

The Implications of Expert Reading Strategies in Political Science for Reading in Secondary
School Civics

by

Michael J. Feldman

An executive position paper submitted to the faculty of
Wilmington University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Michael J. Feldman

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standards required by Wilmington University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.

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Abstract

This executive position paper (EPP) identifies differences between political scientists and historians in the way they read the texts of their disciplines and offers a set of recommendations to enhance the literacy routines enacted in Delaware's ninth-grade civics course. To uncover these differences, an expert reader study was conducted with two university political scientists, the reading protocols from those sessions were analyzed and compared to the results of the expert reader studies conducted by Wineburg (1991a, 1998) and Shanahan, Shanahan, and Misischia (2011). Recommendations for modifications to the ninth-grade civics course and the Delaware Recommended Curriculum (DRC) for Social Studies were based on those comparisons and the current literature on disciplinary literacy. Recommendations include: 1) articulating and pervasively communicate a coherent vision for disciplinary literacy in social studies for all students in Delaware.; 2) designing a framework for a disciplinary literacy approach to teaching Delaware's social studies standards that addresses the needs of all students; 3) adopting the apprenticeship approach to integrating disciplinary literacy instruction into social studies subject area classes; 4) providing persistent, ongoing professional learning opportunities for administrators, specialists, and teachers across the state; 5) developing lessons for the DRC that advance the apprenticeship model for teaching disciplinary literacy and the state's social studies standards; 6) conducting further research into the inquiry-based reading practices of the social studies subject areas.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wife, Andrea, whose unwavering support for my work and her incredible commitment to our son Jackson, who was born in the middle of this project, has been and continues to be a source of inspiration and motivation in all areas of my life. I could not have done this without you and I am eternally grateful.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
Chapter	
I Introduction	
Background.....	1
Civics Connection to Political Science.....	10
Statement of the Problem.....	14
Purpose of the Study.....	14
Need for the Study.....	14
Research Questions.....	15
Definition of Terms.....	15
II Research Review	
Search Strategy and Inclusion Criteria.....	17
Organization of the Literature Review.....	18
Theoretical Framework for Disciplinary Literacy.....	19
Disciplinary Literacy Pedagogy.....	35
Reading Like a Historian.....	53
Delaware's Civics Curriculum.....	61

III	Methodology and Results	
	Expert Reader Model.....	70
	Think-Aloud Methodology.....	73
	Methods.....	76
	Results.....	82
	Discussion.....	103
	Limitations.....	107
	Recommendations.....	109
	Conclusion.....	117
	References.....	119
	Appendices	
	A Set of Documents Used in This Study.....	131
	B. Directions for Think-Aloud Session.....	135

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of Differences Found in Disciplinary Reading Processes.....	107
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List of Figures

Figure 1: The increasing specialization of literacy development.....	23
Figure 2: Continuum from less- to more-disciplinary texts.....	44
Figure 3: Distribution of think-aloud reading comments by code.....	83

Chapter I

Introduction

Background

The high school civics course that is part of the Delaware Recommended Curriculum (DRC) is the culmination of the state's formal citizenship education program. That course, which the state recommends for ninth grade, is framed by four standards that spiral in complexity through grades K-12. The four high school standards combine to form a set of expectations that blend learning expectations associated with both traditional civics education [Standards 3 and 4] and a course on government [Standards 1 and 2]. From the government side, Civics Standard One at the high school level challenges students to understand the influences that history, culture, values, and ideology have on the structures and purposes adopted by countries around the world. Civics Standard Two expects students to analyze the extra-constitutional role that political parties play in American democracy and the extent to which the formal balances of power framed by our Constitution have stimulated, yet constrained change over time. Turning attention to civics, Civics Standard Three expects high school students to understand the participatory responsibilities of democratic citizenship (keeping informed about public policy issues, participating in the civic process, and upholding the laws of the land). Finally, Civics Standard Four challenges teachers to empower students with the knowledge and skills necessary to work with government programs or agencies and within a political party or citizen's group.

The state of Delaware formally adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) for English language arts (ELA) and mathematics in the 2010-2011 school year (State of Delaware, 2010). Entire sections of the newly adopted CCSS for ELA were entire sections specifically devoted to literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical subjects for grades 6

through 12 (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010). The state's adoption of explicit requirements for teaching reading and writing in social studies classrooms formally expanded the responsibility for literacy instruction beyond the traditional walls of ELA classrooms. This layered a set of reading and writing standards onto the state's content standards for civics, economics, history, and geography that guided middle and high school social studies instruction for over a decade (State of Delaware, 2018c).

Layering disciplinary literacy standards onto established social studies content standards created a new framework of expectations for teaching those subject areas that required social studies teachers to engage in literacy instruction that prepares students for the academic rigors of college while continuing to teach the required social studies content (Reisman, 2017). This new framework challenged social studies teachers to lean away from a reliance on traditional, lecture-based, direct content instruction toward instructional strategies that developed students' disciplinary literacy skills through close, analytical reading of complex disciplinary texts (Hynd-Shanahan, 2013). The integration of content and literacy instruction can be difficult for social studies teachers who often lack background in literacy instruction and whose teaching and professional learning experiences have fostered belief systems that draw sharp distinctions between instruction in reading and content. According to Shanahan and Shanahan (2014), given past efforts to merge literacy and subject area instruction at the secondary level, belief in this separation is understandable.

The concerns about adolescent reading proficiency that gave rise to the CCSS in Literacy must be viewed as a point on a continuum of historic efforts to address the specific challenges of reading instruction after the primary grades. Analysis of literature on adolescent literacy reveals

that the movement to integrate literacy instruction in the content areas in secondary schools has deep historical roots (Jacobs, 2008). Since as far back as 1900, educators have wrestled with questions about the role of reading instruction at the middle and high school levels. Over the past 50 years, reform efforts like the Right to Read Campaign and its “every teacher a teacher of reading” slogan attempted to expand the scope of literacy instruction beyond ELA classrooms. In those expansion efforts, educators, researchers, and policymakers “experimented with strategies designed to help students learn to read and write with proficiency in the subject areas” (Moje, 2008, p. 97). As Jacobs (2008) detailed in her analysis of the evolution of literacy instruction, those experimentations coalesced, beginning in the 1970s, into the content area literacy movement.

The first content area literacy textbook, Herber’s *Teaching Reading in Content Areas* was published in 1970 (Herber, 1970). By the early 1980s at least twenty content area reading texts had been published (Jacobs, 2008; Ross, 2014). Content area literacy’s approach to reading instruction is based on the belief that the best way to tackle adolescent reading deficiencies is to advance the integration of a generic set of reading and writing strategies across secondary subject area courses. Typically, this integration takes the form of school leaders launching a school- or district-wide initiative expecting subject area teachers to add a prearranged set of generic literacy strategies into their content-based lessons. To support those efforts, subject area teachers are offered a content area literacy book of strategies and language arts-focused professional learning sessions, often led by a reading specialist or a member of the ELA department (Dobbs, Ippolito, & Charner-Laird, 2016). However, neither the professional learning nor content area literacy texts have offered teachers much insight into ways they can embed reading and skill instruction within their subject area’s learning goals. Content area teachers who have experienced this

approach “do not see the seamless integration of appropriate literacy practices as an option because most don’t think like that” (Gillis, 2014, p. 615). Instead, they are focused on student mastery of their subject area’s content. To overcome this challenge, districts have connected social studies and other subject area teachers with reading specialists; however, those collaborations proved futile because those specialists often expressed that they “did not possess the requisite prior knowledge to teach students how to read or write in science, social studies, or mathematics” (Gillis, 2014, p. 621). This impasse has fostered ineffectual beliefs among secondary social studies teachers about their roles and responsibilities in developing adolescent literacy skills. As a result, content area literacy initiatives often floundered (Gillis, 2014).

Moreover, early studies of the content area literacy approach showed only moderate effects on student comprehension and subsequent research found that adolescent reading achievement has remained stagnant (Dobbs et al., 2016). At the dawn of Delaware’s adoption of the CCSS in 2010, over two-thirds of the state’s eighth graders performed at or below basic reading levels (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013). These scores were consistent with national data that also identified over two-thirds of students in middle and high schools as struggling readers of texts in academic content areas (Fang & Coatoam, 2013). Longitudinally, these data represent one part of a persistent trend of flat or declining adolescent reading scores on national tests (Moje, 2008). The disconnect between research, practice, and student achievement data limited subject area teacher adoption of content area literacy strategies and reinforced their beliefs that reading instruction was an unwelcome add-on to their content-based lessons (Jacobs, 2008).

Despite teacher resistance and limited empirical support for the content area literacy approach, the literacy community’s devotion to the combination of heavy investment in primary-

grade reading instruction and a content area literacy approach to adolescent reading did not wane. It took a series of highly influential research reports and policy documents to instigate a shift in the community's approach to addressing adolescent literacy deficiencies (Buehl, 2017). National reports like *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) and annual *Report Cards* from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in the early 2000s questioned the effectiveness of the content area literacy approach and "raised concern about the ability of the nation's youth to participate productively in a workforce that was facing an increasingly complex world economy" (Jacobs, 2008, p. 8). More recently, a 2007 Alliance for Excellent Education Report called for increased federal investment in professional learning "designed to help all middle and high school teachers provide effective literacy instruction" (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2007, p. 3) and suggested increased research into strategies to improve adolescent literacy. The report claimed that "most [teachers] devote little, if any, class time to showing students, explicitly what it means to be a good reader or writer in the given subject area" (p.3). It went on to say that the general approach to literacy instruction after the early grades leads "students to believe that all academic texts are more or less the same, as though the reading students do in math class were identical to the reading they do in history" (Southern Regional Education Board, 2009, p. 5). In 2009, the Southern Regional Education Board found that teachers "considered themselves responsible for teaching their subject only – not for teaching students reading skills" (Southern Regional Education Board, 2009, p. 5) and that subject area teachers often "resisted efforts to incorporate reading instruction into their courses for fear that they are being asked to become 'reading teachers'. The report further stated that there was a distinct difference between asking a teacher to become a reading teacher and expecting them to them to support students in mastering the texts within the teacher's own

subject area.

Policy documents well into the early 2000s all agreed that subject area teachers should not be expected to teach basic reading, but that they are uniquely positioned to help students develop strategies and skills for understanding the texts of their discipline. This critical mass of policy documents advocating for a change in the approach to adolescent literacy spawned a groundswell of research examining the literacy practices experts used in pursuit of disciplinary knowledge (Buehl, 2017). As the nation moved through the first decade of the twenty-first century, “concerns over adolescents’ persistent academic underperformance. . . refueled the debate over effective ways to promote academic literacy in content areas” (Fang & Coatoam, 2013, p. 627).

To many literacy researchers the evidence was clear (Zygouris-Coe, 2012). Generalized approaches to adolescent literacy development in the content areas “whereby content teachers ‘sprinkle’ their content with generic literacy strategies [had] neither been received nor implemented well, nor have they improved the ever-alarming crisis in adolescent literacy” (Zygouris-Coe, 2012, p. 37). In 2008, researchers Shanahan and Shanahan directly challenged the content area literacy approach and offered a new framework for adolescent literacy development known as disciplinary literacy. They argued that efforts to integrate literacy instruction into the content areas failed to advance adolescent literacy performance because we “spent a century of education beholden [to a] generalist notion of literacy learning – the idea that if we just provide adequate basic skills... kids with adequate background knowledge will be able to read anything successfully” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 41). Shanahan and Shanahan (2012) claimed that content area literacy’s remedy for adolescent reading ills, a cocktail of deepened background knowledge and generic reading skills, was built upon the faulty premise

that the “cognitive requirements of learning and interpreting any kind of text are pretty much the same, no matter the subject matter” (p. 8). As a result, content area literacy proponents treated differences across the subject area classes solely as a matter of content and neglected the discipline-specific literacy challenges inherent to secondary classrooms. By the time students reached middle and high school and were confronted with complex disciplinary texts, literacy instruction had either evaporated altogether or “degenerated into a reiteration of general reading strategies most likely to benefit only the lowest functioning students” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 45). Shanahan and Shanahan claimed that this approach “becomes increasingly problematic as students advance through the grades because the literacy skills and texts are highly specialized and require actions that are relatively unique” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 57).

In order to better support the reading of older students, Shanahan and Shanahan argued that literacy instruction needed to be expanded upward through the grade levels. That expansion should include advanced, discipline-specific literacy instruction, embedded within content area classes, to account for the increasingly discipline-specific, technical texts and literacy tasks taken at that level. Moving to a disciplinary literacy approach to adolescent reading development requires the formulation of a literacy curriculum for secondary content area teachers that “directly guides students to better meet the particular demands of reading and writing in the disciplines than has been provided by traditional conceptions of content-area reading” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 57). To turn disciplinary literacy theory into reality, literacy researchers and disciplinary experts must work together to identify the discipline-specific, high school-appropriate literacy skills upon which those curriculums can be built. This is a challenge when many in the literacy community remain devoted to the content area literacy approach and are

skeptical of the disciplinary literacy's nascent research foundation.

Over the past few decades, the publication of literacy test scores comparing literacy levels of this generation of American students to previous generations and students in other countries as drawn public concern. Concerns about adolescent literacy deficiencies fed the widespread fear that the United States is not producing enough technologically literate workers for the new realities of the twenty-first century global economy (Collin, 2014). Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) argued that although the content area reading approach to literacy instruction was once able to produce a “sufficiently educated population for the nation’s economic needs” (p.41) the changing demands of the knowledge-based workplace have “increased the need for advanced literacy in America’s economic, social, and civic life” (p.56). Collin (2014) argued that many believe the decline in student achievement and the demand for high-tech workers is exaggerated, these concerns “fuel important debates over how and why literacy instruction should be reformed” (p. 308). Shanahan and Shanahan (2012) and others argue that disciplinary literacy’s emphasis on discipline-specific practices must be part of that reformation (Fang & Coatoam, 2013; Moje, 2008). Disciplinary literacy proponents argue that the literacy skills students need “become more specialized over time, progressing from basic to intermediate and finally to disciplinary literacy skills that more closely mirror the unique communication tools, patterns, and demands of varying disciplinary communities” (Dobbs et al., 2016, p. 131). Shanahan and Shanahan’s 2008 study was part of a burgeoning body of research on disciplinary literacy that has produced valuable insight into the ways subject area teachers can help students to engage with complex disciplinary texts that advance stagnant adolescent literacy levels and empower them to “meet sophisticated college and career literacy demands with discipline-specific strategies” (Faggella-Luby, Graner, Deshler, & Drew, 2012, p. 71). The assumption that

the specialized literacy practices of university-level disciplinary experts should be promoted in secondary classrooms became the part of the research underpinnings of the Common Core Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, & Technical Subjects for grades 6 through 12 (CCSS-HST) (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010).

For Delaware’s high school civics teachers, implementing the disciplinary literacy approach required by the CCSS-HST means teaching students the “specialized ways of reading, understanding, and thinking” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014, p. 636) practiced by university experts in their academic discipline and related professional workplaces. This is complicated for a subject area that has traditionally focused on fostering the literacy skills necessary to participate in everyday civic, not necessarily, academic or professional life. The CCSS-HST standards provide a structure for literacy implementation in social studies; however, based on this study’s literature review, that structure is built upon a foundation of research conducted solely in the area of history. This is problematic for Delaware’s social studies teachers who are also expected to design instruction to meet the state’s civics, economics, and geography content standards. Since Delaware’s adoption of the CCSS-HST standards in 2010, teachers of the non-history social studies disciplines have been forced to generalize the literacy strategies and skills specialized to history to the other social studies domains they teach. These attempts not only belie the discipline-specific foundation of the disciplinary literacy theory; they have also perpetuated secondary social studies teacher resistance to integrating literacy instruction in their classrooms.

As indicated earlier, Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) argued that much of the past resistance to literacy integrations [i.e. embedding reading and writing instruction in subject area

classes] was rooted in concerns that generic content area literacy strategies did not match well with the differences in how content was actually read or presented across secondary subject areas. They speculated that “an emphasis on disciplinary literacy may overcome that kind of resistance because the reading practices promoted by disciplinary literacy are actually drawn from the disciplines themselves rather than being imposed on them by the reading community” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014, p. 628). This resonates with Delaware’s history teachers who implement reading practices drawn from the research on disciplinary literacy in history; however, to date we lack the research offering evidence that those same practices match well with the state’s expectations for civics, economics, and geography. To determine the extent to which the disciplinary literacy skills in history are generalizable to other social studies disciplines or content areas it is necessary to compare expert reader studies conducted in history (Wineburg, 1991a, 1998) to disciplinary experts in those other areas. Given that civics is an initiative within the discipline of political science and not the discipline itself, it is reasonable to substitute civics as the proxy and investigate possible disciplinary literacy associated with civics. Of particular interest to this researcher is uncovering the discipline-specific reading strategies and routines practiced by experts in political science to gain insight into what it means to read through the disciplinary lens of political science and the implications for teaching disciplinary literacy in high school civics classes.

Civics Connection to Political Science

In keeping with the characteristics of an academic discipline identified by Krishnan (2009), the study of civics is not a discipline. Although one can find a body of specialized knowledge, theories, and concepts related to civics, they will not find post-secondary academic departments or undergraduate, graduate, or PhD programs of study dedicated to teaching and

researching civics. While the CCSS-HST provided the impetus for integrating college and career literacy standards, in order to effectively implement disciplinary literacy in civics classrooms beyond tangential connections to CCSS-HST standards, it is necessary to clarify the connection between the subject of civics in high school to the post-secondary discipline of political science.

The relationship between modern K-12 civics education and the post-secondary academic discipline of political science can be traced to the Progressive Movement in the early 1900s (Rogers, 2017). The emergence of the discipline of political science as a new, distinct academic field of study at research universities was a byproduct of the Progressive Movement's municipal government reforms. When the national association for political scientists, the American Political Science Association (APSA), was formed in 1903 it set three goals: "the study of government and its origins, the use of empirical methods, and the preparation of good citizens" (Rogers, 2017, p. 75). From the start, association members questioned the compatibility of studying government through objective empirical methods and the normative positions necessary to teach good citizenship. Nevertheless, civic advocates within the discipline won the initial debate and the APSA set citizenship education as a goal for the discipline of political science. The inclusion of civics classes in K-12 education started as an initiative within the discipline of political science to promote the teaching and learning of citizenship.

According to Rogers's (2017) *History of Civic Education in Political Science*, America reached a golden age for civics education in the mid-twentieth century. Political scientists actively contributed to the development of a three-semester civics education program for high schools, they routinely participated in secondary school civics instruction projects, and successfully made civics an integral part of the social studies school curriculum. Despite these early successes, political scientists' commitment to the movement eventually waned. The

difficulties they experienced achieving the goal of teaching good citizenship while avoiding excess controversy resurfaced old compatibility concerns and fueled civic naysayers within the discipline. For the remainder of the twentieth century, political scientists shifted their efforts away from civics education toward establishing the discipline as a legitimate science and developing the discipline's PhD roster. What remained of the connection between K-12 civics and political science was a "sterilized, fact-based civics education primarily in national government" (Rogers, 2017, p. 79).

The first decade and a half of the twenty-first century has witnessed a revival in political science's interest in civics education. Rogers (2017) credits this revival to higher education's transition to service learning and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) movement that requires academic disciplines to research and publish how best to teach their disciplines. The natural connection between service learning and promoting greater civic engagement moved political scientists to look beyond using traditional, lecture-based approaches to disciplinary instruction. As this reflection was taking place on college campuses, the APSA became the formal sponsor of the *Journal of Political Science Education* and adopted a new mission statement that recommitted to themselves to advancing civics education. According to Rogers, to overcome the fitful and episodic history between civics and political science, civics education needed an ecology that included a partnership between political science and civics educators. He concluded that

having emerged from our disciplinary cocoon, political science is well-poised to become the information expert in the teaching and understanding of the civic education and engagement processes [and] the driving force promoting a more vibrant civic ecology in the twenty-first century. (p. 89)

If, as literacy researchers, including the Shanahans, recommend, teachers in K-12 settings are to apprentice students into using disciplinary literacy skills, connections must be drawn between secondary school subjects that do not meet the criteria of an academic discipline. While political science is the discipline, civics is its primary proxy in K-12 education. Journell, Beeson, and Ayers (2015) point out that it is not unusual for secondary civics courses to be framed around content-based instruction in government and the virtues of democratic citizenship, “as opposed to a discipline in which students use specific tools and ways of thinking that mimic those used by professionals within that discipline” (Journell et al., 2015. P. 28). Journell and his colleagues called for “an increased emphasis on disciplinary knowledge in civics and government courses, specifically knowledge that utilizes the tools and methodologies of political scientists” (Journell et al., 2015, p. 28).” Their 2015 study found that political thinking is not innate and if we want students to become critical consumers of political information, “they need to practice ways of critically thinking about the political world around them” (Journell et al., 2015, p. 54). Designing civics instruction that helps students become critical consumers of political knowledge and better understand how experts construct that knowledge, must be informed by the literacy strategies and routines practiced by experts in the political science discipline. The application of the term disciplinary literacy to civics captures the intent of disciplinary literacy research in a subject that is not specifically an academic discipline unto itself. This researcher believes that drawing this connection will positively contribute to the development of the civic ecology Rogers (2017) espouses by strengthening the connection between the study of civics in high school to the discipline of political science.

Statement of the Problem

To this point, research on disciplinary literacy in social studies has concentrated on the discipline of history. Studies have identified how experts in history read differently than novices (Wineburg, 1991a), compared the reading expertise of historians of differing specialties to one another (Wineburg, 1998), and compared the reading practices of historians to those performed in disciplines outside the social studies subject areas (Shanahan et al., 2011). The CCSS-HST are built upon a framework for disciplinary literacy learning rooted in the specialized reading routines of historians and generalized to the other social studies disciplines. The extent to which experts in political scientists differ from historians in their approach to reading the texts of their discipline and the implications those differences have for disciplinary literacy instruction in high school civics remains unknown.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to determine whether experts in political science differ from historians in how they read disciplinary texts and if they do, begin uncovering the specialized practices so that they are available to K-12 educators. Those findings will be used to formulate a specific set of recommendations for the Delaware Recommended Curriculum (DRC) for ninth-grade civics.

Need for the Study

This study will assist district and school administrators, curriculum specialists, social studies teachers, and social studies leaders from around the state of Delaware in determining the literacy strategies needed for teaching and learning disciplinary literacy in civics in high school. The adoption of the CCSS-HST provided the initial impetus for the state's disciplinary literacy movement; however, as those implementations have evolved, cracks in the Common Core's

framework for disciplinary literacy in social studies and the DRC for civics have been exposed. Those cracks have limited state and district attempts to expand disciplinary literacy practices authentically beyond history-based approaches.

Despite those limitations, high school civics teachers in Delaware continue to be challenged to adapt the existing civics lessons in the DRC or design their own lessons that concurrently foster understanding of the state's civics standards as well develop literacy skills specific to civics. Teacher attempts to meet this challenge have persisted despite the lack of civics-specific disciplinary literacy research to draw upon. The findings of this study will provide much needed research for teachers, administrators, and social studies curriculum leaders to utilize in crafting better-informed disciplinary literacy programs in high school civics classrooms.

Research Questions

The research questions that will guide this study are:

1. How do experts in political science differ from historians in how they read disciplinary texts?
2. What are the implications for teaching students to read disciplinary texts from political science in high school civics classrooms?

Definition of Terms

Academic discipline. A field of study or branch of knowledge and learning that is taught or researched at the college or university level.

Content area. A domain of knowledge and skill in an academic program. Term is used synonymously with subject or subject area.

Content area literacy. An approach to integrated literacy instruction that emphasizes a generic set of study skills and techniques that novices can use to make sense of or remember information from texts across subject areas (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012). This is also known as a content area reading or general strategy instruction.

Disciplinary literacy. An approach to advanced literacy instruction embedded within content area classes that emphasizes the unique strategies that experts in the discipline use to engage in the work of that discipline (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012).

Heuristic. Wineburg (1991a) defined heuristics as “sense-making activities [that help] their user resolve contradictions, see patterns, and make distinctions among different types of evidence (p. 77).” The heuristics historians used while reading will guide the comparison with the expert readers in political science in this study.

Text. In social studies, “texts” include primary and secondary sources, a written passage, graphs, charts, tables, maps, survey data, photographs, artwork, or other sources authentic to the discipline under study.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Introduction

Empowering adolescents with the specialized literacy practices and habits of mind necessary to move in and out of the complex web of discourse communities in school and everyday life is at the heart of literacy in the twenty-first century. Increasingly, researchers refer to these specialized literacy practices, as well as the knowledge of how and when to use them in each community, as disciplinary literacy. This literature review was an opportunity to explore the theoretical framework of disciplinary literacy, what distinguishes it from a content area literacy approach to adolescent literacy, the emergent research on disciplinary literacy pedagogy, and the challenges to implementing disciplinary literacy pedagogy in high school classrooms. Critical analysis was applied to these findings and recommendations for designing disciplinary literacy instruction embedded in high school civics as put forth in this executive position paper.

Search Strategy and Inclusion Criteria

The search for relevant research for this literature review was conducted by gathering peer-reviewed academic journal articles and published books available through the University of Delaware's *DELICAT Discovery* search engine or through its *Interlibrary Loan System*. The databases accessed included primarily *WorldCat*, *JSTOR*, and *Academic OneFile*. The use of these tools also prompted wider searches for research articles using *Google Scholar*. The search terms used to gather peer-reviewed literature for this review included, but were not limited to: disciplinary literacy, adolescent literacy, content area literacy, disciplinary literacy pedagogy, disciplinary literacy instruction, disciplinary literacy in social studies, history, and civics. The citations and reference pages from journal articles also provided fertile ground for finding

frequently cited scholarly research, as well as important policy documents and government reports.

Before the review, two caveats are in order. First, this executive position paper focused on advancing a disciplinary literacy approach in Delaware's high school civics classrooms. While other fields, such as science and mathematics education, are working to address questions of disciplinary literacy, this review limited its investigation to literacy research related to social studies education. Second, although differences of opinion exist among literacy scholars who advocate for the disciplinary literacy approach, this review primarily focused on the four scholars who are the most prominent and frequently cited proponents of disciplinary literacy related to social studies education: Shanahan and Shanahan, Moje, and Wineburg.

Organization of the Literature Review

The research included in this review is organized into three broad categories: the theoretical framework for disciplinary literacy, disciplinary literacy pedagogy and challenges, and Wineburg's (1991a, 1998) research on historical thinking. The review of the theoretical framework for disciplinary literacy includes an explanation of the disciplinary literacy approach to adolescent literacy and its connection to the CCSS, an analysis of the influential Shanahan (2008, 2011) model for disciplinary literacy, the argument for disciplinary literacy, and a clarification of the distinction between disciplinary literacy and the content area reading approach to literacy instruction. The review of disciplinary literacy pedagogy offered an analysis of Moje's (2008, 2015) research on the need for a reconceptualization of disciplinary learning and challenges that have been raised to that approach. The final section of the review built a connection between disciplinary literacy theory, pedagogy, and Wineburg's (1991a, 1998) research on historical thinking.

Theoretical Framework for Disciplinary Literacy

Defining Disciplinary Literacy. A simple Google search for the definition of literacy reveals that it can be defined as the ability to read, write, speak, and listen, as well as competence or knowledge of a specific area of study. This review of the literature on disciplinary literacy begins at the intersection of these two definitions. The ability to read, write, and discuss starts to develop at an early age and becomes more sophisticated as students pursue knowledge in specialized subject areas in high school and college. Until recently, the need to support students as readers and writers in academic disciplines has been virtually ignored. Adolescent readers have been expected to comprehend complex concepts from texts that are increasingly abstract, ambiguous, and subtle on the absence of any instruction in the specialized literacy skills it takes to process those texts (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008; Buehl, 2017).

Disciplinary literacy is an approach to advanced literacy instruction embedded within content area classes. What distinguishes it from previous integration attempts is its emphasis on the specialized literacy strategies experts in a discipline use to engage in their professional work (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012). Although proponents define disciplinary literacy in subtly different ways, most argue that “teachers should show students how to read, write, speak, think, and listen like experts or apprentices (would-be experts) in a discipline” (Collin, 2014, p. 310). Advocates of this approach accept that the literacy demands placed on students become increasingly complex as they move into subject area classrooms at the secondary level and underscore the importance of teaching students to navigate the specialized literacy demands in each of those academic disciplines (Faggella-Luby, Graner, Deshler, & Drew, 2012). Disciplinary literacy recognizes that “literacy skills/strategies and disciplinary content are inextricably intertwined and that without literate practices, the social and cognitive practices that

make disciplines and their advancement possible cannot be engaged” (Fang & Coatoam, 2013, p. 628). Under this notion, in order for a discipline like political science to advance at the collegiate level, learning in a high school civics classes must foster an understanding of important concepts related to government and politics *and* facility with the reading and writing practices of political scientists. In other words, if students are not engaged in disciplinary literacy at the high school level, they will be ill prepared for the work they face at the collegiate level. According to Fang & Coatoam (2013), a disciplinary literacy approach is grounded in four foundational beliefs. First, that the subject areas student encounter in middle and high school are arenas of disciplinary discourses that have been recontextualized for secondary educational purposes. Second, that the post-secondary academic disciplines attached to those subject areas not only differ in content, but also in the ways content is created, shared, critiqued, and revised. Third, the reading and writing practices used by disciplinary experts to produce, communicate and evaluate content are best taught and learned within subject area classrooms. Finally, “being literate in a discipline means understanding both the disciplinary content *and* disciplinary habits of mind (i.e. ways of reading, writing, viewing, speaking, thinking, reasoning, and critiquing)” (Fang & Coatoam, 2013, p. 628, emphasize in the original). In other words, teachers need to help students understand important concepts about government and politics while also affording them opportunities to think like political scientists. Disciplinary literacy’s belief in the importance of weaving discipline-specific literacy practices within the learning of subject area content strongly influenced the Common Core’s design of the standards for literacy standards in grades 6-12 in English Language Arts, Science, Social Studies, History, and Technical Subjects.

Disciplinary Literacy and the CCSS-HST. The 2010 adoption of the CCSS formalized adolescent literacy development as shared responsibility across subject area classes. For social

studies teachers in states including Delaware that adopted the CCSS-HST standards, this was the first time that any standards for reading instruction were explicitly articulated for their subject area. The CCSS added ten writing and six speaking and listening standards for social studies teachers to embed in their instruction. Whether educators realized it at the time or not, the adoption of these standards indicated a shift in a state's model for secondary education to a disciplinary literacy framework for learning that moved literacy to the center of subject area curriculum and instruction (Zygouris-Coe, 2012). This shift was markedly different than the content area literacy movements of the past. The CCSS-HST pushes for subject area literacy instruction beyond generic strategy development to a focus on college and career readiness. Making this shift requires content area teachers to design instruction that helps students meet “the particular challenges of reading, writing, speaking, listening, and language in their respective fields” (Common Core Standards Initiative, 2012). Despite recent research on the connection between disciplinary literacy and CCSS-HST's focus on college and career readiness, questions remain regarding how teachers working in diverse classroom contexts can best meet the literacy needs of all students (Hillman, 2014). These questions will be taken up later in this review.

The CCSS for Literacy are organized by subject area and derived from the disciplinary literacy practices central to each discipline, including history, social studies, science and technical subject areas. Subject area teachers cannot effectively implement the disciplinary literacy framework created by these standards “without understanding the responsibility the CCSS places on every teacher to develop students' reading, thinking, speaking, and listening skills” (Zygouris-Coe, 2012, p. 36). Common Core advocates, such as Shanahan and Shanahan, claim that successful implementation of the CCSS's disciplinary literacy framework has the

potential to simultaneously improve adolescents' reading and writing skills and deepen their disciplinary content knowledge. For this to happen, social studies teachers must understand and learn how to teach or apprentice students into using specialized literacy routines practiced within the disciplines related to the subjects they teach instead of simply adding generic reading strategies into their lessons (Zygouris-Coe, 2012). However, despite the Common Core's explicit disciplinary literacy demands, secondary teachers remain hesitant to change their instructional focus to include the requisite attention to literacy instruction (Zygouris-Coe, 2012). When this hesitation is challenged, teachers often cling to the belief that literacy practices are unrelated to teaching their content or they cite a lack of time to make the changes required (Wilder & Herro, 2016).

Another factor that has contributed to recent teacher resistance has been attributed to state and local efforts to implement CCSS Literacy standards in the same way content area literacy's generic reading and writing strategies were pushed into subject area classes. According to Moje (2015), CCSS literacy standards that are sprinkled across the curriculum, abstracted from disciplinary inquiry and stripped of their purposes and value reduce disciplinary literacy to forms, acronyms, and procedures to be memorized. Moje stated that "literacy researchers and professional developers should work with teachers of adolescents to reconceive the subject areas as human constructions, or disciplines, and to understand the term *discipline* as more than a synonym for *subject* or *content area*" (p. 255, emphasis in the original). The reconceptualization of subject areas as disciplines must start with a clear understanding what of disciplinary literacy is and what it looks like in subject area classrooms. The best place to start that journey is with Timothy and Cynthia Shanahan's (2008) research in disciplinary literacy, starting with their

seminal study, *Teaching Disciplinary Literacy to Adolescents: Rethinking Content-Area Literacy*.

The Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) Model for Disciplinary Literacy. By 2008, the idea that heavy investment in early literacy would automatically lead to literacy growth at later grade levels had not panned out. The literacy gains that occurred at the primary grade levels, “instead of catapulting students toward continued literacy improvement, disappeared by the time these students reach eighth grade” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 43). The disappearance of early learning gains coincided with a lack of enhanced literacy instruction as students advanced into middle and high school. This is important because, as students advance through the secondary grades, their encounters with texts that are more disciplinary in nature increases. Shanahan and Shanahan’s 2008 study articulated a model for literacy progression that expanded literacy instruction upward through the grade levels to better support the reading of older students. Their pyramid model (see Figure 1), frames the upward progression of literacy

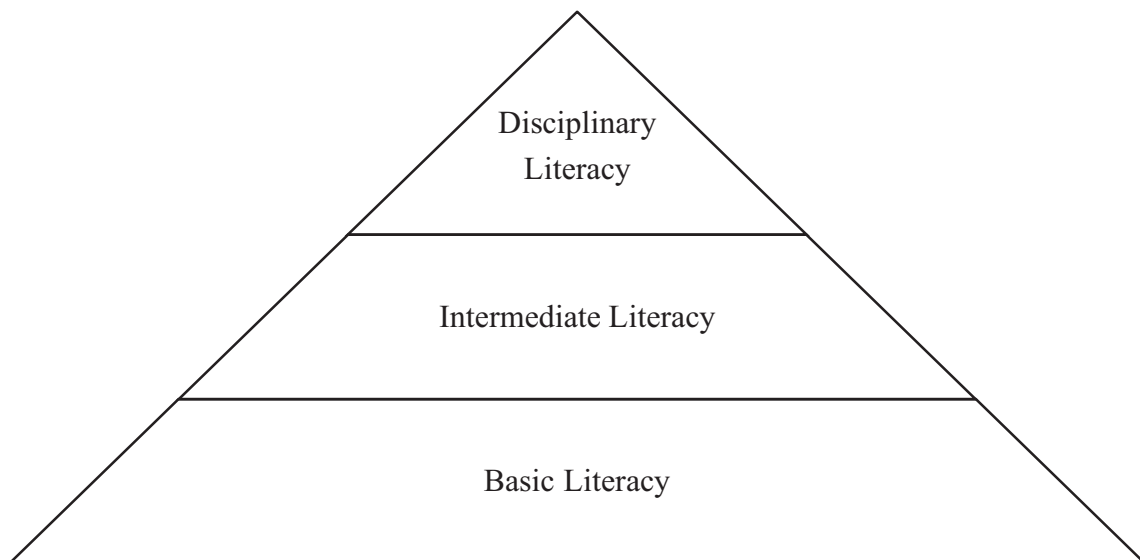


Figure 1. The increasing specialization of literacy development (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008).

instruction through three phases: basic, intermediate, and disciplinary literacy. This model informed the vertical articulation found in the CCSS literacy standards and has been heavily influential in the field of literacy research (Dobbs et al., 2016).

Basic literacy. The base of Shanahan and Shanahan’s pyramid represents basic literacy development, comprised of highly generalizable, basic skills that comprise all or most reading tasks. These include basic decoding skills, recognition of high-frequency words, and basic fluency routines. At this level, teachers in the elementary grades work with beginning readers to build a foundation for reading and writing. As students move through the primary grades they come to expect certain basic structures in the texts they read and develop a rudimentary understanding of the presence of an author. According to their research, Shanahan and Shanahan claim that most students “master these kinds of basic reading skills and conventions during the primary grades, and even those slow to develop tend to master these skills before high school entry” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 44). Of course, there are exceptions to this claim. It is not uncommon to hear middle and high school teachers assert that some of their students still struggle with skills that should have been gained in the primary grades, requiring, remedial support, targeted interventions and differentiated instruction by trained literacy specialists (Buehl, 2017).

Intermediate literacy. As students move into the upper elementary grades and experience more subject-specific instruction, the reading routines become more sophisticated. Students encounter different texts and reading situations, they must grapple with a larger body of vocabulary, and they must learn to respond with automaticity to words that had not appeared in the texts they read to this point in their early learning experiences. In order to meet the challenges of this intermediate growth phase, students must improve their reading fluency,

expand their vocabularies, and develop new reading and comprehension strategies that foster cognitive endurance and help them monitor their own comprehension so that they can access the information embedded in more complex text structures. Vocabulary development at this phase emphasizes less familiar, more sophisticated terms that appear less frequently in conversation, often referred to as Tier 2 words. Shanahan and Shanahan claim that “the majority of American students gain control of these intermediate reading tools by the end of middle school” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 45). These intermediate skills are similar to the content area reading strategies that were discussed earlier. This connection will be elaborated upon later in this review. As students advance into more specialized classes in middle and high school, the literacy skills required become more connected to the particular ways of communicating within the various disciplines in academia and the professional world. Shanahan and Shanahan argued that teaching disciplinary literacy skills is the key to advancing adolescent literacy beyond this intermediate phase in literacy development.

Disciplinary literacy. Shanahan and Shanahan argue that, “although many students manage to master basic and even intermediate literacy skills, many never gain proficiency with the more advanced skills that would enable them to read challenging texts in science, history, literature, mathematics or technology” (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 45). For example, a high school student might be able to meet the reading requirements in his English class, but struggle to make sense of the texts he must read in his history or chemistry classes. According to Shanahan and Shanahan, this is because the texts that students encounter in their secondary subject area classes are increasingly discipline-specific and require specialized reading routines and uses of language that are more constrained and less generalizable. For adolescent literacy

achievement to climb Shanahan and Shanahan’s pyramid, students must learn the specialized literacy skills and routines inherent to the study of each discipline.

Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) cite a combination of factors that limit students’ ability to acquire advanced, discipline-specific literacy skills. First, students may struggle to make connections between discipline-specific uses of literacy and the language routines of everyday life. The primary source texts they read in their high school history class use terminology, words, and phrases that sound foreign to the adolescent reader. Second, to effectively practice disciplinary literacy skills, students must apply them to complex discipline-specific texts that are often very difficult to read, contain high levels of abstraction and ambiguity, or cover content that differs or even contradicts students’ everyday life experiences. Finally, just as the texts get more challenging and increasingly dissimilar across the classes they must navigate in middle and high school, literacy support vanishes or relapses into a reiteration of the general reading strategies students used at the basic and intermediate literacy phases. In the absence of literacy supports, students are expected to adapt generic comprehension strategies to meet the demands of each of subject on their schedule. As Heller and Greenleaf (2007) noted, “to become competent in a number of academic content areas requires more than just applying the same old skills and comprehension strategies to new kinds of text. It also requires skills and knowledge and reasoning processes that are specific to particular disciplines” (p.10). Thus, advancing a disciplinary literacy approach “necessitates that we conceptualize reading and writing as contextually dependent practices [and expect students to] become different kinds of readers and writers” (Gee, 2012, p. 200).

Shanahan and Shanahan methods. To support their argument, Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) conducted a two-year project working with teams of educators in mathematics, chemistry,

and history to identify the sophisticated reading skills that would enable students to advance in each of those subject areas. Each team included two disciplinary experts (university professors who were researchers in their discipline), two teacher educators (who prepared pre-service teachers to teach in that discipline), two high school teachers (who taught that content area), and two literacy experts (Shanahan and Shanahan) for a total of eight members. Their rationale for the team composition was based on their experiences implementing previous content area literacy initiatives and “the assumption that teachers in the disciplines resist literacy strategy instruction when that instruction is promulgated by individuals who are literacy experts without content knowledge” (p. 46). Including content experts on each team also enabled them to study the differences in how each discipline creates, communicates, and evaluates content knowledge.

The first year of the study focused on identifying the specialized reading skills and demands in each discipline. To uncover this, three strategies were used with each team. First, each team read various textbooks, articles, and webpages that students would encounter in subject area classes to find how team members approached reading and what they saw as challenges for students. To guide the discussion of student difficulties, the researchers provided a literacy framework that included dimensions of vocabulary, comprehension, and fluency and participants were asked to identify the challenges students faced in each dimension. Second, a separate read and think-aloud session was conducted with the two disciplinary experts. In each think-aloud session, the experts thought aloud while they read a combination of high school, undergraduate, and graduate-level texts. Each think-aloud session was audio recorded, transcribed, and coded for the strategies used and compiled into reading protocol for each expert. Finally, the transcripts, expert reader protocols, and a summary were given to the entire disciplinary team to review, develop a description of their discipline’s approach to reading, and

consider the relevance of that approach to teaching high school students to read disciplinary texts.

Shanahan and Shanahan conclusions. Specific findings from the expert reader think-aloud sessions with historians are discussed later in this review. It is important to note here that the think-alouds, team discussions, and analytical tasks revealed three very different approaches to reading across the three disciplines studied. In Shanahan and Shanahan's (2008) study, each team reported distinct difficulties students face when reading disciplinary texts. They reported that learning about these challenges typically falls outside the purview of pre-service content, literacy, and discipline-based methods courses in teacher-preparation programs. As a result, teachers are not prepared to help students overcome the hurdles associated with reading complex disciplinary texts. Despite this lack of preparation, "adolescent students engage in a daily struggle to learn the content of various disciplines—content that is instantiated in the academic discourse that is an outgrowth of the differences in the disciplines themselves" (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 54). Based on these findings, Shanahan and Shanahan focused year two of their study on creating discipline-specific strategies teachers could use to help students tackle complex disciplinary texts. Despite team interest in the role of literacy in helping students learn their discipline, this work proved to be a challenge. The experts, as well as the teacher educators and high school teachers, displayed reluctance in embracing the idea of strategy-based literacy instruction in their subject area. Shanahan and Shanahan admitted that their efforts to introduce to strategy instruction in the team meetings felt a little contrived and "fell somewhat flat" (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 54). Nevertheless, each disciplinary team supported strategy instruction that mirrored the kinds of thinking and analytical reading and writing practices common to their discipline.

As previously mentioned, historic efforts to encourage subject area teachers to help their students read focused on general-purpose strategies that were neither widely accepted nor particularly effective in raising adolescent reading achievement. According to Shanahan and Shanahan's (2008) findings, that approach was problematic because of the specialized skills students need to access and make meaning from relatively unique disciplinary texts. They advocated for changes to teacher preparation program coursework that included specific attention to the authentic disciplinary literacy situations and classroom contexts pre-service teachers encounter. Ultimately, they concluded that the key to preparing adolescents for the demands of college, the evolving twenty-first century workplace, and avoiding the risk of marginalization when they leave school "is a literacy curriculum that directly guides students to better meet the particular demands of reading and writing in the disciplines than has been provided by traditional conceptions of content-area reading" (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, p. 57). The conclusions drawn from this study inspired a growing cadre of literacy researchers and content area educators to delve deeper into disciplinary literacy to uncover what secondary curriculum would look like if it adopted a disciplinary literacy approach. Questions left unanswered by Shanahan and Shanahan sparked an interest for this researcher to identify what a disciplinary literacy approach to teaching civics would look like in Delaware's high school classrooms.

Argument for Disciplinary Literacy. Since their influential 2008 study, Shanahan and Shanahan have grown their argument for disciplinary literacy and inspired a movement among literacy researchers, disciplinary experts, and content area educators. The movement was helped along by the CCSS's explicit requirements for teaching the literacy of science, literature, and history/social studies. As middle and high schools adjusted to meet the demands of the new

CCSS standards, other states that had not adopted the CCSS (such as Texas) made the shift to disciplinary literacy as well (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014). The CCSS and other recent policy initiatives have renewed attention to students' school-based literacy skills, making questions about the integration of literacy and the subject areas, and disciplinary literacy's ability to answer those questions more salient than ever (Moje, 2008). The arguments for disciplinary literacy have coalesced around college and career-readiness goals in secondary education.

Disciplinary literacy proponents are quick to point out that the general strategy or content area literacy approach has had more than enough time and resources to sufficiently prepare adolescents for the rigors of college and has failed to do so. Moje (2008) suggested that the time has come to “build disciplinary literacy instructional programs, rather than to merely encourage content teachers to employ literacy teaching practices and strategies” (p. 96). This is not to suggest that basic reading strategies for decoding text do not have a place in our curriculums. But, as Wineburg and Reisman (2015) pointed out:

if that's all they have, their reading will be stunted. They may be able to render a passable summary, but they will remain spectators, passively gazing at the area of knowledge production. If they are fortunate enough to make it to college, they will arrive there “college *unready*” and ill-prepared for the challenges that await them. Disciplinary literacy restores agency to the reader. (p. 636, emphasis in the original)

Additionally, disciplinary literacy matters because general reading skills can only take students so far (De La Paz, 2005; Reisman, 2012). Students may improve their comprehension of some subject area texts by using general reading strategies (i.e. summarization, questioning, visualization), but not to the depth that a more disciplinary approach would take them. For example, students can use general summarizing strategies to gather bits of historical information

from different texts across the curriculum, but those strategies do not help students develop the nuanced understandings needed to gain a deeper, discipline-specific knowledge of history. To Shanahan and Shanahan (2014), the priority should be helping students comprehend information that is important to the discipline. It's not enough "to inventory the names and dates from a history text; a good historical summary would include the relevant social, political, or economic causes and consequences" (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014, p. 637). Disciplinary literacy requires a depth of knowledge that surpasses the goals of general subject area curriculum and instruction.

Moje (2008) argued that in addition to preparing students for rigors of academia, disciplinary literacy holds promise for career and civic life. She stated that "if our society hopes to continue to populate disciplines and the professions that are framed by disciplines... students need the opportunities to apprentice into the ways of producing and communicating knowledge valued in the disciplines" (Moje, 2008, p. 97). Apprenticing students into the discipline-specific ways of reading, writing, and communicating requires that educators reconceptualize what it means to learn a discipline. Moje advocated for an inquiry-based approach to disciplinary literacy that teaches students how to engage in practices that help them respond to authentic questions with disciplinary texts. By introducing students to disciplinary-specific ways of working, secondary teachers can help students mirror the authentic work of professionals in their subject area (Ippolito & Fisher, 2019). Moje's (2008) model for the pedagogy required to enact the apprenticeship approach to disciplinary literacy will be analyzed in section two of this chapter.

Knowledge and skill are essential to fostering the growth of active, informed participants in our democratic society. Content area literacy's basket of generic strategies may help students gain access to important information, but preparing students to successfully navigate the

complexities of the twenty-first century information ecosystem requires a new approach. Subject area teachers must move beyond simply requiring students to harvest predetermined bits of information from teacher selected texts and give students opportunities to construct their own knowledge. They need to teach students how to ask questions of the information they encounter and arm them with an understanding of how the disciplines create, critique, and change knowledge. Disciplinary literacy has potential to help teachers meet that challenge. Although wide support exists for this approach, there is still uncertainty around what a disciplinary literacy curriculum should look like. Some of that uncertainty can be attributed to the need for additional research to identify the specialized literacy routines practiced across disciplines, which is the goal of this dissertation. Yet, Shanahan and Shanahan (2008, 2011) have observed that much of the confusion comes from curriculum leaders, specialists, and teachers still not understanding the distinction between content area and disciplinary literacy approaches.

Distinguishing Disciplinary Literacy from Content Area Literacy. Disciplinary literacy is a relative newcomer, arriving on the literacy scene in the 1990s (Hynd-Shanahan, 2013). Although differences between content area and disciplinary literacy approaches have been considered previously in this review, this section will draw a clear distinction between the two different, although not mutually exclusive, approaches to integrating literacy instruction in the content areas.

Content area literacy focuses on providing students the study skills they need in order to learn from the variety of subject area texts they encounter in school, with emphasis on general strategies novices can use to gather information from texts (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012). According to Fang and Coatoam (2013), a content area literacy approach expects students “to use generic literacy skills and strategies to help them extract and remember information from

texts in all content areas” (p. 627). In this model, instruction takes the form of teaching general strategies (e.g. note taking, concept mapping, summarizing, comparing/contrasting) that can be applied universally to texts teachers use to teach the content and concepts students are expected to learn. These strategies are by definition generalizable across the subject area classes students are expected to take as they advance through the grade-levels (Faggella-Luby, Graner, Deshler, & Drew, 2012). Proponents of content area literacy believe that the cognitive requirements for reading and writing are essentially the same across the subject areas and that the primary difference among the disciplines is their content (Fang & Coatoam, 2013; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012). Based on that premise, in order to improve adolescent reading achievement teachers across the subject areas should primarily focus on building student background and added-in generic reading strategies to help students harvest important information from subject area texts. When a reader struggles in a subject area class, content area literacy proponents often suggest minor adjustments to a generic strategy (e.g. paraphrasing) to meet the needs of the specific text in the lesson and recommend that the teacher give increased attention to deepening the student’s background knowledge related to the text.

Herein lies the distinction between the conceptualizations of content area and disciplinary literacy. The content area literacy approach begins with generic strategies and applies them to content-specific text, whereas disciplinary literacy considers the content first and asks, how a scientist (or historian, mathematician, or writer) approach this text? (Gillis, 2014). Content area reading prescribes study techniques and generic approaches to reading that can help students comprehend and remember what they read. A disciplinary literacy approach to reading starts with helping students understand the unique ways disciplinary experts interact with and use texts to build and communicate knowledge. In turn, this helps students use those skills to construct

and create their own knowledge in a subject area. Disciplinary literacy seeks to move beyond basic comprehension toward apprenticing students into a discipline by granting them access to the community of experts who create knowledge. It gives students the opportunity to engage in the work of disciplinary experts and equips them with the skills necessary to create new knowledge of their own, while content area literacy treats students as outsiders whose role is to gather and consume prepackaged information created by unquestioned experts. For proponents of disciplinary literacy, “being literate in a discipline means understanding both the disciplinary content and disciplinary habits of mind (i.e. ways of reading, writing, viewing, speaking, thinking, reasoning, and critiquing)” (Fang & Coatoam, 2013, p. 628). Proponents assert that literacy skills and the acquisition of disciplinary content knowledge are inextricably interwoven, that one cannot be advanced without the other. Thus, they believe that literacy instruction must be anchored in the disciplines with specific attention given to helping students learn discipline-specific literacy routines and habits of mind.

To illustrate the differences in the two approaches, let us apply each approach to reading an excerpt of the Declaration of Independence in a high school history class. A content area literacy approach would treat the Declaration like any other text and suggest that teachers guide students in creating semantic maps for important vocabulary, develop synonym webs and mnemonics to help students remember the meaning of difficult words, perhaps construct graphic organizers to help students make connections among the major concepts, and so on. A content area literacy approach aims to help students read and comprehend the Declaration by using generic literacy strategies that extract information from the text.

In contrast, using what we have learned from the research on disciplinary literacy in history, that approach recognizes the profound literacy implications wrapped in the reader’s

awareness of the author. For historians, the author is central to constructing an interpretation of any historical text (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2012; Wineburg, 1991a, 1998). To understand the Declaration, a disciplinary literacy approach would start by having students first *source* the document, consider who wrote the text and the circumstances of its creation, in order to build an anticipatory framework for the literal text they are about to read. Then students could *contextualize* what they read, or locate the document in the time and place it was created in order to understand how context influenced the words on the page. (Wineburg, 1991a, 1998). Finally, students would *corroborate* what they read in the Declaration with other documents to determine points of agreement and disagreement. The historical reading skills of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration create a disciplinary lens through which students can analyze the Declaration in ways for which content area literacy strategies are not designed. The result is an impoverished, and perhaps, inaccurate understanding of the text. Helping students develop this lens helps transform them into disciplinary insiders who are able to approach reading the Declaration of Independence with a set of skills and practices that empowers them with a sense of agency. That level of awareness enables them to create and communicate knowledge in ways valued by the discipline.

Disciplinary Literacy Pedagogy

Although much work has been done in building the theoretical framework for disciplinary literacy there is still much to learn about how teachers should turn disciplinary literacy theory into authentic classroom practice. Since Shanahan and Shanahan published their 2008 study, educators have been searching for an instructional path forward. Some have pushed for shifting the focus in secondary literacy instruction to the disciplines (Moje, 2008, 2010), while others have pressed to continue the focus on general, content area literacy strategies

(Fagella-Luby, 2012; Heller, 2010). Still others have sought to find a middle way that considers both perspectives (Brozo, Moorman, Meyer, & Stewart, 2013). For public school teachers in Delaware, the state's adoption of the CCSS standards makes adopting a disciplinary literacy approach to classroom instruction somewhat unavoidable. Although the theoretical underpinnings of this approach have been thoroughly discussed, many teachers still wonder, what disciplinary literacy looks like and how it differs from what they are already doing. To answer these questions, the literature on disciplinary literacy pedagogy starts with an examination of what it means to learn a discipline (Rainey, Maher, Coupland, Franchi, & Moje, 2018).

Reconceptualization of Disciplinary Learning. Traditional conceptions of being literate in a discipline, such as political science, tend to focus on being acquainted with the key facts, concepts, and understandings related to government and politics. Those studying the subject of political science do so for the purposes expanding their content knowledge, or what might be referred to as *what* an expert who is literate in the subject knows. A disciplinary literacy approach to teaching political science, however, layers *how* and *why* political science knowledge is created into the formula for learning the discipline (Hynd-Shanahan, 2013). In other words, disciplinary literacy proponents believe that learning in secondary subject area classrooms must include both traditional subject area knowledge and an understanding and appreciation for the inner workings of a discipline. Therefore, being literate in political science means understanding both political science content knowledge as well as the habits of mind (i.e. ways of reading, writing, viewing, speaking, thinking, reasoning, and critiquing) peculiar to political science (Fang & Coatoam, 2013).

The most prominent and frequently cited research on the reconceptualization of disciplinary learning and its implications for teaching disciplinary literacy has been produced by Elizabeth Moje (2007, 2008, 2010, 2015). Moje argued that teachers can “spur radical change in student learning” (Moje, 2015, p. 255) if educators, researchers, and policymakers work to more fully conceptualize disciplinary literacy and reconceive subject areas “as human constructions, or disciplines, and to understand the term *discipline* as more than a synonym for *subject* or *content area*” (Moje, 2015, p. 255, emphasis in the original). Disciplines are communities or cultures in which specific genres of texts are read and written for distinct, disciplinary purposes and thus require specialized literacy practices (O’Brien, Stewart, & Moje, 1995). Unfortunately, according to Moje (2015), attention to the social and cultural nature of disciplinary learning has been stripped from much of the current work on adolescent literacy. She claimed that strategy-based literacy teaching, like the content area literacy approach, that is abstracted from its disciplinary purpose and value “reduces disciplinary concepts to ‘stuff’ to be mastered and disciplinary literacy practices to forms and procedures to be memorized” (Moje, 2015, p. 255). She argued that educators need to “reconceptualize subject area learning as a matter of learning new ways of knowing and practicing, not merely as a means to expose students to new bits of information or to new texts” (Moje, 2008, p. 103). Rather than treating students as passive consumers of body of a static body of subject area knowledge, she contended that teachers should give students agency by helping them understand the value and purpose of discipline-specific reading, writing, and speaking (Moje, 2015). In her influential article, *Foregrounding the Disciplines in Secondary Literacy Teaching and Learning: A Call for Change*, Moje (2008) suggested that a disciplinary literacy approach must include three central aspects of disciplinary learning: discourses and practices, identities and identification, and content knowledge.

While this dissertation focused on investigating the disciplinary reading practices of political scientists, this researcher believed it was important to review the literature on disciplinary literacy pedagogy in order to inform recommendations for teaching students to read disciplinary texts from political science in high school civics classrooms. In the absence of alternative, peer-reviewed approaches to disciplinary literacy pedagogy, Moje's (2008) approach was the focus of the review. The absence of competing approaches included in this review should not be construed as a preference for Moje's approach, but an opportunity for future research that falls outside the purview of this dissertation.

Discourses and practices. According to Moje (2015), in order to adopt a disciplinary literacy approach, students (and teachers) must first understand that knowledge is not static, that it constantly evolves, and that the production and advancement of knowledge in a discipline is the result of the interactions that take place among experts within a discipline. Disciplinary communities operate “according to norms for everyday practice, conventions for communicating and representing knowledge and ideas, and ways of interacting, defending ideas, and challenging deeply held ideas of others in the discipline” (Moje, 2008, p. 100). Through this lens, for example, the discipline of history consists of a community of historians who abide by commonly agreed upon rules for conducting historical research, developing plausible, evidence-based interpretations of historical events and affirming or drawing new explanations of the past. Before those interpretations are endorsed as new disciplinary content knowledge, they are questioned and critiqued by their disciplinary colleagues who are fluent in the practices unique to the work of historians (Moje, 2008; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008; Wineburg, 1991a). Through these interactions, members of the historical community learn to ask questions, consider evidence, and argue in ways that reflect a specialized mode of thinking. Disciplinary teaching in history, then,

involves helping students understand historical thinking and the specialized routines and practices historians use when they interact with others in their discipline to create historical content knowledge. Conceptualizing history as a *culture* or *discourse community* challenges the idea that historical literacy is merely the accumulation of a standing body of knowledge and reminds us that interpretations of the past are constantly evolving, human constructions.

Identities and identification. Acquiring this level of disciplinary learning requires that students see themselves as potential members of a discipline’s discourse community capable of using the specialized practices and routines of disciplinary experts. This means that subject area teachers need to provide students with opportunities to take on the identity of disciplinary experts so that they can be apprenticed and guided into disciplinary thinking, reading, and communicating. Those apprenticeships should be designed in developmentally appropriate ways that help students enact the literacy practices of the discipline so that they can not only see potential in themselves to do the work of a disciplinary expert, but also connect those practices to meaningful things they will do in many areas of life (Moje, 2008). In other words, when students are asked to assume the role of a disciplinary expert (e.g. historian) they must learn how thinking like a historian could not only put them on the path to becoming a historian, but also help them become a well-informed citizen.

Content Knowledge. Moje (2008) argues, that to fully integrate literacy instruction in subject area classes educators must acknowledge the conundrum that has dogged previous integration attempts. Students cannot assume the identity of a disciplinary expert, a historian for instance, and enact the literacy practices historians use to create historical knowledge without some historical knowledge themselves. Moreover, students will struggle to read complex disciplinary texts without some developed content knowledge because “the ability to employ

reading strategies is, to a large extent, dependent on knowing something about the subject” (Moje, 2008, p. 102). However, Moje was quick to point out that acknowledging the role of content knowledge in making sense of texts should not be construed as an argument for what she refers to as the *pedagogy of telling*, or methods of direct instruction that tend to crowd out literacy implementations. Instead, she argued for an approach to teaching that builds content knowledge-in-action, i.e., while “navigating through various practices and texts of the disciplines, thus supporting the construction of knowledge in practice and identification with the discipline” (Moje, 2008, p. 102). Moje asserts that the key to ensuring that the construction of knowledge-in-practice doesn’t devolve into the pedagogy of telling is making inquiry central to disciplinary literacy teaching. Although research on disciplinary literacy is rapidly emerging, there is still much to learn about the pedagogy behind apprenticing students into the specialized literacy skills practiced by disciplinarians (Dobbs et al., 2016). The next section offers an overview of Moje’s (2015) disciplinary teaching heuristic.

Disciplinary Literacy Teaching Framework. Teaching disciplinary literacy isn’t as simple as adopting the CCSS Literacy standards and expecting teachers to engage in instruction that will help students meet those standards. Informed by her review of disciplinary literacy teaching practices (Moje, 2007), Moje developed a 4-Es heuristic that frames the key teaching practices for disciplinary literacy instruction drawn from the practices of the disciplines and the learning supports students need to navigate the literacy practices of the different disciplines (Moje, 2015). Based on this researcher’s analysis of the literature, Moje’s (2015) heuristic is the most frequently cited and analyzed framework for disciplinary literacy teaching in the emergent research and literature in this area. It offers a helpful guide for determining what disciplinary literacy must include and why it must be included (Rainey, Maher, Coupland, Franchi, & Moje,

2018). For those reasons, her 4-E framework (engage, elicit/engineer, examine, and evaluate) and related publications were the focus of this portion of the review.

The first E: Engage. The first element of Moje’s (2015) framework expects teachers to engage students in the “everyday practices of the discipline such as carrying out investigations or debating ideas with peers” (Moje, 2015, p. 261). To determine the everyday practices of the disciplines, Moje reviewed expert reader studies and literacy research across four broad disciplinary areas (mathematics, natural science, social science, and language literary studies) and uncovered six overarching inquiry practices that she claimed are rarely engaged in, yet vital to disciplinary learning in middle school and high school.

Framing questions. Scholars regularly pose questions and frame problems to be studied, so this is essentially the starting point for all disciplinary work. While each discipline practices cycles of inquiry, the nature of questions they pursue are distinct from discipline to discipline (Moje, 2015). Therefore, disciplinary literacy teaching does not begin with the teacher selecting rigorous texts for students to read, but rather with the development of a meaningful question for students to pursue. Just as disciplinarians engaged in a cycle of inquiry wouldn’t devote time to reading randomly selected texts related to a broad topic, disciplinary literacy teaching should start with the development of questions that engage students in the big ideas of the discipline (Ippolito, Lawrence, & Zaller, 2013). It is the question that should drive text selection, not the other way around. Starting with the text and then developing questions casts the text as a repository of information to be gathered and keeps students in the role of consumer, rather than creator of disciplinary knowledge and impacts their ability to evaluate the quality of disciplinary content presented in texts (Galloway, Lawrence, & Moje, 2013). Students of a discipline need a reason to read and write. This part of the inquiry cycle needs to be more than an essential

question pulled from a curriculum guide. Teachers must develop an authentic question asked in the real world that sparks student interest and drives an investigation.

It is important to note that the deployment of expert reading strategies is not limited to the context of disciplinary inquiries. Scholars do not need a framing question to trigger their disciplinary literacy training. For example, whether they are engaged in a cycle of inquiry, reading an academic journal to stay abreast of the research in their field, or simply reading out of sheer curiosity, a historian will source, contextualize, and corroborate what they read. Moje's (2015) insistence that disciplinary literacy instruction take place in the context of inquiry is limited. Inquiry-based applications of disciplinary literacy practices should be considered one avenue, within a framework of opportunities for disciplinary literacy instruction. That framework ought to include scaffolded opportunities for students to apply disciplinary literacy skills outside the context of structured inquiry-based lessons. For instance, civics students should be taught to deploy disciplinary reading strategies when close reading standalone documents, like the Declaration of Independence, or critiquing news articles about current issues and events. That caveat is important and expanding disciplinary literacy pedagogy beyond inquiry-based approaches should be explored in future studies. It should be emphasized that the absence of challenges to Moje's approach should not be considered an endorsement of a singular approach to disciplinary literacy pedagogy.

Working with data. Students typically do not know what evidence, phenomena, or texts members of a discipline study and what they count as data can be dramatically different. So, when designing disciplinary literacy instruction, it is important for teachers to help students determine what texts and materials count as data in each discipline. Students need opportunities to get their hands on the authentic texts and materials of the discipline as they work through a

cycle of inquiry. Moje (2015) claimed that “too often we give students hypothetical inquiry activities or hypothetical data,” but giving students “opportunities to engage in inquiry is far more likely to motivate a need to read or write in response to that inquiry” (p. 261).

Using varied media to consult and produce multiple texts. In assembling the texts and materials students will consult in their investigation, Moje (2015) advocated giving students the opportunity to use and create a variety of audio, visual, and video media when appropriate. She stated that they are “critical for fostering disciplinary literacy skills because they are part and parcel of the actual disciplinary practices”(Moje, 2015, p. 264). Moje and others (Galloway et al., 2013) argued that, when designing disciplinary inquiries for students, it is helpful for teachers to think of texts as existing along a continuum from more- to less-disciplinary (see Figure 2). Texts that fall toward the less disciplinary, left end of the continuum (pedagogical disciplinary texts, see examples below) are written for novice readers of the discipline. These texts are typically used for instructional purposes and employ general academic language with many supports for readers. At the other end of the continuum are texts written for experts in a discipline (disciplinary expert texts). Disciplinary expert texts fall into two categories. First are primary source documents used by disciplinarians as data or sources of information critical to their investigation. Many of these sources include language that is unfamiliar to modern readers. Second are contemporary texts written by experts in a discipline for an audience of their peers. Those include articles from scholarly journals, some books, white papers that use highly specialized language with little to no support for novice readers.

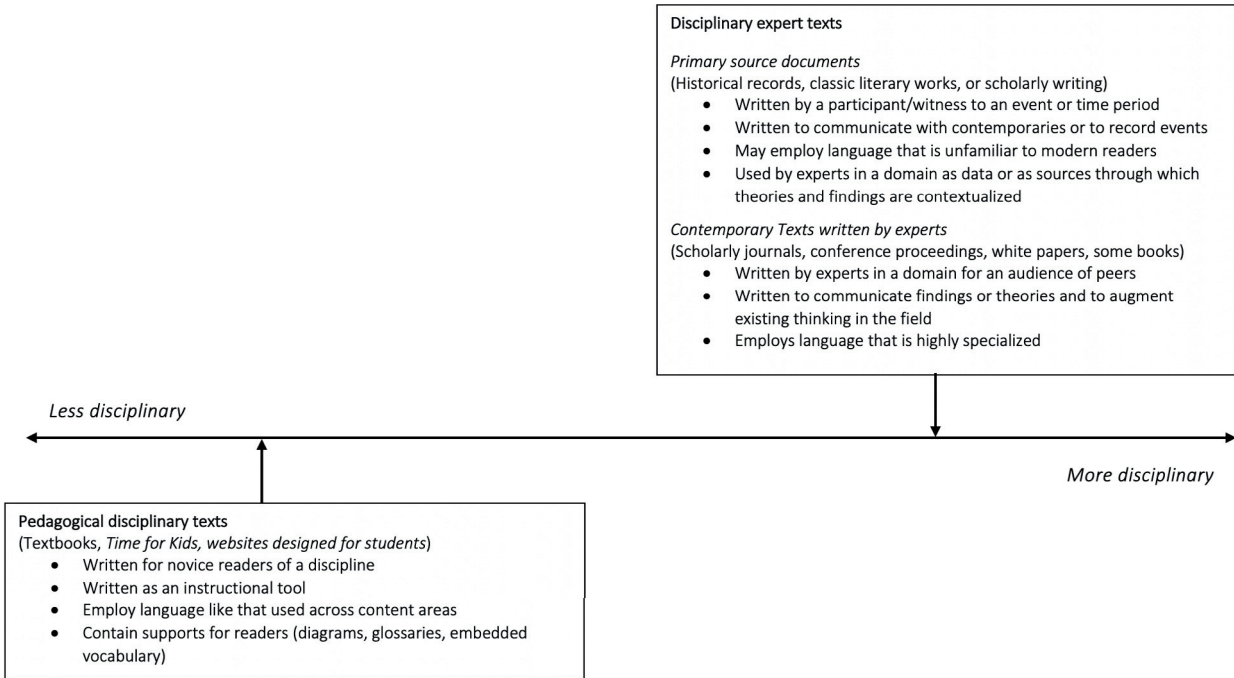


Figure 2. Continuum from less- to more-disciplinary texts (Galloway et al., 2013).

Galloway et al. (2013) argued that in selecting texts for the student inquiry, teachers should prioritize the use of disciplinary expert texts. Reading disciplinary expert texts gives students a window into how experts communicate in ways that typical classroom textbooks do not. This is not to say that textbooks and other less disciplinary texts should not be part of disciplinary literacy lessons; however, if students are going to acquire the knowledge of how disciplinary experts construct and communicate knowledge, the combination of texts that students interact with during the course of an inquiry should lean toward the right end of the continuum in Figure 2.

Analyzing, summarizing, and synthesizing data into findings related to the question posed. In this phase of the cycle, Moje (2015) asserts that teachers should frame instruction around discipline specific literacy practices and provide general, content area literacy scaffolds that apprentice students into the disciplinary investigation. For example, in addition to employing

the historical thinking skills of sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating sources (Wineburg, 1991a), historians must read and sift through texts to identify the information most relevant to the question they are pursuing. While emphasis should be placed on developing disciplinary literacy strategies, Moje believes that teachers should not toss aside content area literacy strategies, but rather use them as organizational and supplemental tools at this phase of the inquiry cycle. Dobbs also found that “teachers’ exploration of disciplinary literacy teaching actually required a great deal of layering of intermediate and disciplinary literacy instruction in response to student needs” (Dobbs et al, 2016, p. 132).

Examining and evaluating one’s own claim and the claims of others. Members of academic disciplines regularly critique and evaluate claims made by their colleagues. Moje (2015) claims this is rarely enacted in secondary classrooms; however, it is “crucial to developing critically literate citizens who can engage with and make decisions about information based on disciplinary claims found in popular social texts (e.g. political referenda, news articles and reports, community proposals, social media)” (Moje, 2015, p. 265). Giving students the opportunity to share and critique the claims of others is a valuable way for teachers to create the conditions necessary for vibrant, collaborative, academic conversations in their classroom.

Communicating claims orally and in writing. Members of disciplines communicate in a variety of ways (keep journals, jot down notes, send emails, talk with each other and argue claims face-to-face, read background information on past investigations, make observations, etc.), so students should use these modes during the course of an investigation. In addition to helping students produce well-written, evidence-based arguments, making these and other forms of communication visible “can provide access to understanding and thus humanize the work [by demonstrating that the expert’s finished argument] is not the product of innate talent, but, rather,

a learned reading and representational practice” (Moje, 2015, p. 266). Helping students see the process behind constructing knowledge enhances their ability to question the knowledge that is produced.

Using the cycle of disciplinary practices. Finally, Moje (2015) suggested that teachers planning for disciplinary literacy take a look at their entire year of instruction and “ask how often, when, and to what extent they engage their students in the practices central to the disciplines that frame the school subject they teach?” (p.266). For a history teacher, this means strategically planning multiple opportunities for students to assume the identity of a historian and attempt to *do history* in a guided, developmentally appropriate, and scaffolded inquiry experience.

The second E: Elicit/Engineer. In the second element of her framework, Moje (2015) stated the teachers must elicit and engineer students’ learning opportunities so that they are able to accomplish the instructional tasks and learn disciplinary literacy practices from them. She asserts that situating the work of disciplinary literacy within inquiry gives the complex reading, writing, and speaking instructional tasks meaning. Disciplinary literacy skills can be taught outside the context of inquiry, but they are taught as abstractions that are not deeply learned and are rarely transferred to students’ everyday lives. According to Moje (2015), framing disciplinary literacy in the context of inquiry a “acknowledges that students are developing scholars with emotion and curiosity and human beings who need voice, agency, and meaning even as they learn how to enter the discourse community and culture of a discipline” (p. 267). Moje’s framework merges the disciplinary and content area literacy approaches to offer differentiation strategies to support all learners. This merged approach was examined later in this section of the review.

The third E: Examine. The third element of Moje’s (2015) framework encouraged teachers to help students examine the words, phrases and symbols and specialized uses of language employed in their subject area or discipline. She suggested that teachers have “explicit conversations around how language is used and how it functions to construct meaning” (p. 268). Helping students to learn to look closely at how an author uses language to represent ideas and concepts under study can help students begin to develop the ability to evaluate the knowledge creator behind the words on the page. This ability is vital to the developing the critical thinking skills promised by the disciplinary literacy approach.

The fourth E: Evaluate. In the final element of Moje’s (2015) framework for disciplinary literacy teaching, she called on teachers to develop a routine of asking students to reflect upon the value of engaging in disciplinary discourses. Those reflections should include when, how and why to engage in disciplinary literacy practices, as well as drawing connections between the skills they used in disciplinary inquiries to college, career and everyday civic life.

Again, this dissertation focused on investigating the disciplinary reading practices of political scientists. This researcher believed it was important to review the literature on disciplinary literacy pedagogy in order to inform recommendations for teaching students to read disciplinary texts from political science in high school civics classrooms. In the absence of alternative, peer-reviewed approaches to disciplinary literacy pedagogy, Moje’s approach was the focus of the review.

Challenges to Adopting a Disciplinary Literacy Approach. Proponents of disciplinary literacy teaching (Moje, 2008, 2010, 2015; Nokes, 2007, 2010, 2011; Rainey et al., 2018; Reisman, 2012, 2017; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008, 2012, 2014; Shanahan et al., 2011; Zygouris-Coe, 2012) acknowledged the challenge this approach presents for teachers. Although

standards like the CCSS identify important components of disciplinary literacy, teaching disciplinary literacy goes beyond merely adopting standards and giving students more complex texts to read. Moje's (2015) outline of the conditions necessary to enact her 4-Es framework included time to plan, implement, and practice the approach, time to identify texts and materials to use in inquiry units, as well as time to build a strong knowledge base for disciplinary teaching. She emphasized that there are

no quick fixes, no tidy curriculum packages to buy, and no one-stop professional development session that will make disciplinary literacy teaching and learning a reality across the nation. This is time- and labor-intensive work that demands attention, commitment, and support over the long term. (Moje, 2015, p. 270).

Developing disciplinary literacy teachers. Above all, Moje (2015) emphasized that if teachers are expected to apprentice students into a disciplinary community, they must first be apprenticed into the disciplinary community themselves. To create the conditions necessary to apprentice teachers into disciplinary teaching, it is necessary to develop consciousness and understanding of disciplinary literacy. Once consciousness has been developed, teachers need professional learning opportunities that are crafted as apprenticeships into disciplinary teaching that deepen both their disciplinary knowledge and literacy skills. Those professional learning opportunities need to be sustained, collaborative, and discipline-rich in which teacher have the time to read and think together with their colleagues about the practices of disciplinary literacy through first hand investigation. Setting rigorous standards without providing the supports to meet those standards crushes the spirit of students and teaches alike.

Herein lies the central challenge of teaching disciplinary literacy. Adopting a disciplinary literacy approach is not about setting standards or even about developing good text-based,

strategy-rich lessons in secondary subject area classes. According to Moje, (2015) for the disciplinary literacy approach to be successful, teachers, school administrators, and education researchers must recognize five key points. First, that disciplines are cultures that “have their own conventions and norms that are highly specialized to particular purposes and audiences” (Moje, 2015, p. 273). Second, that the practices used within the disciplines are action-oriented routines used to solve problems and address meaningful questions. Third, students need “purposeful and meaningful experiences with texts situated within a sensible conceptual framework” (Moje, 2015, p. 273) like the 4-Es. Fourth, all students can learn and benefit from disciplinary literacy instruction, not just the good readers or the honors students. Finally, “teachers need both teaching and planning time and professional learning supports to enact demanding disciplinary literacy teaching practices” (Moje, 2015, p. 273). If everyone would agree upon those five points, we can begin the work of crafting disciplinary literacy instruction that provides the deep, meaningful supports needed to prepare students for the rigors of college and career.

Shifting beliefs about disciplinary learning. Barber et al. (2015) pointed out that infusing literacy instruction in social studies presents specific hurdles related to students’ indifference to social studies subject matter. They claimed that despite efforts to encourage critical thinking, social studies instruction is dominated by “lecture, frequent tests and quizzes, and teacher-centered instruction” (p.32) and that there is evidence to suggest that middle and high school social studies lessons continue to rely predominantly on a single textbook (De La Paz, 2005; Nokes, Dole, & Hacker, 2007) with “limited integration of reading instruction” (Barber et al., 2015, p. 32). This is supported by Moje’s (2008) claim that teachers hold cultural beliefs about the appropriate practices of their respective subject areas, such as their role, as a

subject area teacher, in a student's literacy development. When those beliefs are combined with ever-increasing pressures to cover content and concepts, teachers argue that literacy strategies are too time consuming and opt for traditional methods of direct instruction that allow them to cover vast amounts of information in short periods of time. This coverage mindset not only clashes with literacy integration efforts, but also contributes to resistance from students who are "quite comfortable with the idea that learning in the subject areas is a matter of memorizing and reproducing information" (Moje, 2008, p. 104).

Challenges from the literacy community. In response to Moje's 2008 article, Heller (2010) urged that we think twice before conflating the terms subject area and discipline and that we should "leave the truly disciplinary literacy instruction to college majors and the graduate programs" (p. 273). He stated that even at the college level, students are asked to choose only one major and are treated as generalists for at least their first two years. In that time, they merely touch on the big ideas of the discipline and are not inducted into a disciplinary community until later in their undergraduate careers. He claimed that students are not expected to arrive on college campuses having been trained in the disciplinary discourse of their chosen major, let alone the in the multiple subject areas they take in high school. Heller argued that high school graduates should be familiar with the "biggest of the big ideas" (Heller, 2010, p. 271) across the subject areas and have the ability to communicate about issues of civic, political, and personal importance in ordinary, not expert, language. In deciding what students should know and be able to do in secondary classrooms, like history for instance, Heller stated that the focus should not be on "the academic historian's ways of reading, interpreting, and arguing about archival materials, [but rather,] we should ask ourselves what a broadly educated U.S. citizen should know about history and the contentious nature of historical interpretation" (Heller, 2010, p. 271). His

critique of Moje went on to add that it is not reasonable to expect secondary teachers to provide postsecondary literacy instruction because relatively few have “anything remotely similar to the disciplinary background, identity, and professional life of the typical college-level instructor [nor have they] been prepared or persuaded to see it as their responsibility to provide highly specialized reading and writing instruction” (Heller, 2010, p. 272). Heller concluded that conceiving secondary subject area classrooms as junior versions of the academic disciplines is a dead end, that teachers are not capable of reaching the goals set by Moje, and that secondary schools “might be the best place to teach young people to be well-informed amateurs” (Heller, 2010, p. 271).

Brozo et al. (2013) agreed with Heller (2010), and expressed they were not convinced that a goal of secondary subject area instruction should be helping students become members of a disciplinary culture. Moreover, they were concerned about what a focus on disciplinary literacy would mean for the large numbers of struggling adolescent readers in those classrooms. In response to these critiques, Moje (2010) reasserted that the goal of disciplinary literacy instruction is not to make students experts or even junior historians or scientists, nor is it an attempt to push a college curriculum into high schools. It is about providing students with the opportunity to engage in the kinds of knowledge production and communication that members of the discipline enact, on a developmentally appropriate level. Unlike Heller, Brozo et al. believed there was merit to the disciplinary literacy approach and called for finding a middle ground. Brozo et al. believed the literacy community could use the emergent body of literature on disciplinary literacy as a spark for productive dialogue that transcends what is most likely a potentially unproductive dichotomous debate between proponents on either side of the content area versus disciplinary literacy debate.

Faggella-Luby, Graner, Deshler, and Drew (2012) agreed, claiming that the path forward was recognizing the necessity of both content area literacy and discipline-specific approaches to adolescent literacy, not trying to replace one with the other. Their primary criticism of the disciplinary literacy approach was that it “fails to consider the academic diversity of today’s schools in which a majority of students have yet to master the prerequisite skills for discipline-specific instruction” (Faggella et al., 2012, p. 71). Therefore, exclusively adopting a disciplinary literacy approach is “akin to building a house on sand [and] not practical, grounded in a literature base, nor likely to meet the realistic needs of a majority of students” (Faggella et al., 2012, p. 81). They warned that although the CCSS literacy standards clarify the expectations for discipline-specific literacy instruction, they do not explicitly identify the foundational literacy skills and prior knowledge students need to meet those expectations. Moreover, Faggella-Luby et al. argued that because of the “paucity” (p.76) of research on disciplinary literacy that has included struggling readers, conversations about improving adolescent literacy must continue to include the use of general, content area literacy strategies in secondary subject area classrooms. Rather than pitting these approaches against each other, this researcher believes that content area literacy and disciplinary literacy approaches need to be considered as equally essential components of a more comprehensive approach to adolescent literacy.

Fang and Coatoam (2013) warn, however, that this gap in the literature should not be used as an argument for delaying disciplinary literacy instruction until students have mastered basic content area literacy skills or reserving it for gifted and talented students. They argue that “struggling readers/writers, like their more proficient peers, are capable of learning (and can benefit from) discipline-specific strategies at the same time they are developing and refining generic strategies” (Fang & Coatoam, 2013, p. 630). This is supported by De La Paz’s (2005)

study of mixed-ability (upper-level, average, and special education) eighth-grade students who were taught specific strategies that promoted historical reasoning in the context of inquiry-based lessons. De La Paz found that students with and without disabilities “can learn complex tasks such as how to engage in the activities of professional historians” (p. 153). Additionally, Shanahan and Shanahan (2012) point out that there is no evidence to suggest that adopting a disciplinary literacy approach would be detrimental to struggling readers. This researcher believes that reserving advanced literacy instruction for certain populations creates inequities that educators should be looking to narrow, rather than widen.

Achieving the goal of providing students with developmentally appropriate opportunities to engage in the kinds of knowledge production and communication practiced in an academic discipline first requires that teachers develop fluency with those practices. At this point in time, research on disciplinary literacy in social studies has concentrated on the discipline of history. A necessary step toward achieving this dissertation’s goal of uncovering the extent to which political scientists read differently than historians is a review of the research on historical reading.

Reading Like a Historian

Research suggests that historians are extraordinarily active readers (Nokes, 2013; Nokes et al., 2007; Wineburg, 1991a, 1991b, 1998). Their approach to reading is a product of the habits of mind ingrained in them by their disciplinary training (Monte-Sano et al., 2017). For historians, texts are not merely conveyors of information or stories about the past. They are the products of human beings who possess feelings, points of view, flawed perception, and conflicts of interest that inexorably influence the texts that appear before the reader (Nokes, 2013). When properly interrogated, these human constructions disclose information about their authors and the world

they inhabited that is vital to the development of credible interpretations of the past. Historians approach the task of reading with reasonable skepticism and an attitude that documents are evidence, not simply repositories of facts (Nokes et al., 2007). The literal text that appears before the reader is only a shell of the text that historians seek to understand. Historical reading reaches beyond the words on the page and attempts to grasp the biases, motivations, and convictions of the author (Wineburg, 1991b). Developing interpretations of the past requires more than understanding the author's words, it "requires an understanding of the subtext – contexts, audience, purposes, biases, and insights of the author" (Nokes, 2013, p. 24). Piecing together the hidden elements of subtext helps historians get as close as possible to the unreachable past they are seeking to recreate. It is also part of what makes the discipline of history inherently subjective, opening the door for multiple, plausible interpretation of the same text, continuous reexamination of the same events, and the regular rewriting of history. The centrality of reading for subtext separates historical reading from other disciplinary approaches to reading that have been studied (Shanahan et al. 2011; Wineburg, 1991a).

Just as historians read texts to decode information about the author, researchers can use historical texts to uncover hidden strategies used by historians when they read. Document B was an excerpt of written by E.E. Schattschneider in 1942, whose name appears multiple times in Diamant et al.'s political science canon, and offers counterarguments to Madison's assertions about parties in Document A. Document C, also published in 1942, injected author Ernst Each participant was told to us the texts to develop an understanding of what happened at Lexington on April 19, 1775. The review of the transcripts of the think-aloud sessions revealed that the high school students took a linear approach to reading the documents, read each from top to bottom, accepted the information presented in each source at face value, and expended most of their

efforts remembering details from each text rather than synthesizing an understanding of the event. The students rarely saw subtext in what they read and instead focused on studying the literal text to find the “right answer” to what happened at Lexington. The occasional foray beyond the literal text demonstrated understandings of point of view that were limited to which “side” of the battle a document was on. Students became flustered when information in the documents contradicted one another, yet they rarely attempted to settle discrepancies by comparing one account to another.

Wineburg attributed the students’ approach to reading to their beliefs about the nature of historical inquiry. For the students, reading history was about gathering information, with the texts serving as the vessels of that information. Puzzling about an author’s beliefs or situating the documents in a historical context was not part of the students’ reading equation. It was as if they were oblivious to the existence of subtexts or any text features designed to influence their views in a particular way. As Wineburg stated, students “may have processed the texts, but they failed to *engage* with them” and concluded that approaching documents as historical evidence, and not collections of facts about the past, is what distinguished them from historians (Wineburg, 1991b, p. 510). According to Wineburg, historical reading was an unnatural act for students.

This begs the question, how exactly do historians examine the subtexts of the documents they read? Wineburg’s (1991a) review of the think-aloud protocols gathered from historians identified three distinct heuristics, or mental shortcuts, that historians applied to reading historical texts: *sourcing*, *corroboration*, and *contextualization*. Each historian in the study used these three heuristics to piece together the subtext of each document and applied that understanding to their analysis of the entire set of historical texts. To them, historical inquiry was a process of analyzing multiple sources in order to construct a plausible, evidence-based

interpretation of the events at Lexington, not simply an exercise in compiling important information from multiple sources. The credibility of the interpretation they derived from the sources hung on their skilled application of these heuristics.

Sourcing. Because all texts are considered human creations, historians frame their reading as an exchange between the reader and the author, separated by time and space. Therefore, prior to reading the text, the first act a historian engages in is looking at the document's source or attribution. In Wineburg's (1991a) articulation, the sourcing heuristic tells historians that "when evaluating historical documents, look first to the source or attribution of the document" (p. 79). Sourcing a text means looking at the author, the date and place it was created, the intended audience, and the genre of the text in order to build an anticipatory framework for the text ahead. Sourcing prior to reading helps historian "develop hypotheses about what would be in the body of the document, the stance it might take, and its truthfulness or accuracy" (Wineburg, 1991a, p. 79). In Wineburg's (1991a) study, the attribution at the bottom of each text carried no significance for students and was treated merely as additional details added at the bottom of the text they had just read. However, instead of being treated as an add-on, those same attributions served as the jumping off point for historians. Wineburg attributed the use of the sourcing heuristic to "simply the manifestation of a belief system in which texts were defined by their authors" (Wineburg, 1991b, p. 510). If all texts are considered human creations, what is said is inseparable from who said it. Readers cannot fully understand, critique, or use a text as historical evidence without establishing where it came from (Nokes, 2013). Failing to use the sourcing heuristic impedes the construction of meaning from historical materials.

Corroboration. Historians are trained to be skeptical consumers of any evidence of the past. Consequently, before accepting information they find in one text, historians routinely check that information against the content they find in other texts. Building credible interpretations of the past requires the use of valid, reliable sources of information, making corroboration an essential part of the historian's reading process. Wineburg (1991a) formulated the corroboration heuristic as "whenever possible, check important details against each other before accepting them as plausible or likely" (p. 77).

Historians are trained to be sensitive to inconsistencies and to make careful judgements about the credibility of the sources they use in building their interpretations. Thus, reading multiple texts about the same event is less about acquiring more information than it is about determining the reliability of their evidence. Wineburg (1991a) noted that when historians encountered details in one text that conflicted with another, they stopped reading and turned back to the source that contained the contradictory evidence and compared the two sources side by side. The act of looking back for the purpose of connecting and corroborating information found across texts was practiced universally by the historians in Wineburg's study. The same could not be said for the high school students who tended to consider each document in isolation and rarely noticed or simply dismissed inconsistencies across the sources. Teaching students to notice and seek explanations for discrepancies in historical accounts foils their misguided search for truth and puts them closer to the path of historical reading. To nurture facility with the corroboration heuristic, teachers must give students opportunities to engage in inquiries that require them to construct their own interpretations of the past using authentic historical evidence.

Contextualization. The third literacy heuristic practiced universally by historians in Wineburg's 1991a study was contextualization. In his words, the contextualization heuristic

requires that “when trying to reconstruct historical events, pay close attention to *when* they happen and *where* they took place” (Wineburg, 1991a, p. 80, emphasis in the original).

Historians are trained to place the text within a historical chronology, to pay close attention to what preceded and followed its creation, and consider the amount of time that elapsed between the event described and the creation of the document before them. Their attention to the impact of chronology is coupled with an awareness of the potential influence geography, landscape, weather, and climate may have had on the author of the text. Wineburg emphasized that a historian’s use of the contextualization heuristic goes beyond merely taking note of when and where the text was created. Situating a document in time and place and weighing the extent to which those contextual factors influenced the creation of the text helps historians develop a more complete understanding of the text and its evidentiary value.

According to Wineburg (1998), the creation of context is at the heart of historical expertise, “forming the foundation upon which sound historical reading must rest” (p. 337). It should come as no surprise, then, that students who possess limited background knowledge in history have a difficult time using the contextualization heuristic. In a study of high school students, Nokes et al. (2007) found that teachers had limited success teaching students to contextualize, “even though this heuristic is a key to comprehending historical texts and a heuristic that historians use consistently” (p. 502). In addition to limited background knowledge, they suggested a number of factors that may have contributed to this, including the instructional strategies used to teach contextualization, the time dedicated to teaching the heuristic, as well as the possibility that contextualization is too difficult for high school students to learn.

Nonetheless, they concluded that because research had shown contextualization to be an

essential component to generating historical interpretation further classroom research focusing on this heuristic was warranted.

The complexity of the contextualization heuristic inspired Wineburg to expand upon his research into historical reading and in 1998 he published *Reading Abraham Lincoln: An Expert/Expert Study in the Interpretation of Historical Texts*. This time, instead of comparing historians to novices, Wineburg asked two historians to read and think-aloud as they examined texts related to Abraham Lincoln and the issue of race. One historian selected for the study had spent his career teaching and writing about Lincoln, the other was also an Americanist; however, did not specialize in Lincoln or the Civil War era. For Wineburg, the goal of this expert reader study was to move beyond the history heuristics he identified in his 1991 expert-novice study and gain a deeper understanding of how historians use those heuristics in forming their interpretations of the past. Wineburg sought to uncover any potential differences in the use of the heuristics between experts who draw on different levels of background knowledge.

Of particular interest was a more critical analysis of the 1991 conceptualization of the contextualization heuristic, which, he thought was too closely linked to aim of the specific inquiry in the original study. In the 1991, subjects were asked to reconstruct a specific event using historical texts. Wineburg stated that it is one thing to contextualize an event that has a specific beginning and end, but “it’s quite another to contextualize a shift in the zeitgeist or popular consensus” (Wineburg, 1998, p. 323). In other words, how do historians use the contextualization heuristic when studying topics that stretch across a range of contexts, such as understand changing attitudes about race, poverty, or political freedom? Analyzing Wineburg’s (1998) answer to this question offers a key connection to political science inquiries and the goals of this dissertation.

In this study, Wineburg (1998) used six “sub-codes” to capture the distinct aspects of the contextualization heuristic used by historians. These same sub-codes were used to analyze the think-aloud protocols gathered from political scientists in this EPP and are detailed Chapter III’s description of this study’s coding scheme. Wineburg found that despite major gaps in his background knowledge, the second historian was able to successfully use the contextualization heuristic to explain construct an interpretation from the diverse set of texts. Once he became immersed in the historical documents his lack of background knowledge became an asset as he leaned into his disciplinary training and used the heuristics to sort through his confusion and allow an interpretation to emerge. Wineburg claimed that “it was how he responded in the face of what he didn’t know that allowed him, in short, to learn something new” (Wineburg, 1998, p. 340) It is here that the history curriculum, and disciplinary literacy at-large, has the potential to empower students with the literacy skills necessary to sort through contradictory information and come to reasoned understandings of the events and issues that affect our world.

Challenge to Wineburg’s Research

A 1997 expert-novice study of historical reading challenged Wineburg’s (1991a) research (Rouet, Favart, Britt, & Perfetti, 1997). In that study, eight history graduate students were compared to a history novice group of eleven psychology graduate students. Subjects were asked to read a set of historical documents, write an opinion essay, and rank the documents for trustworthiness. The comparison revealed little to no difference in their use of the sourcing and corroboration heuristic; however, the history graduate students used the contextualization heuristic more frequently, elaborately, and with more focus. Rouet et al. also found that the two groups approached the documents with different purposes. The psychology students’ main concern was building their knowledge of the event, whereas the history students’ focus, despite

limited knowledge of the event themselves, was on constructing an interpretation from the sources. In comparison to Wineburg's (1991a) expert-novice study, this novice group entered the project as better readers and in possession of more advanced academic experience than Wineburg's high school students. This may have factored in the limited difference in the use of the sourcing and corroboration heuristics reported by this study. Rouet et al. acknowledged that there could have been more subtle differences in the use of sources that their analysis may have failed to capture, yet were confident enough in their methods to conclude that the history students exhibited expertise in the use of documents as evidence and integrating multiple sources of information into an account of a series of events.

Sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration have been used universally by historians in nearly every study of how disciplinary experts process multiple texts (Nokes, Dole, & Hacker, 2007). This dissertation used Wineburg's (1991a) three heuristics as the points of comparison in determining the extent to which political scientists differ from historians in their approach to reading disciplinary texts. But first, it is necessary to review the landscape of civics education in Delaware in order to establish a baseline for implementing disciplinary reading instruction in the state's high school civics classes.

Delaware's Civics Curriculum

Brief History of Delaware's Social Studies Standards. The State of Delaware enacted its first set of statewide social studies standards in 1995 with the adoption of the *Social Studies Curriculum Framework Content Standards*. The new, statewide social studies curriculum was a product of the Social Studies Curriculum Framework Commission, comprised of 38 members that included public school teachers; school and district administrators, counselors, and specialists; as well as representatives from state government and community groups (State of

Delaware, 2018c). The framework included four subject areas: civics, economics, geography, and history. Each subject area contained four separate content standards that spiraled upward through the grade-levels with increasingly complex expectations for acquiring knowledge, skills, and dispositions specific to each subject (State of Delaware, 2018c). A few years later, the state published the Social Studies Clarifications documents that elaborated on the meaning of each standard and offered guidance for teachers and schools in aligning their curriculum, instruction, and assessments to the state’s standards (State of Delaware, 2018a). Beginning in the early 2000s, the state commissioned Delaware educators to create standards-aligned model lessons and units of instruction that could be used in classrooms across the state as part of the Delaware Recommended Curriculum (DRC) for Social Studies. In 2016, the standards were updated to refine the language of the standards as well as reflect important political and economic changes that transpired around the world since they were first drafted in 1995.

The DeSSA Social Studies Assessment. Beginning in the spring of 2019, students in grades four, seven, and eleven will take Delaware’s newest statewide social studies assessment, the Delaware System of Student Assessments (DeSSA) (State of Delaware, 2018b). The DeSSA Social Studies Assessment is the third iteration of Delaware’s social studies, standards-based assessment efforts, that date back to the implementation of the Delaware State Testing Program (DSTP) in 2000 (State of Delaware, 2006). The previous two statewide social studies assessments, the DSTP and the Delaware Comprehensive Assessment System (DCAS), were designed and implemented prior to the state’s adoption of the Common Core Literacy Standards and focused solely on measuring student progress toward meeting the state’s social studies standards. The new DeSSA Social Studies Assessment has expanded the state’s assessment targets to include measuring student understanding of the social studies content standards and

mastery of the literacy skills prescribed by the CCSS-HST. The process of integrating the CCSS-HST literacy standards into social studies instruction began with their adoption in the state in 2010; however, this new assessment increases the stakes of those social studies instructional shifts and will undoubtedly increase educators' attention on the extent to which the DRC social studies lessons prepare students for success on this new assessment.

The DeSSA Social Studies Assessment for high school will measure student understanding of all high school standards (civics, economics, geography, and history), as well as the CCSS-HST for grades 11-12. Students will be expected to read complex informational texts and use evidence from those texts to make and defend their responses to questions targeting specific Delaware social studies and CCSS-HST literacy standards. Students' research and inquiry skills will be evaluated through sets of questions called *item clusters*, which will consist of six interrelated questions linked to a set of five to six informational texts that students must use to craft their responses. Each of the four item clusters on the assessment (one for each social studies content area), is designed to probe the depth of student understanding of the social studies standards and their ability to apply that understanding to an analysis complex disciplinary texts. In addition to item clusters, students will also respond to stand-alone questions, that will not be part of an interrelated set of question, but will each include at least one text students will be expected to use in answering the question. The volume and complexity of the texts included, combined with how students are expected to use those texts in their responses is a seismic shift in the literacy requirements of the state's previous social studies assessments. In the resultant picture of a successful social studies classroom framed by this assessment, disciplinary literacy is inextricably linked to demonstrating mastery of the state's social studies standards.

To be successful on the preceding statewide social studies assessments students needed learning experiences that aligned to the content and rigor of their grade-level Delaware social studies standards. Simply aligning classroom instruction to the social studies standards will not be enough. To prepare students for success on DeSSA, teachers must design lessons that routinely prompt students to use the knowledge of the state’s social studies standards to analyze complex disciplinary texts. Traditional, direct-instruction that treats texts as a substitute for lecture and relies on content area literacy’s generic reading comprehension strategies, will not prepare students to meet the literacy challenges posed by the CCSS-HST nor the DeSSA assessment. Teachers who have not shifted their instructional routines since the state’s adoption of the CCSS need lessons that involve students in disciplinary inquiries that foster the habit of close reading challenging texts of the discipline under study. Those lessons must nurture the development of disciplinary literacy practices used within the social studies disciplines to uncover and evaluate authors’ claims, their points of view, and the evidence they use to build content-based arguments. This requires more than merely creating questions or organizers that help students gather discrete content from isolated texts scattered across course syllabi. Teachers must create opportunities for their students to actively pursue big questions that inspire student curiosity and frame authentic purposes for reading challenging disciplinary texts so that students can practice using disciplinary literacy skills in meaningful ways.

Implementation of the High School Civics Standards. Under Title 14, regulations 501 and 503 of the Delaware Code, all public schools in the state are required to maintain social studies instructional programs in grades K-8, as well as a program of study for high school graduation, that align with the Delaware Social Studies Standards (State of Delaware, 2016). To receive a State of Delaware diploma, Title 14, Code 505 requires the successful completion of a

minimum of three credits in social studies courses aligned to “those components of civics, economics, geography, and history that are included in the State Content Standards for high school social studies” (State of Delaware, 2015). This means that in order to graduate from a high school in Delaware, students must successfully complete three credits from a program of study that includes a civics course aligned to the state’s civics standards for high school or a course that demonstrates successful integration of the civics standards within another social studies course.

In accordance with Regulation 502 (State of Delaware, 2014), all school districts in the state must demonstrate alignment of their local curriculum with the state’s Social Studies Standards annually, through documentation attached to their consolidated grant application. The most common way districts certify their alignment is through implementation of the Social Studies DRC’s syllabi, lessons, and units. In the fall of 2018, the DRC curriculum resources were moved from the Delaware Department of Education’s (DDOE) public website to Schoology, the state’s password protected Learning Management System. As of August 2019, the Social Studies Recommended Curriculum K-12 Schoology group had 1099 members. The DRC syllabus and lessons for ninth grade civics offers critical insight into the status of disciplinary literacy implementations in high schools across the state.

Delaware’s High School Civics Curriculum. The DRC lessons for the ninth-grade civics course, posted on the state’s Schoology group, were analyzed for the quantity and complexity of the texts embedded in the civics lessons, as well as the literacy strategies students were expected to use when interacting with each text. In the social studies subject areas, the term “text” is defined broadly to include works such as primary and secondary sources, written passages, graphs, data sets, photographs, artwork or other authentic, previously published work.

Analysis of the ninth-grade syllabus uncovered 137 texts embedded across the 20 standards-based lessons. Ninety of those texts were classified as disciplinary texts students were expected to read during the course of the lesson. They included written primary sources, government documents, speeches, or general information secondary sources, such as an online textbook. Each written text was entered into Free Lexile Analyzer to assess its quantitative complexity (Lexile Analyzer, 2019). That analysis revealed that 81 of the 90 written texts are within or above the 1080-1305 Lexile range recommended in Appendix A of the Common Core State Standards for grades 9-10 (National Governors Association for Best Practices, 2010). The remaining 47 texts, which included maps, polling data, primary source images, and audio files, were analyzed according to Common Core qualitative measures and reader-task considerations and found to meet or exceed the text complexity requirements for ninth grade. The integration of 137 texts across 20 lessons gives the ninth-grade civics curriculum the appearance of being text-heavy; however, 69 of those texts come from just three of those lessons and 38 texts from one lesson alone.

The literacy strategies students are expected to use when interacting with the texts were sorted into three broad categories: traditional guided reading questions, content area literacy strategies, and disciplinary literacy strategies for social studies. Traditional guided reading questions consisted of a set of questions students were expected to answer based on information they could find in the assigned text. Content area literacy strategies included graphic organizers or generic literacy strategies that helped students gather and organize important information from texts. Strategies that were sifted into the disciplinary literacy category included explicit attention to teaching students to source, contextualize, or corroborate while reading. Fifteen of the 20 lessons employed traditional guided reading questions, either in a list or in the form of a graphic

organizer, to help students gather specific pieces of information from the texts. Two lessons used specific content area literacy strategies (a Frayer Model and a magnet summary) to assist students with comprehension of challenging academic vocabulary used in the texts. Four lessons included disciplinary literacy strategies derived from the CCSS designed to help students read the texts in order to engage in text-dependent discourse. Three of those four lessons included text-dependent questions during close reading exercises and one used a primary source analysis tool adapted from the Library of Congress teacher resources. Of the four lessons that used disciplinary literacy strategies, only two lessons provided students with explicit opportunities for students to practice the history heuristics of sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating when reading complex texts.

Alignment of the Delaware Recommended Curriculum for Civics and DeSSA. The use of traditional guided reading questions as the dominant literacy strategy employed in the ninth-grade civics curriculum does not provide the scaffolding needed for students to meet the literacy skills prescribed by the CCSS-HST and be successful on the DeSSA Social Studies Assessment. Despite the presence of 137 complex texts across the 20 lessons, only four lessons support students in the use of a disciplinary literacy strategy. As a result, the civics curriculum fails to support teachers in implementing the level disciplinary literacy instruction described in the literature on disciplinary literacy and required by the Common Core Literacy Standards for History/Social Studies. In the hands of a talented teacher, these lessons may be adapted to accomplish those ends and promote the advances in adolescent literacy promised by proponents of disciplinary literacy instruction. However, as they currently exist, the lessons do not create the conditions necessary for all students to have equitable opportunities for the literacy growth

required by the Common Core, the DeSSA Social Studies Assessment, as well as CCSS-aligned evidence-based reading and writing portion of the SAT.

One likely explanation for the prevalence of guided reading questions in the civics lessons is that authors relied on a traditional pedagogical approach to text-based instruction because, at the time, they had not yet made the instructional shifts called for by the Common Core. The course syllabus was created in 2013, only two years after the state adopted the Common Core and six years before students took the live version of the DeSSA assessment in the spring of 2019. The previous state social studies assessment, the DCAS, did not require these literacy shifts, and, as we know, teachers teach what is tested. It is very likely that the authors of the lessons had not received much professional learning in the Common Core literacy standards and had deficits in their understanding of disciplinary literacy practices. While this is understandable, it does not help teachers who are using those lessons to prepare their students to take the DeSSA Social Studies Assessment in 2019 and beyond.

For the DRC lessons for high school civics to be improved, the state of Delaware must launch an initiative to reconceptualize disciplinary learning in civics to include explicit disciplinary literacy instruction embedded throughout the course. Making this shift will not only improve the alignment of the DRC lessons for ninth-grade civics to the expectations on the DeSSA, but it will also give civics teachers the literacy tools they need to teach the specialized reading practices specific to each discipline. At this point in time, the research on disciplinary literacy in social studies has been concentrated in the discipline of history. The literature from that research has been used to produce volumes of lessons that teach students the specialized reading routines practiced by historians. However, implementing those reading routines in Delaware's civics lessons (as well as economics and geography) assumes that political scientists

approach reading the texts of their discipline with the same routines as those practiced by historians. This assumption undermines the foundational principles of disciplinary literacy instruction, compromises the promised benefits of disciplinary literacy on adolescent reading achievement, and weakens the disciplinary literacy framework the CCSS literacy standards are erected upon. To support the reconceptualization of disciplinary learning in civics and the creation of new disciplinary literacy lessons for Delaware's civics teachers, further research is needed to uncover the extent to which disciplinary experts in political science differ from historians in their approach to reading the texts of their discipline. A response to that need is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter III

Methodology and Results

Expert Reader Model

Wineburg (1991a) conducted an expert-novice study to identify the extent to which historians (experts) read differently than high school students (novices). Recall that the think-aloud methodology he used uncovered the three heuristics used by historians that eventually became the building blocks for disciplinary literacy instruction in history and social studies. Then, Wineburg (1998) conducted an expert reader study in which he compared, in close detail, the use of those heuristics by two historians with different factual and conceptual knowledge related to the reading task. This time, analysis of the think-aloud protocols revealed that extensive background knowledge related to the reading task was not a prerequisite to practice sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization. In fact, the approach to reading fostered by these heuristics empowered the reader to overcome the gaps in their knowledge and learn something new. These studies, as well as subsequent research built upon Wineburg's findings (De La Paz, 2005; Monte-Sano et al., 2017; Nokes, 2010, 2013; Reisman, 2012; VanSledright, 2002), reconceptualized what it means to learn history and encouraged teachers to embed opportunities for students to learn to read like a historian in their classes. Efforts to shift instructional routines to help students practice source, contextualize, and corroborate historical documents have been supported by this strong body of research. However, shifts toward embedding disciplinary reading in the other social studies subjects have lacked similar support, leaving teachers in those areas no choice but to adapt the history heuristics to their classroom.

A study conducted by Shanahan et al. (2011) offers insight into the validity of this practice as well as a model for studying the transferability of the history heuristics to civics. Up

to this point, research focused on how disciplinary experts read differently than novices (Wineburg 1991a) or compared experts within a discipline (Wineburg, 1998). In this study, Shanahan et al. compared reading practices across disciplines by asking experts in history, mathematics, and chemistry to think-aloud while they read texts from their discipline. Their goal was to identify reading differences across the disciplines to inform the development of appropriate instructional strategies for fostering disciplinary literacy instruction in those areas. They cited cognitive science's long history of using the expert or expert-novice model to discern what constitutes quality performance in a given area as their justification for this approach. Given the exploratory nature of their study, they chose to limit the number of experts to two from each discipline, believing that in-depth study of a few experts would provide the most fruitful points of comparison.

Shanahan et al.'s (2011) think-aloud sessions with historians confirmed Wineburg's (1991a) findings. Their sessions with the mathematicians and chemists offered interesting insight into the extent to which experts in those disciplines included sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration in their reading routines. Because this EPP will attempt to draw similar comparisons, those insights are described below.

Sourcing. In stark contrast to historians, mathematicians gave no specific consideration to the author of the text and argued what really mattered to them was on the page. Chemists, on the other hand, paid more attention to the source of the information but used the author as a predictor of quality or as a text selection factor. Neither the mathematician nor the chemist showed any evidence of using an awareness of the author in an interpretive way during reading or as a tool to uncover the subtext of what they were reading.

Contextualization. Neither mathematician considered any contextual factors in their reading of the text and emphasized that they read to understand the words on the page alone. Shanahan et al. found that the chemists contextualized, however it was for different purposes than historians. Given the rapid changes in scientific research, the chemists stated that the time period in which the text is written is important in determining whether or not the research is outdated. Yet, during the think-aloud sessions the chemists contextualized mainly to determine the text's relevance to their research interests. For them, contextualization had more to do with what they chose to read rather than how they read it.

Corroboration. Each expert corroborated what they were reading with their own background knowledge as well as drew connections between the texts as the read, but the historians “made more explicit and unsolicited remarks about the interpretive use of corroboration than did the mathematicians or chemists” (Shanahan et al., 2011, p. 412). While historians use corroboration as a way of building an interpretation, mathematicians used corroboration to limit their tendency to interpret in order to attend to the precision of their mathematics. In other words, corroboration was used to limit potential misinterpretation by checking their understanding of the concept across texts. The only time it was used compare one text or author to another was in determining which text was easier to understand. Chemists also corroborated they read across multiple texts for the purpose of identifying similarities and differences in research methods and attributed differences in results to the experimental design and conditions, not any bias on the part of the researcher.

Shanahan et al. (2011) concluded that the extent to which the sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration heuristics were used was tethered to the way in which knowledge is created within a discipline. These heuristics enable the reader to access and evaluate information found

outside the text, what Wineburg (1991b, 1998) referred to as the subtext. Using these heuristics to access the subtext is fundamental to the critical reading practices of historians because it gives them the ability to determine the credibility of the sources they read as they construct interpretations of the past. The interpretive nature of the discipline requires historians to engage in these reading practices to a high degree. The disciplines of chemistry and mathematics seek to limit interpretation and are more inclined to interrogate the contents of the literal text before them, which limits their need to source, contextualize, and corroborate while reading disciplinary texts. While chemists and mathematicians did engage in these strategies to a degree, it was for different quite purposes.

Although Shanahan et al. (2011) admitted their findings were exploratory, at best, this study provided evidence that disciplinary expertise affects how readers read. They acknowledged that this limited the generalizability of their conclusions; however, their intent was to identify potential insights into how disciplinary reading instruction could be improved and as well as offer recommendations for future disciplinary literacy studies. Shanahan et al.'s expert reader model as well as their think-aloud methodology is adopted here to investigate the extent to which experts in political science read differently than historians.

Think-aloud Methodology

A think-aloud protocol is a qualitative research method used to elicit verbal reports of a subject's thoughts. In think-aloud studies, subjects report their thoughts as they perform a task. The verbalized account of the subject's thought processes, between the introduction and completion of the task, are recorded, transcribed and analyzed by researchers to uncover the strategies and problem-solving techniques subjects used in completing the task. Although they have been predominately used as a research tool in the field of cognitive psychology, think-aloud

studies have been conducted to gather and analyze the thoughts of readers throughout the twentieth century (Pressley & Afflerbach, 1995). Asking people to think aloud while reading has revealed valuable insights into the mental processing and decision-making patterns readers engage in while interacting with a text.

In their review of think-aloud methodology, Pressley and Afflerbach (1995) reduced concerns regarding the reliability of the methodology to two related questions: what is requested of the subjects and when it is requested. In addressing the first question, concerns centered on the researcher's ability to gather reports of the subject's short-term memory, rather than introspective thinking. While introspective reports may provide an interesting window into a reader's thoughts, they are considered too reflective and too prone to digression. Thinking aloud differs from introspection in two ways. First, it asks subjects to report their thoughts as they appear in their mind, not minutes or days later. Second, it asks people to report the specific contents of their thoughts, not an explanation for how those thoughts were created (Wineburg, 1991b). In order for think-aloud protocols to be used for the purposes of building theory around cognition, researchers must ensure that the process they use when engaging subjects promotes frequent, immediate reports of the contents of their short-term memory. In other words, researchers must focus on getting their subjects to give voice to, as telegraphically as possible, whatever is on their mind in the moment (incomplete thoughts, hunches, guesses, etc.).

The contents of a subject's short-term memory are fertile ground for think-aloud studies; however, capacity is limited and information is processed rapidly. For think-aloud protocols to tap into short-term memory, researchers must guide their subjects into a pattern of verbalizing what they are thinking in the moment, not of thinking for a while and then describing their thoughts. The greater the distance between the thought and the reporting of the thought, the

greater the chance that thought will be embellished or decay, limiting the accuracy of the report. For think-aloud studies of reading, this means anchoring the subject's verbal reports to the text in-hand, while frequently prompting the reader to verbalize the voice in their head.

Pressley and Afflerbach (1995) reference Ericsson and Simon as the authorities on think-aloud methodology. Most significant to this dissertation were the recommendations related to crafting the directions given to subjects during the think-aloud session. For the data to reflect exactly what the subject is thinking, the directions should prompt subjects to report their thoughts as accurately as possible and not to concern themselves with formulating more coherent or complete reports of their thinking. Ericsson and Simon (1993) also recommended that researchers craft directions that strike a balance between discouraging subjects from censoring their reports, yet resisting the urge to explain their thinking. For studies seeking to gain insights about reading from expert readers, they recommended that researchers develop procedures to slow the processing down. Suggestions included presenting the text sentence by sentence or prompting subjects to provide *retrospective reports* of what they were just thinking about. They described two types of retrospective reports. The first involves the researcher signaling the reader to stop in the middle of reading to report the contents of their thoughts. That signal could take the form of a predetermined tone or simply asking the reader "what are you thinking?" The other type of retrospective report involves interviewing or giving the subject a questionnaire after the reading session. While this does not slow down the reader's mental processing during reading, Ericsson and Simon assert that it is an acceptable method for researchers to use to uncover specific things they were looking for that were not openly revealed during the think-aloud session.

Method

These recommendations aligned with the methodology and research designs employed by Wineburg (1991a, 1998), Shanahan & Shanahan (2008), and Shanahan et al. (2011) and provided actionable details for conducting a think-aloud study with expert readers across the social studies disciplines. Based on the literature review conducted for this dissertation, this is the first expert-reader study to consider the reading of political scientists. The think-aloud protocols gathered from the political scientists in this study replicated the qualitative methodology used by Wineburg (1991a, 1998), Shanahan & Shanahan (2008), and Shanahan et al. (2011).

Disciplinary Experts. Two political scientists (PS1 and PS2) were recruited from a university in the Delaware area. PS1 was an assistant professor who specializes in democratic theory and twentieth-century political and social thought and has taught courses related to those areas at the university level since 2012. He has multiple peer-reviewed publications related to democratic political theory. PS2 was a recently retired professor who had 40 years of experience teaching political science at the university level. His areas of expertise include American politics, the Presidency, and Presidential elections. He authored three books on contemporary American presidents and continues to publish articles in academic journals and traditional media outlets. Both expert readers possessed doctoral degrees in political science. Their areas of expertise factored into the selection of the texts that were selected for this study.

Task Design. The overriding goal in designing the reading task was to combine canonical political science texts with lesser known texts that could be used to investigate a concept related to one of Delaware's high school civics standards. Consideration was given to Galloway et al.'s (2013) ideas on designing text-based investigations that expose students to the

continuum of disciplinary texts. The selection of upper-level disciplinary text was informed by Diamant, Howat, and Lacombe's (2017) identification of the canon of American politics, gathered from the analysis of graduate-level political science syllabi. Additional, related texts were gathered from an American government reader (Woll, 2012), popular in Advanced Placement (AP) government classes. The rationale for using the AP texts centered on the desire for the text set to represent sources that leaned toward the disciplinary end of Galloway et al.'s continuum and were used in a high school classroom. The intersection of the expert readers' areas of expertise helped to further narrow the text selection to sources related to Delaware Civics Standard Two(a) and the question: To what extent are political parties necessary to democracy?

The text set included four texts related to the role of political parties in democracy. This was more than the three texts used in Shanahan et al.'s (2011) expert readers study, yet fewer than the eleven texts used in Wineburg's 1991 study and the seven texts in his 1998 study. However, the sources Wineburg used in his study were short excerpts. A word count tally of the eleven excerpts used in the 1991 study came to 1,801 words. The seven excerpts used in his 1998 study totaled 1,621. The four texts used in this study totaled 2,107 words. Due to the complexity of the concepts at the heart of this study and the density of the texts reviewed in the selection process the decision was made to go with fewer, longer excerpts. The overall word and text counts of the previous studies helped ensure the readers in this study engaged a similar amount of text.

There were several important considerations in selection each of the sources. Document A was an excerpt of *Federalist No. 10* by James Madison (see Appendix A) which along with the rest of the Federalist Papers came in as the eleventh most popular text in the discipline's canon

(Diament et al., 2017). The choice reflected an effort to include at least one source primary to the founding of American democracy. Another excerpted version of this also appears in a lesson that currently appears in Delaware's Recommended Curriculum for high school civics. Document B was an excerpt of written by E.E. Schattschneider in 1942, whose name appears multiple times in Diament et al.'s political science canon, and offers counterarguments to Madison's assertions about parties in Document A. Document C, also published in 1942, injected author Ernst Barker's British perspective on parties and democracy. Document D was an excerpt from a lesser known text from a more contemporary book written by Arthur Paulsen in 2007. Each of these sources appear in AP government supplemental text cited above (Woll, 2012). Taken together, these texts provide the readers with opportunities to source multiple authors, dates, and places, corroborate competing ideas regarding the role of parties in democracy, and contextualize the claims across a chronology that extends from 1787 to 2007.

Procedure. The researcher met with each expert reader individually in a quiet location of the reader's choosing. Subjects were reminded that their participation in the study was voluntary and that the session was being audio recorded solely for the purposes of this project. The researcher then reviewed the purpose of the project and provided an overview of the procedures they were about to complete. Each subject was given a pen, a notepad, and a copy the directions for the think-aloud so that they could refer to them throughout the session (see Appendix B). They were told that the purpose of the session was to uncover the processes they engaged in while reading disciplinary texts. There was no discussion of the history heuristics or anything specific the researcher was hoping to uncover about their reading. They were advised to read each source in their role as a political scientist studying a topic important to their discipline.

Think-aloud. Subjects practiced the think-aloud procedure using an article outside of their area of expertise. In this case, a recent article on fish from the science section of the May 10, 2019 edition of the *New York Times* was selected (Klein, 2019). Based on the literature on think-aloud research methodology (Ericsson & Simon, 1993), subjects do not need substantial training in order to think-aloud while reading. The subjects were given the opportunity to ask questions about the think-aloud directions and once they were comfortable with the process the recorder was turned on and the actual think-aloud session began. Each practice session took less than five minutes.

Presentation of the texts. The researcher advised subjects that they would be presented with a series of texts selected to help them uncover the extent to which political parties are necessary to democracy. They were advised that the first minute of the think-aloud session could feel awkward, but were assured that once they became absorbed in the reading activity reporting their thoughts would become more fluent. They were encouraged to report any thought as it arose and were given no specific direction for when or what to comment upon. Documents were presented one at a time but readers were advised that they were allowed to flip back and forth between the documents after their initial readings. To ensure they remained focused on this specific inquiry, readers were reminded of their purpose for reading at the presentation of each new document.

Based on Ericsson and Simon's (1993) recommendation for conducting think-aloud sessions with expert readers, two types of retrospective reporting procedures were used to slow down the processing of the texts. First, if the participant became silent, the researcher asked them one of two questions "What are you thinking?" or "Why did you pause?" Each of these prompts were also used in Wineburg's (1991a) study to gently remind the reader to verbalize their

thoughts in order to promote frequent, immediate reports of the contents of their short-term memory. Second, time was allotted at the end of each document to allow readers pause and report their final thoughts about the text before proceeding to the next source. These retrospective reports were also gathered in both Wineburg's (1991a, 1998) studies.

Exit Interview. Both expert readers participated in an exit interview. Researchers in the think-aloud literature warned that think-aloud data gathered from working memory will always be incomplete and potentially exclude a number of thought processes not held in the reader's working memory long enough to be expressed verbally. Exit interviews are the most widely used strategy to recover and add depth to the data gathered about the reader's thought process. During the exit interviews, the researcher asked probing questions based on comments made during each reader's think-aloud session. The goal of the interview was to gather specific information that could help the researcher interpret the think-aloud data while not distorting or biasing the initial think-aloud verbalization. If, at the end of the think-aloud, the participant had not mentioned or practiced one or more of the history heuristics (sourcing, contextualizing, or corroboration) the researcher described the heuristic and asked the reader to comment on the practice. During the interview session, the researcher also allowed time for more open-ended, introspective discussion of the reading practices of political scientists. Exit interviews were used to gather this type of information in both the expert reader studies conducted by Shanahan et al. (2011) and Wineburg (1998).

Data Analysis. The researcher listened to the audio recording of each session multiple times from beginning to end, then transcribed verbatim. The think-aloud protocols were close to the same length. PS1 spent 42 minutes with the text set and PS2 spent 51 minutes. The transcription of each was analyzed for comments that surfaced the use of the history heuristics.

Information gathered regarding the heuristics during the exit interviews was coded separately to maintain the integrity of the think-aloud data.

Coding. The following codes were used to analyze the reading protocols.

Sourcing. Comments coded as sourcing were offered at the outset of reading and were devoted to looking at the author, the date and place the text was created, the intended audience, or the genre of the text in an effort to build an anticipatory framework for the text ahead.

Corroboration. This code was given to comments that exposed the reader's sensitivities to inconsistencies between the texts, drew connections between the texts, or check details and ideas in one text against another.

Contextualization. Comments related to situating the text in a time and place were sifted out as contextualization and then given one of the six sub-codes developed by Wineburg (1998) in his expert reader study.

1. *Spatio-temporal* comments focused on situating the text, event, concept or author in a geographic place or time.
2. *Social-rhetorical* comments attended to the societal demands that may have influenced the authors point of view, including the intellectual and ideological landscape at the time the text was created.
3. *Biographic* comments considered the life histories of individuals, their lived experiences, character, and beliefs that framed their understanding of the world.
4. *Historiographic* comments referenced the body of historical writing on this particular topic.

5. *Linguistic* comments concentrated on the historical meanings of the words, terms or phrases used in the text, including how those meanings may differ from the way those terms are used today.
6. *Analogical* comments tried to explain the events or actions in the text by comparing them to other historical contexts.

Each transcription was coded for the three broad categories. After that initial coding was reviewed, the contextualization sub-codes were added. Once the think-aloud protocols had been fully coded, information gathered during the exit interview sessions went through the same coding process.

Results

The distribution of think-aloud comments coded across the three heuristics are summarized in Figure 3. Comments that received a spatio-temporal, analogical or historiographic sub-code are stacked in the contextualization category. Analysis of this data revealed that the political scientists approached reading the disciplinary texts in this study in ways similar to the three reading heuristics practiced by historians. Deeper examination of the comments coded within each heuristic revealed differences in how these political scientists applied those reading heuristics within their discipline's investigative practices.

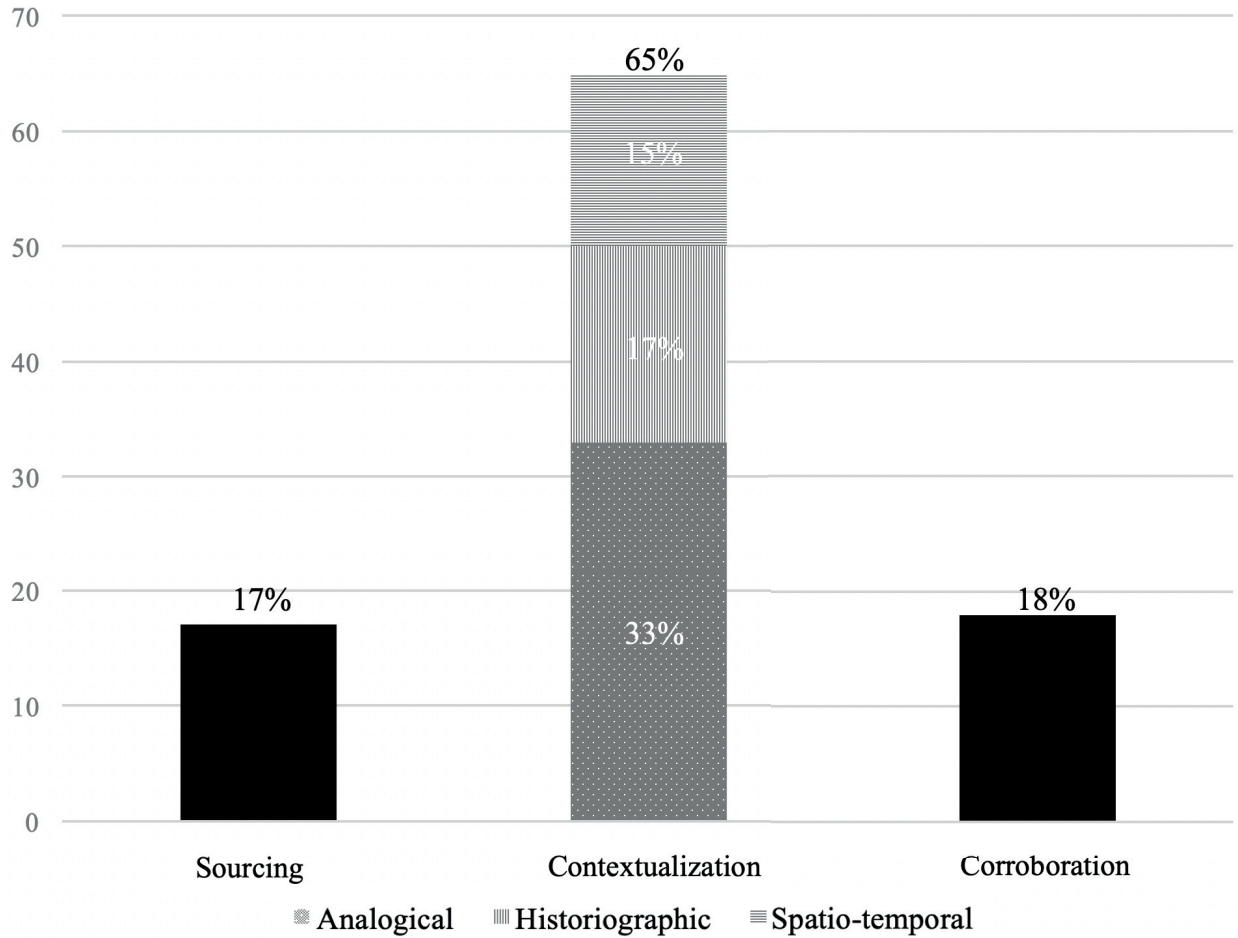


Figure 3. Distribution of think-aloud reading comments by code.

Sourcing. The political scientists sourced each text at the outset of reading 100 percent of the time. As Figure 3 shows, 17 percent of all think-aloud comments were coded as sourcing. High quality sourcing for historians consists of looking at the author, the date and place the source was created, the intended audience, and the genre of the text in order to build an anticipatory framework for the reading ahead. Comments made by both political scientists revealed that they consistently looked at the author and date the text was created to frame their approach to what they were about to read. At the outset of reading, no comments were made that demonstrated attention to the location, intended audience, or genre of the text. Attention to the nationality of the author of Document C appeared later in comments related to contextualization.

PS1. After reading the citation for Document A (but before reading the body of the document), PS1 indicated that “this is a very famous document where he talks about faction, so I am already familiar with his argument.” Later, while reading the text, he thought-aloud:

So, here I was running a bit ahead of this document. Because I was already familiar with the document I also thought about his argument against particular ways of controlling the dangerous implications of faction.

The practice of sourcing and the revelation that he was already very familiar with Document A enabled PS1 to anticipate the contents of the text and subsequently build connections to his knowledge of Madison’s argument that did not appear in this excerpt. Despite the complexity of the 18th century language employed by Madison, PS1’s familiarity with both the author and the text enabled a rapid processing of the argument advanced and a total think-aloud time of 3 minutes and 9 seconds.

In sourcing the remaining three documents in the set, a trend developed between the information gathered from sourcing and the time spent processing the argument in the text. The less familiar PS1 was with the author or text, the more skeptical he was in his approach and the more time he spent reading and thinking-aloud. After reading the attribution for Document B, PS1 stated that the author was “a famous political scientist whose work was very influential in the post-WWII era,” but indicated that “I am not familiar with this particular document... I am familiar with Schattschneider’s [author] other works but not with this particular article or book.” Here again, PS1’s familiarity with the author enabled him to conduct a quick, preliminary check of the author’s credentials and the historical era in which the text was written. However, his lack of familiarity with this specific text slowed his reading process and he spent approximately 50

percent more time reading Document B. This trend continued with Document C. At the outset of reading that text, PS1 thought-aloud:

Okay, so this excerpt is from reflections on government by Ernst Barker. I know who he is, but I am not as familiar with his work as I am with the work of Madison and Schattschneider and he seems to date a little bit earlier than Schattschneider, so his working years seem to be primarily 1920s and 30s, he died in 1960, so 40s and 50s too...

Here, PS1 combined his consideration of the author's working years with his own background knowledge to build an anticipatory framework for the argument he was about to encounter in the body of the text. The information gathered from sourcing the text provoked a closer read and a more intensely analytic reading posture with this text and increased the time he spent with this document. Finally, when sourcing Document D, PS1 explained that he was not familiar with the author or the text, but noted that "this is a pretty recent book, published in 2007." He used the date of publication to anchor his analysis of the argument and throughout the think-aloud drew connections to contemporary politics that he had not made with the previous texts. His lack of familiarity with both the author *and* the text increased the time he spent thinking aloud by two minutes beyond the previous three documents.

PS2. The second political scientist also sourced each document prior to reading the body of the text. While sourcing Document A, PS2 demonstrated his knowledge of the author when he noted that the citation "left out that he [Madison] attended Princeton University." At that time, he also stated "I must admit that his [Madison's] writing is always... I always found it difficult to read the Federalist Papers." Despite this admission, PS2 read this text faster than the other three in this set. In sourcing Document B, he thought-aloud "I've actually read quite a bit of E. E. Schattschneider." Based on this familiarity, PS2 issued a preliminary assessment of the point of

view he expected the author to take. After reading a few sentences in Document B, PS2 confirmed his prediction that the text was “as much pro-party as it is anti-party, as you can see right from the beginning.” The first thoughts he verbalized when encountering Document C were “I don’t know Ernst Barker [author] or his work.” PS2 expressed a similar lack of knowledge when he sourced Document D. Lack of familiarity uncovered in the sourcing process led to increased uncertainty, perhaps humility, in his approach to reading these documents, compared to the previous two documents. This uncertainty revealed itself in the reading protocol through increases in the questions PS2 voiced about each author’s argument as well as increased time spent with these two sources. This trend is consistent with PS1’s reading of the same sources.

Exit interviews. According to Wineburg (1991a), the sourcing heuristic tells historians to first look at the source or attribution of a document in order to develop hypotheses about what could appear in the body of the text, the stance the author might take, and their truthfulness or accuracy. Based on the analysis of these reading protocols, the two political scientists sourced the texts in ways similar to historians. Their skeptical approach triggered by information gathered from sourcing is consistent with historians’ approach to reading historical evidence. When the sourcing heuristic was explained in them in their exit interviews, each indicated that they sourced these documents like historians. As PS2 explained:

That is what I did... I did look, in each instance, and ask did I know the author, when was he writing? I actually misidentified... when I first looked at it, the context of this author, the Brit [Document C, Ernst Barker], so I didn’t put him at the beginning of WWII. I originally misunderstood and thought he was writing in the 1950s.

PS2’s misidentification could account for lack of any comment on this author’s nationality during the sourcing phase of his reading.

Upon hearing the researcher explain the process historians use when sourcing a document, PS1 stated:

It's kind of funny to hear you say that because that's exactly what I did and I think it is part of my training... and that's what I emphasize in my teaching as well when I teach certain political ideas. That is what I do, I teach political ideas and the history of political ideas. So, in that sense I might be closer to historians than perhaps other political scientists. But... [when reading] you have to know that this thinker is a 19th-century thinker or a 20th Century thinker. Right? You don't have to know the exact years, but you have to know the century or the broad historical background in order to make sense of their claims and arguments... So, Madison is a great example. Even though the idea and the Constitution is inherited to us as a very general thing... at the time it was conceived it was a response to a very particular concern, especially the tyranny of the majority and he briefly talked about the distribution of wealth. And, you know, what Madison had in mind of course was the majority poor and their challenges to the legitimacy of the American government. So, these sorts of things I think are very, very important to know before you try to understand the language itself because when taken in abstract it is sometimes not clear what that word means.

Here, PS1 indicates that part of his disciplinary training, as well as how he trains his political science students, is to first treat each text as an argument of human construction. Just like historians, this involves using strategies that reach beyond the literal text grasp the biases, motivations and convictions of the author. Sourcing helps the reader engage the author and situate them as a thinker within the spirit of the times in which they lived. According to PS1, only then can the reader make sense of the claims and arguments the author advances. This step

is critical to an accurate assessment of the text and its evidentiary value within the discipline's investigatory pursuits.

When PS2 was asked about what he hoped to achieve when looking at a text's attribution, he replied:

I'm interested in who is writing in order to determine what the author's intellectual context is. If readily determined, where was he or she educated? Some universities are famous for developing a particular approach to studying politics. Does the author have a body of work that is well-known over time? Has he or she developed an argument systematically?

Herein lies an important distinction between the way historians and these political scientists sourced documents and it could be attributed to differences in the nature of the inquiries conducted in their disciplines. Similar to historians, these political scientists treated the texts as arguments, constructed by people who possess points of view, emotions, and interests that are influenced by the times in which they lived. And, just like historians, they sourced the documents to gain access to that information; however, what they did with that information was slightly different. Historical inquiry is a process of asking questions and analyzing the available evidence in order to answer that question which then becomes an interpretation of the past. For historians, sourcing is used to frame a window into the subtext of each piece of evidence so that they may begin the process of assessing its accuracy and credibility. These assessments factor into how the historian might use that evidence in constructing their interpretation of the past. Even though the text set used in this investigation spanned the period from 1787 to 2007, these political scientists showed no interest in constructing a historical interpretation of the role of political parties in a democracy. Instead of interpreting the past, they focused on interpreting the

arguments and the merits of those arguments in relation to contemporary government and politics. They used the sourcing heuristic to uncover information that would help them, as PS1 stated, make sense of the author's claims. Or, as PS2 noted, to determine author's intellectual context. Whereas historians use sourcing to preliminarily determine the credibility, intent, and perspective of the author, these political scientists sourced the documents to place the argument in an intellectual context related to ideas about democracy and political parties. This initial search for context helped begin the process of evaluating the argument presented. Although this text set contained differing points of view and arguments concerning the role of political parties in a democracy, it did not contain, in the eyes of these readers, sources that lacked credibility. To assess a political scientists' use of the sourcing heuristic as a tool for assessing credibility, it may be necessary to include a source that lacks credibility or with which they are not familiar. This is the problem resulting from choosing canonical texts. Future research into political scientists' sourcing practices should consider including less familiar texts or texts with ranges of credibility.

Contextualization. The political scientists observed in this study extended and deepened their attention given to context while scouring was extended and deepened when they encountered the argument in the body of the texts. As shown in Figure 3, contextualization accounted for 65 percent of the total think-aloud comments coded for the three heuristics. As explained earlier, according to Wineburg (1998) the conception of context is at the heart of historical expertise. Based on the distribution of the coded comments, the same could be true for expert reading in political science. Skilled use of the contextualization heuristic by historians goes beyond taking note of when and where a text was created to speculating on how those factors may have influenced its content and purpose. This helps inform the historians' judgements about the value of a document in answering a particular investigative question and

develop a more complete understanding of the text and its evidentiary value. The comments made by both political scientists revealed pervasive attention to contextual factors in their evaluation of the argument advanced in each text.

Categorizing their contextualization comments into Wineburg's (1998) six sub-codes revealed that these political scientists were similar to historians in their consideration of spatio-temporal, analogical, and historiographic context. All think-aloud comments related to contextualization sorted into these three categories. However, political scientists differed in their application of those lenses. For instance, in the case of historiographic contextualization, the sub-code was expanded beyond historiography to capture comments that referenced scholarly research in political science. No comments received a social rhetorical, biographic, or linguistic sub-code.

Spatio-temporal. Like historians, both political scientists verbalized thoughts that revealed efforts to situate each text, author, and argument in a time or geographic place. The spatio-temporal sub-code accounted for 23 percent of the comments coded for the contextualization heuristic and 15percent of all think-aloud comments. While reading Document A, PS1 commented that Madison's argument about the dangers of faction was made in the context of "designing the basic framework of the American government." PS2 used the text's spatio-temporal context to help him understand Madison's argument. Soon after sourcing, he thought-aloud:

I never quite understood why the union would break the violence of faction... they were very worried about popular governments. I'm not quite sure what he is referencing... I mean the context in which he is writing this, 1787... you wonder about that... what was immediately in his mind at that point?

Here, the act of pausing and reminding himself of the date of the text is a prime example of the way spatio-temporal contextualization can be used to probe for subtext that could help the reader understand the argument they are reading.

In reading Schattschneider's argument in Document B, both political scientists situated the text in the post-WWII era and connected it to political events of that period. In analyzing the argument, PS2 fell into a pattern of paraphrasing the text, then commenting on contextual factors that shed light on what he just read, such as "makes me think of Nazi Germany and other totalitarian systems from that time." Later in his reading of the same document he combined his background knowledge of historical context to challenge Schattschneider's claim:

Right, here is more evidence of his [Schattschneider's] attitude "never occurred to the authors of the Constitution that parties might be used as beneficent instruments of popular government." But, popular government was not their [founders'] goal.

The use of spatio-temporal context to question or support an author's claim appeared in both reader's comments while analyzing Paulsen's argument in Document D. PS1 used his background knowledge to add context to evidence that the author used in his argument:

So, he talks about how the American Political Science Association Committee on political parties made recommendations back in 1950... and this is a story I am already familiar with... I think they were tasked with making recommendations to the government about how to improve American democracy and they came up with a set of proposals focused on improving political parties... and I am not reading the article I am speaking from my previous knowledge...

In the middle of paraphrasing a passage from the same document, PS2 rechecked the date of the text and questioned a claim made by the author:

“[Paused stated] ideological polarization is much more advanced on issues couched in social and cultural terms.” This is written in 2007... makes you think about immigration as an issue. Is that a racial and cultural issue? It certainly has some overtones of racial. It also has overtones of economic issues.

Here, he used his knowledge of related political issues from the context of the text (immigration, race, and economic) to probe the author’s claim regarding the primary causes of ideological polarization in 2007.

The use of geographic context appeared in PS2’s analysis of Barker’s argument in Document C. In the middle of the reading, PS2 remarked “this is clearly written by a Brit,” then he concluded his reading of the text with “this is a 1942 Brit.” This was the only instance when geography (or more specifically, nationality) appeared in the reading protocols of either reader. The inclusion of one, non-American perspective on parties and democracy was purposeful in the text-set’s design.

Analogical. The analogical sub-code accounted for 52 percent of the comments coded for the contextualization heuristic and 33 percent of all think-aloud comments. Historians engage in analogical contextualization in order to understand the events or actions in the text by comparing them to other historical contexts. PS2 consistently used his knowledge of related historical and contemporary contexts to critique claims and evidence used by the authors in the construction of their argument. While PS2’s focus was on critiquing the arguments advanced, and not on developing a historical interpretation of those arguments, his use of analogous historical contexts to develop a clearer understanding of the text is similar to historians.

While reading Document A, PS2 paraphrased components of Madison’s argument and tested them against comparable historical contexts. In pulling apart Madison’s argument, he noted:

And this is an even more... even more, um, well known passage: ‘the latent causes of faction sewn into the nature of man’... Makes me think of religion, government, and many other points... today, we’d have just this plethora of issues [that could be the source of faction] ... Personal factions, I mean in the era of Trump this would certainly be activated again.

Later, he connected Madison’s claims to an influential late 19th century political philosopher:

Distribution of property, he [Madison] certainly was not revolutionary in that sense, those who own, those who are without property... that didn’t mean the same to him as it meant to Karl Marx or others.

Here, PS2 focused in on Madison’s conception distribution of property and sought to deepen his understanding of the Madison’s thoughts by distinguishing them from Marx’s socialist philosophies. PS2 continued to use his knowledge of analogous contemporary contexts when he confirmed one of Schattschneider’s argument in Document B by stating “[nodded yes] ... that makes me think of the differences between the Democrats and Republicans in contemporary congressional life.”

In his reading of Document C, PS2 assessed the British author’s claims about parties and democracy by comparing them to contemporary American political scholarship. After identifying the author as “a Brit,” PS2 distinguished the author’s definition of democracy from how “our system of democracy” defines it:

Government by the people... the word democracy is synonymous with popular government? I'm not sure that's true at all... The "will of the people must prevail?" If that's the definition of democracy, he leaves out a lot from our system of democracy, such as defense of minority rights.

He continued this analogy by pulling apart Barker's conception of democracy:

This is clearly written by a Brit, when he talks about the system of government by discussion proceeds through four main stages, first to party, next to the electorate.

Americans would reverse, they would say firstly, divisions within the electorate and then the expression of those divisions within a party and with different parties. So, he sees parties as largely an elitist structure... Americans would see them as the expression of different interests and divisions...

Here, PS2 extended analogical contextualization beyond using comparable historical contexts (like historians) to include other nations or political systems. In other words, to achieve his goal of making sense of and critiquing the author's argument, PS2's contextualization efforts extended beyond Wineburg's (1998) conception of the historian's use of the heuristic.

PS2's use of his knowledge of historical and contemporary contexts resurfaced in his critique of the Document D. He challenged the argument presented regarding policymaking and polarization by citing the Great Depression, WWII, and 9/11 eras as exceptions to the author's assertion. Later, he again challenged the author with questions that used contemporary politicians: "so, then, how does one explain Bernie Sanders [U.S. Senator]? And AOC [Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio Cortez] and the progressives?" He wrapped up his assessment of the author's argument with:

Ideological polarization is something brand new? ... Um, going back in history, we saw it prior to the Civil War, we saw something like that at the end of the 19th century. We couldn't measure it, but I'm not sure it is something that is brand new in American political life.

Aided by his background knowledge, PS2 was able to weigh the author's claims against other contexts and assess the evidentiary value of Document D in answering the investigation's driving question. His use of contemporary and historical contexts aligned with historian's use of this heuristic; however, the expansion of analogical contextualization to include other political or national contexts did not appear in Wineburg's (1991a, 1998) explanation of the heuristic.

Historiographic. The historiographic sub-code accounted for 26 percent of the comments coded for the contextualization heuristic and 17 percent of all think-aloud comments. Wineburg (1998) used this sub-code to classify historians' efforts to contextualize a document by referencing the body of historical writing related to the topic. Political scientists do not typically engage in historiography, nor does the discipline have a singular term that is comparable. However, each political scientist referenced the body of scholarly research and debate related to the arguments advanced in the texts during their think-aloud sessions. Those comments were sub-coded as historiography for comparison purposes, yet future use of this sub-code with political scientists would merit a change to a more appropriate sub-code title, such as "scholarly research."

In reading Schattschneider's argument in Document B, PS1's background knowledge of the author's body of research enabled him to place the argument he was reading in this particular excerpt within the context of the same author's other scholarly work. He speculated aloud "I know Schattschneider as a defender of more coherent parties, so I think that's reflected here in

his critique of the Madisonian Constitution.” PS2 also remarked that he was familiar with Schattschneider’s research and used that knowledge at several points in his assessment of the argument advanced in Document B.

After acknowledging that he knew little about Barker, the author of Document C, PS1 was able to compare the argument in the text to his knowledge of other scholarly research in this area. After paraphrasing one of Barker’s claims, PS1 thought-aloud:

This is kind of interesting and I am thinking aloud here, really literally, because usually today we would understand that democratic discussion would begin from the people and then it would move to the party where diverse views are kind of streamlined and collected and categorized in a different way. This is an interesting... an interesting view. It’s not an unnecessarily controversial view, but it may be at odds with the image of democracy that many political scientists and students might have.

Identifying the claim as outside of the body of disciplinary research piqued PS1’s interest and triggered increased curiosity in, and perhaps scrutiny of, the nuances of the author’s argument. It is important to note that PS1’s identification of Barker’s argument as outside the body of secondary literature on democratic theory did not lead to a dismissal, but rather heightened interest in the author’s claims. The political scientist’s disciplinary knowledge relative to the arguments advanced in these texts enhanced their ability to contextualize each author’s claims and deepened their ability to understand the text in front of them.

Exit Interviews. According to Wineburg (1991a), the contextualization heuristic tells historians that “when trying to reconstruct historical events, pay close attention to *when* they happen and *where* they took place” (p. 80, emphasis in the original). This articulation captures not only what historians should do while reading (attend to when and where the text was

created), but also why they do it (to evaluate the text as evidence in their recreation of the past). Their use of the contextualization heuristic is inextricably connected to the nature of their disciplinary inquiry. Data gathered from each political scientist's exit interview added depth to their use of contextualization during the think-aloud session and drew a distinction between the types of inquiries in which historians and political scientist engage.

After hearing an explanation of how historians incorporate contextualization into their reading process, PS1 stated that:

...it's not just a matter of kind of locating the author in a particular time and place, but it's also about locating isolated, individual arguments and concepts in relation to other concepts. ... Right, so those are two things that I try consistently to highlight in my teaching. One is to situate the author in a particular place and time, but at the same time, secondly, trying to make connections between different components of his argument especially about making clear about the assumptions and the definitions that the author uses to arrive at conclusions.

Here, PS1's response supports the identification of both spatio-temporal and historiographic contextualization comments in the transcript of his think-aloud reading protocol. His explanation of the way he contextualizes while reading includes attention to linking the argument he is reading in the text to the arc of political science scholarship, thinking, and ideas on that topic.

When he was asked to elaborate on why he includes contextualization in his reading process, PS1 responded:

Because it helps me understand particular points in the text in relation to historical events, scholarly (or broader intellectual/cultural) debates, and so on that may be pertinent.... scholarly arguments usually build on the tradition. So, it is useful to know

not just the proximate historical context but also the longer history of concepts (e.g., how the nature and function of political party was conceived differently and debated). One additional thing is that scholarly arguments are typically situated in a network or universe of concepts (e.g., political party is situated in a conceptual universe comprising political power, liberalism, democracy, etc.), so familiarity in that area can be also useful.

Though similar to historiography, PS1's inclusion of knowledge of the history of concepts, scholarly debates, and their situation within a network of disciplinary arguments into his contextualization process creates a deeper, more discipline-specific conceptualization of the heuristic. That discipline-specific use of contextualization is tied to the differences in the types of questions the disciplines pursue.

The distinction between the questions each discipline pursues surfaced in PS2's exit interview. After he heard the same description of how historians contextualize, PS2 claimed that he did some of that, but "not as much as a historian would do." He went on to explain that "political scientists are less interested in the details of the context of someone's argument than they are the general development of the ideas." He indicated that there are schools or traditions within political science, but that most contemporary political scientists engage in empirical research to find what he called "general truths." When asked to elaborate on what he thought the differences between the history and political science approach were, he said:

My understanding of historiography is that historians seek to place an historian's work within the context of other interpretations of an era or subject.... If political scientists are pursuing general truths that can be empirically demonstrated and tested, it is less important when they are writing than what their methods and assumptions might be....

This is probably the difference between a basically humanities discipline like history and

a social science discipline like political science. There are also humanities strains within political science, particularly political theory. But the dominant strain in the discipline since the 1950's has been an empirically-based approach to studying politics. More and more sophisticated methods to analyze the data could produce different results, but not in the same way that intellectual eras or fashion influence historians.

PS2's distinction between history's humanities approach and the social science approach adopted by contemporary political scientists is not new. However, that distinction is important to the findings of this study. Disciplinary literacy is built upon the belief that disciplines possess specialized reading, writing, and thinking routines. Those routines are inextricably tied to the questions they pursue in their quest for new disciplinary knowledge and the evidence they use to resolve those inquiries. PS2 indicated that because his research has focused on presidents in the modern era he is much more conscious of historical contexts than many political scientists. Similarly, in his exit interview, PS1 indicated in that his focus on teaching and writing about the history of political ideas might make him closer to historians than other political scientists.

Corroboration. In the distribution of think-aloud comments across the heuristics, 18 percent were coded as corroboration. Trained, skilled historians check important details across texts before accepting them as plausible. Building credible interpretations of the past requires the use of valid, reliable evidence, so historians are trained to be sensitive to conflicting information, inconsistencies, or irregularities in the accounts they read. The coding of the think-aloud protocols surfaced corroboration efforts in each political scientist's reading routine; however, their disciplinary training and their focus on analyzing the merits of the arguments over building an interpretation of the time period in which they were created tilted their use of the heuristic.

In his analysis of the first document, PS2 noted an “interesting contrast” between Madison’s argument for quelling the dangers faction and his background knowledge of Karl Marx’s political theories. The use of background knowledge in the corroboration process was widespread in the coded comments. PS1 routinely voiced connections he was making between his background knowledge, the text he was reading, and the other documents in the set. While reading Schattschneider’s argument in Document B, PS1 remarked:

So basically, he talks about Madison’s position, the one I mentioned, but that wasn’t mentioned in the document by Madison himself; how he believed it was not feasible to destroy or suppress fundamental liberties at the root of differences in opinion. So, he, Schattschneider, talks about this as one of attitudes of the Constitution conceived at the Philadelphia convention.

Here, interestingly, PS1 corroborated what he was reading with what he read of Madison’s argument in Document A and his background knowledge of Madison’s argument beyond what was in the excerpt given to him in this session. He later went on to identify where Schattschneider’s argument challenged Madison’s position on political parties. He continued the pattern of comparing the argument in each text to the previous readings in the set. Later, he connected Barker’s claim in the second source (that differences of opinion are an enduring source of faction) to Madison’s thoughts on the sources of faction in the first document. Finally, PS1 corroborated Paulsen’s argument in Document D with Madison (Document A) and Schattschneider (Document B):

Right, so [Paulsen] thinks, as Schattschneider talked about in his excerpt... or in his critique of Madisonian democracy... as weakening political parties by too stringent a division of powers and checks and balances... it weakens and spreads the powers of

political parties too much. Paulsen says there should be a more streamlined connection between the legislative functions and the executive functions of the government.

PS1 rounded out his use of each text in the set when he tied Paulsen's argument to a claim made by Barker in Document C:

In the second item Paulsen talks about, and I think this is again in line with the excerpt by Barker to a certain extent, in that parties are to function as a framer, if you will, of democratic discussion.

During his reading of Document D, PS2 also drew a connection between Paulsen's argument for a responsible party system in America to Barker's claims regarding the virtues of that system in Britain. While the design of the task and the texts selected didn't require them to sift through conflicting information to reconstruct a historical event, they did have to work through arguments that contradicted one another. Both political scientists picked up on the inconsistencies and nuances that were woven through the different arguments and used those differences in their analysis of the text set as a whole.

Exit Interviews. Data gathered from each political scientist's exit interview added additional insight into their corroboration efforts that surfaced during the think-aloud session. After hearing the researcher's description of the way historians corroborate, PS2 again called attention to the heuristic's application within the particular inquiries practiced in the discipline of political science. He explained that, in addition to corroborating arguments against one another, a political scientist would argue that you also want to validate. It's not just corroborating what others say or others' interpretations, but you want evidence. So, a political scientist would say 'give me the empirical evidence that validates this interpretation.' I have

always thought that the kind of evidence political scientists look at, most political scientists look at, is different.

The inquiries political scientists engage in frame their selection of evidence and the reading processes they use when engaging with that evidence. Political science use more empirical methods and evidence than historians are capable of using. Thus, contemporary members of the discipline of political science have been trained to seek more than the level of corroboration that is at the heart of historical interpretation.

When asked to elaborate on his thoughts on the distinction between the inquires engaged in by the two disciplines, PS2 stated that political scientists,

formulate hypotheses rather than try to answer a question.... I think political scientists are looking for general truths and that search for general truths makes them “more scientific” than historians would be.... That is the goal that you learn in graduate school.... There will be more political scientists out there saying that our goal is to verify general truths about politics. Now, that may vary by time and place, but that search for general truths is what we’re into. It’s what disciplined political scientists are into.

Rather than pursuing questions to help reconstruct the past, political scientists take a more scientific approach. They formulate and test hypotheses in order to arrive at general truths about government, politics, and political behavior. In their examination of evidence, political scientists go beyond corroboration and seek validation, or empirically tested proof, for their general truth claims. Ultimately, PS2 explained that,

the aspiration of a political scientist would be to get to the point where your understanding of a phenomenon is so great and so precise that you would be able to make predictions. So, I tend to document the process of presidential elections. But there are

others who are in much higher esteem who argue that they can predict the outcome. So, they've developed a model, for instance, of the 2020 election that would be based on a variety of variables such as the economic condition of the country, the approval rating of the president, and so they have about 8 or 10 items, and those models give them the ability to predict.

Using evidence to build models that offer opportunities to predict future political behavior is very different than reading sources to reconstruct credible accounts of the past. It is in that divide that the differences in the use of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration in the two disciplines lie.

In his exit interview, PS1 stated that in the course of pursuing new disciplinary knowledge, part of the political scientist's corroboration process is to be aware of and check their confirmation bias. He explained that, "experts can sometimes be biased because they first set up expectations and then they read the document to confirm their expectations, so that's a danger." Confirmation bias is a *danger* that political scientists must avoid because it undermines the scientific approach required by the discipline. According to these political scientists, for a political scientist's proposed general truth is to take its place among the established knowledge in the discipline, they must check their confirmation bias and pursue evidence that not only corroborates, but validates their hypothesis.

Discussion

A response to this study's first research question, (how do experts in political science differ from historians in how they read disciplinary texts?) must start with a clarification of the differences between each discipline's approach to research and inquiry. Do political scientists source, contextualize, and corroborate while reading? Based on this study, yes. However, there

are differences in how those heuristics are applied in political science that are inextricably tied to the questions they pursue in their discipline and the evidence they use to resolve those inquiries.

To the casual observer, history and political science can appear to be very similar. Both subjects are social sciences that are squeezed in K-12 under the umbrella of social studies. History is the study of the past. Political science is the study of governments, how they work, and the politics that influence their operation. Some history is part of political science and some political science is part of history, but the academic disciplines are different. Historians seek to answer questions by piecing together and evaluating evidence so that they can construct credible interpretations of an ever elusive, unreachable past. These interpretations, although rooted in historical evidence, are conclusions drawn by historians who are often far removed from the persons or topics they are writing about. As much as history may attempt to make its methods more scientific, the discipline's creation of new historical knowledge rests significantly on the logical reasoning required when dealing with incomplete evidence which leaves new disciplinary knowledge open to reinterpretation, reexamination, and regular rewriting. This stands in contrast to the empirical approach adopted by its close social studies relative, political science. An empirically-based approach to studying government and politics was one of the first goals established by the American Political Science Association when it was formed in 1903 (Rogers, 2017) and, based on PS2's exit interview, it has been the dominant approach in the discipline since the 1950's.

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, empirical means “capable of being verified or disproved by observation or experiment” (Empirical, 2019). Political science's empirical approach has guided their adoption of methods that help them, according to PS2, “advance general truths about government and politics supported by empirical evidence”. The

general truths advanced within the discipline must be based on observed and measured phenomena, much different than historical interpretation. The discipline's scientific approach to inquiry frames the literacy routines and strategies practiced by its members. The reading protocols of these two political scientists demonstrated their efforts to read as impartial observers focused on assessing the validity of each author's argument. Neither reader gave any indication of whether they agreed or disagreed with any of the texts. Impartiality is part of a skilled historian's craft as well; however, these political scientists read through a different disciplinary lens. Political science demands that data verify, not simply corroborate, any claim. Arguments about the role of political parties in a democracy can be accepted to the extent that they are supported by empirical or observational evidence. Moreover, these political scientists were not reading to build a historical interpretation of political parties. They read to surface the arguments advanced by each author and identified connections between the authors, but in the absence of empirical data in this text set they avoided weighing in on the merits of any one author's argument.

Based on the analysis of the reading protocols and exit interviews conducted in this study, the differences between how political scientists and historians read are rooted in each discipline's approach to inquiry. An empirical approach to inquiry does not apply to the study of history. Historians cannot hypothesize, then travel back in time to gather observational data to test their hypothesis. In the absence of that ability, they have adopted comparative and interpretive methods that help them piece together artifacts from the past that they use to get close to, yet perhaps never attain, an account of what actually happened in the past. Their use of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration is intimately connected to the interpretive nature

of their discipline's inquiries. In the end, as the saying goes, history is what the historian says it is. The same cannot be said for political science.

The connection between a discipline's approach to inquiry and the reading strategies practiced by its members bears out in the way these political scientists read the texts in this study. While each political scientist practiced sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration, the discipline's scientific approach to inquiry framed their purpose for reading. That purpose drove the discipline-specific application of those heuristics to this text set. In other words, just like their social science brethren in history, these political scientists sourced, contextualized, and corroborated; however, they did so as members of a discipline trained in a more empirical approach to knowledge building. The reading differences uncovered in this study are summarized in Table 1. Future research into disciplinary literacy in economics, geography, and other social studies subjects could come to similar conclusions regarding the connection between the discipline's approach to inquiry and the literacy practices of its members.

Table 1

Summary of Differences Found in Disciplinary Reading Processes

Reading Process	History	Political Science
Sourcing	Consider the author's perspective, the date and place the author lived, their intended audience, and the genre of the text prior to reading.	Consider the author's perspective, their working years or intellectual context, and the date and place the text was created.
Contextualization	Identify of factors that shaped the content of text.	Identify factors that shaped the argument or claims advanced in the text.
Spatio-temporal	Situate the text or author in a geographic place or time.	Situate the author and their argument in a geographic place and time.
Analogical	Compare the events or actions in the text to other historical contexts.	Apply the argument in the text to other historical, political, or national contexts.
Historiographic	Reference the body of historical writing related to the text.	Reference the body scholarly research and debate in political science.
Corroboration	Check important details in a text against other texts before accepting them as plausible or likely.	Check the argument in the text against other evidence, including arguments advanced by other authors, before accepting them as a general truth. Look to validate claims with empirical evidence.

Limitations

This study has several important limitations. First, only two disciplinary experts participated in this investigation and each was only asked to read a limited collection of

disciplinary texts. Both the number of experts and texts limit the generalizability of the conclusions that can be drawn from this study. As discussed at the outset of this chapter, this is a fundamental limitation of the expert reader model. As Shanahan et al. (2011) stated, expert reader studies are “intended to identify potentially valuable insights about how reading may proceed, rather than to warrant claims about universality (i.e., all chemists read this way)” (p.423). For example, the political scientists in this study sought validation for the claims they identified in the texts, whereas Wineburg’s (1991a, 1998) research indicates that historians look to corroborate information they read. In the discussion section, this researcher hypothesized that differences like these were due to the differences in the humanities and empirical approaches practiced by these disciplines. That explanation is exploratory, at best, and should be considered grounds for future study in this area.

Second, the text set assembled for this investigation did not contain any data for the readers to analyze. As indicated earlier, the overriding goal in designing the reading task was to combine canonical political science texts with lesser known texts that could be used to investigate a concept related to one of Delaware’s high school civics standards. The text set was assembled as a collection of sources that a high school student could use to investigate a big question derived from Civics Standard Two(a). Future studies should consider sources of information that political scientists would use to investigate the topic as well. For example, an investigation related to the same civics standard could ask readers to investigate the extent to which political parties encourage participation. In that inquiry, readers may look at sources similar to the ones used in this study as well as data on voting and party membership from past elections.

Third, both political scientists who participated in this study came from specialties within political science that were, in their words, less empirical than the dominant strands of within the discipline. Each stated the focus of their work (PS1, political theory and PS2, the Presidency) puts them in closer proximity to the work of historians than many of their colleagues. Invitations to participate in this study were distributed across multiple areas of expertise within the political science department. Several professors expressed interest in the study; however, these two political scientists were the only ones able to find time in their busy schedules to participate in this study. Future research into disciplinary literacy in political science should seek to draw from the more empirical wings of the discipline.

Finally, this study used a framework taken from the study of reading practices of historians. A different, and equally valuable study would be more open-ended, simply observing how political scientists read and then comparing and contrasting the observed practices with what we know of historians.

Recommendations

The first page of Delaware's Department of Education June 2019 *Delaware Graduation Summary Statistics* highlights the state's 86.69 percent four-year high school graduation rate for 2018, up from 84.66 percent in 2016 (Delaware Department of Education, 2019a). Since the spring of 2016, the state has used the College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), that measures students' critical reading, math, and writing skills, as its statewide high school accountability assessment. In addition to being part of the high school accountability framework, students across the state continue the traditional practice of using their SAT scores to demonstrate their college readiness in their college applications. The state's most recent graduating class of 2019 had an SAT reading proficiency score of 49.77 percent, down from the

class of 2017's 52.39 percent proficiency rate (Delaware Department of Education, 2018). Delaware's SAT data is difficult to compare to the national averages, since all Delaware students take the SAT as part of the state's accountability system. Taken alone, this means that almost half, approximately 5,000 of the 10,052 graduates who took the SAT, received a diploma from the state of Delaware, yet were not proficient readers (Delaware Department of Education, 2018). Unfortunately, praiseworthy increases in the state's graduation rate do not positively correlate with the trend in the reading proficiency of those graduates.

The latest Delaware Literacy Plan, published in June of 2019, claims to establish “a framework to address the state's literacy challenges” (n.p.) rooted in the belief that “literacy success requires a combination of high-quality early learning experiences, rigorous elementary and secondary instruction and strong community support” (Delaware Department of Education, 2019b). The 37-member committee, that included school and district administration, Department of Education leadership, and college and university scholars, focused on four strategic intents: aligning core instruction to standards, implementing high quality instructional materials, enhancing early literacy instruction, and supporting educators through partnerships with institutes of higher learning. The grades targeted by those strategic intents are prekindergarten to third, absent of any strategic attention to the intermediate and disciplinary levels of Shanahan's (2008) literacy development pyramid (see Figure 1). Notwithstanding its espoused belief that literacy success requires a combination of high-quality, rigorous instruction across elementary and secondary grade levels, the committee failed to provide a vision or framework for literacy instruction beyond third grade. This omission is consistent with the national literacy community's devotion to the combination of heavy investment in primary-grade reading

instruction and a content area literacy approach to adolescent reading that was cited in the literature review.

The absence of strategic attention to post-elementary literacy development persists throughout the policy documents and webpages on the DDOE's website, including the pages and documents that frame social studies curriculum and instruction in the state. The implications of this lack of guidance and the findings of this dissertation were used to inform the creation of recommendations for teaching students to read disciplinary texts in high school civics classes. While the focus of this dissertation was civics, the following recommendations could be applied to secondary social studies in general.

Recommendation One: A Vision for Disciplinary Literacy. *Articulate and pervasively communicate a coherent vision for disciplinary literacy in social studies for all students in Delaware.* Since the Common Core Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies were adopted in 2010, the standards themselves have served as the de facto vision statement for literacy instruction in social studies. While CCSS-HST standards provide a list of instructional targets or components of disciplinary literacy, they do not establish a clear definition of a disciplinary literacy. To support the creation of a statewide vision for disciplinary literacy it is essential that stakeholders first take a strategic, collaborative approach to developing consciousness around disciplinary literacy across Delaware's social studies community. That entails working together to reach consensus around a definition of disciplinary literacy is, what it looks like, why it is needed, and how compares to the literacy approaches taken in the existing Delaware Recommended Curriculum lessons. Once consciousness has been raised, stakeholders can begin the work of crafting a vision.

In *Leading Change*, Kotter (2012) wrote that a good vision must serve three purposes: clarify the direction of change, motivate people to act in the direction of change, and help coordinate the actions of people across the organization. This involves more than crafting the type of prosaic vision statement that becomes nothing more than another empty platitude that fail to inspire the purposeful actions necessary to achieve its purported goals. To fulfill these purposes, stakeholders in Delaware's social studies community (the Department of Education, the Social Studies Coalition of Delaware, teachers and administrators) must develop a vision that moves beyond simply posting standards on websites and in lesson plans. That vision should be informed by Shanahan and Shanahan's (2008) theoretical framework for disciplinary literacy, Moje's (2008, 2015) research on disciplinary literacy pedagogy, and social studies-specific literacy studies like the ones conducted by Wineburg (1991a, 1998) and this dissertation. It must enlighten teachers to the possibilities a disciplinary literacy approach to instruction has for helping teachers teach their content, as well as help them prepare students for success on statewide accountability and college readiness assessments. It should motivate teachers to see disciplinary literacy as something new and exciting, not old wine in new bottles. A potential vision statement could be: social studies students in the state of Delaware will be apprenticed into the specialized literacy routines practiced disciplinary experts in order to empower them with the skills and dispositions required of responsible, democratic citizenship. For this to happen, social studies leaders must be careful to avoid the missteps (detailed in Chapter Two) that foiled past attempts to integrate literacy instruction in social studies classrooms. To coordinate the actions of educators across the state, leaders in the social studies community must create an instructional framework that supports that vision.

Recommendation Two: A Disciplinary Literacy Framework for the Delaware Recommended Curriculum. *Design a framework for a disciplinary literacy approach to teaching Delaware’s social studies standards that addresses the needs of all students.* As discussed in the analysis of the ninth-grade civics lessons in Chapter Two, the overriding approach to implementing the CCSS literacy standards has been to modify or create new, social studies standards-focused DRC lessons that add texts and Common Core standards when opportunities present themselves. This piecemeal, approach lacks the coordination necessary to achieve the promise that disciplinary literacy holds for adolescent literacy development. As the leading authority on disciplinary literacy pedagogy, Moje (2015) argued that this approach of sprinkling the CCSS literacy standards across the curriculum, abstracts them from the disciplinary inquiry settings they are practiced, strips them of their disciplinary purpose, and reduces disciplinary literacy to a set of inauthentic, unrelated forms, acronyms, and procedures to be memorized. Delaware’s social studies leadership must work with literacy researchers, professional developers, and teachers to establish a clear understanding of what a disciplinary literacy approach is and what it looks like in social studies classrooms. Based on the research reviewed for this dissertation, the dominant approach to creating a framework for disciplinary literacy instruction is the apprenticeship model promoted by Moje (2008, 2015) and others. Delaware’s civics teachers need a coordinated plan that includes an identification of the disciplinary skills they should target in their instruction, content area literacy scaffolds for students who have comprehension issues, and a pedagogical approach that prioritizes the apprenticeship model, yet also promotes opportunities non-inquiry-based iterations of disciplinary literacy instruction that allow for targeted, single-text, close reading lessons.

Recommendation Three: Apprenticeship Approach to Course-level Integration.

Adopt the apprenticeship approach to integrating disciplinary literacy instruction into social studies subject area classes. Shifting Delaware’s ninth-grade civics course to an apprenticeship approach to disciplinary literacy instruction should include:

1. Reconceptualizing learning in civics to include traditional standards-based subject area knowledge as well as an understanding and an appreciation for the discipline-specific ways of reading, writing, and communicating in political science.
2. Identifying opportunities within the ninth-grade civics standards to engage students in discipline-specific inquiries that require them to use of the discipline’s literacy routines of sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration to solve problems and address meaningful questions. Emphasis should be placed on the way political scientists use the sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration heuristics that were detailed in Table 1.
3. Providing students with purposeful and meaningful interactions with texts, situated within discipline-specific inquiries.
4. Believing that all students can learn and benefit from disciplinary literacy instruction, not just the good readers or the honors students.
5. Supporting struggling readers with scaffolded interventions that include content area literacy approaches to reading comprehension deficiencies.
6. Designing developmentally appropriate inquiry-based lessons that guide and apprentice students into using the literacy practices of political science so that they can not only see potential to do the work of a disciplinary expert in themselves, but also connect those practices to relevant things they will do in everyday life, such as

critiquing a claim made on a news program or discussing important issues with friends and family.

If Delaware's social studies leadership can create a framework that addresses these five points, teachers can begin the work of creating disciplinary literacy instruction that gives students the deep, meaningful supports needed to better prepare them for the rigors of college and career.

Recommendation Four: Professional Learning Focused on Disciplinary Literacy.

Provide persistent, ongoing professional learning opportunities for administrators, specialists, and teachers across the state. If teachers are going to be expected to apprentice students into disciplinary ways of reading, writing, and thinking, they must first be apprenticed into the disciplinary community themselves. Teachers need professional learning experiences that are crafted as apprenticeships into teaching disciplinary literacy that deepen their knowledge of the subject area, disciplinary literacy skills, and content area literacy supports they can use to help struggling readers. Those professional learning opportunities must be sustained, collaborative, discipline-rich. This will require the coordinated efforts of the DDOE; the membership of the Social Studies Coalition of Delaware (including districts and university affiliates); and school-level administrative and teacher leadership. Teachers must be given time, in statewide professional development sessions and school-level professional learning communities, to read, think, and practice disciplinary inquiry with their colleagues so that they can experience and better understand the process themselves. Setting rigorous literacy standards and telling teachers to give students more challenging texts to read without providing supports crushes the spirit of students and teachers alike.

A necessary component of this professional learning plan is the development of model lessons and online learning modules that meet the requirements of the new disciplinary literacy

framework. The DDOE and the Social Studies Coalition of Delaware should work with their university partners, district social studies specialists, and teachers to create these resources. Once created, they can be used in state, district, and school-level professional learning settings to help advance the vision and framework for disciplinary literacy the state seeks to establish. These resources could also be used to promote disciplinary literacy pedagogy in the teacher prep programs that feed its teacher pipeline.

Recommendation Five: Disciplinary Literacy Lessons in the Delaware

Recommended Curriculum. *Develop lessons for the DRC that advance the apprenticeship model for teaching disciplinary literacy and the state’s social studies standards.* To make this shift happen, teachers need more than a vision, framework, and professional learning. Lessons are the vehicles that will drive the reconceptualization of what it means to learn civics, as well as the other social studies subject areas. It is recommended that social studies stakeholders embark on a statewide lesson-writing initiative that includes:

1. the identification of a cohort of experienced, knowledgeable educators willing to participate in a sustained curriculum development project,
2. professional learning for the lesson training cohort that fosters an understanding of the state’s vision and framework for disciplinary literacy, the research behind its development, and deep attention to the intricacies of applying discipline-specific reading practices within the context of disciplinary inquiry,
3. peer review, field testing, and revision protocols to ensure the lessons meet the quality standards required by the DRC, and
4. posting the lessons in the DRC’s Schoology group so that they can be implemented in classrooms across the state.

For the ninth-grade civics, those lessons should promote the use of the sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration heuristics in ways consistent with the findings of this study (see Table 1), in the context of inquiries derived from the high school civics standards.

Recommendation Six: Future Study. *Continue research into the inquiry-based reading practices of the social studies subject areas.* As stated earlier, future research into disciplinary literacy in political science should seek to draw from the more empirical wings of the discipline.

The design of that research should include:

1. engaging political scientists in a discussion of the types of empirical inquiries they would engage in relative to each of Delaware’s high school civics standards,
2. asking political scientists to identify the texts they themselves, and students, would use during the course of that inquiry,
3. using the expert reader model to conduct think-aloud sessions with political scientists who conduct empirical research, and
4. comparing the reading protocols gathered from those sessions to this study’s findings.

That research would provide a more robust picture of the types of inquiries political scientists engage in and enhance future efforts to study the literacy practices and routines they rely on in conducting that work. To better inform the implementation of disciplinary literacy beyond history and civics, it is also recommended that similar expert reader studies be conducted in the areas of economics and geography.

Conclusion

In *The Fellowship of the Ring*, J.R.R. Tolkien wrote, “all that is gold does not glitter, not all those who wander are lost” (J.R.R. Tolkien Quotes, n.d.). At the outset, this research sought to uncover the extent to which political scientists differed from historians in the way they read

the texts of their disciplines so that a set of recommendations could be offered to enhance the literacy routines embedded in Delaware's ninth-grade civics course. Along the way, the depths of disciplinary literacy theory were explored, the leading authority on disciplinary literacy pedagogy was interrogated, and machinery that drives historical inquiry was taken apart and reassembled to maneuver alongside the reading practices of two expert political scientists. It may be said that the findings of this dissertation lack glitter; however, this researcher believes there is a large enough speck of gold here to inform important changes in the literacy strategies implemented in ninth-grade civics classrooms and inspire others to wander into the study of disciplinary literacy in social studies. The identification of important distinctions between historical and political science inquiries and how those differences play out in the reading practices of disciplinary experts is important insight into how reading instruction should proceed in social studies. Time, and the dedicated efforts of this educator, will tell if this nugget can inspire a disciplinary literacy gold rush in Delaware's social studies community.

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Appendix A

Set of Documents Used in this Study

Document A

To the People of the State of New York:

Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction. The friend of popular governments never finds himself so much alarmed for their character and fate, as when he contemplates their propensity to this dangerous vice.... The valuable improvements made by the American constitutions on the popular models, both ancient and modern, cannot certainly be too much admired; but it would be an unwarrantable partiality, to contend that they have as effectually obviated the danger on this side, as was wished and expected. Complaints are everywhere heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens... that our governments are too unstable, that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties, and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority... It will be found... that some of the distresses under which we labor have been erroneously charged on the operation of our governments; but it will be found... These must be chiefly, if not wholly, effects of the unsteadiness and injustice with which a factious spirit has tainted our public administrations.

There are again two methods of removing the causes of faction; the one, by destroying liberty which is essential to its existence; the other, by giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests....

The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points... an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good.... But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government....

Source: This excerpt is from *Federalist No. 10* by James Madison, published on November 22, 1787 under the name "Publius." Madison (1751-1836) was an American statesman, lawyer, diplomat, philosopher, and Founding Father who served as the fourth president of the United States.

Document B

The Convention at Philadelphia provided a constitution with a dual attitude: it was pro party in one sense and anti party in another. The authors of the Constitution refused to suppress the parties by destroying the fundamental liberties in which parties originate. They or their immediate successors accepted amendments that guaranteed civil rights and thus established a system of party tolerance i.e., the right to agitate and to organize. This is the pro party aspect of the system. On the other hand, the authors of the Constitution set up an elaborate division and balance of powers within an intricate governmental structure designed to make parties ineffective. It was hoped that the parties would lose and exhaust themselves in futile attempts to fight their way through the labyrinthine framework of the government, much as an attack army is expected to spend itself against the defensive works of a fortress. This is the anti party part of the Constitutional scheme. To quote Madison, the “great object” of the Constitution was “to preserve the public good and private right against the danger of such a faction [party] and at the same time to preserve the spirit and form of popular government.”

In Madison’s mind the difference between an autocracy and a free republic seems to have been largely a matter of the precise point at which parties are stopped by the government. In an autocracy parties are controlled (suppressed) at the source; in a republic parties are tolerated but are invited to strangle themselves in the machinery of government. The result in either case is much the same, sooner or later the government checks the parties but *never do the parties control the government*. Madison was perfectly definite and unmistakable in his disapproval of party government as distinguished from party tolerance. In the opinion of Madison, parties were intrinsically bad, and the sole issue for discussion was the means by which bad parties might be prevented from becoming dangerous. What never seems to have occurred to the authors of the Constitution, however, is that parties might be *used* as beneficent instruments of popular government. It is at this point that the distinction between the modern and the antique attitude is made.

The offspring of this combination of ideas was a constitutional system having conflicting tendencies. The Constitution made the rise of parties inevitable yet was incompatible with party government. This scheme, in spite of its subtlety, involved a miscalculation. Political parties refused to be content with the role assigned to them. The vigor and enterprise of the parties have therefore made American political history the story of the unhappy marriage of the parties and the Constitution, a remarkable variation of the case of the irresistible force and the immovable object, which in this instance have been compelled to live together in a permanent partnership...

Source: This excerpt is from E. E. Schattschneider’s *Party Government* published in 1942. Schattschneider (1892-1971) was a political scientist, professor, and served as president of the American Political Science Association for 1956-1957.

Document C

Government by Discussion

. . . The word democracy, in its etymological significance, means government by the people. It is thus synonymous with Popular Government. The principle which underlies such government is often stated in the words, "The will of the people must prevail." Without, for the moment, challenging that principle, we have to remark that the will of the people is not a single will. There are some who will one thing, and some who will another. "In that case," the answer comes, "let us count heads: let us discover the majority; and let us say that its will is the will of the people, and must prevail." But why, we may ask, should the will of a part, however numerous, be identified with the will of the whole? The answer generally given to that question is an answer which rests on an argument of force. "We count heads instead of breaking them: the majority would win the day if it came to an actual struggle; the minority consents to be beaten in advance, and thus counted as part of the whole, rather than force the issue to the point of actual struggle." This reduces the proposition that "the will of the people must prevail" to the simpler but less attractive proposition that "the force of the majority of the people must prevail, because, if it were challenged, it would prevail." In a word, the basis of democracy become force – not actual force; not force actually employed, but the force which could and would be applied if there were any resistance. . . .

[The democratic] . . . process is, in a word, discussion – discussion of competing ideas, leading to compromise in which all the ideas are reconciled and which can be accepted by all because it bears the imprint of all. . . .

A system of government by discussion proceeds through four main stages – first of party, next of the electorate, then of parliament, and finally of cabinet. . . .

The first stage is the formulation of general issues of discussion. This is itself achieved by a process of discussion within, and also between, political parties, which result in the construction, and also the ventilation, of different party programs. Parties, in their origin and their nature, are voluntary groups which are freely formed in the area of social life; but since, in their ultimate issue, they present programs and candidates to the electorate, which is part of the political scheme, they also enter the area of political organization. A party has thus a double nature or quality. It is, we may say, a bridge, which rests at one end on society and at the other on the State. It is, we may also say in another metaphor, a conduit or sluice, by which the waters of social thought and discussion are brought to the wheels of political machinery and set to turn those wheels....

Source: This excerpt is from *Reflections on Government* written by Sir Ernst Barker, published by the Oxford University Press in London in 1942. Barker (1874–1960) was an English political scientist who served as Principal of King's College London from 1920 to 1927.

Document D

Political scientists have generally agreed about the importance of political parties to democracy. E.E. Schattschneider expressed the consensus with his oft-cited remark that “democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties.” There has been disagreement, however, about both the possibility and desirability of a responsible party system in the United States.

As long ago as 1950, the American Political Science Association Committee on Political Parties, speaking as much or more as citizens than political scientists, advocated reforms to develop a responsible party system in the United States. Their work followed upon that of Schattschneider and laid the groundwork for subsequent political scientist who would advocate reform in the direction of the responsible model.... A responsible party system exhibits the following three requisite characteristics:

- 1. A responsible party system requires a functional, if not constitutional, fusion of powers between the executive and legislative branches.** In short, a responsible party system produces party government. The constitutional separation of powers makes this characteristic of responsible parties very problematic for the United States. In the American experience, policy-making has taken on a responsible party appearance periodically, usually during periods of critical realignment.... The possibility of a responsible party system and party government is reduced further by the bicameralism of the American Congress.... Periods of gridlock in policy-making in recent years have been commonly associated with divided government in the separation-of-powers system. Historically, there is no such necessary association.
- 2. Responsible parties present clear ideological or programmatic alternatives, can govern when in the majority, and can offer organized loyal opposition when in the minority.** American political parties have not fit the responsible party model, with the possible infrequent exception of electoral moments known as critical realignments. Instead, American parties are historically umbrella parties, nonideological coalitions of factions with diverse interests.

Indeed, according to critics, ideological polarization has been an important ingredient of party decay, not the sort of party development that would be necessary for a responsible party system to emerge.... The ideological polarization between the major parties, however, is much more advanced on issues couched in social and cultural terms, such as race or abortion, than on economic issues.... Both parties are ideologically classic liberal and capitalist political parties, a fact that is not likely to change in the foreseeable future....

- 3. In a responsible party system, the executive and legislative branches have fundamentally the same electoral base.** The American separation-of-powers system not only separates executives from legislative policy-making processes, it separates electoral processes and staggers elections, making possible the incidence of divided government.... With Presidential elections set every four years, elections for the House of Representatives every two years, and elections of one-third of the U.S. Senate every two years, the constitutional system of staggered elections separates electoral results temporally, as well as geographically. Since 1789, American voters have never voted in what the British electorate has at least every five years: a national general election....

The constitutional constraints, however, important as they are, do not change the fact that the ideological polarization in the American party system is something brand new, and it will have a telling impact on the political life of American democracy.

Source: This excerpt is from the book *Electoral Realignment and the Outlook for American Democracy* written by Arthur Paulsen in 2007. This selection appears in chapter seven entitled *Toward a Responsible Party System?*

Appendix B

Directions for Think-Aloud Session

1. Say whatever is on your mind. Don't hold back hunches, guesses, wild ideas, images, intentions.
2. Speak as continuously as possible. Say something at least once every five seconds, even if only "I'm drawing a blank."
3. Speak audibly. Watch out for your voice dropping as you become involved in the task.
4. Speak as telegraphically as you please. Don't worry about complete sentences and eloquence.
5. Don't overexplain or justify. Analyze no more than you would normally.
6. Don't elaborate on past events. Get into the pattern of saying what you're thinking now, not of thinking for a while and then describing your thoughts.