoes, or natural disasters can affect the city." I asked her why she

thought that, and she simply read the paragraph out loud again. We moved on to read

one more section of the article, and at the end I asked her to summarize the whole piece.

She stated, "Natural disasters and how they affected this city and… how the different

rates of murder, unemployment, and schools have been changed."

Karina struggled to understand this article because she apparently misunderstood

the analogy made by Okrent comparing Detroit to New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina.

As I designed the instructional unit for the classroom, I learned from experiences like this

one and revised my original text selections by chunking the text more and focusing in on

potentially difficult excerpts like the one containing the hurricane analogy.

I found this analogy between Detroit and New Orleans interesting, and I wanted

to see how the classroom students would understand it and whether or not they would

agree with it. I also thought it provided a valuable teaching moment with respect to

language development and the understanding of analogies, as well as an important

statement about how different cities and their problems are portrayed in the media

nationally, so I opted to maintain that section of the text. Predicting that I would need to

spend more time on it however, I cut out other sections of the piece and ended up only

using three paragraphs. When we read these sections in the article, we focused part of our discussion on the analogy, and the students were able to then talk about it with each other and interpret its meaning.

This pattern of using smaller chunks of text in the classroom than after school held true also for the articles that dealt with solutions, like the Oosting (2009) piece on deconstruction. At the end of the classroom component, I was running out of time because final exams were approaching, and I had less time for reading about solutions. I ended up selecting three to four sentences from each of the articles on solutions (discussed further below) for students to read.

In addition to time constraints, students appeared to have different expectations for what they should be doing dependent on the context of instruction, and my interpretation and recognition of those expectations also affected how much text was selected for use. Early on in the after-school program, the students did not appear very willing to write or engage in more typical classroom activities. In a research memo from November 23, 2009, I wrote the following.

> Originally I had intended to do short, targeted lessons, direct instruction
> on reading strategies…but.... with sporadic attendance, limited time, and
> time between meetings, it seems more important to engage students with
> text directly in the pursuit of our goals, maybe through the   reading of
> short passages and discussion… in discussion I will attempt to use and
> model the same questioning strategies, but with less of a focus on the
> explicit instruction. With pressure of trying to maintain attendance in the

face of multiple competing demands... a concurrent pressure to make

this after-school experience less like school.

Ironically, this shift in my thinking meant I could actually use slightly longer pieces of text after school, as long as the students found them interesting. On the same day I made the observations above, I had the students in the session read a two-page article titled "Shrinking Detroit." After reviewing what we had talked about the week before, I said, "Let's just look at this article... 'Shrinking Detroit'." Ramon asked, "Where do we read it to?" Only three students were present that day, and I knew them fairly well by that point and was confident that they would and could read the article. I responded, "Its only two pages, read it all." They read in silence for several minutes, and when I noticed that they had all turned to the second page, I stopped them just to check their understanding.

T: Any questions; what comes to mind? Things you didn't get or questions
               you have?

Karina: *(point to a passage in the text about taxes)* How is paying taxes involved
               in this?

T: Take a guess.   What do you think?

Karina: *(25 second pause)* Well, paying taxes helps give the government money to
               fix things.

This type of reading and talking about long passages of text was much easier with only three students and a more flexible schedule. In the classroom, with average attendance of 25 students and more demands upon time, working with this much text in one session was more difficult as there were more students to organize and involve in

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discussion.   Nevertheless, by using shorter sections of text and working in groups

students in the classroom still had the opportunity to engage in discussions about text.

I chose to use other texts only in one setting for similar reasons. I did not use any

of the films after school because it would have taken two weeks to show a movie, and I

knew it would be difficult to maintain focus on important ideas spread out over those two

weeks. I used the article on the broken window theory in Lowell, Massachusetts only

after school because I felt it was less important and useful for our classroom purposes

after having used it after school. The Lowell text took a fair amount of time to work

through after school, and it did not add much to our understanding of how problems of

urban blight developed in the first place. In sum, factors related to the context of text use,

in particular the size of the group and time constraints, also shaped my selection of texts

for use in the TERRA project. An important principle of text selection then was to find

texts that could be used in different ways and modified in length or presentation to match

the needs of different contexts.

Framing the historical narrative through text selection.

Analyzing these initial processes of problem framing and text selection, I found

that as I tried to tap into students' resources of knowledge and experience, I also made

design decisions that effectively closed the door on certain funds of knowledge to which

students had access. Historical narratives can be framed in different ways, and I shaped

the developing narrative in this project from the beginning through the framing of the

problem and my text selections. I adopted a common narrative of Detroit's history as

being shaped primarily by race relations between whites and blacks and also by

automotive industrialization and decline. This particular framing offered my students

new knowledge and connections to larger historical and economic narratives. It also enabled them to tap into their knowledge about employment trends in the community, their observations of black and white segregation, and their perceptions of current conditions in the city. Yet this narrative did not disrupt the way the story of Detroit is typically told, and although disruption characterized some aspects of this work, the conventional historical account of the city itself was not disturbed.

Alternative historical frames for this project were available that would have provided other opportunities for students. For example, Detroit's narrative can also be discussed as a history of migration and immigration, with people coming to and leaving the city. Although we addressed histories of migration and immigration in our inquiry, they served as historical background and not as a frame for cause and effect analysis. Yet certainly the phenomenon of abandoned buildings in Detroit can also be explained as a result of migratory movements, and in this case, racism and the automotive industry help to explain the movements of people. If I had used this lens of migration, the students would have had the opportunity to call upon even more funds of knowledge and experiences. The majority of the participants were from immigrant families, many had been born outside the United States, and approximately 75% of them had been born outside of Detroit. They were part of one of the only movements of people into the city in recent times, and they could have spoken to and even learned more about the factors that brought their families to Detroit as a part of this larger story. In this way, the predominantly Latino group of students could have seen the history of their families more as part of this story than as an interesting sidebar to the black/white narrative.

One historical frame is not necessarily better than the other; it is important to recognize that problem framing is also a process of limiting and constraining, and teachers and curriculum developers should weigh the affordances and challenges of alternative frames when engaging in this type of instructional design. A key difference between actual historical practice as done by historians and that which takes place in the classroom therefore is this setting of limits and boundaries. In the classroom, the curricular design and its implementation can serve to develop a sort of historical "sandbox" in which students can play and develop their knowledge and skills with the necessary support.

Activity and Instructional Material Development: Creating new roles for students

The development of instructional activities and materials was similarly guided by a set of principles related to the interactions of content, texts, learners, and context. The design depended upon instructional activities that would disrupt passive patterns of learning and push students to think more deeply as knowledge producers. Having identified and framed a problem around which to structure inquiry, and having selected various texts to use as tools in this process, my next important task was to develop complementary activities and instructional materials. Students needed structured and scaffolded opportunities to engage with the texts as they sought to develop answers to our driving questions. In developing these opportunities, I designed activities and tools so that they would begin to disrupt the standard models of classroom practice by promoting greater student engagement in higher order thinking about content. I also considered the tensions between text demands and students' reading practices so that I could develop
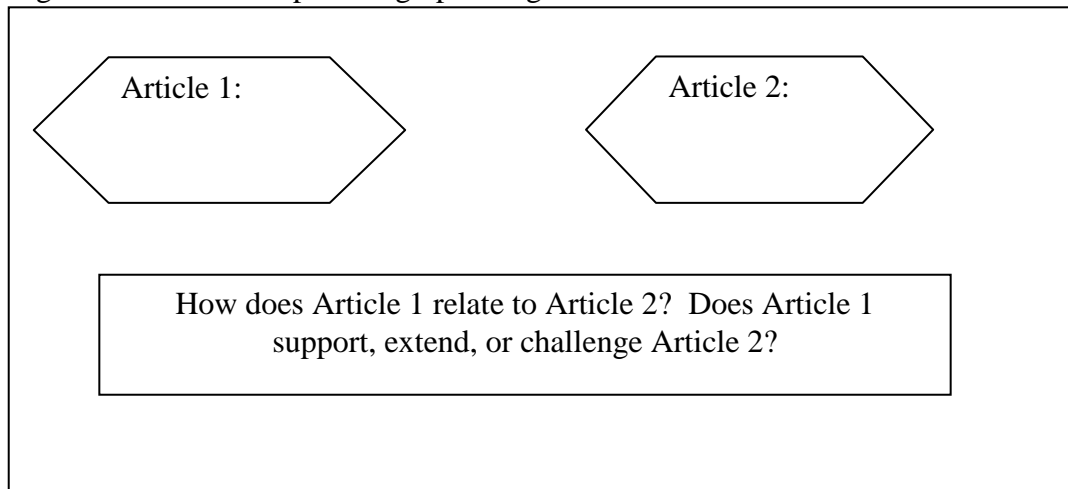
activities that supported students when they engaged with difficult text. In addition, I

developed activities to promote connections across lessons, texts, and accounts. Finally,

the contexts of after-school and classroom learning also shaped the design of activities

and materials. As discussed earlier, for example, there were more students and more time

constraints in the classroom, so activities had to be more tightly designed to meet those

demands.

Promoting higher order thinking about content.

Disrupting cultural models about thinking in relation to content requires the

teacher to know something about what students believe about learning history (or any

other subject).   In this work, I anticipated that students would be accustomed to

answering mostly literal, fact-based questions after reading a text or watching a movie,

and that they would then expect to have to reproduce this information on a quiz or test.

In contrast, it was important that students have the opportunity to analyze texts as

evidence to help answer complex questions about a problem that had direct bearing upon

their quality of life. I could not, however, move students from the first position to the

second without a great deal of support and scaffolding. Therefore, activities and

materials were developed in order to help students transition to using texts as problem-

solving tools. I employed a wide range of instructional scaffolds including nine different

graphic organizers, six guided-reading activities, three viewing guides for films, as well

computers for internet research for the final projects. Students also participated in four

different brainstorming and knowledge production activities, such as List/Group/Label,

which served to elicit and organize their pre-existing views and knowledge about

different questions connected to our inquiry.

I created graphic organizers to shape and guide student thinking as they read, both to pull out big ideas and to scaffold new ways of thinking about texts, for example, one new way of thinking about texts included corroborating information or data across two texts. We used a version of the organizer below in an activity in which students were to

Figure 3. Source comparison graphic organizer

Article 1:

Article 2:

How does Article 1 relate to Article 2? Does Article 1 support, extend, or challenge Article 2?

pull out the main arguments presented in two texts and then compare them to each other (see Figure 3). This graphic organizer was not developed for use as a stand-along worksheet for students to fill out after they read. Rather, it was to be used as a support for conversation and dialogue about the ideas in two texts.

Specifically, this tool was used to help students make connections between the article on the broken window theory experiment and an article about arson in Detroit. We had read the article on the broken window theory the week before, so I began the activity by asking Ramon to summarize the broken window theory. He thought for a moment and responded, "If a place is real dirty, people may be more likely to burn a

house down, because it's already messed up." After talking a bit more about the idea and the article, and having Cristina read a key paragraph of it out loud, we read a one page article about a recent spate of arson fires in Detroit. After reading, I gave them instructions.

T: Try to use graphic organizer... do the articles support, extend, or challenge
                  one another? How would you read across the articles, how do they
                  connect?

45 seconds of silence

T: Does this article on arson support, extend, or challenge the broken window
                  theory?

Ramon: Doesn't it support, because it says, [reading a quote from the article] 'This
                  further emphasizes the need for the city to come together to fight arson on
                  Angel's Night and every night." I responded by reading a different quote,

T: [reading a different quote from the article] What really is needed is a
                  recognition the city should give the highest priority to the demolishing of
                  abandoned homes, priority particularly is needed for half-burned homes
                  that are sitting there as a temptation (to arsonists).

        Ramon quickly made the connection then and tied that quote back to his summary of the broken window theory. As we talked, they took notes in their graphic organizers and summarized the connections we were making out loud. In this case, the organizer was not the end product, but a means to structure and make visible connections I wanted students to make.

I also developed reading guides to encourage students to engage in more inferential questioning. In doing so, I used the framework of Content Area Reading Inventories (Vacca and Vacca, 1999) in which students begin answering text-based questions at the literal level, where they are often more comfortable, and proceed on to more inferential and analytical questions. I designed a guide, for example, for students to use with an article on the 1943 Detroit race riots. It began with multiple choice questions students could answer directly from the texts, as shown below.

1)   What helped convince people in the South to move north during the 1940s?

    a) the promise of good housing
    b) patriotism and the desire to contribute to the war effort
    c) the possibility of well paying jobs in new factories
    d) the desire to escape southern racism

2)   What problems did black people **in particular** face in the city during this time?
    a) Long commutes to Willow Run
    b) Poverty and discrimination
    c) Unemployment
    d) Long lines and shortages of goods

The questions then moved to the inferential level with the answers not being directly available in the text, and on to more evaluative and analytical questions.

7) If lots of people had jobs and were being paid, why do you think there were not enough goods in the stores?
    e) Companies weren't making a lot of products after the Great Depression.
    f) World War II was happening and everything was being made for the war.
    g) All the factories were closed because the workers had become soldiers.
    h) Some people bought more than they should have.

10)   How do you feel about what happened during these riots? Did the city handle the problems in a fair way?

11)   What connections do you see between this part of Detroit's history and what is happening in the city today?

As with the graphic organizers, reading guides were not designed as end products, but rather tools to help surface ideas and connections. As will be discussed in chapter 5, they also ended up providing opportunities for knowledge and skill building when students struggled. For example, when the students had completed the above questions, we then discussed them and spent more time on the more complex questions, as seen in the following excerpt.

T: What would be connections between this event and the state of the city

               today? Make a guess. What do you think?

almost a minute of silence

Reymundo: That there is still a lot of racism today?

Dora: Prejudice?"

We were nearing the end of class, so I used that moment to validate their initial responses as "moving in the right direction," but also stated that we also needed "to build a line, a historical line connecting these events." This enabled me to set up the purpose for future discussions and readings.

Viewing guides for films in the classroom component followed a similar pattern, and I designed a guide for each video we watched so that students would be more likely to pay attention and also focus on important content. We watched one movie, *Revolution 1967*, which focused on the riots in Newark, New Jersey and provided many possible comparisons to the experience of Detroit. The questions on the guide began at a very literal level, such as "What happened on July 12, 1967 that helped set the riot off?" and "Who was Amiri Baraka?" These items could be answered directly from the film with one or two sentences. Other questions however were set up to lead the students towards

more analytical thinking and also to begin building connections between the Newark and Detroit experiences. For example, questions such as, "Why did white people leave the city?" and "How did discrimination affect where people lived in the city?" required more complex answers and could (and would) be asked about Detroit.

I developed the final project for students in the classroom in this same dynamic, trying to move them from their comfort zone to higher level thinking. For the project, students were allowed to work in groups of up to three students, and their project assignment sheet asked them to address the following questions to guide the creation of their historical account:

- What is the problem? (explanations of urban blight)

- Why is it a problem?

- What are the historical roots of this problem?

- What are the different accounts of this problem?

- What is my account or understanding of the problem?

- How can we help fix it?

I also directed the students to address the problem in terms of causes, effects, and solutions, and they were encouraged to bring in their own experiences and views. Because we had covered a wide range of historical topics in a relatively short time, I decided to scaffold their assignment by giving them an outline of possible historical content. In this outline, I suggested that they include and connect the early 1900s and the development of the automotive industry in Detroit; the race riot of 1943; the development of the suburbs and the freeway system; the riots of 1967; the decline of automotive industry; and descriptions of the current situation in Detroit. In this process,

they were expected to draw from at least six of the documents we had used and were to include reflection on the source and context of at least two of these documents. Thus, with some structure laid out, I developed the final activity so that students would use evidence from texts to support their own historical account that answered our driving questions as presented on the assignment sheet:

- Why is Detroit like it is today?

- Why are there so many abandoned buildings and homes?

- What other problems are related to this situation, and how can we begin to solve them?

Throughout all of the activities and materials, I moved students along a progression from their comfort zone of reading for facts to more analytical reading in the service of answering important questions.

Text demands and students' reading: Maintaining focus and building knowledge.

In order to facilitate students' transition into more complex learning activity, I also considered the demands of texts in relationship to student reading practices. Student reading in turn had to be considered in connection with students' focus and knowledge related to the texts being used. In other words, as I designed learning activities and supporting materials, I thought about the complexity of the texts, students' ability to attend to texts, their knowledge about the ideas in the text, and their normal reading practices. The interaction between text, reader, and activity thus played an important role, and I designed activities with readers and texts in mind.

In developing the lesson I used to teach about the riots in Detroit in 1943, for example, I took this interaction into account. I designed a sequence of activities to build

and activate student knowledge before reading; to engage them in more analysis while reading; to process their comprehension afterwards; and to connect the ideas from this text to things we had previously discussed. The two-page article began with the two paragraphs displayed below.

The 1943 Detroit race riots
By Vivian M. Baulch and Patricia Zacharias / The Detroit News   - February 11, 1999

Recruiters toured the South convincing whites and blacks to head north with promises of high wages in the new war factories. They arrived in such numbers that it was impossible to house them all. Blacks who believed they were heading to a promised land found a northern bigotry every bit as pervasive and virulent as what they thought they had left behind in the deep south. And southern whites brought their own traditional prejudices with them as both races migrated northward.

The influx of newcomers strained not only housing, but transportation, education and recreational facilities as well. Wartime residents of Detroit endured long lines everywhere, at bus stops, grocery stores, and even at newsstands where they hoped for the chance to be first answering classified ads offering rooms for rent. Even though the city enjoyed full employment, it suffered the many discomforts of wartime rationing. Child-care programs were nonexistent, with grandma the only hope -- provided she wasn't already working at a defense plant.

Previewing this text, I identified several words I thought might be difficult for some of the students, including the following: virulent, pervasive, bigotry, influx, rationing, arsenal, segregated, and discrimination. I also noted important historical knowledge students should have in order to comprehend the text, including basic understanding of Jim Crow laws, the Great Migration, World War II, and the increase in war production at the beginning of the war. To prepare the students for reading, I developed a PowerPoint presentation including a slide with the names of key historical events, which I then would ask students about and take notes on as they answered. In this way we would jointly create a historical context for the reading and review important background information (a different practice from just describing the event to later

answer questions on a test). The excerpts below demonstrate briefly how this actually

played out in the lesson.

T: What were Jim Crow laws?

Steven: Laws for African Americans, what they couldn't do, they had to sit in the

                back of the bus.

T: Where were these laws?

Reymundo: In the south.

Steven: All the whites and blacks had to be separated…

        At that point I gave a brief, one-minute, mini-lecture to explain that there was also

segregation in some places in the Southwest targeted at Mexicans and Mexican-

Americans, and then we moved on.

T: Why would people in general come to Detroit in the early 20 century?

Dora: Jobs.

T: What kind of jobs?

Aracely: Car jobs

        I then tied the "pull" factor of automotive industry jobs in Detroit to the "push"

factors of segregation in the South that led many African-Americans to move to the

Detroit area. We proceeded in this fashion to connect World War II to increased

production around Detroit and the need for more workers. This review of important

historical shifts prepared the students to better understand the article and the conflicts that

erupted in Detroit when many whites resisted workplace and community integration.

        After this exchange, we reviewed the vocabulary words, which I had put on a

different slide in the PowerPoint. For use after the preview exercise, I created a "quick

write" prompt to pique their curiosity and connect them to the upcoming reading. They were asked to respond to the following question:

> You work hard, you need a new place to live, and you want to move into a
> new housing development. However, other people who live in that
> community are trying to stop you because of your race. How will you
> feel, what will you do?

I also presented photographs from the riots once they finished writing, asking them to make some observations and predictions before reading. Finally, they were to read the article and answer the reading guide questions already discussed. To close the lesson, I planned to discuss the connection question asking students to relate the riots to today's problems. Similar practices of attending to before, during, and after reading, was a consistent thread through my lessons. It provided a way to keep students focused by breaking up activity into chunks and also it helped activate and connect their knowledge to the content.

I made other design decisions with the similar goal of focusing student attention on important information in the text. With the Baulch (1999) article on Detroit's people, "Michigan's greatest treasure," I underlined information about different ethnic groups who settled in Detroit and then bolded sentences about groups leaving the city (excerpt shown below). This presentation was meant to call students' attention to these facts in a fairly long article and help them begin to generate questions about how the city had changed.

> Many retained their German language and customs in the new world, creating problems for the community during the First World War. Laws were passed by suspicious legislators requiring their newspapers to be printed in English instead of German. In Detroit Germans settled on the east side along Gratiot.. A few settled along Michigan Avenue. ***Many later moved to Macomb County***.

The design of activities, unlike the selection of the problem and initial text set, was an ongoing process. In carrying out the design after school, the challenges and successes I encountered shaped the classroom design. One shift made between the after school and classroom components, already discussed with regards to text selection, was to use smaller chunks of texts. This use of smaller chunks of text grew out of the difficulty students had focusing on larger passages of text, particularly in the time constraints of the classroom, and it had an impact on activity design as well. With smaller excerpts of text, students engaged less with reading guides and instead encountered embedded questions in-between text passages in order to actively maintain their attention. One text I tried this with was the Okrent article, the first section of which I presented to students in the classroom as follows.

Thursday, Sep. 24, 2009

Detroit: The Death — and Possible Life — of a Great City
By Daniel Okrent

If Detroit had been savaged by a hurricane and submerged by a ravenous flood, we'd know a lot more about it. If drought and carelessness had spread brush fires across the city, we'd see it on the evening news every night. Earthquake, tornadoes, you name it — if natural disaster had devastated the city that was once the living proof of American prosperity, the rest of the country might take notice. (See pictures of the remains of Detroit.)

What point is the author trying to make here? Why compare Detroit to New Orleans?

As I had learned that the analogy in this paragraph might challenge some students, I limited the amount of additional text students had to read before thinking about the meaning of Okrent's comparison. I included the question right after the paragraph to cue

students in to the idea and have them think about it, but also to chunk the reading into more manageable pieces. I did not include any literal questions at this point, as I already knew that most students could answer them and I wanted them thinking more deeply. Using the same format, I presented the students with two more paragraphs with one question for each section: "Why is the shrinking population of Detroit a problem?" and "According to Okrent, what are some possible solutions?" By focusing the students' attention to a smaller set of questions, I hoped to encourage more focused reading and answers from the students.

In these situations, knowing the students and having some sense of their knowledge and reading skill was important to activity development. By understanding where the students were as readers and thinkers, I was able to ascertain how to push them to think and read more deeply, as described above. The design principle at work in this case is that activities be developed to help bridge gaps between text demands and students' abilities in order to develop the students' knowledge and skills.

Building connections across lessons, texts, and accounts: Facilitating corroboration, connection, and analysis with driving questions.

Activity and material development were also shaped by the need to build connections across lessons, texts, and historical accounts. As the students worked to construct their own narratives of the problem, they needed to connect ideas across texts and accounts, and the design included activities to facilitate this process. In my past experience as a teacher, I had learned that many students saw history as a series of compartmentalized events, and they did not typically consider how different events or eras were linked together in cause and effect chains. Other scholars have noted similar

problems with historical thinking among secondary students as discussed earlier (Lee, 2004; Bain ,2005; Van Drie & van Boxtel, 2008). I sought to disrupt these cultural models of history as I designed activities for use in the TERRA project.

To do so, I relied primarily upon the use of driving questions to connect across texts, finding texts that could be used together to answer these questions. As indicated previously, I used census data and the article about Detroit's immigrant history to begin to answer the question of how and when the population of the city changed. This exercise and the conclusions we reached about changes in the city surfaced at different times when reading about why people left.

When we read about the Detroit Riots of 1967 to identify causes and effects, students noticed the following sentence, "The Motor City has lost more than 1 million residents since 1950" (Headless, 2007). Different students wrote down "loss of 1 million people" in the "effect" column of a graphic organizer we were using. Underneath the graphic organizer, students had to respond to the question, "What do you think the longest lasting effects were?" This served as a discussion question, and provided me the opportunity to ask the question, "One million people left... do we know which people left the city from our exercise with the statistics?" Steven quickly called out, "White people!" as he called upon what he had learned during our work with the census data. The use of discussion questions like this with instructional materials thus often provided opportunities to build these types of connections. Having selected texts that could be used in conversation with each other, it was still necessary to carry out this type of discussion and use probing questions to help students make connections across the texts.

Activity development then was a key site for creating the opportunities to build such

bridges and give students practice in corroboration and cross-text analysis.

Later in the program, when we turned our attention to why people left, we utilized

several texts that spoke to the different factors leading white, middle-class people to leave

Detroit in the 1950s and 1960s. Consistently referring back to this question in discussion,

(why did people leave?), helped build connections across different texts. For example, I

presented the students with a brief summary article on the development of

suburbanization and the national freeway system after World War II. After giving them

time to consider the questions individually, we discussed the following questions:

- What was the connection between more people having cars and the growth of the freeway system?

- How did the development of the suburbs depend on highways and cars?

- Based on what we have already read and heard from other sources, who had an easier time buying homes in the suburbs?

To end the lesson, students completed an "Exit Pass" question, a quick writing

exercise in response to a prompt to be turned in as they left the room. The prompt for this

particular exercise was, "What does this have to do with Detroit?" These questions

helped set us up to link the ideas of suburbanization and freeways to other factors for

white flight like the loss of jobs and resistance to increasing integration. Each time

students read a text or viewed a film not directly about Detroit, I used questions on the

materials to guide students to think about connections. In the viewing guide for the

movie on the Newark riots, students answered the following three questions (among

others), which I later asked about Detroit in discussion after referring back to the movie.

- How did the Vietnam War affect this situation?

- What solutions were suggested to help resolve the problems that led to the riots?

- Why did white people leave the city?

In addition to building connections across texts and lessons, this design required students to connect their own ideas to our inquiry and measure them against what they read. The design included brainstorming activities to begin each component of the program in order to surface student knowledge and attitudes about the physical state of the city, and similar exercises were utilized at different points to prepare students for reading. Before reading an article about arson and Devil's Night after school, I asked the students, "Why are there so many burned out houses in this city?" They quickly began to offer their own explanations. One student responded, "On my block, they have abandoned houses or whatever, and all the bad kids just torch them, just for the fun of it…" Other students gave their own answers:

- Maybe there was like a fire, and the city, nobody fixed it, they didn't fix up.

- Money issues… like people don't have money and they can't keep it up.

- Sometimes people burn it so they can get money from the insurance

Including this activity in the lesson thus surfaced students' accounts of the problem and provided another narrative against which the article could be compared. Throughout the design of learning activities and materials then, I made similar decisions to provide opportunities for students to make conceptual connections across the different lessons and texts.

Context: after-school or classroom: Shaping activities to match settings.

As with text selection, the contexts of the after-school and classroom components of this project have an important impact on how students—and teachers—are able to

make sense of key ideas. Too often, the particulars of classroom contexts are not

considered when reformers make curricula. By contrast, I took these specific differences

into account in the development of activities and materials. For example, a key

difference between after-school and classroom material development stemmed from the

variations in student participation patterns as students after school were not mandated to

come so I felt pressure to engage them in less classroom like activity. I discussed this in

the November 23 research memo quoted earlier, in which I wrote, "with sporadic

attendance, limited time, and time between meetings, it seems more important to engage

students with text directly... maybe through the reading of short passages and

discussion." This shift in thinking early on resulted in a larger pattern of text supports

and scaffolds for the after-school program that were more open and flexible, such as the

graphic organizer below (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Problem cause and solution graphic organizer

	Historical	Economic	Political	Social	Psychological
Causes					
Solutions					

With this simple chart, students kept track of ideas raised as we talked about

different readings. The goal here was to create a written record of conclusions reached to

use in later work as we developed our final products. Classroom work though had to also

serve as assignments and be given point values, and thus the activities in the classroom

tended to be more structured and detailed.

In addition, time in the classroom setting was less flexible and there were more

students, so activities needed to be more clearly organized with relatively defined

outcomes. To engage the students in thinking about solutions to urban blight, for

example, I prepared a handout with the following instructions:

> You and your group are part of a youth panel studying urban blight in
>
> Detroit. You need to present your findings on the best solutions to the
>
> mayor of Detroit. You have gotten the statements below from different
>
> people. Put them in your words. Which ones do you think the city should
>
> implement? Also, what can you as a young person do?

Below these instructions, there were six excerpts, each two to three sentences

long, from different articles that presented a range of ideas for solutions. These included

quotes from Boggs (2009) on reinventing work, and even a section from the Detroit City

website with zoning regulations. Other passages came from the article on deconstruction

to rehabilitate homes and provide jobs (Oosting, 2009), and a passage from a Detroit

News article presenting the idea of actually shrinking the size of Detroit's circumference

and area. This activity was taking place as the semester ended as well, so I was pressed

for time but still wanted to expose students to several different ideas. After school, we

read much longer sections of these same articles and talked about them at length with less

written work. Contextual factors, especially time, thus ended up shaping design in

unanticipated ways even though I had tried to account for them.

Design Conclusions: Principles for Disruptive Design

Analyzing these processes, from problem and text selection to the development of

activities, it became clear that this instructional design disrupted the existing activity

system of the classroom by introducing a real-world problem of interest as the object of

study. The design afforded students the opportunity to make deeper conceptual connections across ideas, texts, and lessons, and was structured to engage them in analytical thinking about the problem. Through this design, I introduced new purposes and practices for learning into this classroom, and the use of a problem of interest to the students as the object of activity provided a compelling goal for the students and had the potential to minimize problems such as student resistance or lack of knowledge or skill.

As a result of my analysis of my design decisions throughout the project, I argue that a key ingredient of a successful historical literacy reform curriculum is the awareness of a range of existing cultural models that need to be considered and addressed in the design process. Without attention to the models of learning, history, text, and literacy that young people bring to the curriculum under study, even the most innovative reform can struggle to take root. Furthermore, reforms must also account for the ways that particular texts, activities, readers, and contexts interact to shape the way people make sense of concepts under study. A close analysis of how I planned my design and modified it during enactment allows me to offer six design principles related to the disruption of commonly held cultural models and the consideration of the intersections of text, reader, context, and activity. These design principles, although specific to this local context, can serve as a starting place for history educators and curriculum developers.

1) Select a problem to which students can connect through interest and prior knowledge, but also a problem which will necessitate connections to larger historical accounts and concepts.

2)   Select a problem for which there are adequate and diverse resources, and then select from this pool a set of texts representing different genres of texts and varying views on the problem of study that can be compared and connected.

3)   Consider students' knowledge and reading level in relationship to text complexity when selecting texts and developing activities. Challenge students with demanding texts but also provide appropriate supports and scaffolds.

4)   Design activities to surface, extend, and even challenge student knowledge and thinking about the problem.

5)   Consider the context of instruction when selecting and preparing texts as well as when developing activities. Think about time, schedules, room arrangements, and school climate and proactively plan for possible interruptions or other disrupting factors.

6)   Consider students' cultural models and patterns of thinking when selecting texts and developing activities. Prepare to push students to think more deeply with probing questions and dynamic activities and help them build connections across lessons and texts.

Following these principles, I developed an instructional design in which students would analyze historical accounts from a variety of sources in order to develop a better understanding of the causes and effects of urban blight in Detroit. As an outcome, they would produce their own historical accounts of the problem and use this account to develop ideas for possible solutions to the problem. The tools they would use in this endeavor included a range of texts with secondary accounts from news media, documentary films, statistical data, photographs, and first person accounts. To mediate

their use of these texts, the students would discuss their current knowledge and perceptions of urban blight; read and discuss the different texts together; and use graphic organizers to summarize and organize information from texts. They would also discuss ideas about the texts in small and large groups and explain their thinking about conclusions they reached. As students learning to think and read historically, they would also use information from the texts as evidence for arguments; question the sources of texts; and compare historical accounts and ideas across text. Finally, they would analyze the documents to look for causal factors and effects of different events and also connect different historical events to each other in cause and effect chains.

Over the course of the next several months, I enacted this instructional design after school and in the classroom. In this process, I modified the flow and structure of activities when confronted with different challenges and opportunities, and when my own intentions to disrupt were themselves disrupted. I will discuss this process of enactment and decision making in response to student participation, student skill and knowledge, and factors related to the local context in the next chapter.

Chapter V

Design Enactment and Modification at the Disjunctures

In this chapter, I argue that the enactment of an instructional design that disrupts pre-existing cultural models of classroom learning faces disruption itself as the new model comes into tension with the old. This disjuncture between models necessitates constant modifications and revisions to the design, a point not always accounted for in curriculum reform efforts, especially in packaged curriculum materials. In other words, a design can be re-shaped during moments of tension to help students bridge the gaps between the demands of the new design and the stances and practices to which they are accustomed. These moments of tension and disjuncture in fact offer opportunities to further the disruption of the status quo and build new models for learning.

If students are not accustomed to different practices of learning and reading required by a new design, such as thinking aloud or comparing across texts, then the design can be adapted to allow for modeling and practice. Similarly, if the learning context does not support the practices and goals of the new design- in particular with respect to factors such as attendance, available time, and interruptions- then the design can be modified to maintain student engagement. Curriculum developers cannot feasibly carry out every design as a study, but it may be possible for them to more explicitly attend to possible tensions and to proactively build in alternative activities or supports to help students transition into new models.
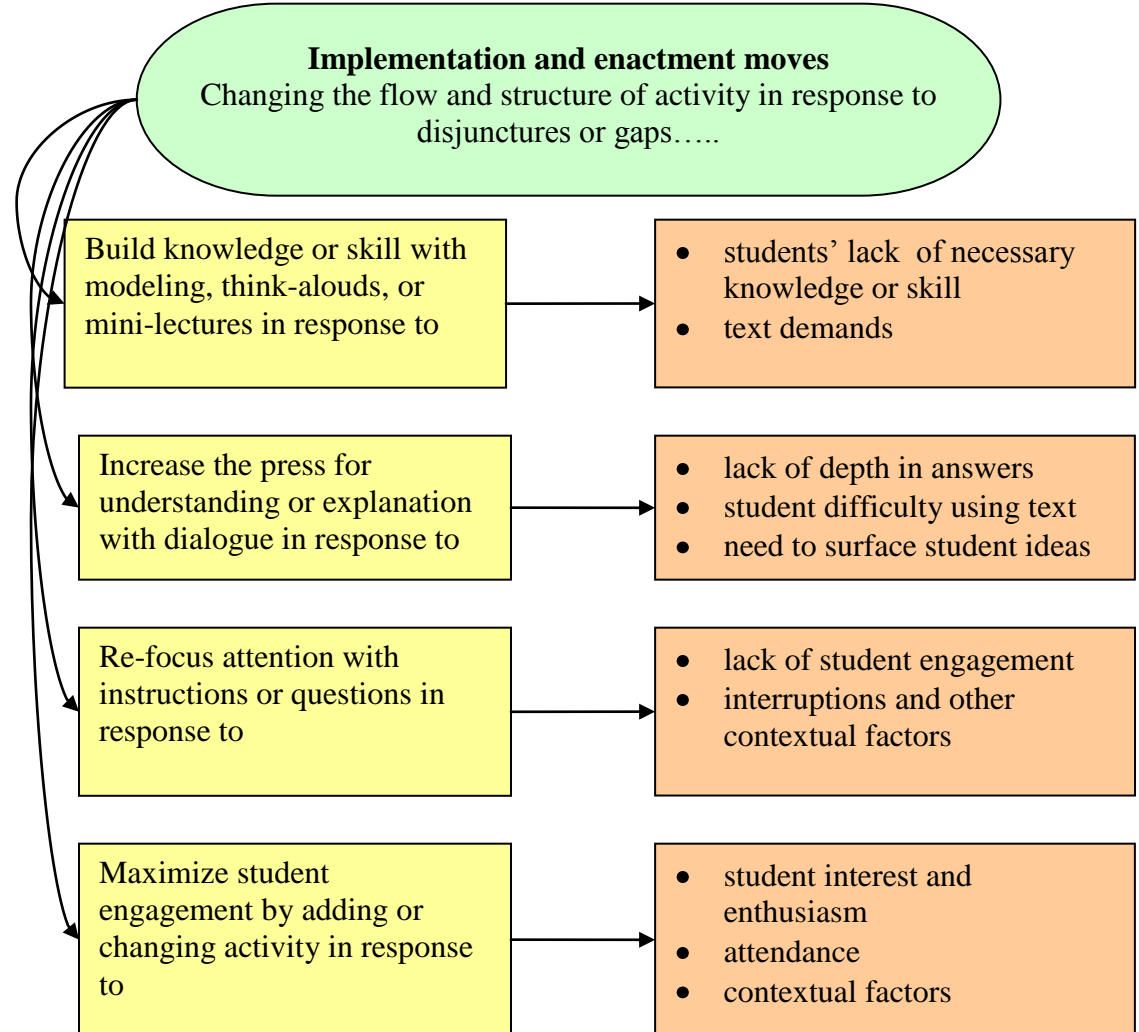
In this study, tensions emerged when problem-based historical learning using multiple texts clashed with conventional models of history teaching and learning, and even with cultural models of history as a school subject. Students were being asked to consider historical texts as accounts to be questioned and compared to other accounts as opposed to approaching them as "true" descriptions of past events. In addition, they were engaging in this work to understand a problem in their community as opposed to remembering lists of facts for a test, and they were doing so with complex texts.

As I will illustrate in the data presentation that follows, most students did not appear to be accustomed to thinking about and learning history in this way. Even when they were presented with new activities and tasks, they still tended to approach them from their original stance or had not yet developed the necessary skills and knowledge. The students also encountered a range of texts that at times demanded advanced analytical and interpretive reading. Moreover, the school and classroom context, in particular with respect to timing and class interruptions, did not support this type of learning. In response to these challenges that disrupted my disruptive design, I had to modify the design for in-the-moment classroom interactions. These modifications helped students bridge the gap between the new design and their pre-existing patterns of practice and thinking.

Using constant comparative analysis (CCA) (Straus & Corbin, 1996), I coded and categorized moments of modification to my original design and identified four patterns of disjunctures and related enactment moves that were the most common and consistent across the program (see Figure 5).

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Figure 5.

Implementation and enactment moves
Changing the flow and structure of activity in response to disjunctures or gaps…..

Build knowledge or skill with modeling, think-alouds, or mini-lectures in response to
- students' lack of necessary knowledge or skill
- text demands

Increase the press for understanding or explanation with dialogue in response to
- lack of depth in answers
- student difficulty using text
- need to surface student ideas

Re-focus attention with instructions or questions in response to
- lack of student engagement
- interruptions and other contextual factors

Maximize student engagement by adding or changing activity in response to
- student interest and enthusiasm
- attendance
- contextual factors

First, I found that students were not prepared with regards to the necessary knowledge and reading and writing skill demanded by the new design and selected texts. Therefore, I had to modify ongoing activities in order to build knowledge or skill by modeling, engaging in metacognitive think-alouds, or providing mini-lectures, especially when the students were engaging with challenging texts.   Second, in every session or lesson, I also made decisions to increase the press for understanding or explanation with probing questions when students did not demonstrate conceptual depth in their answers;

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when they struggled with the text; and when I wanted to elicit prior knowledge. Third, I shifted activities to re-focus student attention with instructions or questions when they were not engaged; when there were interruptions; or when other contextual factors like the general classroom climate made it necessary. Finally, there were times when I made instructional decisions and moves to maximize student engagement by adding or changing an activity when students showed interest and enthusiasm, and also when attendance or other contextual factors made it helpful to follow student interest.

What makes these teaching moves and decisions noteworthy is that I carried them out as modifications to my own design and enacted them at the intersections of text, readers, activities, and contexts. In the process of instruction, I gained insights into the class context and students that were not available to me in the design process, and I shifted my design as necessary when it did not appear to meet the needs of the students and the classroom context. In the analysis below, I unpack the situations and motivators for making these changes and provide illustrative data exemplars. In Chapter 6, I discuss the implications of these findings for curriculum design, instructional practice, policy, and research.

Shifting the lesson to build knowledge or skill demanded by texts and activities:

As discussed in Chapter 4, I developed this instructional design with the understanding that students' knowledge and skills would have to be built in the process of learning about the history of urban blight in Detroit. Nevertheless, I found that in all but one session after-school, and in every class with a text-based activity, I had to shift the lesson to build both knowledge and skills in response to difficulties students were having.

These difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of experience with different types of texts and activities as well as due to the complex demands of some of the texts. Knowledge and skill were often intertwined in these situations, and always in interaction with the text itself, as in the example discussed below when students struggled to interpret complicated data tables and also lacked knowledge about data presentation itself. In particular, I found that the challenges students faced were located at the intersections of texts, readers, and activities. When a text was difficult, the students did not have the necessary knowledge and/or skill, and the activity did not adequately support the students, then I had to change course and build knowledge or skill. I did this in two primary ways: I modeled procedures and processes with think-alouds, and I provided mini-lectures to build knowledge.

Modeling and think-alouds to build skills and teach processes.

To promote disciplinary literacy, this design relied upon the use of diverse texts that challenged students and stretched their abilities, but it was also important in the design to support students in these textual interactions. At times, I underestimated the complexity of certain texts and also developed activities in such a way as to take for granted certain interpretive skills or processes needed for the activity. When students encountered these complex texts and struggled to interpret them, it was helpful for them to see someone else model this process and talk through it out loud. One particular area in which I had to support students more actively than originally planned involved the interpretation of statistical data presented in varying table formats.

In the first week of the classroom unit, we worked with census data for Detroit from 1910, 1950, and 2006 (estimates based upon 2000 census data) in order to make

generalizations about the trends in Detroit's population changes. The students were given three separate data tables, one for each time period. The table for 1910 included data for several cities from Michigan, including Detroit, which was the third city in the list. This table included statistics for "Native White," "Foreign Born White," and "Negro," and each category was divided with data for males and females with the total numbers coming last. For 1950, the table included only data for Detroit and there was no breakdown by gender. The 1950 data were categorized for white, which was then divided into "Native" and "Foreign Born," and nonwhite, which was divided into "Negro" and "Other races." Then, the figures for the total population were given, and these were also broken down by white and nonwhite. The 2006 data included a number for the total population, but racial breakdowns, now divided into seven categories including "White persons" and "Black Persons," were then given in percentages. Across the three census tables then, students were being asked to identify and interpret large demographic changes, but first they had to negotiate different table formats and the changing nomenclature around race and ethnicity over 100 years of time.

Using these data, students were to analyze how the total population of the city changed between 1910 and 2006, and also how the proportionate populations of white and black residents changed. I provided the students with a graphic organizer to help them record and organize this information (see Appendix E). I structured the activity so that they would work in small groups to record the required data and then observe that the population grew for both whites and blacks between 1910 and 1950 with whites in the majority. I also wanted them to note that the total population for the city then shrunk greatly between 1950 and 2006 as the proportionate relationship between blacks and

white reversed. Through this activity I wanted to raise the historical question of why and how these changes took place over time.

I began the actual activity by passing out the data tables and the graphic organizer. I then asked the students to find the Detroit columns and rows on first page, and I gave them the parameters of our data analysis task. I had them look at each of the tables, and I asked them to label their data columns "Total Population," "White," and "Black." I noted out loud that they would have to add the male and female numbers together for 1910 to get totals, and I also briefly explained the different terminology used for racial groups on each table. I moved around the room and listened in on the conversations, and as I walked by Steven and Reymundo, they called me over. Reymundo said, "Mister, we don't know what to do. Look at this... there's foreign born white people and native whites and negroes. Where do we put them?" I realized at that moment that the students were confused by the different racial categories because the census table had whites divided into two groups, but I had only asked for information on whites in general. I quickly checked in with other groups and saw that several other students had the same question. I called for everyone's attention and proceeded to talk them through what they needed to do.

T: So we have a good question here.... once you have the total population from 1910, you'll notice that they do something kind of different with that data. How do they talk about... what are the white categories... they have native white, and then they have foreign born white. Why do you think that is? Who would foreign born whites be?

Dora: Europeans?

T: Yeah, like Europeans... so from what countries?

Reymundo: Germany... Great Britain.

T: Right, so that's how they looked at it back then, because they wanted to

              see how many people were coming from other countries, so if you want

`   the total white population, you have to do a little adding [writing the

              numbers on the board] you can round them off to the nearest 10,000 if you

              want... Add up your native white total and your foreign born white total...

At that point, I put the groups back to work and continued to monitor their

progress. After several minutes, I noticed that many groups were still working on 1910,

and that three groups had not written anything down yet. Dora called me over to her

group and stated, "We're not sure if this is right... could you look at it." I decided at that

point to address the whole class as many people were struggling with the data. I again

talked the students through the data, but this time I provided more modeling, as

demonstrated in the transcript below.

              Look, it's okay to be confused... let's walk through this together... let me

              have your attention... Okay, so what's interesting to note, if you look

              across all of this, you'll see that the categories [of race] change, which is

              why it's a little confusing. So... the reason why I want you to combine

              native and foreign born whites in 1910 is that those categories aren't even

              used the same in 1950, and they're completely gone by 2000 because the

              way we think about race and ethnicity has changed over time... But what

              we really want to focus on are three big pieces of information, or four

              maybe... What was the total population of the city? How many white

people lived in the city...no matter where they were born... and how many black people lived in the city, and how many people who were categorized as something else? That's what we want to find out. So, for 1910, you add the total male and female together to get the total population. Now, for your white population, for 1910, you have to add male and female for both native and foreign born whites, just four numbers, I'll write them up here...

I then began writing the numbers up on the board, and talking through the math as I added the numbers, even giving math tips such as, "You know, if you want, you don't even have to mess with all the zeros for now when you add since they're all big numbers.. just take off three zeros from everything and add them back on at the end." After this modeling of the math for 1910, students seemed to grasp the task better and were able to complete data collection for the other years more independently. By the end of the class, all of the groups had correctly listed the data totals for the different years, and most had taken notes on trends in the changes. Dora's notes for example (shown below), demonstrate basic understanding of the larger patterns of demographic change.

Notes on change:

1910 – number of people weren't that high.

1950- The number of all people started to increase, but more whites

2000- The number of white people drop, Black population went up.

The demands of the texts in this case, particularly the shifting terminology around racial categories, proved more confusing to students than I had anticipated. The need to carry out mathematical calculations created additional challenges for students to

negotiate. In retrospect, the complexity of the texts seems obvious, but at that time I appear to have taken it for granted, perhaps because I did not analyze the text through the lens of a ninth grade student. Even so, with additional modeling and talk, most students were able to correctly compile the data and make conclusions. What made this intervention in the activity possible was the use of questioning as it gave me the opportunity to hear what students were thinking and then make appropriate adjustments. Thus I was able to use difficult text and engage students in analysis, but to do so I had to attend to their talk about the data, identify problem areas, and then scaffold the activity so that the students could complete it on their own.

In a subsequent session, we explored statistical changes again, but this time with respect to employment in the automotive industry, which we would then later connect to further decreases in Detroit's population and tax base. I provided a handout that had data on automotive employment from the Bureau of Labor Statistics at four different points between 1979 and 2010 in two different tables, and also an excerpt from an article on this topic. These data showed some fluctuations in employment across the industry but with a clear decline in motor vehicle assembly jobs. The presentation of the data was very complex, with technical terms (e.g. Standard Industrial Classification) in the middle of the table, and also with column headings that did not clearly represent the meaning of the numbers in each column. For example, the column which included data on employment in motor vehicle assembly was labeled "motor vehicle assembly" and did not include the word "employment" or any related term (see Figure 6 below). This necessitated moving between the title of the table and the column titles while reading.

The students again had a graphic organizer and also a short reading guide that required them to organize information as they read and make data-based conclusions about employment trends. As students read, I walked around the room to check on their progress and observe what they were recording. I quickly noticed several wrong answers and decided again to halt the group work and explore the problem they were having with the text and the activity. After asking some probing questions to push students to explain the reasoning behind their answers, I discovered that several students had completely misinterpreted part of the graph (see Figure 6) because they did not connect the title to the data column labels but instead made assumptions based on the topic of discussion. Noticing some confusion, I asked the students to give me their attention and I re-framed the activity at that moment to quickly build their skill with graph interpretation.

Figure 6. Employment in automotive industry data table

```
Employment in motor vehicle assembly and supplier
industries, 1979-98, in thousands

       SIC 3711        SIC 3714        SIC 3465

       Motor           Motor           Automotive
       vehicle         vehicle         stampings
       assembly        parts

1979   463.0           441.10          117.60
1989   349.9           416.30          106.80
1998   341.8           546.80          114.10
```

SIC = Standard Industrial Classification

http://stats.bls.gov/opub/ted/1999/Sept/wk5/art02.txt

I stopped their work in pairs and talked through the first part of this new table as a think-aloud as shown in the following passage.

So, now look at the first column, under motor vehicle assembly. What

does that 463,000 mean? What's the title of the graph? Okay, the title of

the graph tells us that this is about employment, and it says "in

thousands," and "nationwide,"... in thousands, so that 463 means.... what?

463,000 what? That means then, 463,000 jobs, or people working in jobs,

in motor vehicle assembly across the nation.

In this way, I walked students through the process of connecting information

across the different parts of the graph, making my own interpretive process visible. I

used think-alouds to model this way with more than just graph interpretation however,

also relying upon this approach to demonstrate critical reading and questioning of textual

sources as the students engaged with other complex texts. In the after-school program,

for example, I often paused to talk through a particularly important or potentially

controversial idea in texts. One example of this emerged after we read an article titled

"Shrinking Detroit," in which local academics made claims about solving Detroit's

problems. One professor of urban planning was quoted as saying, "The issue is not just

getting people in the city. It's getting people in the city who can become property owners

and.... pay taxes." Another scholar followed that idea up with his own, saying that,

"Perhaps the biggest challenge to luring middle class from the area's swank suburbs is

overcoming racial tensions." I saw problems in this argument in that it seemed to place

agency for solving Detroit's issues on people in the suburbs and ignored the active role

being taken by the people already living in the city. I engaged Karina and Ramon in

discussion about this passage, and thought out loud about the text to model this type of

critique. I began by summarizing the statements, saying, "What they're suggesting is that

we've got to bring the middle class people back into the city. What do you think about that? Are there other options?" Karina replied, "Makin' the city look nicer," and the conversation continued with me doing most, but not all, of the talking in the form of a think-aloud:

T: Okay... that would help. What comes to mind for me is… what about the people who already live here? The people of Detroit can't wait for…

Karina: The middle class to come back… to decide to come back…

Ramon: They have do it themselves.

T: So, that's kind of what we need to do when we're reading these articles… get into the mindset of the person writing…well, what they are really saying….and to me, the way I read that is like... wait a minute… what about the people who live in Detroit right now… they're just supposed to wait until the white people in the suburbs come back to fix the city?

Ramon: Like they're… they make it sound like the white flight of people to the suburbs is everything that made Detroit go bad… just because all the white people left, they left the black people, so like…

T: Right, and so the danger of accepting that argument is falling into the trap of thinking that the city can't be fixed until the white people come back…. which is really messed up. They're not saying that exactly, but you could read it that way. Certainly we want to bring more people in, but should that be the only solution? Do we also want to help the people who live here become the new middle class… why do we just have to bring in a middle class when there are already people here… create a middle class…

It's easier said than done of course, but if we could bring in some jobs and

help people…

Ramon: You mean like the auto industry?

T: Well, what do you think?

Ramon: Well, our economy is all hanging on one thing… we need to diversify.

In that long exchange, prompted by probing questions and supported by my modeling of a critical stance, Ramon began to question the account in the text and also brought in the topic of the auto industry, discussed in earlier lessons, and made a connection across texts and activities. Modeling and thinking out loud thus provided me with a means to develop students' knowledge and skills when they were presented with complex ideas and also to encourage them to connect new ideas to prior knowledge.

Across these types of situations, there were cues that the activities as designed did not do enough to scaffold difficult texts, and also that students at times did not understand the tasks put forth by the design. These cues were usually in the form of students' questions or remarks, or through incorrect responses to both written and oral questions. The lack of understanding, as in the examples with the graphs, seemed to stem from the difficulty of the texts, the lack of clear directions or scaffolds in the activity, and the fact that students did not appear to have had much practice with similar texts and interpretive tasks. The problem thus lie in the interaction between the readers, text, and activity.

If the learning goal for the data activities was only to help students understand the changes across time, it would have been possible to simply provide them with the data already tabulated in some sort of graph. However, it was also important that students develop the analytical skills necessary to work with this type of data so that they could

gain more independence as critical consumers of information. In this context, when I perceived that students needed additional support with challenging texts, I did not supply the information but rather scaffolded the processes by which they would gain the information themselves. In effect, I often found myself leading students to make conclusions from interpretation as a necessary first step in building their interpretive skills.

Curriculum developers and teachers working to introduce new, challenging materials and tasks to students can prepare for these types of situations by analyzing the knowledge and skill demands of texts and activities. When engaging in this analysis, it is important that the analyst tries to read from the perspective of the student and not assume their own prior knowledge. After such analysis, curriculum developers can then provide alternative activities, or particular instructional scaffolds and supports, as supplements to their curriculum to be used when students do not have the necessary knowledge and skill. When teachers implement curricula that do not have such supports, they may have to analyze texts and activities themselves and then provide additional instruction to students. In either case, curriculum designers and teachers can consider the demands being placed upon students and not assume that all students have been prepared in prior schooling to meet these challenges. The goal is not to make the work easy for students, but to have them work in their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1975; 1986) so that they can be both challenged and supported as they learn.

Mini-lectures to build necessary knowledge.

Another common instructional tool used to build knowledge and help students interpret and engage with text or complex ideas is the mini-lecture. A mini-lecture is

typically an impromptu presentation, generally lasting no more than 30 seconds to three minutes, in which a teacher provides "just-in-time" information or skill lessons to support student work, often when reading or writing texts. I used mini-lectures in this way as I noted gaps in my plan or assumptions I had made about students' skills and knowledge. In addition, I used mini-lectures in response to student comments in discussion that raised important questions not answered in the text and or activity as designed.

For example, reading Okrent's piece after school led to a discussion of white flight during which I asked the students, "Why didn't more black people leave Detroit?" Ramon answered, "Because they couldn't." Alicia responded to this by asking, "How do you stop someone from moving into your town?" I realized that in 2009, living in Detroit, these young people likely had little knowledge of the role that real estate and housing practices played in establishing and maintaining segregation in northern cities. It appeared that they had trouble imagining not being allowed to live where you wanted as long as you had the money. To help them understand this issue, I provided a brief lecture and gave them examples of the racist real estate practices that were common at that time.

This same topic came up in the classroom project when we learned about the 1943 riots in Detroit. When we talked about housing, Antonio asked why black families couldn't just move wherever they wanted. I again paused to quickly provide some background information, saying,

> Black families looking for a home would not even get shown properties in certain communities. Real estate agents actually helped enforce segregation... and if a family managed to move into a neighborhood that

was mainly white, they faced harassment, maybe broken windows, maybe even crosses burned on their lawns.

I covered a related topic with a very brief mini-lecture about the Supreme Court case of Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education. In talking about the changes in Detroit during the 1950s, I asked the after-school group, "What happened in 1954? With the Supreme Court?" Pablo answered, "Plessy vs. Ferguson?" I corrected him but did not directly provide the answer, responding, "No, but what overturned that?" Pablo got it right this time as he stated, "Brown versus the Topeka Board." Yet when I asked what that decision did, I was met with silence. After a bit of wait time, I explained the decision: "It overturned Plessy vs. Ferguson, separate but equal…. it meant no more segregation," and then talked a minute more about how segregation continued in different ways despite the ruling.

In these instances, students' questions and comments highlighted information they had not yet learned that was important to their developing understanding of why some people left the city and why others did not. I made the decision therefore to supply information quickly, succinctly, and in the context of our discussion. The brief lecture allowed the general flow of the lesson to continue while still supporting the students and providing more background information. I made decisions about when to provide this type of support, as opposed to letting students struggle and discover ideas on their own, in part based upon available time and resources. For example, in the case of providing additional information on segregation, I did not have a suitable text on hand to cover this material, so I provided a mini-lecture. Even with a suitable text, if there had not been enough time, or if I felt that the time was better spent moving the lesson forward, I would

have used the mini-lecture. With the census data, on the other hand, it was important for students to develop the skills of data interpretation, and thus a mini-lecture would not have sufficed.

At other times, I noted that students clearly lacked necessary knowledge to complete an activity I had designed. One such instance happened during a card sort activity in which students were to use index cards with historical events on them to create cause and effect chains. For example, the students had cards about World War II, the increased need for war production, the related increase in jobs in places like Detroit, the integration of more black workers in wartime factories, white resistance to integration, and the Detroit riots of 1943, all of which were related in this type of causal chain. Another grouping of cards had to do with the Civil Rights movement, racism, and the riots of 1967. Moving around the room, I noted that Sara's group in particular seemed to lack some of the prior knowledge called upon by other groups to help them in this task. When I asked them when the most well-known events of the Civil Rights Movement took place, someone in the group said "Before World War II?" and no one else in the group helped her out or corrected her. Many of the other groups correctly placed the Civil Rights Movement card (which had no date) around other events that had dates listed in the 1950s and 1960s.

I then asked this group what the civil rights movement was, and no one could answer me. Finally, I asked them if they knew the names of any famous civil rights leaders, and they said they did not. I pointed to a poster of César Chávez up on the wall and asked, "How about him?" They knew his name and some basic biographical information, and one of the girls was able to then connect Civil Rights to the 1960s and

then moved the card to a more logical location in their outline. I provided a brief outline of the Civil Rights movement and the events of the mid-1960s, moving other cards as I spoke:

> So, the Civil Rights movement had been around for a long time really, fighting for equal rights, but it really got going after the 1954 decision of Brown vs. Topeka to end school segregation. Then people began to boycott buses down south where blacks couldn't ride in the front, they protested businesses that had separate sections for blacks, and a nationwide movement really picked up in the early 1960s with people like Martin Luther King as the most visible leaders. Similar things were happening with Latinos, and Cesar Chavez was well known for helping Mexicans and Chicanos fight for their rights.

In this type of mini-lecture, especially for a small group, I tried to keep the information fairly basic, providing just enough context to spark some prior knowledge and help students move forward.

At other times, students did not have knowledge assumed by the authors of a text being used. When we read about the riots of 1967, students read that one of the causes of the riots might have been "anger over the Vietnam War" (Headlee, 2007). After several students listed the war on the cause and effect charts they were developing, I asked, "Why would that be a problem? Why would the Vietnam War make people in Detroit mad?" Antonio suggested it was because, "People were being called up." I answered with another question, "But who was being called up?" No one offered a clear answer, so I talked briefly about the disproportionate numbers of black and Latino young men who

saw active combat in the Vietnam War and the anger this disparity generated as people of color were fighting for equal rights domestically.

In this way, I intervened when necessary to build knowledge when there appeared to be gaps between what students knew and what the activity or text required. In those moments of course, I had the option of moving on and re-directing students back into the activity or text. Nevertheless, I used my own historical frame and knowledge to judge the importance of information students lacked, and when I felt that information to be of particular value, I provided the mini-lecture. The mini-lecture, when kept concise and to the point, provided a time-sensitive way to build knowledge that did not require large shifts in classroom structure, organization, or material. To deliver the information, I had to gain the students' attention, explain my purpose, and then provide the mini-lecture.

On the other hand, there were times when students brought up questions that were only peripherally related to texts or activities, and I chose to re-direct them and keep them on task and off the tangent. When reading about the National Guard during the riots of 1967, Reymundo and Steven observed a picture of a soldier with a rifle and digressed into a discussion about what type of gun it was, speculating it was an "M-1" and demonstrating accurate prior knowledge.   They asked me what type of gun I thought it was, and I re-directed them back into the activity as this was not a question of particular importance to the lesson.

These mini-lectures were different from more standard lectures not only because they were brief, but also because they were tightly tied to understanding a particular reading or event, or to answering a question raised by students. The purpose of these presentations of information thus was not to provide primary content, but to give context

and background for content being presented in other ways. In some cases, mini-lectures served to re-localize knowledge, or in other words, to connect more general knowledge about past events to the students and their community. Students knew about the Vietnam War, for example, but they had not clearly connected racial tensions in Detroit to the anger of young men being asked to serve a country that denied them equal rights. Although this information about the war was valuable, it was background information and did not need to be covered as a lesson on its own in the context of this unit. The mini-lecture then helped to build important knowledge students needed at particular moments, and the need for this knowledge was apparent only when students were engaged in conversations about the ideas and events we were studying.

It is important to acknowledge as well that these brief interventions required substantial prior knowledge on my part. In order to highlight important gaps in student knowledge, I needed that knowledge myself. One of the requirements for doing this type of instruction, problem-based inquiry with complex texts, is thus that teachers have enough knowledge themselves about the problem and related issues. In this context, curriculum developers might consider providing additional resources to help teachers review and build their own knowledge.

Increasing the press for understanding and explanation to push student thinking.

In addition to building knowledge and skills, the flow of instruction had to be frequently shifted in order to put pressure on students to think more deeply or to provide more in-depth explanations. Blumenfeld (1992) called this instructional practice the "press for understanding" and described it as occurring when teachers demonstrated

expectations or structured assignments and questions to require thoughtful engagement or responses from students. In essence, press involves the teacher pushing students up a level toward higher-order thinking. In my analysis of the design implementation, I found that I used this practice in every lesson, and that it most frequently took place through probing questions. I pressed students most consistently when they provided answers that lacked sufficient depth, when they were struggling with text or ideas, or when it was important to surface students' ideas related to content. Press was necessary in these situations in order to move students into more analytical thinking and reading and away from basic identification and repetition of facts.

Pressing for deeper answers and higher order thinking.

One of the patterns of classroom practice that this design disrupted was students' tendency to supply quick and relatively shallow answers to questions. In most verbal exchanges around content, students did not provide elaborated answers. It appeared that the answering of a question had become the end goal for many students, as opposed to the development of some important understanding or even the generation of new questions. This pattern emerged after school when we discussed readings related to the Detroit Riots of 1967. As we talked about the answers students had provided on a guided reading sheet, their explanations for the causes of the riots were very short and basic, often attributing complex events to single-event causes. In response, I asked probing questions to push them to think more deeply and also to be more aware of the limitations of the account, as demonstrated in the excerpt below.

T: What caused the riots?

Ramon: Racism, people being separated.

T: But how did that cause riots?

Cristina: People got mad.

T: But which people got mad?

Ramon: Black people got mad.

T: So they just started rioting?

Ramon: Yeah….

At that point, I asked them to look back at the article and re-read the section on the riots. Once they had done so, I asked them if there was enough information in the article to really explain how racism and segregation sparked the riots, and we all agreed there was not. I used our unanswered question then to lead into a mini-lecture on the Detroit Riots. I explained with more specific examples how racism and segregation nationwide, not just in Detroit, led to anger and tension and how a series of events, both nationally and local, helped spark the riots. Ramon's developing account – black people got mad because of racism and rioted – was not necessarily inaccurate, but neither was it complete or sufficient. I was not content to leave it at that, but I also realized that perhaps he did not have the knowledge at that point to go deeper. Pressing for understanding, therefore, could sometimes lead back to knowledge building and further opportunities for localizing national events and patterns.

Reading and talking about the 1967 riots in the classroom produced a similar result. Students were reading to identify possible causes and effects of the riot.   They read a section of an article discussing the event many people cite as the spark that set off the Detroit Riots: a police raid on an after-hours party celebrating the safe return of African-American young men from the Vietnam War. During the raid, the Detroit police

arrested 82 people. In discussing the reading, students offered up possible causes for the riot, and I pushed back with questions forcing them to expand their answers.

T: So what will one of the causes be for the riot?

Steven: They were throwing bottles…

T: But why were they throwing bottles, what happened before?

Aracely: 'Cause they arrested a bunch of people.

T: Why were they arresting people?

Steven: Cause they were at the after-hours club.

T: Why this raid? Do you think the police had raided parties before?

            silence

Again, at this point, the students needed additional contextual information and leading questions to move beyond their basic accounts. They did not appear to understand that raids on after-hours parties were common but seldom resulted in mass arrests. They also did not seem to view the event in the context of the Vietnam War and the celebration for returning combat veterans. Nor did they appear to understand the context of increasing frustration nationwide among blacks with respect to continuing inequality and racism. I explained a bit more of this context so that students could understand what made this particular raid on a party different from most others. Once again, pressing for understanding allowed to me explore why students weren't going very deep with their answers, and I found they did not have the necessary knowledge to do so. Indeed, I would not expect many high school students in the United States to have this depth of knowledge given our current system and the textbook model of learning.

Therefore, in order to move students into the new design, it was necessary to build knowledge as the need arose.

At other times, the lack of complexity in some student answers may have been due to a lack of effort or simply a desire to answer a question and move on. This was particularly true with written responses to questions, and appeared to be a common pattern of classroom practice to which many students were accustomed. In these instances, I tried to follow up with questions to push their thinking. After reading excerpts from the Okrent article in the classroom, I asked the students to write a response to the question of why Okrent compared Detroit to New Orleans. Their answers showed a range of comprehension of the analogy. Caty wrote, "They are just as destroyed, but Detroit doesn't get the same attention as New Orleans." Eduardo, however, did not appear to put much thought into his response as he wrote, "Detroit is as near as New Orleans but not as destroyed." Dora's answer, though, was more thoughtful and inferential, "He is comparing Detroit to a long-term Katrina because things are so bad here it seems that they are going through a hurakan."

Seeing the range of answers, I wanted to make sure that everyone understood the point of the comparison, so I engaged them in discussion and pressed for deeper explanations.

> T: Okay… why would the author of this article compare Detroit to New Orleans?
>
> Reymundo: Because in Detroit the unemployment rate is like, way more.
>
> T: What else?
>
> Antonio: Because after the hurricane it was destroyed?

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T: But what is the critique he is making? *(I then read a line from the text about how if drought and wild fires had caused the destruction in Detroit we would see it on the evening news)*. What is he saying about New Orleans? What happened in New Orleans that did not happen in Detroit?

Steven: A hurricane.

Aracely: That they showed New Orleans on the news, and what happened in Detroit wasn't on the news.

T: Okay, so Detroit is just as destroyed as New Orleans but has gotten less attention and publicity and assistance…

Through persistent and leading questions then I was able to have a student, Aracely in this case, grasp the point I was moving towards and provide an explanation. In this instance, I did not step in to provide the complete answer because I was confident that some of the students had the knowledge and comprehension necessary to make the connection, however it did take a series of re-framed questions to pull this out. Knowing the students and having some sense of their background knowledge and reading ability was thus important. Having observed and taught the group for several days, I was aware that a few key students had solid reading comprehension paired with interest in, and knowledge about, United States history. I counted on these students, including Aracely, to pick up on my cues and do some thinking out loud when prompted or lead. Aracely was a competent reader who scored at the 68th percentile on the Degrees of Reading Power, and she appeared to need less support than some other students in working with these texts.

On the other hand, while engaging students like Aracely, I also had to consistently attend to the other students and be sure to involve them in discussions and avoid a situation in which a few key students dominated discussions. I found this to be a consistent challenge during this study, however I faced this same problem as a teacher and have seen it in many classrooms. During the TERRA project, I addressed this issue of involving all students, including those struggling more with texts or content, by using questioning to help students work through challenging concepts and ideas. Often times, as already described, students jumped to surface-level answers, and I responded by pressing for understanding in part to determine where the difficulty lay for them.

This was the case when I was preparing the students in the classroom to read a short article about suburbanization. To get students thinking about this topic, we had done a brainstorming exercise I called, "Love it or Leave it," in which I had them talk about whether they would prefer to live in the city or the suburbs and generate lists of what they liked and did not like about the city. I posted their lists of likes and dislikes on the wall, pointed at their "Leave It" (dislike) lists and asked "Which of these things on the Leave it List can we tie into the history of the city? Which of these things track back to the history we have studied?" Someone called out "trash" and another student mentioned violence. Not satisfied, I responded, "Ok, you're right… but make the connection for me." Antonio, perhaps still not sure of what I was asking, stated, "Well, there was violence before, from the riots, now there is violence from the gangs." Still needing to push their thinking, I continued to probe.

T: This is the hard part, what we are trying to understand... how does the

violence from the riots in 1967, over 40 years ago, connect to what is happening today? We want to build the connection…

Reymundo: Knowing about the riots in 1967 makes people mad and makes them more violent today.

T: I'm not sure… what is the connection?

Aracely: They still fight.

T: But what is the connection… what did the riots cause… what were some of the direct results of the riots?

Steven: Detroit being destroyed.

Aracely: The population decreased.

T: Were all of the buildings rebuilt?

General chorus of "No."

T: So, buildings destroyed, population decreased, then what happened?

Caty: Loss of jobs.

T: And that meant what for the city? Less what?

Steven: Less money!

T: So, listen, listen... this is how we need to start building the connections… we have less jobs, less buildings, more burned out structures... less money for the city means less…

At that point several students called out answers including "funds for the city," "parks," "police," firemen," and "schools."

During this discussion, the students were animated and interested, and everyone appeared to be participating, yet their responses to my prompts stayed at a basic level and

did not make connections between different events. As a teacher, I had to be very patient and persistent in this situation, and I listened carefully to their answers to figure out where they were in their understanding so that I could take them further. Each student who responded provided one clear idea, whether it was about fighting, loss of jobs, or the destruction of buildings, but not one student in this exchange linked ideas together without being guided to do so. It was difficult to determine whether they did not do so because they lacked motivation, knowledge, or skill, or because this type of historical thinking was new to them. In any case, their participation in the discussion provided concrete ideas that I was able to link together and thus provided me with the opportunity to model this type of thinking. This linking together of ideas in cause and effect chains was a fairly complex, disciplinary practice and this discussion allowed me to further expose students to it.

It appeared that the practice of answering questions to complete an assignment carried over to discussion; students tended to provide one answer and then waited to see if it was correct. A process of modeling, gentle prodding, and questioning then was necessary to begin to lead them to build these connections. These processes need to be considered, built into, and perhaps even modeled in reform curricula. Curriculum writers can develop questions for a variety of purposes, including writing prompts, discussion guides, and assessments that prompt more in-depth answers. Guides can also be created to help teachers learn to use questioning to push students into knowledge production. Instructional materials and texts that evoke such questioning and thinking are thus also important.

Press for understanding to negotiate struggles with text.

The press for understanding through questioning was also useful at times when students were struggling with the use or comprehension of text. As stated earlier, this design depended upon the use of a variety of texts that ranged in complexity and difficulty. By probing students' thinking and pushing them back into the text, it was sometimes possible to help them better negotiate the text's demands. Although the instructional design included scaffolds and supports for text use, there were still occasions when students needed additional support for different reasons. When working with data tables in the census exercise, for example, Antonio called me over to where he was working and, pointing to the table for 1950, said, "I don't see Detroit on this one." I asked him, "What's the title of this chart?" He read out, "Detroit and Adjacent Area," and we ascertained that he was trying to read this table the same way he had read the 1910 table, which had cities across the state in separate rows, and also that he had ignored the title. Reading back and forth across the different census tables and their changing formats, and understanding how different terms for race and ethnicity represented the same groups of people, was a challenging task that demanded high level reading and thinking. Students like Antonio, with a DRP score of 17%, were nevertheless able to negotiate these challenges and work with these texts when the scaffolds were added in.

The students faced similar challenges when working with the automotive employment data table (see Figure 6, p. 163). As described earlier, this table was very complex and did not clearly represent the meaning of the data columns. Referring to the table, I asked, "What does this table show us?" Tomas responded, "How much you pay for the cars." When I asked where he got that information, he began reading the numbers

out loud and said that they represented how much people paid for all the cars. Without

explicitly correcting him, I asked the class, "Where is the first place in a graph you

should look to figure out what it is telling you?" Rebecca called out "the numbers."

Without directly responding, I directed their attention to the title.

T: What is the title?

Reymundo: About employment

T: What is another word for employment?

Rebecca: Jobs.

I read the title again out loud and stressed the importance of reading the titles and

labels when reading a graph or table. I also read the titles of the columns in the table and

talked a little bit about what each title meant, and I then asked them to interpret some of

the data. I was still not sure that all the students understood the table, so I asked, "What

does the number 463 mean in the first row of the table?" Reymundo called out, "463,000

cars were made in 1979." The number actually signified that there had been 463,000 jobs

in motor vehicle assembly in 1979, but Reymundo, even after we talked about the

importance of reading the title, only looked at the column heading of "Motor vehicle

assembly." This lead to my use of a think-aloud as already described; the probing

questions however helped me understand why students were misreading the table. In

order to use complex text then, I had to take the time to talk students through the text and

the important content. Modeling in this way served to introduce students to interpretive

practices they could then take up and develop in future instruction.

When working with difficult texts during inquiry based learning then, students

need opportunities to talk about their work and thinking processes. Nevertheless, they

may need to be pressed a bit, and also supported, in order to do this as they may not be comfortable making their thinking visible. Curriculum developers and teachers can work to build these opportunities into lessons, and teachers in particular can help students learn to talk about their thinking and use this talk to modify instruction by building knowledge or skills as needed.

Surfacing interpretations and ideas.

A final purpose for pressing for understanding or explanation that I noted in my data analysis was to surface the opinions or ideas of students with respect to texts and content. Instruction was designed to help students use evidence to form arguments, but at times they offered up opinions about different issues without offering any support for these views. I took the time in these moments to probe their thinking in order to surface these views so that we could consider them more analytically, bringing academic knowledge to bear on their experiences and moving towards "third space" learning. This type of interaction occurred more often after school when there was time and flexibility to actually engage in deep conversation. For example, during a discussion toward the end of the program, I talked with Ramon and Cristina about different solutions to the problems we were studying, including the idea of volunteer home repair or deconstruction crews working in communities.   In that exchange, the victim-blaming paradigm that surfaced earlier in the year again crept into the students' talk, as illustrated in this field note exemplar.

T: Can you see this home repair team idea working in your neighborhoods?
             Do you think it would work? If there was an organization or something
             asking people to come help tear down an abandoned home?

Ramon: I think a lot of people would volunteer, but they wouldn't have like a huge

turn-out…I think enough people would.

Cristina: Probably not so much here in Detroit.

T: Why not?

Cristina: If they wanted to do something, they would have done it a long time

ago… they're probably too lazy.

T: Do you agree with that? *(looking at Ramon)*

Ramon: Yeah, I think a lot of people are too lazy, but I think maybe some people

would go.

T: What would it take to make people go?

Ramon: *(laughing)* Chips and juice boxes?[8]

T: Maybe leadership and organization? What is Grace Lee Boggs' message?

Cristina: That Detroit can be fixed….

T: By?

Ramon: By us... we have to do it… we can't wait for an FDR[9] to come and save

us…

T: Who is FDR?

Ramon: President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

T: So, we can't wait for the government... but you think people here won't do

it either?

Cristina: Well, some people will, but not a lot.

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[8] I made sure to provide chips and juice boxes at each session, so Ramon was teasing me here as much as making a serious suggestion about providing food.

[9] Boggs mentions FDR in this context in her essay, stating that some people seem to waiting for another FDR to come along to "save capitalism."

Ramon: But I don't want it to be like… if the government does do anything, its

gonna be like that one article we read, where they just did something just

to shut the kids up for awhile…

Ramon and Cristina both suggested that some people in Detroit might be too lazy

to get involved in projects like home deconstruction, perhaps implying that the problems

of the city are hard to solve because of the city's residents themselves. I was not willing

to let that conjecture go unchallenged, or at least unexplored, but I wanted them to talk

through it and consider their own views rather than present alternative explanations at

that time. Therefore, I engaged them with questions to surface their interpretations and

push them to explain or qualify their views. Although their perceptions weren't directly

challenged, both students were able to voice the idea that at least some people would be

willing to get involved. At the same time, I may have missed an opportunity to help the

students reconceptualize their own experiential knowledge. They may have been

expressing their observation that many people have become resigned to the problems in

Detroit and see few opportunities to get involved, and they may have described this

behavior as "lazy" for lack of a better term. An alternative approach would have been to

ask them to provide evidence for their view and then discuss possible alternative

explanations for the observed behaviors. Learning from such moments can provide

opportunities for design revisions, and one option for future inquiry into this topic would

be to explore different accounts and perspectives on the challenges faced by community-

based organizations trying to solve these problems.

Students come into classrooms with a range of ideas and preconceptions, some

accurate and some not. In history classrooms, these preconceptions shape students'

interpretations of historical accounts (Seixas, 1993; Lee, 1994). Teachers can help students build on or even challenge these ideas, but they must first surface these ideas in order to analyze them with students and compare them to alternative ways of thinking. Probing questions provide one valuable tool to do so. Of course, teachers may need to challenge their own cultural models as well, particularly with respect to their students. One assumption teacher might make is that they are teaching the students a particular subject because the students do not yet know the content. However, students may in fact have some important knowledge, or they may have different accounts and views of the content. Student perceptions and knowledge need to be recognized by teachers because students will call upon them when learning and reading and they will thus shape the meaning that students make in classrooms.

Press and written explanations.

Although I often pressed students to explain their thinking verbally as demonstrated above, as I analyzed my data I realized that the design did not similarly pressure them in their writing about texts. The handouts and reading guides in the design, in fact, at times appeared to allow students to just "do school" and provide minimal answers. For example, when working with the statistics on automotive employment, students were asked to make conclusions based upon the data and to also make clear, warranted statements using the evidence. However, although almost every student was able to interpret the basic pattern in the data in their written answers- that the employment had decreased- I did not push them much further than that. I asked them to describe this pattern on the reading guide, and the question was followed by a space to write with the heading, "How do you know? What is the proof?" Student answers

followed a very basic pattern as shown in Raquel's brief statement, "b/c it says it in the title and the info is the proof," and Aracely's, "the graphs state it." Apparently, the wording of the question, "How do you know? What is the proof?" made it too easy for students not to build a warranted argument, and I had not built additional time for modeling this practice into the activity.

Student work on the final project at the end of the program illustrated an even larger missed opportunity to press for deeper explanations in written work. The instructions for this project directed students to choose at least 10 important historical events that were causal factors for the problem of study and to link them through an illustrated timeline with explanatory, connecting captions. Steven, working with Reymundo, created an illustrated timeline with a disorganized chain of events centered on the riots of 1967. Events and the captions they wrote for their illustrations included:

5) Soon all whites leave detroit and move to suberbs.

6) Soon police brutality breaks out in Detroit.

7) Riots start to break out and detroit goes up in flames.

8) Snipers kill people and national guard comes in.

9) National guard really comes in Detroit for crisis.

10) The cops arrested people for five days.

In this account, all the whites left Detroit before the 1967 riots occurred. In addition, Steven and Reymundo broke the riots down into several distinct events, thus missing the opportunity to create a more expansive, explanatory historical narrative. They appear to have focused on completing the task and doing no more than was necessary, a practice consistent with a model of history based upon facts and not on

explanation. Indeed, Steven and Reymundo seemed to interpret the project on a fairly

basic level: Choose ten events, draw a picture, and write something about each picture.

Although they consistently participated in discussion and demonstrated the ability to

make historical connections verbally, the project design as implemented did not push

them further. Reymundo scored at the 42nd percentile on the DRP and Steven scored at

the 45th percentile, and in interviews both students expressed that reading was sometimes

difficult for them. Their reading levels then may have also played a role in the

difficulties they faced.

The work of other students also demonstrated a possible relationship between

reading proficiency and success on this final project. One of the least developed projects

was a PowerPoint presentation by Sara and Rebecca with several slides attempting to

address different historical factors without much success. On a slide titled, "Burned

Houses in 1967," there was a picture of a burning house with no identified date for the

picture, along with a picture of National Guard troops standing near a burning building

during the 1967 riots. I had required the students to include an original caption or

explanation for any image or picture (a requirement everyone met), and the text these

students placed next to these pictures was as follows:

- This is an example of a burned house in Detroit, Michigan.
- In this house the people were thrown out because they didn't have money to pay the house, so they burned it so no one would live in this house.

In their explanation, Sara and Rebecca make no mention of the riots of 1967 and

do not connect the two pictures. Furthermore, their title doesn't match their captions

even though they included a photograph from 1967. Finally, their explanation for the

burning house appears to be based upon conjecture informed by prior knowledge of arson and insurance fraud in their community, and not upon any evidence, textual or otherwise. Both girls scored below a 25% on the Degrees of Reading Power, and they also demonstrated less historical knowledge over the course of the program when compared to many other students

On the other hand, the most effective project was an essay written by a student who scored at the 65% on the Degrees of Reading Power. He developed a cohesive essay which clearly tied together a range of historical events and socioeconomic forces to explain the problems of Detroit today. Below are several passages excerpted from his essay.

➢ With World War II over, many soldiers were coming back …. The development of the suburbs and the freeway system was evermore flourishing. Whites were leaving the city towards the suburbs….The white population was decreasing and the African-American population was increasing.

➢ In 1967, many riots were breaking across the country and especially in Detroit. The 1967 riot of Detroit was the worst riot in the nation. It was not so much a race riot but as a riot against police brutality. The National Guard opened fire throughout the riot….

➢ With racism, more white people fled to the suburbs, decreasing Detroit's population.

➢ The decline of the automotive industry in Detroit hit the city hard. Rising oil prices and Big Three selling big cars resulted in low sales…

➢ Jobs, racism, and suburbs dramatically affected the population of Detroit
    negatively.

This young man connected World War II, suburban development, and the freeway system to white flight. He connected racism to the 1967 riots and linked these issues to continuing white flight from Detroit, and then included the decline of the automotive industry as an additional factor in the city's decline. Finally, he tied these forces together as contributing factors to population loss, and framed the city's problems around abandoned buildings in these terms. His proficiency in reading no doubt supported his ability to read across documents and synthesize ideas to produce an effective account.

It is not surprising that the student with one of the highest reading scores also produced the most comprehensive project, and that the least complete projects were done by students with much lower reading scores. On the other hand, students' motivation and cultural models for learning were difficult to disentangle from their reading skill and needed to be taken into account as well. Some students may have been operating with the assumption that a minimal effort was enough given that this was an elective class at the end of the year. A more scaffolded project, perhaps with a clear model demonstrating the types of historical explanations and links I expected, may have helped students who struggled to more clearly understand the task. More direct academic press and encouragement may have helped students who were not motivated. The design of the activity played a key role; even with a project around a problem of interest, the cultural model of schooling they appeared to hold (a "just get it done" model in this case) seemed to emerge in this project. As structured, this project may have been similar to assignments they had done in the past. In addition, this lack of conceptual depth on the

part of some students may have been accepted by teachers. Therefore, some students may have reverted to familiar patterns of work when not challenged to go beyond them.

Students' habit of answering written questions and moving on was another artifact of the existing activity system that was difficult to displace in only a few weeks. In addition, because I generally did not read all of the written work until after it was turned in, it was difficult to immediately identify problems such as lack of depth and push the students to do more. A possible revision to the design would thus be to restructure activities to allow more time for review and discussion of written answers in class, and this could lead to added press on students for more elaboration when necessary. Writing can be used to help students make their thinking visible, but if students are not held accountable for their written answers, they may not provide thoughtful answers if they have not been expected to do so in the past. Structured group activities in which students compare their answers, exit passes, and quick writes with think-pair-shares are all strategies that could provide students a means to express and share their thinking through writing in time sensitive ways.

Looking across the student participants to better understand their textual interactions, I identified four broad patterns or groupings of students which helped me think about the intersection of reading skill and motivation. As displayed in the graphic below (see Figure 7), there were students who had relatively high reading skill and motivation, students with higher skills but lower motivation, students with lower skills but higher motivation, and students with lower skill and motivation alike. Motivation in this context was evaluated through observation of student participation in class work and discussion, and is thus more of an impression than an empirical evaluation.

It is important to note that these patterns are not labels for students; instead, they provide a way to think about the range of students for which to plan instruction. Moreover, given the interactions of texts, readers, activities, and contexts, students might shift and move through these patterns depending upon these interactions.   For example, a student may be a low-skilled, low motivation reader with one text, but when presented with another text, she may have more knowledge and interest to draw on and may then appear (and be) more skilled and motivated.

Figure 7. Patterns of student reading skill and motivation
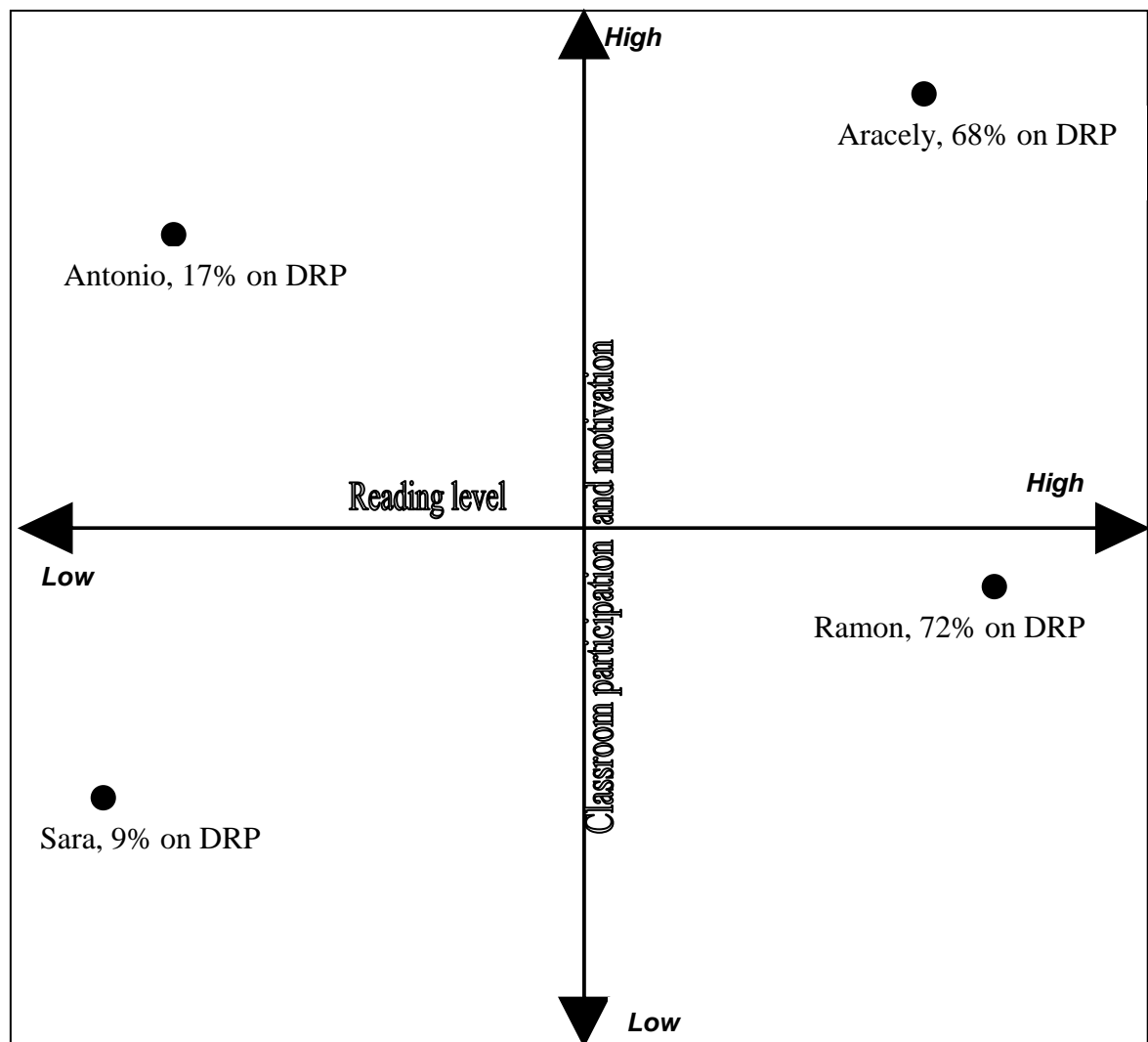
Aracely, for example, represented students who had higher reading scores on the Degrees of Reading Power and who also demonstrated that ability in class with historical texts. She consistently participated in discussions and produced high quality work, likely because she was both motivated and skilled. Ramon, on the other hand, demonstrated high reading skill, but self-identified as lacking in motivation and resisted any written work. His social studies teacher expressed his frustration that Ramon appeared to have the ability to "do the work," but did not appear willing to do it. Antonio, in the context of this project, participated actively in discussion and turned in all of his assignments, but sometimes struggled with producing more analytical work. Sara also struggled with reading, and she appeared less willing to participate in discussion and failed to turn in several assignments. Multiple factors were likely at work for all of these students, and they did indeed shift at times in terms of their ability to demonstrate both reading proficiency and motivation. Nonetheless, they also represented the broad patterns already described and thus helped me think about planning and teaching different kinds of students.

It may also be that students who read better and value school and academic achievement more have taken up more complex cultural models for learning. Again, it is difficult to separate out these different variables without much more intensive ethnographic work. Nevertheless, it was clear – and not surprising- that in this small sample, students who had higher reading scores and more motivation seemed better able to produce coherent, historical accounts. In future work then, it will be important to find ways to better support all students in this disciplinary practice and to more effectively scaffold account production.

Re-focusing attention and trying to disrupt disruption.

In order to build knowledge and skill, and also to push students to think at a deeper level than they have previously, it is necessary to have the students' attention. Although I designed instruction to keep the students actively engaged about a problem most of them found interesting, there were still many times when the flow of activity had to be shifted in order to re-focus students' attention. Analyzing these moments, I noted that they mainly occurred when students were focused on socializing; when there were interruptions to the class; but also when other contextual factors – sometimes hard to identify - served to disrupt the learning environment. In the third week of after-school program instruction, I tape-recorded the following audio field notes that capture some of my thoughts at that time.

> Reading levels... I knew there was a range of reading levels... yet these data did not include information on motivation and interest, engagement, but this information is extremely important... not always explored in research, because this is hard to do, one day I might have a great lesson, next day, maybe not, and these reasons may not tie into their reading abilities... last week the group was much more focused and attentive... readings not too different... can't really tell what the difference was.

Keeping the students focused on the lesson is a common challenge of teaching, one I was quite familiar with from my own teaching experience. I consistently used common teaching practices such as moving around the room during group work and speaking to each group to check on their progress. Looking through my field notes, I wrote the phrase, "moving from group to group, checking in with them," or something

similar, during every single session of group work. Supplementing my field notes in the second week of the classroom unit, I noted the following after watching video of myself setting up a brainstorming activity:

> Me moving around room, passing out papers, asking each set of students... 'What do you know? What do you know? And if you're not sure, write it down anyways?' Constantly moving through room at this point, monitoring student progress on the work...

Although these standard practices were extremely helpful, at times it was necessary to completely change the structure of actual learning activity in order to re-capture the waning attention of the students. Field notes from another day included the following comments: "Room was hot, end of the day, kids having difficulty attending." Students' attention particularly seemed to drift, as might be expected, at the end of the class period. However, when activities were not clearly structured, such as the initial framing of the census activity, students' attention also drifted unless I intervened. If students did not know what to talk about with respect to the assignment, they found other topics to discuss.

In the lesson covering employment in the auto industry, I had to stop group work ostensibly in progress and assume a more direct teaching role. Students were working in pairs to read the text excerpts and complete a "Text in the Middle" exercise (a text excerpt in the center column of a three column chart with columns on either side for taking notes and asking questions). They were working to identify key ideas for each paragraph and to generate questions about things they did not understand. As I walked around the room, I heard a great of talk that was not connected (at least not directly) to

the text or the assignment. I transcribed the following conversation from the video, which was apparently in reaction to the idea of companies from the United States losing sales to those from other nations.

Reymundo: America must really suck....

Antonio: So, that's Uncle Sam.

Steven: Well, it's not all of America...

Reymundo: Yeah, you gotta go to one of those low key states, like Utah,

                   Iowa...

Steven: Or Idaho, Maryland, nothing happens there...

Reymundo: Dude, what town was Napoleon Dynamite come from... I really

                   want to know.

Steven: I think he was from Iowa.

At this point in the conversation, I checked in with the group and they honestly told me what they had been talking about. I briefly joined in, telling them that "jobs are scarce everywhere these days," even if things were typically worse in Michigan, and then directed them back into the task. We had already spent a good deal of time looking at the statistics on automotive employment, and it may be that they were beginning to lose focus after attending well to that part of the lesson as there were only 15 minutes left in class. In addition, this lesson happened to take place on May 5, Cinco de Mayo, an important celebration in Detroit's Latino community. Students may very well have been distracted by that contextual factor as well. It was interesting that students tapped into their perceptions and knowledge base related to geography and even popular culture during this exchange. Their discussion of life in other regions of the United States

offered a potential "third space" pathway for further discussion and questioning, but one I did not follow at that time as it deviated from the activity in progress. These young men however did have interesting perceptions of regional differences in the United States that could serve as fodder for future lessons, and had I continued to teach this group beyond the project I would have looked for ways to capitalize on their ideas and explore them more academically.

Continuing to move around the room, I called out, "Okay, work your way through this... come on... write one sentence per paragraph." Sara and Angela were deeply engaged in conversation as I walked by and did not even pretend to look at the text, but when I prompted them they picked up the handouts and began to read. Still walking around the room between the groups, I observed that few students had written anything down, and I again called out to the classroom. "Okay come on, you should have something done by now, this is a short paragraph, what's important in it? Let's get to it."

Shortly thereafter, I made the decision to hold their attention and walk them through the assignment, as they still seemed unfocused and were having difficulty attending to the task. I called for their attention and stated, "Let's look at that second paragraph together now because a lot of people are having trouble focusing. Can I get a volunteer to read that second paragraph out loud." Rebecca volunteered and read it out loud. As she began to read, Sara and Angela were giggling and hitting each other, but as Rebecca got to the second sentence, they stopped playing around and looked down at their papers. I then questioned the class to get out the main ideas.

T: Okay, so how could you summarize that paragraph, what's going on

there?

Steven: Chrysler, GM, and Ford are losing money.

T: Okay, so the Big 3 are losing money, but to who?

Dora: Foreign car companies.

Reymundo: Japanese car companies.

Aracely: Foreign producers.

T: Right, so we can read that whole paragraph and boil it down to that idea,

              that the Big 3 are losing money as they are being outsold by the foreign

              car companies.

I used the same procedure to get them through the final paragraph, and then

connected these ideas to Detroit, re-localizing the content again by talking about the

automobile production facilities that had closed in the area and the jobs that had been

lost. In this lesson, I thus had to re-structure activity and take more a direct role to help

students pull the important ideas from the texts. Several students were not engaged in the

lesson, and it was difficult to ascertain if the activity was confusing or if these students

were distracted by other matters. A more direct teaching approach allowed me to focus

their attention in order to highlight the important ideas related to the decline of

automotive industry employment.

I intervened similarly during the lesson on the Detroit Riots of 1967 in which

students were trying to identify causes and effects for the riots as they read texts in a

document packet. I made the following supplements to my field notes after watching the

video:

- Walking around... checking on their progress... they are chatting, some more

  focused than others, supposed to be group work.

- Call them back together, to walk through paragraph by paragraph, out loud, look for causes and effects together.

In this case, I again briefly read sections out loud, or had students read sections, and then engaged the students with questions to highlight cause and effect information. I had originally intended for the students to do this work in pairs, but had decided to lead it more myself when they had trouble getting started. Time was again a factor; I was starting this exercise late in the class because we had been finishing work from the day before. Reflecting on this lesson the next day, I wrote in my notes,

- They were talking a lot, seemed to have lost interest, only a few appeared to be actively working on the questions.

- This exercise did not grab them, maybe not clear enough… perhaps they see not much time left in class, and just know they will have to continue at some other time or not do it.

- I basically wasted this packet by introducing it too late in the class and then not coming back to it, part of the rush to get things done.

In these situations, the analyses of this study helped me to see that the implementation of challenging activities late in the class, and without enough opportunities for practice, made the process of disrupting old practices and introducing new ones more difficult. The design itself had to be shifted in part because of the way it was being implemented. In this case, I spent more time finishing the activity from the day before than allowed for in the design. In order to avoid this type of problem, curriculum designers and teachers can allow more time for lessons introducing more complex literacy practices. Moreover, as already stated, it is very important to assess

both the demands of texts and activities and students' preparation to meet those demands and to plan accordingly.

Interruption and other contextual factors.

In other instances, however, I changed the course of an activity to help the students focus more in response to interruptions or other contextual factors that were largely out of my control. In the classroom sessions for example, which took place at the end of the day, there were announcements made over the public address system of the school every day in the last five minutes. There were also numerous other announcements made during the course of this period, calling teachers or students to the office for example. My field notes for the classroom sessions are replete with mentions of these announcements. The examples below are all from different days.

- Interruption from announcement about local car accident in which a kid from another school was killed, dress down day, collecting donations for funeral costs.

- Another announcement, end of class... seniors to cafeteria

- Third announcement this class... could have been done with a phone call.

- Interruption from announcement again... then I get their attention, try to introduce the small group activity

There were on average two announcements made during every class I taught, and although they were often short, it generally took students a minute or two to get back on task after an announcement. Other interruptions came from different people coming into the room, such as students sent from the office to pass out papers or students with their own, unofficial missions. One day, during the lesson on the automotive industry and job

losses, a young man entered the room looking for his coat, which he thought had left there earlier in the day. I documented the interruption in my notes, "Another interruption... kid looking for jacket, wandering around room... have to get them back."

When these types of occurrences happened, I had to pause instruction – in this case I had to ask the young man to leave and come back later – and then wait until the students were quiet again, re-cap the activity to remind them what they had been doing, and then move on. The frequency of interruptions signaled a systemic disjuncture between the culture of the school and the demands of the instructional design and its underlying cultural models for learning, which required students' active participation and attention. The disruptions of cultural models in the classroom were themselves disturbed when the attention and focus of the students were shifted by outside factors. Teachers facing similar challenges may have to address the issue on different levels. There are classroom management practices that can be implemented to minimize disruptions, such as teaching classroom routines and procedures to be used when someone comes into the room. Teachers may also want to begin a conversation with other teachers or administrators about ways to systematically reduce interruptions to classroom teaching.

Other factors that affected student engagement and led to me to shift activity were more difficult to identify in this analysis. As already stated, the students were distracted on Cinco de Mayo, for example. On that day, in this school where a majority of students are of Mexican descent, many students came to school excited, some wearing T-shirts with Mexican flags or even wrapped in actual flags. In the past, I noted that some teachers had small parties in their classrooms, considering it an important day to celebrate with students. Students often had plans to attend events or parties after school as well. In

general, it is a day with many possible distractions that appeared to affect students' focus in class. On other days, students appeared distracted in general and I was unable to determine why, although I could make educated guesses. In early May, I jotted a memo to myself after class, "hard to get much done, weather is warm, last hour, three weeks left of school, not the same thing as a cold, rainy day in October." It is hard to plan for these types of contextual factors, but teachers and curriculum designers alike can recognize that they do happen and can build in alternative activities, or even variable pacing for activities, to make adjustments easier when necessary. In addition, teachers can analyze patterns in distraction or interruptions in order to more proactively address them.

These types of contextual factors came into play differently after school because students who were not interested did not even come to the program. In addition, after school there was less pressure to complete tasks and move on. In the classroom, despite the design I was working to implement, I was still forced to provide grades to students as mandated by the school. In order to do so, I adapted the existing structure of points for task completion, even though I was simultaneously trying to disrupt this mindset for the students. This dynamic did not come into play after school. However, there certainly were moments in the after-school setting when students became disengaged, and I had to shift the activity. These moments occurred with much less frequency however, and when they did, it was generally because I had spent too much time talking. In late November, I took the following field notes,

> Setting up for article... I began to talk more about reading process, about trying to be aware of problem spots, but found myself talking too much,

wanting to rush through the framework when introducing support, extend, challenge with examples… probably too much at once...

During another session after-school in late December, I was introducing the topic of arson and burned out homes. Students became engaged when I asked, "Why are there so many burned out houses in this city?" One student responded, "On my block, they have abandoned houses or whatever, and all the bad kids just torch them, just for the fun of it…" Other students gave their own answers, including "Maybe there was like a fire, and the city, nobody fixed it, they didn't fix up," and "Sometimes people burn it so they can get money from the insurance…" We transitioned into reading an excerpt from an article, and after doing so, I began doing a think-aloud about the connections between this article and another, and again I talked for too long, commenting in my notes, "They seem disengaged… I'm struggling a bit…not active pace." Yet I also noted that context was still a factor, also writing, "of course... right before the holiday... need to be more active."

Given the context in that instance, when students were excited about the upcoming holiday vacation, there was a need for a more interactive dynamic in the lesson. Changing the pace and flow of instruction therefore was necessary to maintain students' attention, even in this design that purposefully sought to engage students in active learning and dialogue. Curriculum designers seldom account for the temporal contexts of instruction and develop curricula as if they can be handed over and implemented in any context at any given time. The reality of classroom instruction is different however, and more work needs to be done to document and understand these realities and then develop curricula that are more sensitive to these challenges.

Maximizing student engagement by following their interest.

There were many moments both after school and in the classroom, however, which stood out in marked contrast to the instances of disengagement discussed above. In fact, there were times when I shifted from the designed structure of activity in order to follow and capitalize upon student engagement and interest. After school I was motivated to closely attend to, and follow in some ways, student interest given the issues with attendance. With fewer students attending on a regular basis, there was more pressure to maximize their engagement when they were enthusiastic during an activity. Toward the end of November, as I was still trying to solidify the after-school program, I wrote the following research memo:

> Originally I had intended to do short, targeted lessons, direct instruction
> on reading strategies… yet with sporadic attendance, limited time, and
> time between meetings, it seemed more important to engage students
> with text directly in the pursuit of our goals, through the purposeful
> reading of short passages and discussion…

More so than anticipated, this pressure to motivate student attendance led me to make decisions in the moment to shift away from direct strategy instruction, which I still felt to be valuable, to reading and discussion in order to expose students to ideas and text. The first clear example of this shift took place during the fifth after-school session. I was going to engage students with the Okrent article and informal assessing their with a reading guide structured as a Content Area Reading Inventory (CARI) (Vacca & Vacca, 1999) After completing the CARI, I was going to engage the students in a metacognitive discussion about how they tried to answer different types of questions. During the pre-

reading discussion, the students became very animated, and an interesting exchange of ideas took place. This was the conversation in which Rick stated, "the people that don't care just stayed here... they don't care" (see pg. 104). With these perceptions raised and the interest I could palpably feel in the discussion, I felt a tension between my own goals of assessing their reading and introducing inferential questions and my desire to keep the thinking and discussion moving forward.

Given the dialogue in which we had been engaged, and the need I felt to address Rick's comments, I allowed the more dialogic format to continue and abandoned my plan to focus on reading processes. I was willing to do so in this case as the students' interests aligned with the larger goals of our project and did not interfere with answering our driving questions. When students are engaged with content in this way, reading and talking about ideas to make meaning from text, they are building skill and knowledge simultaneously. When teachers feel consistent pressure to complete lesson plans and move along pacing guides, they may sacrifice opportunities to engage students in exploring interesting and important ideas about content.

Similar opportunities to follow new threads of thought or discussion arose at other times after school. In analyzing the arguments of Grace Lee Boggs later in the year with Ramon, Karina, and Cristina, I allowed our conversation to drift from solving Detroit's problems to morality to gender roles, as shown below. Having discussed Boggs' view on how to fix the city, I raised another point she had made to probe their understanding.

T: She [Boggs] talks about morals and ethics, so what does that mean
                to you?

Karina: That we don't have any morals…

T:	Do you agree with that?
Karina:	No, some do and don't…
T:	So what does that [morals] mean though?
Karina:	Difference between right and wrong, respect, rules.
T:	Do you think young people today have ethics and morals?
Ramon:	Not really.
Cristina:	Some do, some don't.
Ramon:	I think the women have morals, but the guys… Sometimes, I'll be honest, I could care less about what is right and wrong.
Karina:	A lot of the boys they follow more into gangs, and they lose, like their morals….

This exchange then led into a longer conversation on gender dynamics during which I talked a little bit about socialization and learned gender roles. It was off topic at that moment, but at the same time, the students were interested in the subject and I felt it had educational value. Without the pressures of grading in the classroom, I felt free to follow this thread.

In the classroom, on the other hand, when I noticed strong student interest in a topic, I tried to tie it into what I already had planned as there was less flexibility with the schedule. On one occasion, however, I did decide to introduce a new activity intended to capitalize on student engagement and surface important ideas that had begun to bubble up in classroom dialogue. To begin the lesson on suburban development, I asked the students to do a "quick write" in response to the following prompt: "Where would you rather live, the suburbs or the city?" This prompt was designed in part to assess their

understanding of suburbs and also to surface any pre-conceived notions they had about urban/suburban differences. Rebecca preferred the suburbs even though she was less idealistic, commenting that "It's really cool, they can have many good things to do, even tho they act like jerks you can avoid them and just live the life." Angela, however, wanted to stay in the city, saying that in the suburbs "it is boring, nothing ever happens. Would feel weird and would want to live [leave] ASAP." We discussed these responses and I pushed their thinking a bit, asking them how much time they had spent in suburban communities. Most of the students had visited suburban communities at one point or another but had never lived in one. I assured them that there was a wide range of variability in what we called "suburbs" and that life there, although different from cities in some ways, was neither always perfect nor boring.

As we discussed this, I realized it would be important to directly address what they liked about living in the city and to identify some of the positive attributes of the community. Even though these students lived in an urban area and approximately half of them would prefer to stay in the city, they still seemed to hold an idealized view of the suburbs and were also quick to point out what they did not like about their city and community. Although we were focusing on community problems, I wanted to help the students understand that the solutions to the problems needed to come from within the community, and that the strengths of the community could provide a foundation upon which to build positive action. I also wanted to more explicitly tap into their funds of knowledge and better understand how they saw their own community. I decided to move on with the lesson to build some background knowledge on the suburbs, and to add an

activity at the end to address their perceptions and talk more about the suburban/urban

divide.

They then read about the history of suburbanization and the development of the

national freeway system, and we talked about how middle-class, mainly white, people

left Detroit in part because there was a national trend among this demographic to move

out of central cities. However, I felt it important to return to our initial discussion on

"urban versus suburban" though and so I quickly gave the students a brainstorming task

they then carried over into the next period. I asked the students to develop the "Love it or

Leave it" lists, lists of what they liked (Love it) about their city and community and also

of what they did not like (Leave it). I added this activity in part because the students had

been reading and making historical connections for a few class periods and was ready for

some sort of change-up in activity. I also wanted to try and capitalize on their answers to

the Quick Write question about the suburbs to generate and active discussion and get

them talking to each other. As already discussed, I wanted to surface positive

characterizations of the city as well. So, after explaining their task, I placed them in

groups and they quickly began talking. I passed out large sheets of newsprint and

markers so they could make posters with their lists. By the end of the class, every group

had at least eight items listed in each column. I collected their lists on the large sheets,

and later that evening, I condensed their list into one master list, eliminating only items

that were repeated. An excerpt of the final product is below:

Love it:	*Leave it:*
The parades	Gangs / gang conflicts
The cars… it is the Motor City	Drugs and drug dealer
Downtown Detroit	Burned down houses
Casino	School closings
Redwings	Crack heads

Diversity	The police / cops / popo
Ambassador Bridge	The garbage on the streets / littering
The Temptations	Loss of jobs / unemployment
Motown Records	Dirty/ugly
Fort Wayne	Abandoned houses
Mexican Town	Homeless people
Mexican Restaurants	Violence
Southwest	The Detroit Lions
Grocery stores (in SW)	Liquor stores

This type of exercise, in which students called upon their own ideas, was useful because it gave us a reference point and list of ideas through which we could build further conceptual and historical connections. This list, for example, could afford the opportunity to support, extend, or challenge student knowledge about other problems in the city such as homelessness or gang violence, and to connect those problems to the overall history of the city. Adding in a new activity then, sparked by student interest, circled back to our larger inquiry and provided fodder for thought. I turned back to this list later on to connect things students did not like about their community to the history we had been studying. In this way I tried to bridge their lives and funds of knowledge about the community to ideas and content we had encountered through academic inquiry. These connections were used to develop "third space" learning, with out of school and in school knowledge informing each other.

This interaction between academic and everyday knowledge was exemplified in a discussion in the classroom toward the end of the school year. At that point, I began to tie things together in a connected narrative. To help the students grasp these connections, I used both questioning and think-alouds, as well as references to the "Love it or Leave it" lists, as seen in the following transcript excerpt.

T:	Let's look at another thing from your list; liquor stores… why are they a problem?
Dora:	Because they sell liquor
Tomas:	Make it easy to drink.
T:	How many blocks would you have to go in the city to find a liquor store?
Reymundo:	Just down the street
T:	If you want to go to a bookstore?
Aracely:	You have to go all the way to Dearborn?
T:	So, what does that have to do with the past history?
	Silence
T:	Alright… so who buys a lot of alcohol?
Antonio:	My dad!
Tomas:	My brother.
	Laughter
T:	When things are run down, and there are no jobs, is it easier to sell booze or books? If you go into any poor neighborhood in a big city, you will find lots of liquor stores. Maybe they are selling to people's unhappiness? It's complicated, and we don't have time to get into it all, but the point is, you can start building connections and you can see where things are coming from. Because of racism, because of the loss of jobs in the auto industry, people were leaving the city, there's less money for the city from taxes... few

police with a backlog of calls... drug sales might go up... These

problems don't just happen by themselves... they are related to

each other...

We ran out of time at that point in the discussion, but what was important about

the interaction, even though I did most of the talking, was that new questions were raised

that stemmed directly from the students own ideas. The students were afforded the

opportunity to consider their own perceptions of their community in connection to a

larger history. Following and building on student interest, when it served the larger goals

of the design, then helped create new opportunities for students to access and use their

own knowledge and experience and then expand upon them.

Implementation and enactment conclusions.

The student participants in this study were accustomed to learning history by

focusing on words, events, and main ideas, sometimes with the goal of reproducing this

information on tests. This appeared to be a model developed over years of schooling, and

many students seemed familiar and even comfortable with it. In contrast, this design

introduced students to disciplinary practices of historical literacy and asked them to go

beyond reading the words and identifying main ideas. This project introduced the

students to ways of thinking historically and using texts as tools for solving a range of

historical problems. The design itself took into consideration a range of possible

challenges related to student interest, knowledge, and skill; text demands; and also the

contexts of learning environment. Nevertheless, despite the fact that most students

expressed interest in the problem of study and often engaged in the activities, the

instructional design still had to be modified as it was implemented. In essence, I had to

negotiate the tensions between competing cultural models of history, and also between

the demands of the design and texts, the classroom context, and students' knowledge,

skill, and interest before the new activity system could begin to take hold.

Affordances and opportunities provided by the design.

This design provided students with the opportunity to read a range of texts about

an interesting historical question, and also to begin to talk and write about the ideas and

information in these texts. Different activities also engaged the students and succeeded in

surfacing their knowledge and attitudes about their problem of study. Students also were

provided with resources and strategies to develop that knowledge; and they engaged in

the production of their own historical accounts, even if at a basic level for some students.

In this process, this instructional unit also tied national events and trends to local events

and thus helped students see their city in a larger, national and historical context.

Although, the instructional design could have done more to challenge students'

conventional reading of history texts and reposition them as learners and thinkers,

participation in the program did seem to afford some students the opportunity to learn in

new ways. Ramon and I had the following exchange during a semi-structured interview

about his participation in the TERRA project.

T: What is it like to read something like this, to do this reading, in this

            context? Compare that to the reading you do in history class…

Ramon: I feel like this reading is, uhh, a little bit more on point with what

            we're talking about.

T: On point... what do you mean by that?

Ramon: When I'm learning something in like a classroom, okay… we're supposed

to be learning about World War I, and the book, it just says something

about World War I, you know, maybe its an old book... I don't know, I

just feel like this is better because... it just feels like its exactly what we're

talking about… we're only talking about one thing and it really focuses on

that one thing, when you're talking about a subject in like a history class,

it's talking about that whole   thing and there's so much stuff to learn… I

can remember this easy.

It appeared then that Ramon appreciated the opportunity to study one problem and

to read historically about one topic as opposed to trying to remember everything about a

whole era in history. The study of his city also seemed to capture Ramon's imagination

in an interesting way. With above-average scores on the Degrees of Reading Power

(72%), Ramon was a capable and confident reader, stating that, "I can just about read

anything and understand anything." At the same time, he admitted that he had difficult

paying attention to much of the reading he did in school. He described his problem,

saying, "Sometimes I just read and I don't actually read it in my head… I just like, said it,

and I'm like, what did I just say?" As a subject, he found history interesting though, and

said that, "It's pretty easy, I'd be getting an A if I wanted to." However, his grades were

quite low and his history teacher complained to me about his lack of motivation.

Despite his ability, school did not appear to motivate Ramon, who had a 1.13

grade point average, to attain academic success. The TERRA project, on the other hand,

even if it did not motivate him to write much, seemed to motivate Ramon to think, read,

and talk about important issues, and also evidenced a thoughtful and intelligent young

man who could be engaged with content in certain circumstances. For example, in reading an article about efforts to promote a "Green" Detroit, we talked about the ideas of green space, urban gardens, and farms, and something in our talk sparked Ramon's imagination. He began to think out loud.

> It gave me an idea… like, what if downtown, we like made, like you know... the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, what if we just make like giant gardens hanging over the skyscrapers, you know… that would be sweet. All downtown… you just look up and you see plants like vines coming down over the sides of the buildings..."

I had just read an article describing an urban farming project design using parking-garage-type structures and even gutted skyscrapers to take advantage of the potential for vertical space in cities, and I was struck by the similarity between what I had read and what Ramon was envisioning.

Most of the other participating students also appeared to find the overall focus and direction of the project both engaging and interesting. On a final questionnaire, which was administered after the last session on a day I was not in the class, the students were asked a range of questions about their perceptions of the program. They were asked how learning about a specific problem in their city was different from what they usually did in their social studies classes. Out of the 14 consented students who responded to the survey, six commented that the TERRA project was different in that they had never had the opportunity to learn about their city before. Of these six students, four wrote that this focus on their city made it more interesting. As one student wrote (spelling and

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punctuation intact), "It was actually more interesting than enything, first because I never learned enything about Detroit untill now."

Another strength of the TERRA project design, besides being able to capture the interest of many students, was that it also allowed them to bring their knowledge and perceptions of the city to bear upon our inquiry project. Sometimes their ideas were validated and supported, yet at other times they were challenged. As young residents of the city, these students had extensive personal knowledge of the living conditions in the city. They were also aware of a range of socioeconomic problems, including unemployment, crime, and political corruption. As members of the Latino community, they were aware of current immigration issues and could relate in some degree to immigration in the past. Some had insider knowledge of topics like arson, and some talked easily about the different reasons buildings are set on fire. Several students also demonstrated broad historical knowledge of the 20th century; a few had taken an elective history class on the civil rights movement and were able to talk in detail about that era. My focus on dialogue in the classroom and the use probing questions were particularly helpful in giving students the opportunity to voice their thoughts and ideas in this context. Our discussions also helped students to localize and connect to their more general historical knowledge, thus helping them see how their city is situated in a larger historical geography.

In the discussion excerpt below from an after-school lesson on white flight, Alicia was lead to make a connection between an event she read about, the Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education, and her knowledge of segregation in Detroit.

T: What happened in 1954? With the Supreme Court?

Pablo: Plessy vs. Ferguson?

T: No… but what overturned that?

Pablo: Brown vs. Topeka Board.

T: Okay…so what did that do?

            (silence – wait time)

T: Well, it overturned Plessy vs. Ferguson, separate but equal…. it meant no

            more segregation. So what that meant, in places like Detroit, where

            schools were still segregated, not by law like in the South, but still

            segregated, what that meant…

Alicia: Oh.. they wouldn't want to be, ohhh… okay

T: Go on, finish your thought.

Alicia: Well, if it overruled that, so now the students had to go with… mixed in…

            and obviously some people were very… didn't like that, so they went out

            and created their own schools I'm guessing, which was the same thing

            basically, eventually they stayed separated.

With probing questions and leading prompts, Alicia was able to connect the

Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education to formative events in her own city's history, a

connection she had not made reading on her own. I can assume with confidence that she

had studied Brown vs. Topeka before because it mentioned in every modern U.S. history

textbook I have seen and is a common topic of study. She may have memorized it as a

name, date, and main idea (overturned the Plessy vs. Ferguson precedent of separate but

equal) and then forgotten it. Pablo had retained some of that information, but not all of it.

Through discussion though, and with the help of some leading questions, Alicia made a conjecture about how whites may have resisted integration and used that idea to consider current segregation in the city where she lives.

Perhaps the most important type of preconception students brought to this project, and that our dialogue helped bring to light, related to students' efforts to understand and explain the state of their community. This effort to describe the origin of Detroit's problems often relied on basic explanatory models or placed blame on current residents. Although not all students may have shared this view, it emerged in our discussions several times. Some students reported that they were not aware of the changes Detroit had undergone and expressed that they had not explicitly questioned current problems. During a semi-structured interview, Aracely voiced her thoughts in this respect.

> I never really knew… I thought Detroit was just like this… and so like, I got into this class and actually, we learned that it was actually because of the auto industry and how racist people were back then… I never thought it was because of that, I thought it was because… oh Detroit's just like this...

Left on their own to make sense of a very profound set of problems, some students appeared to either blame those closest to the problem or fail to question the problem at all. Through the TERRA project then, students were provided the resources and activities to begin an historical inquiry into this problem and its complex roots.

While there are many challenges in using this overall approach, particularly with regards to the new practices and cultural models of history being introduced, as well as the challenging texts being used, there did appear to be value in using historical inquiry to

explore a problem in the students' community. When I asked Aracely in an interview if learning about her city's history was valuable, and if other students should also learn it, she responded with no hesitation: "They should, because like, all the history they show you is like about the world, the United States history, but its important to know about where you live." In his interview, Steven voiced a similar thought and took it one step further.

> I never really history where we had to solve a solution, it was just to know
>
> it, but it kind of gets my, you know, it kind of makes wanna do, you know,
>
> something for my community, from what I learned…

For Steven, learning history before had just been about the *knowing*, but through the study of his own community he seemed to see that history could also help with the *doing*. By giving history reading and inquiry a stronger purpose in the classroom in this fashion then, perhaps educators can engage and interest students even more and begin to equip them to not just understand the history of different problems, but also seek to use that knowledge to solve them. In the final chapter of my dissertation, I will summarize the lessons that I learned with respect to both design and implementation, and I will argue that these findings have interesting and important implications for curricula, practice, research, and policy in education, particularly with respect to secondary instruction and literacy development related to historical learning.

Chapter VI

Conclusions and Implications

In this study, I designed and implemented a problem-based curriculum in both after-school and classroom contexts using historical inquiry into a local problem with high school students. During the project, students participated in the selection of the problem of study and then engaged in inquiry activities using a range of texts and other resources. Reading across different historical documents, they analyzed and compared historical accounts related to our problem of study, urban blight in Detroit, and then created their own accounts of the problem. I designed instructional activities to help students engage in historical thinking and reading as they learned important content and developed their historical understanding of the problem.

To explore the affordances, challenges, and processes of engaging students in localized problem-based inquiry using multiple texts, I collected and analyzed data on my own design and teaching decisions as well as on student participation in the project. I reached two primary conclusions from this work:

1)   Based on an analysis of patterns in decision-making during both design and enactment phases of this study, I assert that my design decisions and teaching moves were shaped by attention to the text-reader-activity-context interaction. When they were not, or when my assumptions about one dimension of the interaction were faulty, I had to make revisions to the design during enactment.

2)   Furthermore, my design decisions and teaching moves sought to disrupt the pre-existing cultural models for teaching and learning in the classroom and transition the students into new ways of thinking about history and texts. Although I was seeking to disrupt the established models underlying classroom activity, my own cultural models for teaching and learning were disrupted at times as well. The tensions between the assumptions and expectations at play- on the part of the students, myself as the teacher, and in the larger system of the school- needed to be considered in this process of designing and teaching history around problem-based inquiry.

It is noteworthy that few recent reform curricula explicitly address the variable interactions between texts, readers, activities, and contexts that shape the implementation of new designs. If an instructional design does not acknowledge the potential for different interactions with different students in different contexts - in other words, if it is presented as a one-size-fits all recipe- teachers may simply assume the design is flawed if it does not work as intended. On the other hand, an instructional design that recognizes some of the different patterns of challenges teachers might encounter can offer alternative pathways. In addition, these proactive designs can help teachers consider the range of interactions taking place as they work to locate areas of the design in need of modification.

Similarly, it is important to note that scant attention has been paid to the practices and patterns of teaching and learning that reform models seek to replace. If the tensions between existing models and new designs are not considered or planned for, teachers enacting the design are left to manage emerging challenges on their own. In this

situation, with a new design being disrupted by contextual variables and cultural models of teaching and learning, teachers may revert back to the already institutionalized, default modes of teaching. Students, with or without the teacher, may do the same thing and turn to familiar learning practices. In sum, an instructional design to reform classroom practice that is simply transferred into a system without addressing existing paradigms of teaching and learning may not succeed.

In the remainder of this chapter, I unpack these two primary assertions and discuss how reading interactions and cultural models can shape design and enactment decisions. Moreover, I discuss the implications of these conclusions for curricular design, instructional practice, and education research and policy. In this process, I suggest a set of principles to guide these design and enactment decisions, I describe patterns of interactive challenges for which curriculum developers and teachers can proactively prepare, and I suggest pathways for practice and design modification to facilitate the introduction of new learning models.

Design and enactment decisions at the intersections of

reader, text, activity, and context.

The interactive model of reading as a guiding paradigm for instructional design and teaching can help educators reconceptualize their plans and decisions, and it represents a shift away from more simplistic models of teaching and learning that do not focus on interactions. Instructional design that does not see reading as an interactive process, for example, presents text as a static design element and does not consider how different students will interact with the same text or how different approaches to activity

with text will shape comprehension and text use. Activities are similarly presented as elements taken for granted in these designs, and instructional context is generally not considered at all. When problems arise during the enactment of such designs then, the teacher is left with only one avenue of approach to fix the problem: changing something about the readers/students so that they can fit into and work with the design.

On the other hand, the interactive model of reading challenges educators to consider the interaction between these components. This framework shaped my decisions as I worked to design and enact instruction. For example, I could not plan on using a text without thinking about the students and the activity through which students would engage with text. Likewise, I could not develop an activity without considering the students' knowledge and reading skill in relation to the texts' demands. In each case, I had to think about the interaction.

Initial design principles for developing inquiry based learning at the intersections of text, readers, activities, and contexts.

The process of designing instruction that accounted for this reading interaction, and that also engaged students in inquiry-based learning using multiple texts, involved three primary processes as described earlier: problem selection and framing, text selection, and activity development. In the process of analyzing my design decisions related to these tasks, I identified six principles of design (see pg. 150) that guided my work and helped me think about reading interactions. These principles, revisited and elaborated below, can be adapted to other learning contexts and projects and provide a potential framework for the design of inquiry based instruction.

Selecting and framing problems to which students can connect. Centering

learning on a problem or driving question is a crucial first step in the design process.

Problem-based learning in history can help disrupt fact reproduction models of reading

and learning and help students understand that historical knowledge and understanding

actually have meaning beyond the next test. The first principle of inquiry design then is

to select and frame a problem that students can connect to through interest and prior

knowledge, but that also necessitates connections to larger historical accounts and

concepts. As discussed in Ch. 4, the problem of urban blight was something students

knew about and connected to in this project, but understanding it required them to look at

broader historical and economic patterns. Curriculum designers can similarly work to

identify other issues of concern to young people that can be localized to different settings

but that also tie to larger historical questions. Problems such as youth unemployment or

environmental impacts on children's health can be historicized and explored across

different eras and can provide students with a range of possible interesting questions to

drive inquiry.

Another approach to problem selection is to problematize historical topics often

presented in classrooms by developing a historical question to drive learning about the

era. Students can then use a range of texts to answer the driving question and in the

process learn important information about the era being studied. Students in this study

had learned about the Vietnam War, but they had never learned about the anger generated

by the war in parts of the African-American community in Detroit during the mid-1960's

and leading up to the 1967 riots. The study of the Vietnam War then could begin with

the question of why many African-Americans in Detroit were upset by the war. This

question can not be answered effectively without exploring the who, what, why, where, and when of the war.

Framing a problem this way allows young people to contribute their knowledge and perspectives, or to access community based funds of knowledge, and then to academically explore and challenge the views and accounts produced. This approach to inquiry also positions students as users and analysts of text, not as passive consumers of information, and lays the foundation for more dynamic activities and interactions with text.

Selecting texts to compare, contrast, and connect accounts. A corollary to the first principle is to select a problem for which there are adequate resources available. Before firmly settling on our problem of study, I carried out an initial document and resource search to insure that enough sources were available for inquiry. The second principle of design came into play at this point in the consideration of what types of texts were needed for this inquiry process. My text selection involved the identification and analysis of a set of texts representing different genres and varying views on urban blight in Detroit that could be compared, contrasted, and connected. To afford students the opportunity to develop and practice disciplinary reading and thinking skills related to history, and to actively disrupt the textbook model of instruction (read, remember, reproduce), I planned to expose them to a wide range of texts and accounts. Curriculum developers can likewise consider what texts are available and most helpful in answering the driving question. They can then develop a diverse set of texts potentially including films, audio of interviews, newspaper accounts, photographs, presentations of data such as tables, first person testimonies, and additional secondary accounts.

An additional, crucial consideration for text selection was the level of connection I could build between and across texts. In selecting texts for historical inquiry, I worked to lay the groundwork for the development of historical thinking and reading by choosing texts that, in one way or another, were in conversation with each other. In general, the selection of multiple texts that can be compared helps to emphasize the nature and practices of historical epistemology for students and begins their apprenticeship into historical reading and thinking. Historians typically read across a range of texts to explore a question, and students can take up this practice provided they have the opportunity.

I approached this task by looking for different types of texts that students could compare and read with each other. For example, to answer questions about the roots of urban blight in Detroit, I found it helpful for students to first answer the question of how and when the population of the city changed. To explore this question, I found census data tables from three time periods and the article about the history of immigration and migration to Detroit. Neither resource told the whole story, but taken together they provided students important information and also lead to the generation of more driving questions for future readings.

Finally, I also selected texts that helped students personally connect to our inquiry project, in particular as the texts were about a problem they had selected and dealt with the spaces in which they lived. Curriculum developers at the level of schools, districts, or even intermediate school districts can similarly work to identify and include texts that help to localize the problem of inquiry so that students can see it from a perspective or view with which they might identify, and then also include alternative views when

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possible. This might involve finding texts authored by young people or presenting cultural points of view with which students can identify, or even finding accounts with which students might be expected to strongly disagree. Connecting students to text is especially important given the interactive nature of reading. Readers and texts interact, and readers bring motivation and knowledge, or lack thereof, to their textual encounters. The students in the TERRA project were often interested in reading about their city and expressed that they had never done so in school before. Selecting texts with which they could connect thus facilitated the introduction of the inquiry model of learning and opened the doorway to disciplinary reading instruction.

Taking students' knowledge and reading levels into account with texts and activities. The third principle of design that guided my instructional design for TERRA involved the consideration of students' knowledge and reading level in relationship to text complexity when selecting texts and developing activities. To develop the reading and thinking levels of students, it was necessary to challenge them with conceptually complex texts and tasks but also to scaffold these processes when students struggled. In order to do so, I had to first assess the knowledge and skill level of the participating students. I next had to engage in text and task analysis in order to assess the knowledge and skill demands that would be placed on students.

After I collected an initial text set of more than 30 documents, I reviewed them to assess their difficulty in terms of language, vocabulary, and conceptual abstraction. As I considered text complexity, I also thought about the general levels of reading skill I would be likely to encounter, calling upon my teaching experience in the school as well as my more recent observations in the classroom. I also evaluated each text to see that

they clearly connected to our problem of study and would help students answer the driving question. I eliminated texts that seemed less connected to our study, and I also eliminated some that were less accessible for 9th grade students. As discussed in Chapter 4, I still ended up with texts that would challenge the students but that would be manageable with appropriate instructional supports.

For the texts that appeared to be more challenging and complex, I tried to develop activities that would scaffold students' understanding of the text. In addition, I carefully selected chunks of text that had the most important content to emphasize key concepts and also make the reading challenges more manageable. For example, the essay by Daniel Okrent was several pages long, so I selected a one-page excerpt that contained some of his key arguments, and then I built opportunities for close reading and discussion into our activity.

Operating in this fashion and taking the interactive perspective, curriculum developers do not need to avoid complex texts when designing instruction. However, they should consider the possibility that their design maybe used in classrooms with struggling readers and thus build in scaffolds and learning supports to be used when necessary. The level of scaffolding needed in an activity will depend in part upon the interaction between the text and the knowledge and skill of the students.

Surfacing, extending, and challenging student thinking through activity design. The fourth principle of design holds that activities need to be developed in order to surface, extend, and even challenge student knowledge and thinking about the problem of study. Using this principle thus depends in part upon having selected a problem and texts that facilitate the comparison of accounts and perspectives, including those of students.

With a problem to which students can connect, and texts which students can use to explore the problem, the next step then is to surface and develop what students know, or think they know, about different aspects of the problem.

The framework of teaching for reading before, during, and after reading is particularly helpful in this respect. I made an effort to design activities to probe student knowledge and views about a problem before reading, to have them analyze different perspectives on the problem during reading, and then have them consider whether or not what they read supported, extended, or challenged their views after reading. Brainstorming and questioning activities, as well as think-alouds, were crucial to include in this context as they provided me with the means to explore what students were thinking at different points in the inquiry process.

I developed our lesson on the Detroit riots of 1943 in this way by preparing a series of discussion questions to probe and surface student knowledge about important background information related to World War II, increased war production, and changes in the labor force nationwide. The lesson then extended and localized what students had learned about life in the United States during World War II by connecting increased war production to labor force changes in Detroit, and then connecting that to racism, discrimination in the workplace and housing, and the resulting riots of 1943. Through this type of design, curriculum developers can capitalize and expand upon the knowledge – or challenge the misunderstandings – that students bring with them into the classroom and into textual interactions.

Taking instructional contexts into account with texts and activities. The fifth principle for instructional design is that curriculum developers consider the context of

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instruction when selecting and preparing texts as well as when developing activities. In this case, the instructional context refers in particular to factors of space, time, scheduling, school climate, and academic expectations. Although it is impossible for curriculum developers to design for every possible setting, it is possible to recognize that these types of contextual factors have an impact on the effectiveness of an instructional design.

For example, some schools use block scheduling whereas others use the traditional 55-minute class period. Curricula can be developed in chunked activities to fit into different time schedules; this might also be an asset in schools with excessive interruptions. During the TERRA project, I had to shift the flow and structure of activities due to interruptions from announcements and also from students not in the class. In addition, other contextual variables such as Cinco de Mayo seemed to have an impact on the focus of the class and led me to make changes. Curriculum designers cannot predict specific events, but they can predict that there will be interruptions and other factors that change the timing of lessons and units. Proactive steps built into instructional designs can give teachers more tools in these circumstances and perhaps even help them feel more in control. Such steps can include brief descriptions of how activities can be chunked or carried over from one day to the next, or they can prioritize sections of a lesson or activity so that teachers have an idea of what they can cut if necessary.

Taking cultural models into account during instructional design. The sixth and final principle of design that emerged in my analysis is that curriculum developers also need to consider students' cultural models and patterns of thinking when selecting texts

and developing activities. Instructional designs need to afford teachers the opportunity to assess how their students approach content area reading and learning, and then push students to think more deeply with probing questions and dynamic activities that build connections across lessons and texts.

An instructional design is not dropped into an academic void in which students automatically take up any model before them. Even if students find new questions and practices interesting, they may still fall back into familiar patterns of learning and reading. Ninth grade students, for example, may have already had several years of history instruction in which they learned that history involves remembering names, dates, and places and then reproducing that information on tests. Even with interesting questions and alternative texts, they may still look for main ideas and important facts to remember. Curriculum developers designing instructional materials and activities then must carefully consider how their approach might differ from the existing models and practices and prepare to bridge the gaps between the old and the new.

The students in this study, for example, demonstrated expectations and assumptions that short, basic answers to historical questions were sufficient. Their cultural model of history learning in school appeared to fit the fact-reproduction model, and I had to press them with consistent probing questions to go beyond simple answers to explain their thinking. Of course, students' abilities to provide elaborated historical explanations depended not just upon their cultural models of history, but also on their reading skill and knowledge. Thus, it was important to consider both cultural models and reading interactions as intersecting factors affecting students' uptake of the instructional design.

These six principles drove my initial design decisions and shaped the instructional materials and activities I ultimately used in the TERRA project. Below I discuss the patterns of challenges that emerged as a result of this design, and in the implications section I provide more specific pathways for instructional design and enactment that emerged from the refinement of these design principles during the study.

Patterns of instructional dilemmas emerging from reading interactions that informed design revision.

In the process of designing and implementing the TERRA curriculum, I encountered various dilemmas emerging from these interactions as I engaged in problem selection, text selection, and activity development. The initial phase of design, selecting a problem, did not present immediate challenges. Working with the students, I did not find it difficult to identify a problem that met the criteria of connecting to students, connecting to larger patterns of history, and having adequate resources. The students engaged in this process enthusiastically and appeared to value the opportunity to help choose the topic of study. Nevertheless, I found it difficult to maintain a clear focus on the problem throughout all of the lessons over the unit of study. Some of the lessons were more clearly tied to our inquiry, such as the activities related to the Detroit riots, but others were not clearly connected as designed. In these cases, it became necessary to make the connections for students and reinforce our larger guiding problem. I did this by explicitly asking students to make connections, using phrases like, "but what does this have to do with abandoned buildings today?" When students had trouble making the connections, I modeled the linking of ideas through think-alouds.

In situations where the connection to the problem of study is lost in what is ostensibly an inquiry-focused lesson, then the purpose for the lesson can shift for students. If students do not see the lesson as a means to solve the problem or answer the question, then they may come to see the goal of activity as simple task completion. In particular, students who are not as academically motivated, but who may have been interested in the problem, may lose focus. Thus, problem selection and framing take on an added and necessary dimension: continuous reinforcement and connection to the problem of study across the unit of instruction.

Design dilemmas emerging from text selection. I also encountered dilemmas due to my selection of text, despite the fact that I worked from the principles described above in this process. These challenges were not completely unanticipated; however I did not adequately consider some of the different attributes of texts in my initial analyses. These difficulties only became apparent once the texts were in use with the students. As already described, the texts ranged in their complexity and levels of abstraction, yet none appeared to be out of reach of the students during instruction with supports. However, the use of both figurative and technical language in texts presented some students with more difficulty than I had anticipated. Analogies such as those in the Okrent essay, as well as the technical terminology used in the automotive tables, were difficult for many students. I asked students to do relatively complex analysis across texts that presented their own difficulties. Curriculum designers can avoid such problems by attending to the interactions between task and text complexity and by introducing complex texts with easier tasks, or vice versa.

Design dilemmas emerging from activity development. The activities I developed, in interaction with the texts being used, also presented a range of problems with respect to their design. As suggested above, the activities in their original form at times did not effectively scaffold student work with texts. This was in part due to the challenges of meeting the needs of a diverse group of students, dealing with complex texts, and working in a context with interruptions and limited time.

Specifically, deciding how much to try to accomplish in one activity, and also how much text to use, was a consistent dilemma I faced. When I made the transition from after-school to in-school programs, I purposefully used shorter selections of text in the classroom than after-school given the available time and the size of the group in the classroom. Nevertheless, I still had to decide how much text I could reasonably include in a lesson, and this depended upon the complexity of the text and task for the students, as well as on contextual factors. In the initial activity on the Detroit Riots, for example, I provided a packet to the students that had far too much text given the amount of time we had. Even the most focused students with good reading skills had trouble making it through the activity. It became clear that if I wanted students to compare ideas across multiple texts in one lesson, I needed to select relatively limited excerpts of the texts, at least while the students developed their skills in this area.

As the classroom unit progressed, I began using more manageable chunks as I adjusted to the setting and students. When I wanted students to examine a range of ideas from several texts, such as in the lesson on solutions to urban blight, I looked for key paragraphs in texts that provided substantive ideas in 5 to 8 sentences. On the other hand, when students were focusing on a single event and building more general background

knowledge, as in the lesson on the 1943 race riots, they engaged with longer, individual texts. Both types of reading were important, and in order to provide students the opportunity to practice both, I had to carefully select and prepare the texts, always in consideration of the students' knowledge, skill, and interest, as well as the activity I developed.

In these decisions around text length and activity, I faced a complex trade-off that was difficult to negotiate. I felt it important to make the activities interesting for students and also to keep them running smoothly. I based some of these decisions on students' reactions to the activities and texts – whether or not they were reading, asking questions, and participating in discussion. If students appeared to be losing interest, at times I shifted the activity as described earlier to maintain their interest. The problem with this type of decision is that student reaction to activity is not always the same as student learning from activity. Students may be engaged in activities in which they do not learn much, and they may learn from activities and texts they do not particularly like. Although I made an effort to balance out engagement and learning, it is possible that the decisions I made to present smaller chunks of text did not always benefit student learning. These tensions are part of the complex work of teaching, and they merit further exploration and study, yet they are seldom acknowledged in the literature and research around educational reform and content area literacy instruction.

Principles for design enactment in response to reading interaction dilemmas.

The enactment of the TERRA design took place in the context of these dilemmas, and was also guided by attention to the interactions between the students and the texts, activities, and context. A primary task I faced in this process was to constantly analyze

ongoing interactions and assess whether or not students were learning about our problem of study. To know whether or not students were learning, I consistently asked questions and listened carefully to the answers, and I also closely monitored student talk in groups and observed their work. When lessons were not going as intended, the real dilemmas emerged as I worked to ascertain what was happening, why it was happening, and how I should respond. The pedagogical problem in those moments was to decide how to manage and shape the interaction between text, reader, activity, and context to enhance learning. As discussed above, I then faced the dilemma of balancing out my desire to promote engagement with the need to promote deep learning. At my disposal in these moments were a range of teaching methods, such as think-alouds, mini-lectures, and academic press with probing questions. In the flow of instruction and classroom interaction, I worked to make evidence-based teaching decisions on which course to follow as I made changes to the overall activity system.

Perhaps the most important tool I used in this process was ongoing dialogue with students. Although the promotion of student talk was extremely important in this design and its enactment, it was just as important that I carefully listened to and analyzed what the students were saying. I did not use questions solely to solicit answers from students in order to assess their factual recall, as is often done in teacher discourse. Rather, I used questions to surface, probe, and analyze student thinking about content, and also to inform my next series of teaching decisions and moves. Students often asked their own questions as well, and I tended to answer them with an additional question, again trying to surface their thinking and identify potential pathways I could take to help the student move forward.

When students provided a superficial answer to a question requiring more analysis, or when they presented incorrect information, I used follow-up questions to push their thinking, to get other students to talk and help them out, and then to look for patterns of difficulties across the class. In those instances, I tried to provide the appropriate scaffold so that the students could either elaborate or reconsider their thinking. During the census think aloud, for example, I recognized that students were having difficulty with the text and task. I used data from a range of sources to consider what was happening in the interaction and then decide how best to proceed. In this case, students called me over for help, and I listened to their questions and then asked them questions of my own. It was clear to me that the racial terminology of the census was confusing them. I quickly looked back at the texts and noted that the language changed in each table, and I realized that my activity did not take these changes into account. I also noted that almost all of the students were talking with their group members while looking at the census data. Students were pointing at columns, looking across pages, and several were either shaking their heads or looking confused.

I took in all of this information and hypothesized that motivation was not an issue; the students were engaged but confused. Confusion is not always a bad thing though, and it can be valuable for students to work through a difficult problem. Nevertheless, I felt that if I did some explanation and modeling around the language in the first table, students could then better work on the remaining tables and still be challenged. Teaching in moments like these is always a balancing act; there is a need to scaffold learning, but also a need to challenge students, allow them to be confused, and hold them responsible for working through a problem. At times though, I found students needed a

bit of support getting over initial hurdles so that they could move deeper into text-based activities.

A similar situation occurred, as already described, with the automotive employment data table. This table was, for these readers, very abstract and unclear. For someone more familiar with the topic, or for someone with extensive experience reading government labor statistics, this table would have been easy to decode. Nevertheless, for the average 16-year-old youth- even one who lived in the "Motor City"- the semiotic and textual elements of this text were enormously challenging. In selecting the text and designing the activity and materials, I overlooked this complexity. Yet during the activity, as I listened to what students were saying and probed their thinking, I realized that the students were having difficulty interpreting the table in part at least because of its format and technical language. In the moment, I surmised that students were rushing through and writing whatever came to mind in part because they were not sure how to read the table. The need, as I saw it in that moment, was to slow the students down and model the thinking necessary to figure out the table.

In other instances, I reached different conclusions when students were unable to answer questions about text, and thus I followed a different course of action. When we read about the Detroit Riots of 1967, for example, students were unable to explain an important idea from a text – that the Vietnam War angered many African-Americans at that time. Again, I had to assess why students did not comprehend important content from the text. During the activity, I saw signs of engagement in the class – eye contact when I spoke, students looking at the reading, and wide participation in discussion. I quickly considered the text as I listened to the students; the text was not abstract, nor did

it use technical vocabulary, but it did assume background knowledge I had not built into the activity. With these observations in mind, I surmised that the students lacked necessary knowledge to answer the question. In addition, the answer was not in the text, so I made the decision to build their knowledge with a mini-lecture.

Extrapolating from these experiences, it is important that both teachers and students have opportunities to talk about content and texts in the classroom. It is also important that teachers listen carefully to students, as much to surface and explore their thinking as to evaluate their answers. In particular, teachers need to ask lots of open-ended, probing questions that push students to think for themselves, use evidence to support arguments, go back into text, make predictions or connections, and even generate more questions.

Of course, these are not new recommendations by any means, but they are still worth following and were extremely valuable in my work. Equally as important as talking, however, and less discussed in the literature, is the act of listening. To take advantage of student talk, and to find pathways for pedagogical problem solving, teachers need to listen for the nuances in student talk about questions, confusions, and problems. Looking at the patterns represented by the examples described above, there were a few primary interactive situations in which learning broke down that necessitated shifting the design. In terms of students, most of their challenges stemmed either from a lack of knowledge or skill in relation to texts or tasks; the use of learning models and practices that did not encourage depth of thought or explanation; or a lack of focus or motivation – sometimes due to contextual factors. At the same time, the texts these students were reading presented their own difficulties, and the activities were not always structured to

manage these challenges. Finally, contextual factors such as interruptions and the time of year were always present and potentially playing a role in the interactive dynamic.

Only by listening to students and probing their thinking can teachers begin to figure out if and how they need to try to shift an interaction. For example, students may need knowledge that the text assumes, or the knowledge might actually be in the text and the students need to be pushed to find and analyze it. Thinking about such dilemmas can help teachers decide if they need to build knowledge, press for understanding, or simply re-focus the students and keep them forging onward. Ultimately, shifting instruction is not about making things easy for students or about doing the work for them. Rather it is about challenging them and giving them just enough support to meet the challenge. These decisions take place in a context with competing demands for attention and limited amounts of space and time, thus teachers also face the need to keep students engaged.

As discussed, engagement and learning are not always aligned, and thus teachers need to think carefully about how they can balance out the need to engage students with the need to push their limits and comfort zones in learning. I wrestled with this dilemma in my text selection and use, and while my chunking of texts in some cases made lessons more engaging and time sensitive, it is also possible that it diminished students' opportunities to improve their reading skills. When teaching with complex texts and tasks, teachers will always have to make such decisions based upon partial information and the need to manage classroom space and time. These decisions may not always promote learning, and this tension is what makes designing and teaching inquiry-based learning a very challenging –albeit worthwhile- endeavor.

Cultural models and disjunctures during design and enactment.

In designing the TERRA project through an interactive lens, I also considered the cultural models behind the type of learning I was promoting and the models at play in the classroom. As described, the students seemed to operate to some extent within what I have called the fact-reproduction model of history. Their responses to text-based questions and activities lead me to believe that they often saw the activities as tasks to complete, and that they saw the texts merely as places to find answers to questions. By having the students read across multiple texts to develop problem-based accounts, I tried to disrupt that model.

Ironically, my attempts to disrupt patterns and cultural models of learning at times disrupted some of my own assumptions about the model I was pushing forward. For example, part of the cultural model under which I was operating was the notion that group work and student talk about text was more important than teacher talk. This notion was complicated for me as I realized the extent of modeling and support I needed to engage in to help students create meaning from more complex texts. I felt some discomfort as I found myself talking more than I wanted, but I also recognized that in some of these instances I was talking more in the context of modeling and think-alouds and less as a lecturer. On the other hand, sometimes I just talked too much. Figuring out the balance of teacher talk and the extent of modeling was thus another dilemma I faced. At the same time, my cultural model of the instructional lecture was challenged as I learned to use concentrated mini-lectures to build student knowledge. Previously I had conceptualized lectures as more drawn out affairs and I did not design to include much lecture, yet I nevertheless found constrained, focused lectures to be an important tool.

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My expectations were also challenged with respect to the power of problem-based inquiry around meaningful questions in relationship to the power of what I called the "just get it done" cultural model of schooling. Engaging young people in inquiry around important and interesting problems is an important step to take, but it will not happen without consistent intervention, reshaping of lessons, and building of bridges across the gaps between models. Although I anticipated that students often worked in the "just get it done" mode, I did not account for the profound institutionalization of schooling in which reading and class assignments are seen as tasks to be completed, not steps to take to solve an important problem. This disjuncture was evidenced in some of the guided reading worksheets I developed, as well as some of the graphic organizers. As discussed with regards to student responses to written work, some of the materials I developed made it too easy for students to provide short, simple answers. I perhaps assumed that the larger problem-based framework had more power than it did in the face of patterns of conventional classroom practice and the use of worksheets.

At the same time, my cultural model for historical thinking and explanation lead me to overlook historical thinking on the part of my students and perhaps miss an opportunity to capitalize upon their funds of knowledge and engage in deeper third space learning. My expectations for an effective cause and effect narrative in history, something I wanted the students to develop, included the recognition of multiple causal factors across different scales of space and time. When I initially asked students to talk about the causes and effects of urban blight in Detroit, they were able to produce multiple examples of both causes and effects. Their ideas, however, tended to be on a smaller scale, both in time and space, and often pertained to the behavior or experiences of

individuals (arson, insurance fraud, families whose homes are in foreclosure). Initially, I did not recognize the potential historicity of their thinking in these cases. Only after discussions of my work with colleagues and faculty mentors did I begin to understand that the students were thinking historically, albeit on a more "micro" level. They were making conjectures based upon evidence from their own experiences and the accounts of others about change over time. Because of my own more "macro" model for historical thinking, I did not recognize this at that time.

One of the results of this disjuncture was that I tried to use student knowledge as an end-point for connections as opposed to a starting point for inquiry. The approach I took in using student knowledge was, in general, to engage the students in the broader historical narrative and then zoom in and localize that narrative, eventually ending up at the level of their experiences.   An alternative approach would be to have begun with their narratives and to have expanded upon them more, asking students to write out stories of abandoned buildings with which they were familiar, such as Karina's narrative about the block where she grew up. These stories could have served as initial accounts to be compared, historicized, and then connected to other accounts in a process of reading about the state of the city in previous times. Although I did surface their accounts as a means to help select and frame the problem, and although I consistently asked them to share their experiences and knowledge, I did not take advantage of them as historical sources because of my own initial conceptualizations of historical narratives. Realizing this through discussion and analysis of this work, I find my own models of student thinking shifting, and this process opens up new avenues for tapping into the knowledge and experiences of students in future work.

Bridging the gaps between cultural models of teaching and learning through design and enactment: *Reflections on current calls for reform.*

Ultimately, designing and teaching with cultural models in mind helped me to be more aware of my own expectations and assumptions, those of the students, and those at work behind the scenes in the larger context of the school and society. Cultural models drive the approaches we take to teaching and learning, and they shape how we implement new instructional designs and learning practices in classrooms. With respect to the content area of history, the question of what history and learning history mean to different stakeholders is very important. Scholars who have explored learning and reading in history classrooms have raised the concern that many students in their studies seem to struggle with critical reading of history texts (Moje & Speyer, 2008; Bain, 2006; Wineburg, 2001; Afflerbach & VanSledright, 2001). One possible explanation for this problem mentioned in Chapter 2 is that teachers and students alike often have the expectation that learning history involves reading textbooks with an emphasis on the reproduction of information. In addition, textbooks tend to be represented as factual accounts and include vast amounts of information, leaving little space for critical engagement unless one already has deep content knowledge.

Linda Salvucci (2011), incoming chair of the National Council for History Education, recently discussed the state of history education in the United States and critiqued the practice of "requiring students to memorize endless lists of facts that are mandated in many state standards and reflected in conventional textbooks." She argued that history instead "can be effectively and engagingly taught by organizing content around questions and themes that allow students to function as practicing historians."

She went on to posit that, "K-12 students are more than capable of moving beyond the simple collection of evidence to the analysis, contextualization and interpretation of sources, followed by the articulation of arguments about the past."

Mike Schmoker (2011), in a recent book on reforming curricula and instruction, presented sound arguments on how to reform education in the United States and work towards the type of instruction recommended by Salvucci. For the social studies, he argued that an "emphasis on finding 'truth and evidence' in our reading, talking, and writing actually makes social studies simple to teach." He went on to recommend the use of texts such as Machiavelli's *The Prince* and George Washington's "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation" and argued that "From upper elementary on, students would find these documents readable and fascinating" (p. 141). Presenting an inquiry- based framework based around reading, writing, and talking about a range of texts, Schmoker stated that "Any team could implement this simple framework" (p. 142).

Although Schmoker provides practical ideas, and although I agree with his broad recommendations, I feel compelled to qualify his arguments and those of other "just do it" reformers. This work is complex and challenging and is in no way simple to implement. Many students may not thank us for having them read Machiavelli, and they may not find him "readable" or "fascinating." Some students may actually prefer to answer the main idea questions at the end of the textbook passage, even though they are boring, because they are comfortable, easy, and expected. If educators seeking to reform learning are to follow the recommendations of Schmoker and other reform advocates -

and I think they should- they must also acknowledge what learning models reforms are seeking to displace.

In this study I found that high school history students sometimes approached the more complex documents sets and tasks of inquiry learning using the same stances and strategies with which they customarily approached history textbooks. Introducing new models of history learning and literacy in the classroom involved far more than bringing in a new framework and new materials. The cultural models of history and history learning ingrained into students over years of schooling needed to be disrupted. In addition, bridges needed to be built between the existing practices and perspectives of students and those needed to engage with history on a deeper level in this project.

As the teacher, my own models of historical thinking needed to be disrupted as well, as did my assumptions about the role of teacher talk in the classroom. Noticing that my cultural models around historical thinking perhaps prevented me from more effectively tapping into student knowledge was an important step for me. The students had access to narratives around urban blight and migration to and from the city that I failed to utilize, despite the fact that I endeavored to listen to them and to surface their thinking. I see this not as a failure in my design though, but rather as a developmental step in the process. I had to try to design and teach in this way in order to learn how to do it better. This type of reflexivity related to my own cultural models around practice again highlights the interactive nature of learning. The teacher and the cultural models they hold play a role as well in shaping the interaction. To change instruction then, we need to give teachers the opportunity to talk, listen to themselves and each other, and to consider their own models and practices. Without time and space for reflection and

collaboration, it may be difficult for teachers to analyze the teaching and learning taking place in their classrooms. In the remaining section of this dissertation, I discuss the implications of these dilemmas tied to both cultural models and the interactive model of reading for curricula, instruction, policy, and research related to teaching and learning history and disciplinary literacy.

Implications

There is a clear movement to promote more analytical uses of texts and inquiry learning in the United States, and this movement is perhaps best exemplified in the Common Core State Standards Initiative (2010) which has been approved by 44 states as of August 2011. The Common Core lays out a series of standards "designed to be robust and relevant to the real world" (2011) and includes Reading Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies for grades six to twelve. Within these standards, students in grades 6-8 are expected to "Identify key steps in a text's description of a process related to history/social studies (e.g., how a bill becomes law, how interest rates are raised or lowered)." In 9th and 10th grade, these expectations increase and students are expected to, "Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them." Finally, by their junior and senior year of high school, students are expected to "Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain" (p. 61).

The Common Core State Standard Initiative thus expects students to move from summarization to analysis and on to synthesis. In order to move students along this

trajectory, curriculum designers and teachers alike need to attend to the interactions between texts, readers, activities, and contexts. They also need to carefully examine the cultural models in place for learning and teaching. Where teachers see their job as providing information to students, and where students see their role as remembering and reproducing this information, it will be difficult to meet the Common Core State Standards. To move in this direction therefore, it is important to carefully design and implement instruction that takes these educational dilemmas into account.

Pathways for Curriculum Development and Instructional Design: Disrupting old models and bridging gaps.

The success of educational reform and the introduction of new instructional designs ultimately depend upon what happens in classrooms. The failure of education reformers to acknowledge the real contexts of high school classrooms can therefore endanger reform efforts from the outset. The lack of attention to school settings and the concerns of practicing teachers evident in some recent reform efforts leads me to question how much reformers and designers consider these issues or even spend time in schools. High standards and high expectations provide important goals to work towards, but there are institutionalized norms and practices at work in schools that can actively hinder progress towards these goals. In order for these reform efforts to take hold and change the nature of teaching and learning in classrooms, the contexts of instruction and learning must be more directly considered. The expectations and assumptions that both teachers and students bring to school need to be surfaced and studied as well. Only then can the appropriate bridges be built to help students transition into new patterns of textual and learning interactions. The recommendations for design and teaching below are not new,

at least on their own. Taken together however, as a means to develop problem focused learning with multiple texts, they represent an innovative and integrated approach to curricular reform informed by different perspectives.

These principles and ideas for curriculum development can be utilized by teachers as well if they find themselves taking general content expectations and developing their own curricula and instructional materials. In that context, the processes of design and implementation may happen more simultaneously. In addition, when teachers are asked to implement curricula that do not attend to reading interactions, and when they have curricula and materials to which students do not connect, they can use these principles of design to plan units and lessons around the content of the given curriculum.

Problem selection, problem framing, and localization. To begin this work in history classrooms, curriculum designers interested in problem-based inquiry can select problems of interest to students about which they have some knowledge, but these problems also need to provide opportunities to extend and challenge student knowledge. In addition, problems can necessitate connections to larger patterns of history in order to help students connect themselves and their community to the larger world. In this context, local issues that are "relevant" to students provide possible problems for study, yet "local" does not only mean connection to immediate physical space. Students localize and connect to issues in different ways, through space and time but also culturally and even emotionally, and these connections can serve as hooks and focal points for interesting questions or problems.

Ultimately, building in opportunities for students to connect to problems of study is about much more than simply capturing the interest of students. It is about providing

students the opportunity to connect their worlds to what they learn in school and to consider issues or questions they may take for granted through a more analytical lens. If students are interested in gangs because there is a gang problem in their community, as was the case in my own teaching experience, teachers can bring up Al Capone and Prohibition era gangs as a hook when teaching about the Roaring 20s. Yet they need to go beyond showing a clip from *The Untouchables* and having students read an article about Capone. Instead, Al Capone and prohibition era gangs can be investigated as a case study to explore the interactions between public policy, economic conditions, and crime. This inquiry can turn into a question that can be revisited at different points until students can use this lens to think about their own community more historically and critically.

For this type of connection to take place, instructional designers can consider potential student audiences, and they also can provide teachers with tools to help them get to know their students. Interest surveys and prior knowledge inventories can be built into instructional designs to help teachers learn valuable information about their students. Students in any community have access to a wide range of funds of knowledge, and curriculum developers can help create instruction that leads students to access these networks and resources. Historical lessons centered on questions about the local implications of larger historical events, for example, can require students to interview family or community members and then connect local events to larger patterns. If instructional designs help teachers lead students to access funds of knowledge, then the teachers can also become more aware of these networks in order to tap into them themselves.

Student assessment, text selection, and text analysis. Curriculum designers can also build in opportunities and tools for teachers to use in order to assess their students for core content knowledge and literacy skills. Importantly, these assessments need to take place before instruction begins. Curricular materials can also include analyses of the texts in the design, attending to their knowledge demands, conceptual complexity, density, abstraction, vocabulary, and other dimensions of text. Teachers are better positioned to think about instruction as managing and supporting reading interactions if tools to think about both texts and students are integrated into instructional designs.

In addition, curriculum designers can assume that there will be different levels of readers engaging with their materials and thus prepare for different patterns of interactions between readers, texts, activities, and contexts. This includes having different selections of text, each with accompanying levels of instructional scaffolds in the same lesson. The text selections can be from the same document or different, but they can include, for example, a shorter, less abstract text, a text more moderate in difficulty, and then a more challenging text. While perhaps not appropriate for every student, having three possible presentations of text anticipates dilemmas emerging from possible differences in reading and knowledge backgrounds and also possible contextual factors such as time, scheduling, and interruptions.

Activity development and student support. In addition, instructional scaffolds and alternative activities can be designed as supplements to help teachers support students when they lack necessary knowledge or skill. Mini-lectures can be prepared in advance to develop important areas of background knowledge, and sets of probing questions can be prepared to help teachers assess whether or not a mini-lecture is needed. In this

regard, instructional designers can develop different possible pathways for patterns of students by developing scaffolded activities to match the differentiated text sets. In particular, activities need to be developed to connect across lessons and texts. One way to do this is to develop corroboration graphic organizers, for example, in which students keep track of key ideas in texts as they encounter them and the compare them to texts read in previous activities. An important component of activity development then is to break down and disrupt the compartmentalization of lessons. Each lesson needs to connect to the one before and the one after it, and these lessons all need to connect to the larger inquiry project. In this way the challenge of losing sight of the larger question or problem can be addressed.

Curriculum developers also need to explicitly include activities that promote student talk about content and texts, and they also need to provide teachers with the tools and guides to model different types of talk for students.   In some instances, text or activity demands may not align with students' knowledge and skill levels and the teacher may therefore have to intervene to build knowledge or skill in the course of the lesson. The teacher will only know about such a gap if there is sufficient conversation and observation, and in particular if students are asked to explain their thinking or discuss what is difficult for them

In addition, providing teachers with guides and suggestion for probing questions can act as a teaching scaffold to help develop academic press for deeper thinking and explanation. Stopping points can be built into activities where teachers surface student thinking and then ask, "Why do you think that?" or "What was in the text that gave you that idea?" Overall then, curriculum developers can create instructional units that

anticipate potential challenges and offer teachers different tools and means to re-shape learning and reading interactions.

Pathways for instructional practice and design enactment: Principles, pathways, and patterns.

Curricula, of course, are put into use by teachers, and the instructional practices used by teachers to implement a curricular design determine the success and effectiveness of that design. Instructional designs with text sets and inquiry activities provide a valuable and necessary starting point, but on their own they will not be enough. Different teachers in different settings with different students have to make different choices using the same curricula. It is therefore helpful to consider the patterns of challenges teachers face and some pathways to meet these challenges.

As discussed in regards to design, it is important for teachers to assess both the texts they use and the students they teach and to consider their interactions. If an instructional design does not provide the tools to do so, it is incumbent upon the teacher to find the means on their own. As described, text demands should be analyzed across several domains, but teachers unfamiliar with text analysis can begin by asking a few important questions about each text:

- What knowledge does the author of this text assume that readers have?
- What prior knowledge is necessary to understand this text?
- What types of difficult vocabulary are in this text?
- How abstract are the important concepts in this text? Are there examples to help students understand?
- Does this text clearly connect to other texts and to our driving question?

- How much of this text can I reasonably use in a lesson?

Teachers then have to assess the knowledge and reading level of their students in relationship to their answers to these questions and prepare accordingly. With texts analyzed and students assessed, teachers can make more informed decisions about how to use text in their classroom. If there are important but very abstract concepts in the text, the teacher can prepare some examples or case studies to help explicate these concepts. If there are a series of technical terms, the teacher can prepare a glossary or develop a vocabulary activity to begin the lesson. If the text is very dry or has little voice, the teacher can find audio or visual materials to supplement it.

With texts analyzed in relationship to their students, teachers then move on to implement the instructional activities and adapt them as needed. In this effort, teachers operate at the disjunctures between new curricula and the comfort zones of their students, and they can bring the students into the new practices by attending to areas of disruption and push-back through adaptations and additional instruction. These areas of disruption emerge in part through both teacher and student talk about content and texts, thus it is very important for teachers to probe student thinking and listen carefully in the process.

When probing student thinking, teachers can listen for answers that demonstrate incorrect interpretations or lack of analysis. Teachers then can probe to explore what is happening in the text, reader, activity, context interaction. In particular, as they press for more analysis and reflection, teachers can consider the demands of the text and task in relationship to students' knowledge and reading skill. Probing questions can be used to see if students are interpreting something incorrectly, or if they lack necessary knowledge. If students are interpreting incorrectly, the teacher will have to decide how

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much support to give. In some cases it will be best to model a process and help students practice it, in others students may need time and encouragement to struggle through a complex text. On the other hand, students may be perfectly able to answer but may assume that short, simple answers are adequate, and a bit of probing and pushing can then encourage them to elaborate.

In sum, in this process of questioning and listening, teachers consider not just the students, but also the texts and the activities, and even the context, as they make decisions about their course of action. When students lack necessary knowledge, teachers can build that knowledge, yet they still have to engage students in using that knowledge through activity. In a sense, teachers can also listen to the text and the activity through the words of the students, but also by looking again at the actual materials in use and connecting them to the students.

Teachers can also reflect upon their own cultural models of teaching and learning. Teachers who were schooled in history through lecture may operate with the assumption that history instruction involves long lectures with little interaction. Another assumption that might shape teaching practice is that history is all about the content and not the process. If teachers can also surface their own expectations and assumptions about instruction, content, texts, and students, they can consider the possibility that their models may not align with the model driving a new curriculum. My instructional design was developed with the assumption that student narratives were important. Even so, my model of historical thinking lead me to overlook historical thinking on the part of my students, and I perhaps missed an opportunity to tap into student knowledge in a more profound way.

In this framework, teachers have to look beyond information transmission, and also beyond the provision of quality materials and activities, which are helpful but not enough on their own. Teachers need to engage in deep reflection and analysis of the activity taking place in their classroom. For my part, I had the opportunity to reflect upon and study my own practice, and I had a supportive network of colleagues and mentors with whom I could talk about my work in this process. I am still thinking about my design and teaching decisions and considering alternative pathways I could have pursued. Unfortunately, the time and support I had are luxuries practicing teachers generally do not enjoy.

If educational reform efforts such as the Common Core Standards require teachers to enact complex content area literacy instruction, educators and reformers can expect that this will not be an easy process. The work is complex and messy, but I believe that the potential payoff for students is worth the effort. To facilitate this work however, teachers will need opportunities, and time and space, to plan, collaborate, learn, and reflect. Given the current status of schooling and teaching in the United States, with class sizes growing and budgets shrinking, such supports may be difficult to put into practice. Nevertheless, teachers need and deserve these supports as they are being asked to enact these curricula that promote deeper content area literacy.

Research Implications: Acknowledging context and cultural models.

The role of the education researcher can also be about studying and learning from a range of interactions and then making evidence-based recommendation for decision and action. In the case of this study, which had as it goal the design and implementation of problem-based history instruction in a particular classroom, the framework of design

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based research was a powerful tool. Design research takes into consideration the dynamic characteristics of real classrooms and thus provides a valuable means to explore the design and implementation of any learning focused activity system. Instructional designs may need to be consistently modified and adapted, as illustrated via my analysis, as they come into tension with existing models and systems. By studying an educational intervention during the design process, and by taking into account a range of contextual factors, researchers can develop deeper understandings of the complexities of learning and instructional change.

In this context, design research with an activity theory approach will be useful in future research on developing and enacting meaningful disciplinary literacy curricula for students. More work needs to done to understand the cultural models of both teachers and students that guide their understandings and uses of text in the classroom. Teachers and students' expectations and goals, as well as the means to work toward those goals, may conflict during efforts to change or improve instruction.

Although not documented in this analysis, it is possible that power relations may play a role in design and enactment, especially when using reform curricula. A teacher may have one goal, but students may have another and may passively or even actively resist the goal structure of the teacher. Without attention to the interaction between the students, the tools they are using, and the different goals for activity held by different players, it may be difficult to study and analyze instructional dilemmas and problems. With attention to students, the different identity dynamics of students in interaction with teachers also merits attention in future research, particularly with regards to cultural models and patterns of classroom learning. Issues of race, class, gender, and sexuality all

have an impact on how students and teachers interact in classrooms, and qualitative research can be used to complement design studies to explore how social dynamics and power relations shape design and revision processes in classrooms.

Attention to contextual factors is also important in this approach, as any activity by and with students takes place embedded in multifaceted contexts. In this project, some students were consistently engaged, while some others consistently were not. Other students participated well on some days but not on others. On some days the whole class seemed more distracted than normal, and often the reasons for this shift were hard to determine. Most teachers I know are familiar with this dynamic, but it is often overlooked in research. Nuanced interactions and uses of time and space are impossible to capture and analyze without spending significant time in classrooms, so classroom-based research is key to understanding these issues.

In my own study, I had trouble documenting what it meant to work with ninth grade students during the last hour of the day at the end of the school year, and in an elective classroom where the course was not required for graduation. As a teacher, I knew these contextual factors were real and had an impact on student participation, but as a researcher, I was not able to do the intensive ethnographic work that would capture this dynamic. Finding synergistic ways to explore these complexities can help advance the field and prepare us to better understand how to make meaningful changes in teaching and learning. These contextual variables, including interruptions and low attendance, affect the practice of education, and they merit further exploration in education research, fuzzy and ill-defined though they may be. In addition, the institutional cultural models that drive these issues and shape instructional space and time need to be examined. If

schools adhere to cultural models holding that compliance is the key to academic success, for example, students may have learned that following instructions is the key to academic achievement, at the expense thinking deeply. These dynamics need to be uncovered, and design research, perhaps coupled with rigorous ethnographic work, can help describe and analyze them and help researchers better understand their impact on learning.

Policy Implications: Seeing the classroom as the context for change.

These complexities of classroom interaction and the possibilities for making change in these environments also have implications for educational policy. Educational reform efforts which do not attend to classroom practice have largely been ineffective at directly impacting learning outcomes (Cohen & Ball, 2001). Classroom learning, as already discussed, is shaped by largely invisible cultural models of schooling held by both teachers and students. Without addressing the cultural practices of teaching and learning, educational reform efforts may not change what actually happens inside the classroom effort (Stigler & Hiebert, 1999). Policy makers can benefit from a deeper understanding of classroom dynamics and the challenges of changing teaching and learning as they make decisions related to reforming education across the nation.

In particular, administrators and district level policy makers can attend closely to contextual factors in schools and explore how they support or challenge deeper student learning. Collaborations between education researchers and policy makers could take this question up in order to explore, for example, patterns of classroom interruptions and their impact on learning. What happens when classroom interruptions are part of the norm in a school, as it seemed they were in my research site? How does that affect teaching and learning? Stigler and Hiebert (1999) reported the results of a study in which

researchers watched hundreds of videotapes of school lessons in both the United States and Japan. In Japanese classrooms, there were virtually no interruptions during instructional time, while in the U.S. classrooms, 31% of the lessons were interrupted. This type of contextual variable could be addressed in different ways at policy levels, but only if there is an acknowledgement that they do indeed matter.

With respect to academic expectations placed on teachers and students, policy makers need to consider the challenges inherent (but well worth the work) of adopting new approaches to teaching and learning. For example, with the growing acceptance and implementation of the Common Core Curriculum nationwide, policy makers can carefully consider and plan for the demands these new standards place on both teachers and students. Assessing these demands, and comparing them to the pre-existing models and norms, can help policy makers set realistic timetables and expectations for curricular change. Introducing a new model for learning into a classroom is a complex process, and all involved stakeholders need to understand this dynamic.

When new curricula or teaching approaches are introduced, both teachers and students will need time to transition, and if changes do not address the layers of activity systems at work in classrooms, they may not succeed. Stigler and Hiebert (1999) wrote that, "Trying to improve teaching by changing individual features usually makes little difference, positive or negative. But it can backfire and leave things worse than before" (p. 99). In making new policy which sets goals and objectives for learning, for example, it might be helpful to consider what tensions emerge between classroom and school-wide activity systems. Changing deeply embedded systems of practice and belief about teaching and learning will require disrupting the existing patterns, but it will also require

replacing the old ways with engaging and meaningful opportunities to learn which meet students where they are and take them far beyond.

Conclusions

In the dominant discourse around education reform today, teachers need to work harder, earn their pay based upon merit, and do more with more students and less pay. Reform advocates put forth common sense ideas that sound exciting, but that are often not rooted in real learning contexts with real students. As an experienced teacher, I developed an instructional design for a context I knew well around content I also knew well. Nevertheless, I still faced a range of dilemmas I had to negotiate and manage. What is important to recognize in this situation is that designing and enacting instruction that does not align with past patterns is, simply put, a long, hard road to walk. This is not to say that we should not do it, but rather that it is important to recognize these challenges and thus honor the hard work of the people designing and implementing these changes. Recognizing the challenges offers us the space to stop and think about how we can better plan and equip educators to meet them, rather them blaming them when change doesn't happen fast enough.

Considering the events of September 11, 2001, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, or the problem of global warming, it is clear that our society needs young people who understand how these events and forces developed. Moreover, in the face of increasingly sophisticated marketing of products and ideas towards our youth, it is more important than ever that young people can think and learn critically, that they can consider opposing points of view and differing accounts of events, and make informed judgments about the

world based on what they have read and learned. They will not learn how to do these things well if they spend their time in history classrooms memorizing names and dates.

Education reformers concerned with history learning have called for the development of inquiry-based activity systems in history classrooms that introduce students to more complex thinking and literacy practices informed by the discipline. Education reformers concerned with social justice and equality have similarly called for more attention to the implementation of rigorous and disciplinary academic study in schools with high numbers of poor and working-class students. Yet instituting such reforms means changing classroom practices of teaching and learning, and if reformers do not consider the impact and staying power of the old models they seek to replace, then their efforts will be made that much more difficult. On the other hand, by attending to the current models of thinking and practice that both teachers and students are utilizing, and by recognizing the interactive nature of learning and the variable interactions between readers, texts, activities, and contexts, reform educators can make informed decisions as they design and implement instructional systems to help students learn in new and powerful ways.

APPENDICES

TERRA Literacy Survey, Second Administration

ADMINISTRATION 2

Student Information

Last Name:□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

First Name:□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Gender: ___ Male ___ Female

Year and month of birth _____

Survey Directions and Sample

Dear Participant,

In this survey there are no right or wrong answers. We are just asking for your opinions.

You may skip any question(s) that you do not care to answer.

Many of the following questions ask you to choose a number from 1 to 7 that best describes how you think or feel. Please circle the number that best describes what you think.

HERE IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE WAY WE WILL ASK YOU QUESTIONS:

How much do you like chocolate cake?

not at all						a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Thank you for your valuable help with this study!

1. If you could have any job you wanted, what job would you most like to have at age 25?

   _____

2. People can't always get the job they would most like. What job do you think you will **<u>really</u>** have when you are 25?

   _____

3. What things might keep you from getting the job you want?

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. If you could have any type of education you wanted, what type of education would you like to get in the future? (please check one)
   _____ graduate from high school
   _____ vocational or technical training (e.g. electrician, hairdresser, chef, pre-school teacher)
   _____ some college
   _____ graduate from a business or two-year college
   _____ graduate from a four-year college
   _____ get a master's degree or a teaching credential
   _____ get a law degree, a PhD, or a medical doctor's degree

5. We can't always do what we most want to do. What type of education do you think you will **<u>really</u>** get in the future? (please check one)
   _____ graduate from high school
   _____ vocational or technical training (e.g. electrician, hairdresser, chef, pre-school teacher)
   _____ some college
   _____ graduate from a business or two-year college
   _____ graduate from a four-year college
   _____ get a master's degree or a teaching credential
   _____ get a law degree, a PhD, or a medical doctor's degree

6. Some things can help you in getting the education you want. Other things might hold you back from getting the education you want. Please rate how much the following things will <u>help</u> OR <u>hold you back</u> as you try to get the education you want.

	Please circle the number that applies to you						
	will hold me back a lot	will hold me back somewhat	will hold me back a little	no influence	will help me a little	will help me some what	will help me a lot
a. Your abilities or talents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. Your school grades	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. Your family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d. Having children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e. Your friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f. Your religion/spirituality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g. Your financial situation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h. How hard you work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i. Luck	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
j. Your teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
k. Your ethnic background	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l. How well you read	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
m. How well you write	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
n. How good you are at math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
o. How good you are at science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
p. The language(s) you speak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q. The style of clothes you wear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
r. Whether you are female or male	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
s. The community you live in	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
t. How much you stay true to your own racial or ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
u. Other_____ (tell us what)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Questions about your social studies class during <u>THIS PROJECT… TERRA</u>.

7. I ask myself questions to make sure I know the material I have been studying for social studies class.

not at all true of me						very true of me
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. When work in social studies class is hard I either give up or study only the easy parts.

| | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | very true |

9. I often find that I have been reading for social studies class but don't know what it is all about.

not at all true of me						very true of me
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. When I'm reading for social studies class I stop once in a while and go over what I have read.

not at all true of me						very true of me
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. I work hard to learn even when I don't like my social studies class.

not at all true of me						very true of me
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. How much did you like doing social studies during this unit on Detroit?

not at all						a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. In general, how useful was what you learned in social studies during this unit?

not at all useful						very useful
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. How good at social studies were you during this unit?

not at all good						very good
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. How good would you be at a career requiring social studies skills?

not at all good						very good
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. How well do you expect to do in social studies next year?

not at all well						very well
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

In this section, think about what you have read for your social studies class DURING THIS UNIT on DETROIT, both during class and for homework.

17. In social studies class, how **good** are you at:	Please circle the number that applies to you						
	not at all good						very good
reading the texts your social studies teacher gives you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
learning new social studies vocabulary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
taking notes from teacher lectures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
writing social studies reports	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. In social studies class, how much do you **like**:	Please circle the number that applies to you						
	not at all						very much
reading the texts your social studies teacher gives you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
learning new social studies vocabulary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
taking notes from teacher lectures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
writing social studies reports	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. How **useful** are the following activities for helping you to **understand** social studies:	Please circle the number that applies to you						
	not at all useful						very useful
reading your social studies textbook	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
reading other texts your social studies teacher gives you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
learning new social studies vocabulary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
taking notes from teacher lectures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
writing social studies reports	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20. I found reading during this unit on Detroit hard when . . . (Check all that apply.)
__ I don't know much about the topic.
__ I don't get to choose what I read about.
__ I'm not reading the same things as my friends.
__ The topic is boring.
__ The text has too many new words.
__ The text has too many long words.
__ The text is too short.
__ The text is too long.
__ The topic is not meaningful to me
__ The material is not useful.

21. Do you think you have the ability to make a positive difference in your community?

Not at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very much 7

22. I feel as if I really don't belong in school.

Not at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very much 7

23. I wish I could drop out of school

Not at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very much 7

24. I try hard in school.

Not at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very much 7

25. How was learning about the history of Detroit, and focusing on a specific problem, different than what you usually do in social studies?

26. What did you like about this unit?

27. What did you not like about this unit?

28. In your opinion, is history useful? Why or why not? If it is, why should we study history?

29. What do you think about learning history to help us solve problems?

30. How do you feel about HOW we learned about Detroit… using film, articles, speakers, interviews, etc. and reading strategies? What helped you and what did not?

You're done! Thank you for helping us with these important questions.

Appendix B

TERRA Interview Protocol

Reading:

1. How often do you read just for fun in general? What sorts of things do you like to read?

2. Do you use the internet?

   Where and how often? What are your favorite websites? Why?

3. What sorts of things are you best at reading? Why do you read these things?

4. Do you see yourself as a reader? Why or why not?

5. Some people feel that reading and writing are very important skills to have in order to be a successful and happy person in the world, other people say it doesn't matter. What do you think about that?

Writing:

6. Do you write outside of school? What sorts of things do you write and why?

7. How often do you write for pleasure?

8. How good at writing are you? (Probe: not at all good… very good)

Social Studies:

9. Do you read newspapers?

   a. Why or why not?

   b. What types of newspaper articles do you find interesting?

10. Do you watch the news on TV?

    a. Why or why not?

    b. What programs?

    c. What types of TV news shows do you find interesting?

11. What do you think about your social studies classes? (Interviewer note: this is in general, i.e. this year, last year, lifetime)

12. What social studies class are you currently taking? (i.e. government, world history, economics, geography, etc..)

13. What are you currently learning about in social studies class?

    a. What does that have to do with your life?

14. What have you learned in your social studies classes that helps you understand

you own life and your community better?

15. What do you think are the main strengths and challenges of your community? In other words, what things about your community are you proud of and what things would you like to change?

16. What would you like to learn about your community?

Reading Process Interviews – TERRA

This protocol is to be used as a guide when talking with students as they participate in the reading process interview (RPI). The basic intent will be followed. However, questions will change to fit the text. Questions may also vary with based on how the student is responding to the activity. Not all of the questions listed for each section must be used. Use what is most appropriate and take cues from the student about how much they can/ are willing to answer.

You may also need to **prompt** students to find out more about what they tell you without "leading" them to think a certain way. You can use the prompts as appropriate to probe for information about the protocol questions. You can use your own prompts.

General prompts:
Tell me more about that.
You say that because…
What else do you know about this?
Why were you thinking about that?
What does that mean to you.
You said….. Id really like to know more about that.

The text for these RPIs will be chosen by the researcher. It will relate to the general topic of the research problem (current issues in urban areas) chosen by the participants, but will not be a text actually used in the project.

I. Preview Questions
At the beginning you need to find out what text the student is reading.

You will want to use starting and stopping points marked in the text. Tell the student ahead of time to stop at that marker to tell you what she is thinking about.

Book title
Author
What do you think this book will be about?
What makes you think that?
Have you read this text before?
When? What do you know about it?

II. First section of oral reading – both texts – Two sentences

Have the student read the first two or three sentences in the passage. (Where you ask the student to stop has to make sense; i.e. finish a complete thought).

What are you thinking about now?
Can you add to your earlier prediction about what the book (passage) will be about?
Why / how were you able to figure out more about what the text will be about?

III. Oral reading.

Have the student read a pre-determined section of the text orally.

Ask the student to read orally to the marked place and that you will ask them what they are thinking about when they get there. Also tell them that if they have something to say about the text, they can stop sooner than that to tell you whatever they want about the text.

Questions for after the oral reading:

Can you tell me what this part was about?
Is there anything important or interesting to you?
 Are there any parts you don't understand?
What kinds of things can you do/ did you do to help you understand better?

Were there any words you didn't understand?
What were they?
What did you do to try to figure them out?
What do you do when you come to a word you don't understand?
What do you think _____ means?

IV. Silent reading – Have the student finish the passage reading silently.

Again, pre-determine a stopping point.
Ask the student to read orally to the marked place and that you will ask them what they are thinking about when they get there. Also tell them that if they have something to say about the text, they can stop sooner than that to tell you whatever they want about the text.

Questions for after the silent reading:

Can you explain to me what this part was about?
What was the whole passage about? Can you summarize everything you read?
Is there anything important/interesting to you?
 Are there any parts you don't understand?
What kinds of things can you do/ did you do to help you understand better?

Were there any words you didn't understand?

What were they?
What do you think _____ Means?
What did you do to try to figure them out?
What do you do when you come to a word you don't understand?

Did you learn something in class about this already? Or did you read anything like this in school? Have you ever read anything similar?

Does this text remind you of anything?

Why do you think you are reading this? How might this text be helpful? (May or may not be appropriate)

This protocol is adapted from previous work done on the Adolescent Literacy Development Project (PI – Dr. Elizabeth Moje).

Appendix C

Text Analyses

Title	*The 1943 Detroit race riots*	*Michigan's greatest treasure- its people*	*Riots rocked Detroit 40 years ago today*	*The death - and possible life - of a great city*	*Detroit: City of Hope*	*Can farming take root in Detroit?*
Author and year	**Baulch & Zacharias, 1999**	**Baulch, 1999**	**Headlee, 2007**	**Okrent, 2009**	**Boggs, 2009**	**Collins, 2005**
Number of Words'	906	616	362	431	1328	361
Flesch Reading Ease Score (0-100) 100 = easiest	61.398	51.992	55.943	59.78	37.383	54.321
Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level	8.715	10.258	10.19	10.02	12	10.958
Mean hypernym values of nouns (lower= abstract)	5.253	4.602	5.252	4.615	4.812	5.604
Mean hypernym values of verbs (lower= abstract)	1.758	1.965	1.539	1.43	1.593	1.483
Mean # of words before main verb (higher= complex syntax)	4.214	4.444	5.789	10.714	4.79	6.941
Concrete-ness, mean for content words (higher= concrete)	416.27	391.292	405.748	374.079	399.07	464.667
Analysis of text in comparison to other texts in this set	**Easier than other texts in this sample at 9th grade level. Fairly concrete in terms of concepts.**	**10th grade level. Mid-range in reading ease, but more abstract or general for nouns.**	**10th grade level. Mid-range scores in reading ease, and fairly concrete nouns.**	**10th grade level. Mid-range in reading ease. More complex and abstract than others.**	**Most difficulty by Flesch-K, but not the most abstract.**	**10-11th grade level, Mid-range in reading ease. Abstract verbs.**

Appendix D

Detroit News – immigration history text and activity

Examples:

Definition:

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Non-examples (What it is not!):

Characteristics (what does it look like):
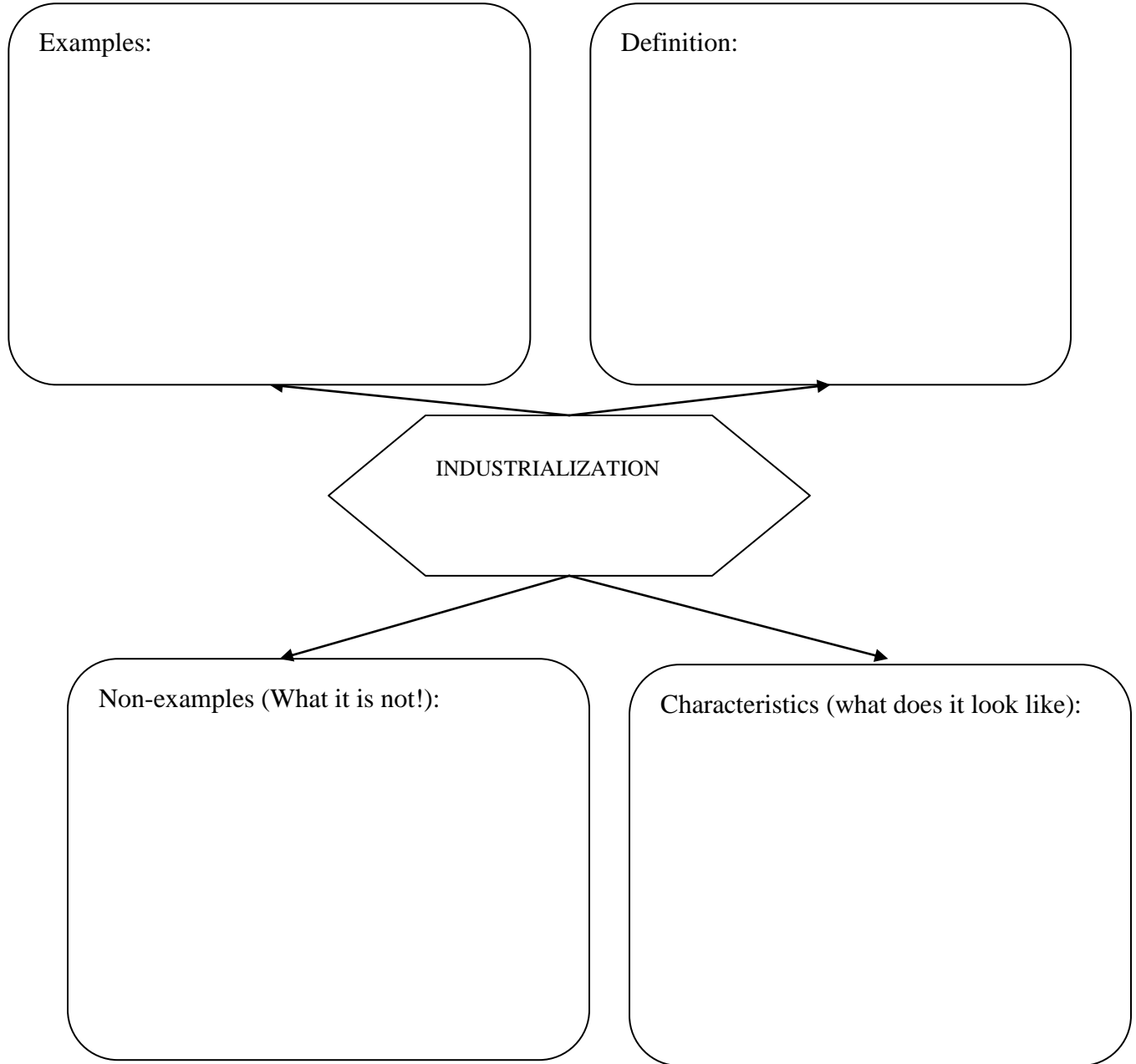
SO… WHAT IS <u>DE</u>INDUSTRIALIZATION THEN?

We are going to look a bit more at the earlier history of Detroit using parts of a newspaper article from the Detroit News. I cut some parts of the article out to make it a quicker read. Answer the questions below. We will do some together, and some you will do on your own.

1) Read the title and skim over the pictures. What do you think this article is going to be about?

2) Now skim the underlined and bold faced phrases. Why do you think these things are underlined or put in bold type (I did this… not the author… what am I trying to get you to look at?)

3) Now read the whole article. Try to summarize it in one or two sentences.

4) What do you think are the most important details in the article?

5) What sorts of things brought people to the Detroit area?

6) What types of information does the article provide about Latinos? How is this information different than what is provided about other groups?

7) Where did many of the European groups move to over time as described in the article?

8) Does the article tell you why they moved?

9) Why do you think the article left this information out? What else is missing from this article?

10) Why do you think this article was written?

11) What can we learn from this source? What does it tell us which helps us answer our main question for this week…. How did Detroit change over the past 100 years and why?

We'll do this part together… what have we learned over the past couple of days?

Detroit's Changing Population

Detroit's Changing Population
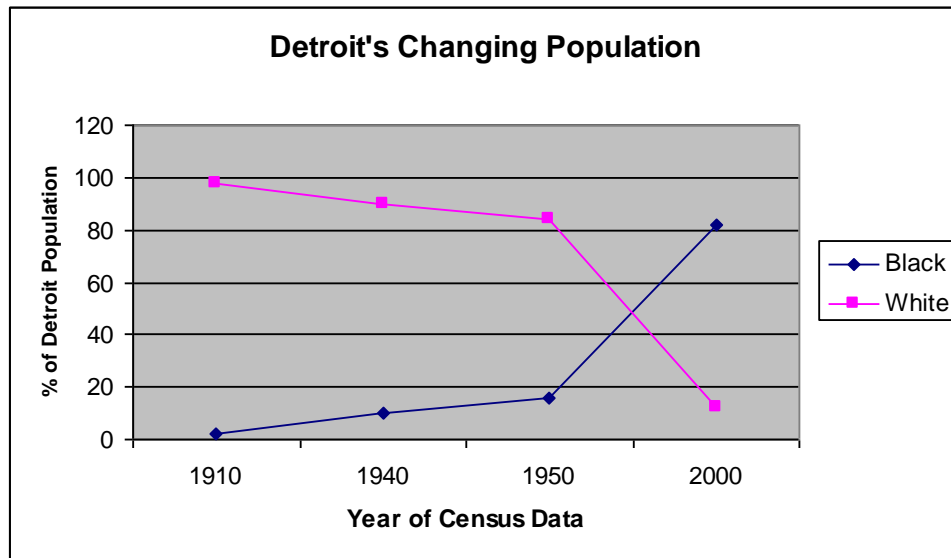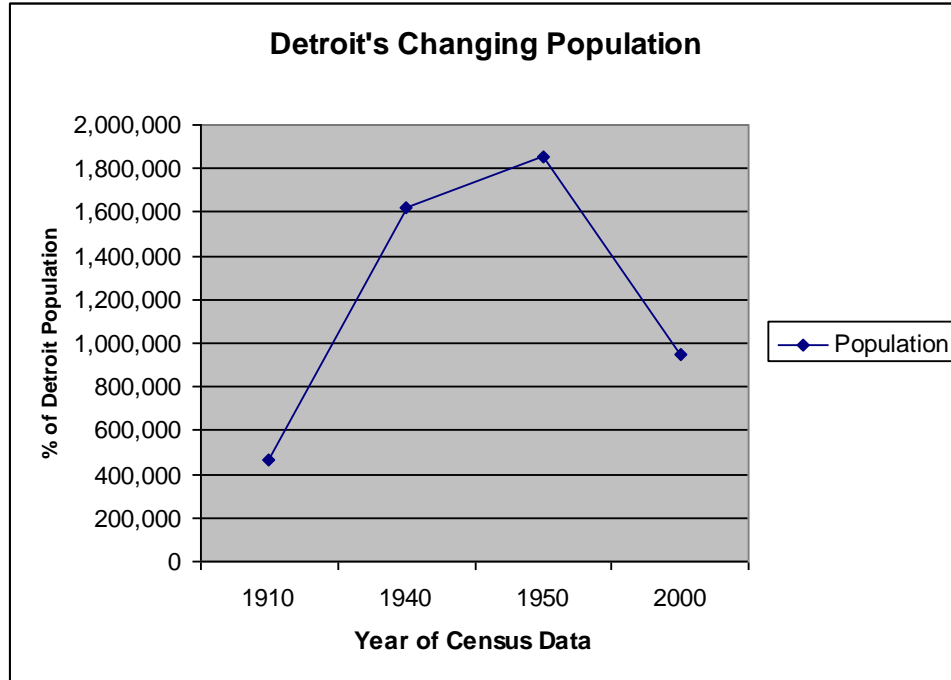
What's going on here?

_____

Michigan's greatest treasure -- its people

By Vivian M. Baulch / The Detroit News, Saturday, September 4, 1999

Since the days when the British and French fought each other for the right to displace the native American Indians, scores of nationalities and races have moved in, attracted first by Michigan's abundance of fresh water and natural resources, and later by good-paying jobs.

During the 19th century Michigan was an important stop on the Underground Railroad and many runaway slaves decided to make their homes here. Today, 14 percent of Michigan's population is African-American.

The first sizeable black migration into Michigan began in the 1840s, and by 1850, 2,583 blacks lived in Detroit.

The industrialization of Detroit and the rise of the auto industry in the 20th century lured southern blacks -- and whites as well -- from hard-scrabble Southern farms with the promise of a better life. Detroit's black population ballooned from 5,741 in 1910 to 200,000 by 1943.

 They first settled on the near east side in an area called Black Bottom because of its rich, dark soil. They set up stores, nightclubs and restaurants where blacks and whites mixed easily. The area thrived until the 1960s when it was wiped out by construction of the Chrysler Freeway, but not before a unique style of music developed that the city shared with a generation of Americans -- Motown.

A fourth of the population in **metro Detroit** claims German heritage, a million in Michigan as a whole. During the middle of the 1800s Michigan needed farmers and settlers to help the state grow and hired promoters and printed pamphlets proclaiming the glories of the state. Representatives sent to New York and as far away as Germany and Bavaria sought to attract hardworking citizens to the state. Germans, who were viewed at the time as religious, well educated and prosperous, were heavily recruited and thousands came. These early German settlers played a large role in developing the state's education system.

Many retained their German language and customs in the new world, creating problems for the community during the First World War. Laws were passed by suspicious legislators requiring their newspapers to be printed in English instead of German. In Detroit Germans settled on the east side along Gratiot.. A few settled along Michigan Avenue. *Many later moved to Macomb County*.

About 850,000 ethnic Poles live **near Detroit**, centering around Hamtramck. One and a half million Michiganians claim Polish heritage, the largest group of all. A great wave came in the late 1800s and early 1900s, with many Poles attracted to Detroit by Henry Ford's offer of $5-a-day jobs in 1914. Many settled near Canfield and developed a strong

Catholic heartland, constructing magnificent churches. Sweetest Heart of Mary, built in 1892, and St. Albertus, built in 1884, are only a block apart. Some later moved to the west side, near St. Hyacinth, then on to Dearborn. ***Others moved east to Warren, Sterling Heights and elsewhere in Macomb County.***

The next largest groups, the Irish and the Italians, claim 500,000 and 400,000 respectively. The potato famine of the mid-1800s drove many Irish to seek a new life in America. In Detroit, they settled in the Corktown region just west of downtown, quickly assimilating and strengthening Detroit's Catholic underpinning. St. Patrick's Day is still a huge tradition in Detroit, and Michigan's political history is riddled by Irish names.

Many Italians settled on the east side around Eastern Market near St. Elizabeth and Holy Family churches. ***Many later moved eastward and into Macomb County.***

Hispanics in Michigan numbered 160,000 in the 1990 Census, and comprise the largest foreign language-speaking group in the state. In 1999, they accounted for 44 percent of new immigrants, ***many settling around what has become known as Mexicantown,*** a popular restaurant district west of Corktown.

Immigration in Michigan slowed to a trickle in 1924, when the United States limited the influx of foreigners to only 164,000 per year, fewer than 20 percent from Southern Europe, and none from Asia. This quota system was not relaxed until 1968.

In 1999, Asians accounted for 26 percent of new Michigan immigrants. In the 1990s, the Asian population ***around Detroit*** grew to more than 55,000. This group, including Indians, Koreans, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos, are generally well-educated and live in affluent communities in the ***metro area***.

http://info.detnews.com/redesign/history/story/historytemplate.cfm?id=109

(This story was compiled using clip and photo files of the Detroit News.)

Census Data Graphic Organizer

Detroit Demographics Over Time

	Date/Year	Detail / Statistic #1	Detail / Statistic #2	Detail / Statistic #3	Notes on change:
Census Table 1	1910	740,354 223,412 (465,766)	150,488 152,393 86,733 303,311 303,561 465,116	2,435 2,756 5,741	There was more white than Black people
Census Table 2	1920	1,349,568	1,543,747	30,1506	The population went up (for both)
Census Table 3	2000	951,270	(2.3%) 116,000	81.6% 779,000	more black than white
What will the future look like? Make a prediction:					

Appendix F

After school coding notes - samples

Date	Activity and text	Text	Topic	Before	During	After	Pedagogical moves
4.19	List group label on why city is the way it is Movement, checking for understanding Brainstorming Whole group processing of ideas, guiding and probing question Revoicing Analogy… problem framing analogous to medical diagnosis, medical history Probing their thinking and vocabulary, other ways to talk about how something starts Redirect them into brainstorming causes and effects Sticky notes, pick key ideas, write on notes, place in cause or effect or solution column on board Processing out loud, asking students to defend or explain their choices Probing prior knowledge about how we got here, building purpose for rest of	Use of board Graphic organizer Student lists	Problem/ Solution framework History as account Urban blight in Detroit, intro	List/Group/ Label Use of board	Students working in small groups to generate lists of ideas Sticky notes on board to organize ideas	Use of graphic organizer to frame their own ideas	List group label Graphic organizer Revoicing Analogies Whole group to small group and back to whole group Use of sticky note organizing Academic press – asking students to explain their thinking

learning, setting the problem Brief lecture on what historians do, reference back to medical analogy Analogy… studying a history, buying a car, need to question sources and look at different sources of information Framing them as knowledgeable about the problem					

Appendix G

Classroom coding notes overview

#	Text	Topic	Before	During	After
1	• Use of board • Graphic organizer • Student lists	• Problem/ Solution framework • History as account • Urban blight in Detroit, introduction	• List/Group/ Label • Use of board	• Students working in small groups to generate lists of ideas • Sticky notes on board to organize ideas	• Use of graphic organizer to frame their own ideas
2	• Board • Graphic organizer • Census data handouts • From 1900, 1950, 2006	• Urban blight • Problem/solution • Framework • How has population changed • Census data	• Use of board to review ideas from day before • Finish graphic organizer from day before • Questioning them to explain their answers • Probing prior knowledge and ideas… why should you care • Set purpose with question… how has city changed and why, predict	• Group work • Checking for understanding • Think alouds and modeling • Use of board • Use of graphic organizer to help them organize and compare data	• Checking up on predictions • Summarizing • Connecting to next instruction • We'll see if this prediction is right and learn more about this
3	• Film, Los Repatriados	• Immigration, history of Mexican immigration and repression in Detroit	• Probing prior knowledge with questions • Review of questions	• Use of viewing guide	• Discussion of questions and impressions from movie

			• to set purpose for viewing		
4	• Detroit News article on history of immigration and population of Detroit	• Historical background, settlement and growth of Detroit in late 1880s to early 1900s	• Review of questions to set purpose for viewing • Vocabulary preview, vocabulary building…. Industrialization, building a shared understanding • Setting purpose for reading, checking for prior knowledge	• Chunked reading • Shared reading out loud, transitioning into reading with partners and use of reading guide • Checking for understanding, clarifying questions • Increasingly complex questions	• Mini-lecture on immigration and economy • Review of answers • Discussion of what was missing, questioning of account, modeling of critical reading and questions
8	• Document packet on Detroit Riots, excerpts of newspaper stories and first person account from 1967	• New Jersey into Detroit • Detroit Riots of 1967	• Disciplinary thinking, history as account • Set up for document analysis • Building of cause and effect language, awareness • How do we know when someone is talking writing about cause and effect	• Guided reading • Reading guide • Think aloud modeling • Probing questions • Graphic organizers • Paired reading	• Visualization • Historical empathy • How would you feel

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