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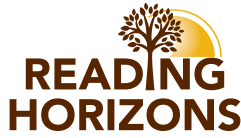


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Teachers' Perspectives About Students' Productive Textual Engagement in Social Studies

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Abstract

Because close reading and critical analysis of multiple sources is central to social studies, understanding teachers' perspectives about productive textual engagement is imperative. This comparative study explored twelve 5th-through 11th-grade social studies teachers' perspectives about supporting students' textual engagement via think-aloud interviews. Teacher-participants read hypothetical vignettes representing four paradigms of instruction with texts in social studies classrooms. Participants ranked the vignettes, provided reasoning about their value, and reflected on their own practices in relation to the paradigms. Participants placed higher value on fostering students' historical literacies and civic literacies than on supporting students' content-area literacies or traditional content acquisition. There were differences between how middle and high school teachers valued specific aspects of each paradigm and how they identified with each paradigm. The findings are discussed in relation to inferences and implications about how teachers interpret messages about productive textual engagement in the reform literature.

Keywords: *disciplinary literacy, content-area literacy, civic literacy, teachers' perspectives*

Introduction

Supporting students' productive engagement with complex texts is crucial because it facilitates the development of key literacy skills, such as considering multiple viewpoints, reading for subtext, and weighing evidence and evaluating authors' claims (Frey & Fisher, 2015; Goldman, 2012). In social studies classrooms, supporting students' productive engagement with texts is of utmost importance because critical analysis of multiple primary and secondary documents is central to the domain (Moje, 2008; Monte-

Sano, 2008; Nokes, 2013).

However, as in other domains, what makes up textual engagement that is productive in social studies is not necessarily straightforward, nor is it static. Though social studies teachers are continually encouraged to facilitate students' meaning making with sources in their classrooms, there is not one universally agreed-upon conceptualization of what comprises productive textual engagement (PTE) in social studies. Rather, teachers are presented with multiple paradigms in the reform literature about what PTE entails for students and how to scaffold it. These paradigms range from emphasis on building students' content knowledge or promoting their civic engagement in our democratic society to honing students' general reading skills or discipline-specific literacies.

Teachers ultimately decide what texts to use in their instruction, how to scaffold students' meaning making with a range of texts, and how such engagement reflects the larger ideals of the domain. Such instructional decisions reflect and influence teachers' perspectives (Knowles, 2018; Marble et al., 2000). Thus, a deeper understanding of teachers' perspectives about supporting students' textual meaning making in one domain (social studies) can provide insights about how educators value, interpret, and identify with messages about PTE in the literacy reform literature. In this study, we responded to this need by exploring social studies teachers' perspectives about their existing and aspirational practices vis-à-vis various paradigms for PTE represented in the literature.

Specifically, this comparative study (National Research Council, 2004) examined twelve 5th- through 11th-grade social studies teachers' perspectives about ideal approaches for supporting students' textual meaning making via think-aloud interviews. Teacher-participants read hypothetical vignettes representing four paradigms of instruction with texts in social studies classrooms. Participants ranked the vignettes, provided reasoning about their value, and reflected on their own practices in relation to the paradigms. This article reports analysis of similarities and differences in how middle and high school teachers valued specific aspects of each paradigm and how they identified with each paradigm in their own practices. In particular, we explored the following research questions: How do teachers evaluate various paradigms for supporting students' productive engagement with social studies texts? How do teachers identify with these paradigms in relation to their own teaching practice?

Theoretical Framework

The current study draws from theories about teacher sense-making in relation to interpretation and implementation of policy reform (e.g., Blackman, 2006; Spillane et al., 2002). Although teachers' enactments of reform initiatives do not usually "flow predictably or automatically" from the goals of the intended reform (März et al., 2013, p. 20), sense-making theorists contend that teachers typically do not intentionally "ignore" or "undermine" reform initiatives. Rather, teachers indeed work hard to understand and implement such initiatives (Spillane et al., 2002). This effortful, sense-making process is dynamic and complex.

Sense-making theories emphasize that teachers' perceptions are integral to how they interpret and implement reform initiatives. Thus, studies rooted in sense-making theories focus on perspectival factors, such as how teachers value reform, given that they are the ultimate decision-makers about whether, to what extent, and how they implement policy recommendations (Blackman, 2006; Spillane et al., 2002). The current study focused on teachers' perspectives about the area of reform of productive textual engagement.

Productive Textual Engagement

In this study, the concept of productive textual engagement (PTE) drew from Engle

and Conant's (2002) construct, productive disciplinary engagement, which they describe as students' active participation in the ways of knowing and doing of the relative discipline, while ensuring that students' ideas progress and their thinking "get[s] somewhere" (p. 403). In classrooms, reading and reasoning about texts is a primary means for students to actively engage in disciplinary meaning making and for teachers to scaffold students' disciplinary engagement. In this article, we conceptualize PTE as students' active meaning making with disciplinary texts in ways that reflect the practices and goals of the domain and promote students' development of well-reasoned, evidence-based ideas that build from vetted knowledge of the discipline.

In social studies, we conceptualize PTE as in-depth analysis of primary and secondary historical and current event documents in ways that support students' comprehension of content (Kucan & Palinscar, 2018; Schoenbach et al., 2012), promote text-based historical reasoning and interpretation (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Wineburg & Reisman, 2015), and inform students' active civic engagement (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). For example, when students are studying the Equal Rights Amendment, PTE could include students summarizing arguments across multiple texts from 1920 to 2020, analyzing how the author's perspective shapes their argument, and weighing the evidence of each argument in relation to contextual information (e.g., other civil rights issues of the time period) in order to develop their own stance on the topic and contribute to the ongoing civic conversation.

This conceptualization of PTE in social studies integrates key principles from multiple paradigms about productive textual engagement presented in research and practitioner literature. However, these paradigms are rarely presented in an integrated fashion in the reform literature. Furthermore, considerations of PTE in social studies can be evolving, dynamic, political, multifaceted, and even seemingly contradictory. Therefore, research and practitioner literature, including standards that govern teachers' instruction, implicitly or explicitly emphasize varying, interrelated paradigms for students' productive engagement with texts. In turn, social studies teachers are confronted with balancing to what extent, how, and why to incorporate these models in their instruction in order to scaffold their students' productive engagement with texts.

As Engle and Conant (2002) point out, educators might differ in what they deem as productive disciplinary engagement. An understanding of how and why teachers value varying paradigms as well as how they view such paradigms in their own practice would provide insights about how teachers interpret the reform literature about scaffolding students' PTE in social studies classrooms. The current study addressed this need through exploring teachers' perspectives about PTE through think-aloud interviews.

Paradigms for Productive Textual Engagement in Social Studies

Here we describe some of the most prominent paradigms about PTE social studies teachers encounter in the reform literature. The review of literature about these paradigms is not meant to be exhaustive, to present the models as isolated instructional foci, or to position any paradigm as more important than another. Rather, we see value in each paradigm and envision PTE as incorporating key aspects of each paradigm to address the myriad goals and challenges of engagement with social studies texts. Thus, the review is meant to outline key features of some of the predominant models of PTE with which educators are presented.

Traditional Content Acquisition

Arguably the most widespread, persistent paradigm of textual engagement in history classrooms centers on content acquisition, or reading texts to extract and recall

information about the past (Fogo, 2014; Monte-Sano, 2008; Paxton, 1997). The traditional content acquisition paradigm emphasizes students obtaining established knowledge of the discipline, thus sources such as textbooks and teachers are positioned as authoritarian resources for comprehending and remembering uncontested information (Knowles, 2018; Leahey, 2014; Moje, 2008; Nokes, 2013). Consequently, traditional teaching centers on scaffolding students' reading and recounting of historical content through activities such as taking notes while reading one textbook account of an event, listening to teacher lectures, and studying for tests and quizzes to "put fact into memory" (Fogo, 2014, p. 153).

Theoretical and research basis. The traditional content acquisition paradigm aligns with Freire's (1970/2018) banking model of teaching, which centers on students "receiving, filing, and storing the deposits" of knowledge bestowed upon them by teachers and texts (p. 72). In practice, classrooms that reflect content acquisition approaches represent various levels of student engagement on a continuum from more to less active and agentive. However, aspects of the banking model that persist in social studies classrooms manifest as a reliance on students remembering information from textbooks and teachers. The information is usually presented as a limited narrative about historical topics (Nokes, 2013).

Scholars agree that developing thorough content knowledge is a primary goal of social studies; they also agree textbooks have many useful features and can add value to the curriculum (Dynneson & Gross, 1999; Wineburg, 2007). However, many argue textbooks and other tertiary sources present a one-sided, seemingly factual and unbiased view of the past (Knowles, 2018; Nokes, 2013; Paxton, 1997). Furthermore, students rarely retain information received through textbooks and lectures rather than engaging in problem solving and critical reasoning with multiple sources (Nokes, 2013).

Content-Area Literacies

A second prominent paradigm—supporting students' content-area literacies—also emphasizes the learning of content. However, this paradigm stresses the importance of students actively building a repertoire of general literacy skills to maximize their ability to comprehend and engage with information from a variety of texts (Fang & Coatoam, 2013; Moss, 2005). Content-area literacy focuses on students becoming competent, strategic readers, writers, and thinkers with multiple text types, including but not limited to textbooks. The primary goal of content-area literacy is to scaffold students' development of "broadly applicable" (Wolsey & Lapp, 2017, p. 8) 21st-century literacy skills so they are adept at making meaning with texts writ large, from print to multimodal sources and texts across varying genres.

Theoretical and research basis. The notion of scaffolding content-area literacies is based on a plethora of research about the practices "good readers" employ when reading (e.g., Duke & Pearson, 2002; Neufeld, 2005). Skilled readers engage in a range of practices, from monitoring their comprehension and using fix-up strategies to previewing texts and using text structures to guide interpretations of textual information (Kucan & Palinscar, 2018; Schoenbach et al., 2012). Some scholars highlight the importance of supporting students' general literacies because instruction in content-area classrooms typically centers on students learning content, even though many adolescents are not proficient in "procedural literacy skills" and are thus "ill-equipped" to tackle challenging content-area texts (Goldman, 2012, pp. 91–93).

An abundance of research points to the benefits of content-area literacy instruction. For example, countless studies indicate scaffolding strategies such as asking questions, making inferences, and visualizing can enhance students' textual meaning making

(National Reading Panel, 2000; Phelps, 2005). However, research shows that teachers are often resistant to teaching literacy in their content-area classrooms for various reasons, from lack of time or teacher buy-in to structural and institutional barriers (Moje, 2008).

Historical Literacies

A third paradigm of productive textual engagement—supporting students’ historical literacies—also focuses on helping students build a repertoire of literacy tools to make meaning with content-area texts. However, this paradigm emphasizes scaffolding students’ discipline-specific textual engagement. Historical literacies, also called disciplinary literacies or history-specific disciplinary literacies, focus on supporting uniquely historical reading, writing, and reasoning practices (Moje, 2008; C. Shanahan et al., 2011). Thus, teaching from a historical literacy approach involves scaffolding students’ close reading of primary and secondary sources using heuristics such as sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating (C. Shanahan et al., 2011; Wineburg, 2001). It also entails supporting students’ evidentiary reasoning about concepts such as causality, change over time, and complexity (Andrews & Burke, 2007).

Theoretical/research basis. Historical literacies are a form of disciplinary literacies, which involves supporting students’ discipline-specific reading, writing, and reasoning practices (C. Shanahan et al., 2011). The historical literacy paradigm is rooted in theories about apprenticing students into participating in the ways of knowing and doing of the disciplinary learning community (Goldman et al., 2016; Schoenbach et al., 2012). The historical literacy paradigm thus focuses on honing students’ disciplinary discursive practices in tandem with learning content.

A growing body of research provides evidence that scaffolding students’ historical literacies helps them develop more critical stances toward texts, more nuanced epistemologies of history as contested, and more thorough content knowledge (e.g., De La Paz, 2005; Ferretti et al., 2001). However, research also indicates that teaching from a historical literacy stance is challenging for teachers, given that it stands in stark contrast to how most of them were taught (Fang & Coatoam, 2013; Fogo, 2014). Furthermore, a common critique of disciplinary literacy is that it is unreasonable to expect students to engage like “experts” of the discipline (e.g., Heller, 2011). Proponents of disciplinary literacy, however, argue that the goal is not to create miniature historians (or scientists, mathematicians, etc.). Rather, developing disciplinary literacies empowers students to gain access to and evaluate the recognized practices of disciplinary communities (Moje, 2007; Schoenbach et al., 2012; Wineburg & Reisman, 2015).

Civic Literacies

Finally, a fourth paradigm of productive textual engagement—supporting students’ civic literacies—also emphasizes the importance of students learning to be critical consumers of information with a variety of sources. This paradigm, however, stresses doing so with a focus on developing students’ civic capacities, or their knowledge, skills, and dispositions for actively engaging in democratic practices in a pluralistic society (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Galston, 2001; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). The civic literacy paradigm focuses on students building understandings of the historical foundations of governmental systems and what it means to participate in political processes (Galston, 2001; Silay, 2014). It stresses students reading critically to develop evidence-based democratic decisions. Thus, teaching with a civic literacy approach involves scaffolding students’ engagement with a variety of texts—from legal documents to news media—to recognize, analyze, and deliberate about various, often conflicting, points of view (Ciardiello, 2004; Frey & Fisher,

2015; Martens & Gainous, 2013).

Theoretical/research basis. The civic literacy paradigm is rooted in philosophies about the core goal of social studies as preparing students to become informed, active citizens in a democratic society (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Morgan, 2016). Although social studies has been described as a “smorgasbord” of disciplinary foci, there is wide agreement among scholars that civic education is the core of the domain (Dynneson & Gross, 1999). Similarly, although it is not always realized in practice, citizenship education is widely cited as the main purpose of education/schooling in general (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Dewey 1916).

Research supports the positive effects of building individuals’ civic literacies. For instance, research indicates a relation between people’s civic knowledge and civic character such that individuals with stronger understandings of political systems and processes are more stable in their political ideologies, have higher levels of trust in government systems, and demonstrate higher levels of political participation (Galston, 2001). However, teachers often shy away from a focus on civic literacies because they are uncomfortable teaching controversial topics or having students deliberate about issues (Zevin, 2015). Nevertheless, most social studies standards that guide the focus of curriculum and pedagogy, including the current National Council for the Social Studies (2013) C3 Framework, emphasize the importance of building students’ civic capacities. Thus, supporting students in becoming critical consumers of information to guide informed social action is often a necessary focus for all social studies teachers.

Teachers’ Perspectives

Although the above paradigms can be interpreted as somewhat contrasting models, the paradigms are interrelated, overlapping, and compatible and should not necessarily be considered as distinct approaches. However, the reform literature often presents such paradigms as distinct, incompatible frameworks. Therefore, it is important to study teachers’ perspectives about these paradigms, because teachers are the mediators of translating theory into practice (Golombek, 1998; Marble et al., 2000). Teachers may choose to appropriate, adapt, or even reject theory based on their values, beliefs, goals, and experiences (Sadler et al., 2006). As Zevin (2015) asserts, “virtually every choice” teachers make is based on how they interpret theory into practice (p. 12).

An abundance of research has explored the link between teachers’ values, beliefs, ideals, and their instructional practices across grade levels and content areas (e.g., Gao, 2014; Golombek, 1998; Sadler et al., 2006). Some research has examined teachers’ perspectives about various areas of social studies, such as teachers’ knowledge and beliefs about historical inquiry or civic engagement (Anderson et al., 1997; Hartzler-Miller, 2001; Knowles, 2018; Popp, 2018). Nevertheless, little to no research has investigated teachers’ perspectives about how to leverage effective productive textual engagement to foster students’ learning in social studies.

One study (Popp, 2018) found that 7th- through 11th-grade social studies teachers who used more texts and varied text types in their lessons reasoned about literacy as “an integrated tool” (p. 292) to support students’ historical inquiry, whereas teachers who used only a few tertiary sources reasoned about literacy as a set of skills to scaffold students’ comprehension and content acquisition. Popp (2018) provides some evidence to suggest a relationship between teachers’ perspectives about the role of sources in social studies learning and teachers’ instructional decisions about the number and types of texts with which to engage students. More research that illuminates social studies teachers’ perspectives about ideal text use in classrooms and how their ideals relate to their current practices would be beneficial.

This study explored teachers' perspectives on varying paradigms about instruction to support PTE in social studies classrooms. Teacher-participants ranked hypothetical vignettes representing four paradigms of PTE and reasoned about their value as well as how well they identified with the paradigms in relation to their own practice. Analysis of the data focused on (1) how teachers evaluated various paradigms for supporting students' PTE and (2) how teachers identified with these paradigms in relation to their own teaching practice.

Methods

Participants

Participants included eight 5th- through 8th-grade and four 9th- through 11th-grade social studies teachers from urban and suburban schools in and near a large midwestern city (see Appendix A for teacher-participant information). Participants were selected via purposeful sampling of highly regarded teachers (Litman et al., 2017) recommended by administrators, researchers, and teacher educators. Each participant had at least seven years of teaching experience and held at least two degrees, some of which included concentrations in history and others in education (see Appendix A). These recommendations and credentials situated the teacher-participants as likely to provide valuable insights vis-à-vis current educational reform and "best practices."

Data Collection

Data sources for this study included audio recordings and transcripts of teachers' think-alouds and post-think-aloud interviews. Think-alouds included participants reading aloud and reasoning about four vignettes of social studies teachers supporting students' PTE. The vignettes reflected four distinct paradigms of engaging students with social studies texts rooted in research and practitioner literature. The four vignettes are described in Table 1.

Table 1
Vignette Descriptions

Hypothetical teacher name	Paradigm represented	Abbreviation	Description
Tony	Traditional content acquisition	Traditional	Reading a textbook to extract and remember information through engaging projects
Yolanda	Content-area literacies	Content-area	Honing general literacy skills through engagement with informational texts about social studies topics
Maria	Historical literacies	Hist lit	Analyzing primary and secondary sources to construct evidence-based interpretations
Noah	Civic literacies	Civ lit	Reading and discussing various historical and current event texts to foster civic engagement

Note. Teacher-participants did not see the title or abbreviations on the vignettes they read/ranked. See Appendix B for full wording of each vignette/paradigm.

To collect validity evidence based on content (American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association, & National Council on Measurement in Education, 2014), we documented each step we took in the design of the vignettes. We first synthesized key attributes of each of the four paradigms from theoretical and empirical literature to inform the design of the vignettes, ensuring each vignette represented these key attributes. The vignettes then underwent iterative rounds of vetting by other researchers and social studies teacher-researchers. Through each round of vetting, we revised the vignettes to reflect the feedback received, documenting the process and reconsulting the literature throughout each step.

Participants were first asked to read each vignette and share their thinking in an open-ended manner (i.e., no specific prompt) as they read. The vignettes were on separate cards that participants could (re)read and think aloud about in any order they chose. Participants were then asked to rank the vignettes from most to least ideal teaching approaches and to share their reasoning for their rankings. Finally, participants were asked to explain with which vignette(s) they most closely identified in relation to their own teaching. We asked follow-up questions to clarify comments and to prompt participants to elaborate on their reasoning.

Data Analysis

Participants' rankings of the vignettes were charted, and a Friedman test of differences among repeated measures (Sheldon et al., 1996) was conducted to compare differences between participants' rankings. Post hoc pairwise comparisons were conducted using a Wilcoxon test (Wilcoxon, 1945). The Friedman and Wilcoxon techniques were used because these nonparametric tests are ideal with small sample sizes ($N = 12$ in this study) and ordinal (ranked) data (Pallant, 2005).

Next, participants' think-aloud transcripts were coded with a focus on how they interpreted, evaluated, and related to/identified with each paradigm represented in the vignettes. Analysis included process codes capturing conceptual actions, or what the participants were essentially "doing" (Saldaña, 2009). Example codes include: describe vignette, relate to vignette, explain reason for ranking, describe current practices, and mention personal struggles. Analysis also included descriptive codes capturing the substance of participants' talk about vignettes (Saldaña, 2009). Example codes include: text type, developmental level, student engagement, text activities, inquiry, literacy skills, democracy/citizenship, higher order thinking, and argumentation.

Across all transcripts, codes were reviewed for salient patterns. Summary memos were written to compare middle and high school teachers' perspectives about the paradigms. Constant comparative analysis of summaries and codes led to a central theoretical category (Saldaña, 2009): differences in valuing and identifying with paradigms. This central category is interpreted in the findings below.

Findings

Teacher-Participants' Ranking of Vignettes

Results from quantitative analyses indicate teacher-participants placed higher value on the paradigms that reflected fostering students' historical literacies (Maria¹) and civic

¹ See Table 1 and Appendix B for descriptions of each vignette/paradigm

literacies (Noah) and less value on the paradigms that reflected supporting students' content-area literacy skills (Yolanda) and the traditional content-acquisition approach (Tony).

Table 2 outlines the mean rankings of the vignettes. The Friedman test revealed rank ordering across the four vignettes that rendered a Chi-square value of 18.7, which was significant ($p < .01$). Pairwise post hoc analysis of mean rankings showed significant differences between all vignettes except Maria's (hist lit) and Noah's (civ lit) as well as Yolanda's (content-area) and Tony's (traditional; $p < .01$) such that participants ranked Maria's and Noah's vignettes higher than Tony's and Yolanda's vignettes.

Table 2
Mean Rankings of Vignettes

Vignette	Mean rank
Maria (hist lit)	1.50
Noah (civ lit)	1.92
Yolanda (content-area)	3.25
Tony (traditional)	3.33

Table 3 shows vignette rankings across middle school and high school teacher-participants. Notably, Maria's (hist lit) was ranked first by eight of the 12 teachers and was never ranked last. Noah's (civ lit) was ranked second most often (by seven participants) and was also never ranked last. Yolanda's (content-area) and Tony's (traditional) were ranked third or fourth across 10 participants. Yolanda's was never ranked first, and Tony's was ranked first only once.

Table 3
Teacher Participants' Rankings of Vignettes

Ranking	Maria (hist lit)			Noah (civ lit)			Yolanda (content-area)			Tony (traditional)		
	MS	HS	Total	MS	HS	Total	MS	HS	Total	MS	HS	Total
First	4	4	8	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	1
Second	2	0	2	4	3	7	1	1	2	1	0	1
Third	2	0	2	1	1	2	2	3	5	3	0	3
Fourth	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	3	4	7

Note. MS = middle school; HS = high school.

Teacher-Participants' Perspectives About the Paradigms

Teacher-participants expressed value in the four paradigms, making statements such as “I would like to do all of them” (TP2²) and “each one of them has just this little amazing piece about them” (TP6). Teachers also noted the benefit of integrating each paradigm, making statements like “if you combined all of these things, you would probably have a pretty balanced [approach]” (TP4).

Teacher-participants also reasoned about how the vignettes represented different levels and built on each other. Teachers characterized the two top-ranked paradigms (Maria, hist lit; Noah, civ lit) as focusing on higher level skills. They described Maria as prioritizing “being able to think critically” (TP9) and characterized Noah as a “high school teacher” because he represented “higher-level thinking” (TP1). Participants characterized the two bottom ranked paradigms (Yolanda, content-area; Tony, traditional) as more foundational and basic. They assumed Tony was “an elementary teacher” (TP11) and described Yolanda as helping students “build foundational skills” (TP5) and teaching “good skills” that are “just minimum” (TP8). One teacher outlined the vignette levels: “You want students to have those [Yolanda, content-area] skills already in order to do Tony’s [traditional] projects at a higher level. Maria [hist lit] is at a higher-level. And Noah [civ lit] is what we want everybody to aspire to” (TP5).

Although participants expressed appreciation for how the paradigms complemented and built on each other, two patterns emerged that reflected differences between how middle and high school teachers valued specific aspects of each paradigm and how they identified with each paradigm in relation to their own practices. First, differences in how middle and high school teachers valued each paradigm were roughly related to the vignette’s ranking. Namely, the higher ranked vignettes had more consistency in how both sets of teachers valued the paradigm, whereas the lower ranked vignettes reflected fewer similarities. Second, there were notable differences in how middle and high school teachers identified with paradigms in relation to their own practice. Specifically, high school teacher-participants identified most closely with the highest ranked vignette, whereas middle school teachers identified most closely with the lowest ranked vignette. These two themes are explicated below.

Similarities and differences in valuing paradigms. Similarities in how middle school and high school teacher-participants valued each paradigm were more apparent for the higher ranked vignettes and less so for the lower ranked vignettes. For example, there was considerable consistency in how middle and high school teachers valued Maria’s historical literacy paradigm and Noah’s civic literacy paradigm, which were ranked first and second as reflecting productive textual engagement. There was some consistency in how both sets of participants valued Yolanda’s content-area literacy paradigm, which was ranked third. There was very little consistency in how middle and high school teachers valued Tony’s traditional content-acquisition paradigm, which was the lowest ranked vignette.

² Teacher-participant number (TP#) is used instead of names to avoid confusion with hypothetical vignette teacher names. See Appendix A for corresponding teacher names/pseudonyms and grade level for each TP.

Maria (hist lit): consistent valuing of inquiry and evidence-based argument.

Maria's historical literacy vignette was ranked the highest across participants, and there was overwhelming consistency between how middle and high school teachers valued her paradigm. Both sets of participants expressed that Maria's focus on inquiry and evidence-based arguments was essential, was authentic, and represented real-world value. For example, one high school teacher explained that Maria was helping students "do history" by "using the sources to contribute to a piece of the inquiry puzzle," which is "really important" (TP11). Another high school teacher reasoned that Maria represented "being able to think critically and analyze and dissect sources," which she described as "life skills" that "transcend our field" (TP9). One middle school teacher commented that Maria was "using the text in an authentic way" (TP8) and that her approach was "what we want kids to do" because it represents "transferable skills" (TP8). Another middle school teacher reasoned Maria's focus on "developing the evidence-based arguments" was helpful to "build critical thinking and deeper levels of understanding" (TP1).

Noah (civ lit): consistent valuing of relevant, real-world civic connections.

Noah's civic literacy vignette was ranked second highest across participants, and there was notable consistency in how middle and high school teachers expressed value in his paradigm. Both sets of participants highlighted the importance of Noah's approach to support students' civic literacies through connecting social studies content to current events and to students' lives. For example, high school teachers emphasized the importance of "themes that resonate power and governance" that are "really important practices of democracy" (TP10) and noted Noah's ability to "engage [students] with what's going on locally and globally in the present day" (TP9). Likewise, middle school teachers stressed the importance of students knowing "they have an active role in [history], that they are part of history" (TP1), as well as knowing "there's a 'me' to [history]" and knowing how to "apply it out there, to real life" (TP5).

Yolanda (content-area): foundational literacy skills or too much literacy.

Yolanda's content-area literacy vignette was ranked third among participants, and both middle and high school teachers expressed value in her paradigm. However, high school teachers more consistently expressed high regard for Yolanda's skill-driven approach, emphasizing how she was helping lay the foundation for further social studies meaning making. These participants explained that Yolanda was "improving [students'] literacy skills," not just the content "we have to cover" (TP9), and that she was "not just asking students to read" but "giving the students the skills to encounter similar texts later" (TP12). Middle school teachers valued Yolanda's approach but were a little less enthusiastic about her paradigm. Every middle school teacher mentioned limits to Yolanda's paradigm, reasoning she was more literacy than social studies focused. They described her as "so heavily based in just the basic reading strategies" (TP1), "very language artsy" (TP6), and that she was "more about the skills" and therefore there's "not enough frankly social studies in Yolanda's [vignette]" (TP2).

Tony (traditional): aimless without any value or engaging learning of content without aim. Tony's traditional content-acquisition teaching vignette was ranked lowest among participants, and there was no consistency in how middle and high school teachers valued his paradigm. High school teachers expressed almost no value in Tony's approach, critiquing his "heavy emphasis on the textbook" (TP10) and his "misguided emphasis on remembering or memorizing content" (TP9). Conversely, each middle school teacher expressed high regard for Tony's approach of helping students learn content in engaging ways. For example, one participant stated, "I like Tony's approach" because "he clearly

wants his students to remember certain information” (TP6). Another middle school teacher commented that Tony was “strengthening [students’] knowledge in different ways,” which is “really important” (TP1).

Even though there were marked differences in how middle and high school teachers valued Tony’s paradigm, both sets of teachers overwhelmingly emphasized that his approach was limited because there was no clear purpose to his engaging approach to learning social studies content. For example, high school teachers made comments such as “[Tony’s] focus is more on like [students] learning information as opposed to learning skills” (TP12). Similarly, middle school teachers reasoned Tony was “building content for content[’s] sake” (TP3) and that he was “doing historical content in fun ways,” but “why are they learning [the information]?” (TP2).

Differences in identifying with paradigms. There were notable differences in how middle and high school teachers identified with the paradigms vis-à-vis their own practice. These differences were related to the vignettes’ rankings. In particular, high school teachers identified with the paradigm for the highest ranked vignette (Maria, hist lit), whereas middle school teachers identified with the two lowest ranked vignettes (Yolanda, content-area; Tony, traditional). Very few middle or high school teachers identified with the second highest ranked vignette (Noah, civ lit). In addition to differences in how the two sets of participants identified with the paradigms, there were also differences in how they expressed areas of growth in their own practice in relation to each paradigm.

Maria (hist lit): honing current practices or challenging area of growth. Although there was consistency in how participants valued Maria’s historical literacy paradigm, high school teachers identified with her approach much more than middle school teachers. Each of the four high school teachers (100%) identified closely with Maria’s highest ranked vignette, making statements such as “I can relate to her the most” (TP11) and Maria’s paradigm is “similar to my approach” (TP9). High school teachers mentioned some areas of growth in their practice as relates to Maria’s paradigm. However, these improvements were framed as honing their existing practices rather than adopting new strategies. For example, one high school teacher explained she strived to “continue developing really rich and engaging inquiry and finding the right combination of texts to support the inquiry” (TP10).

Unlike the high school teachers, the middle school teachers rarely identified with Maria’s paradigm. Instead, they viewed her approach as a challenging area of growth in their own practice. These participants commented that Maria’s approach was “hard to do at the middle school level” (TP2) and that students “can’t do [inquiry] every day of the year” (TP3). Middle school teachers also made statements such as that “the inquiry stuff” is “not a strength of mine right now” but “something I wanna do” (TP4) and that “we as teachers need to move more toward” a focus on “evidence-based” inquiry (TP1).

Noah (civ lit): striving to do more or striving but difficult. Even though middle and high school teachers consistently valued Noah’s civic literacy paradigm, few of them identified with his approach in their own practice. Only one high school teacher mentioned identifying with Noah’s paradigm, explaining that he likes to “encourage debate” through “controversial or provocative” materials (TP9). One middle school teacher identified with Noah’s paradigm, but explained “I don’t do as much as I can” because it’s “time consuming” (TP2).

Both sets of participants, however, expressed ways they wanted to improve their practice in relation to Noah’s paradigm. High school teachers mentioned wanting

to better connect historical content and current events, stating that they were striving to include “more connection to the modern” in their curriculum (TP11) and “more current event articles that tap into a historical phenomenon that we’ve studied” (TP10). Middle school teachers commented that they would like to “figure out a way to do more service learning and more civic engagement” (TP2) or that they wanted to work on “talking about these themes or having these lively discussions” (TP8). Middle school teachers expressed concerns, however, about their capacity to incorporate Noah’s paradigm into their teaching, stating, “We don’t have a lot of time for [Noah’s approach]” and claiming they might “lose the kids” if they implemented his approach (TP3).

Yolanda (content-area): important area of development or already implementing undervalued approach. Even though high school teachers emphasized the value of Yolanda’s content-area literacy paradigm more than middle school teachers did, only one high school teacher reported identifying with Yolanda’s focus on general literacies, and only when she taught a course for the first time and didn’t know the content well enough to “know where I want [students] to go” in their textual inquiries (TP12). Most high school teacher-participants discussed areas of development in their teaching related to Yolanda’s paradigm. For example, one participant wondered if he was “properly scaffolding literacy” for his students and reported wanting to “bring a little more Yolanda” into his teaching to help students “break down and dissect” texts (TP9). Another high school teacher reasoned Yolanda was a “good reminder” to “take care” to support students’ literacy skills “every single time we read” (TP12).

In contrast, most middle school teacher-participants identified with Yolanda’s paradigm, even though they did not highly value her paradigm. Some of these teachers even noted how they related to her approach despite ranking her as low. For instance, one middle school teacher commented, “I like Yolanda that I placed last” (TP4). Another middle school teacher noted she most closely identified with Yolanda’s paradigm that was in her “two bottom-”ranked vignettes (TP1). A third teacher reflected that her “intention was a little bit more Noah (civ lit)” but that her “delivery was a little bit more Yolanda” (TP6). Perhaps because middle school teachers saw many limits to and related their current teaching to Yolanda’s approach, these participants did not address developing their own practice with respect to her paradigm.

Tony (traditional): completely dissimilar or similar despite ranking low. The lack of alignment in middle and high school teachers’ valuing of Tony’s traditional content-acquisition approach aligned with the inconsistency in the extent to which they identified with his paradigm. High school teachers, who found very little value in Tony’s paradigm, did not identify with his approach at all. In fact, some high school teachers even mentioned ways they were not like Tony. For instance, one high school teacher-participant explained, “That’s not something I do” (TP11) when characterizing Tony’s paradigm as game- and project-focused.

Conversely, seven of the eight middle school teacher-participants (87%) identified with Tony’s paradigm vis-à-vis their own practice, even when they ranked his vignette lowest. These participants commented on this paradox, making comments like “in some ways Tony is what I am more often. Yet, I’ve actually put Tony fourth” (TP2) and “[Tony] seems very old school,” which reflects “some of the stuff that I do” (TP7). The middle school teachers identified with what they valued most about Tony’s paradigm: his focus on teaching content in engaging ways. They reasoned, “I try to make the content engaging for the kids” (TP1) and “I try to use engaging things to build some content knowledge” (TP4).

Not surprisingly, neither middle nor high school teacher-participants expressed areas of growth in their own practice as relates to Toy's paradigm, perhaps because, as one teacher commented, Tony's approach "is a good start, but it's not the end game" (TP5).

Discussion

Because there is not a single, comprehensive, established definition of PTE in social studies, teachers are confronted with multiple paradigms about how to support students' meaningful engagement with sources. Teachers' perspectives about these paradigms are important to examine because their perspectives both reflect and influence their instructional practices.

The current study explored 12 middle and high school teachers' rankings and reasoning about four vignettes representing varying paradigms for scaffolding PTE in social studies classrooms. The findings of this study point to two important issues about how paradigms about productive textual engagement are framed in the reform literature and how teachers interpret these messages in their own practice. First, the findings suggest the teacher-participants in this study were subscribing to a linear/progressive notion of literacy that is often portrayed in the literature. Second, the findings suggest the teachers felt challenged with how to integrate civic literacies in tandem with their current instructional foci. Both of these findings signal a need for reform literature to emphasize the interrelated, congruous nature of paradigms about productive textual engagement in social studies and to present them in more connected, compatible ways. In the following sections we first discuss how these findings relate to how paradigms for PTE are framed in the literature. We then address potential implications for research and practice.

Developmental/Linear Notion of Literacy

Though teacher-participants saw value in integrating the four paradigms, they described the two bottom-ranked vignettes (Yolanda's content-area and Tony's traditional) as more elementary and foundational. They interpreted these paradigms as building toward the two top-ranked vignettes (Maria's historical literacy and Noah's civic literacy), which they described as representing more complex, higher level practices. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the high school teachers reported implementing what they viewed as higher level textual engagement (Maria's) and the middle school teachers viewed this paradigm as too challenging for their students. Likewise, it is perhaps not surprising that the middle school teachers reported implementing what the participants deemed as more foundational (Tony's and Yolanda's).

This phenomenon aligns with a widespread conceptualization of literacy as developmental, progressing from basic literacy skills, such as decoding and fluency, to more intermediate skills before advancing to discipline-specific literacies. For example, Shanahan and Shanahan's (2008) widely cited disciplinary literacy pyramid depicts students' progression along three levels, from basic to intermediate to disciplinary literacy. The authors assert that most students do not "gain control" of the intermediate skills until middle school and begin to "gain proficiency" in the discipline-specific literacies in the higher grades (p. 45). Although many scholars agree that instruction should move away from a linear approach that emphasizes students first mastering beginning and intermediate skills before engaging in disciplinary literacies (e.g., Dobbs et al., 2016; Faggella-Luby et al., 2012), much reform literature still implicitly or explicitly reinforces this notion.

This notion of a linear literacy development might be one factor driving the middle school teachers to focus on supporting their students' reading of textbooks to learn

content (Tony's traditional vignette) and scaffolding their more generalizable, intermediate literacies (Yolanda's content-area vignette). Perhaps the middle school teachers underestimate what their students are capable of and miss opportunities to engage them in more discipline-specific meaning making with texts (Maria's hist lit vignette). At the same time, this developmental view of literacy may contribute to the high school teachers' focus on historical literacies (Maria's). Perhaps the high school teachers minimize the support their students need and may not be providing sufficient scaffolds to ensure students' basic meaning making with complex texts (Yolanda's), including building content knowledge with tertiary sources like textbooks (Tony's).

Reform literature. These speculations point to a crucial limitation of the reform literature: a lack of articulation about the necessity and complementarity of general and disciplinary literacies, and even some traditional teaching approaches, in content-area classrooms across grade levels. The linear, progressive conceptualization of literacy seems to contribute to this limitation, which in turn can influence teachers' perspectives and practices. In this study, the discrepancy between what the middle school teachers valued and how they identified with the paradigms compared to the high school teachers is somewhat perplexing. Namely, the high school teachers identified teaching like the paradigm they ranked and valued highest (Maria's hist lit). Conversely, the middle school teachers identified most closely with the paradigms they ranked and valued lowest (Tony's traditional and Yolanda's content-area). However, these findings are more understandable when considering the developmental, linear views of literacy presented in the reform literature.

Notion that high school teachers are not responsible for content-area literacies. Much research indicates that high school teachers are resistant to teaching general literacies because they do not see the relevance to content-area learning (Hall, 2005; O'Brien et al., 1995). As Faggella-Luby et al. (2012) argue, a "linear" view of literacies "implies that content teachers do not bear responsibility for teaching foundational general strategy instruction to all students in their class" (p. 70). Instead, the authors contend that adolescents need support with general strategies to productively engage with texts and historical content.

It is promising that the high school teachers in this study actually expressed enthusiasm for the content-area literacy paradigm (Yolanda's vignette), unlike in other studies. However, they did report a lack of focus on this paradigm in their instruction and identified key areas of growth in their practice related to this approach. It's almost as if reading Yolanda's content-area vignette prompted the high school teachers to acknowledge the role of general literacies in PTE, which speaks to the lack of consistent or effective messaging that high school teachers receive about content-area literacy compared to messages about historical literacy.

Notion that disciplinary literacies are more relevant to high school students. On the other hand, even though a growing body of research indicates younger students are capable of engaging in disciplinary literacies when taught to do so (e.g., De La Paz, 2005; Ferretti et al., 2001), the literature often frames these skills as more sophisticated and advanced (e.g., Goldman, 2012; T. Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008). This implicitly (and often explicitly) sends the message that disciplinary literacies are more relevant for older students.

This study's findings suggest the middle school teachers interpreted the disciplinary literacy paradigm as something they needed to help their students build toward for future

textual engagement, but not for their immediate experiences. Even though the middle school teachers highly valued the disciplinary literacy paradigm (Maria's vignette), they reported this approach as too challenging for their students. This points to a potential lack of messaging in the literature about supporting younger students' disciplinary literacies. It also suggests a lack of focus on the interrelatedness of general and discipline-specific literacies for productive textual engagement.

Simplified notions of traditional teaching. Finally, given that the traditional content-acquisition paradigm (Tony's vignette) is overwhelmingly denounced in the reform literature (e.g., De La Paz, 2005; Fogo, 2014), it is promising that the middle and high school teachers ranked Tony's vignette the lowest and recognized limits to focusing on reading content without a larger purpose. This suggests the teachers have taken this reform message to heart.

At the same time, however, it is seemingly contradictory that the middle school teachers identified closely with this paradigm in their own instruction. The developmental notion of literacy again may contribute to this phenomenon. The reform literature may simplify the notion of traditional teaching and content acquisition, depicting it as more basic and elementary, and even detrimental to students' learning (e.g., Monte-Sano, 2008; Nokes, 2013). Most scholars would likely agree, however, that the traditional approach is more nuanced and that elements of the paradigm can support students' PTE. For example, reading textbooks, listening to teacher lectures, and reading expository texts to glean facts and information can be constructive activities. But the traditional teaching paradigm is typically presented in a simplified, unequivocally negative manner rather than in ways that acknowledge the complexity of its parts, some of which can support students' PTE when approached purposefully.

It is possible this simplified view contributed to the teacher-participants deeming the traditional content acquisition paradigm as lower level and thus more appropriate for younger students, even though an abundance of research demonstrates that traditional teaching is the most frequently observed approach in high school classrooms (Fogo, 2014; Nokes, 2013).

Integrating Civic Literacies With Current Instructional Foci

Although both middle and high school teacher-participants highly valued Noah's civic literacy vignette, they did not identify with this paradigm for PTE in their own practice. What is encouraging is that neither set of teachers mentioned a common barrier to civic literacy instruction identified in the research, that teachers are reluctant to address controversial issues or to engage students in taking political or ideological stances in their classrooms (Carnegie Corporation, 2011; Hess, 2004; Zevin, 2015). Instead, both sets of participants expressed a desire to include more of a civic literacy focus in their practice. They reported wanting to better connect historical and current event topics in relevant ways. The middle school teachers, however, expressed concerns about a lack of time for Noah's civic literacy approach and that they might "lose" students if they engaged them in this paradigm.

These findings suggest the teacher-participants may face challenges in conceptualizing how to integrate civic literacies in tandem with their current instructional foci. In other words, it is possible the high school teachers did not have a clear vision of what it could mean to scaffold disciplinary literacies and civic literacies concurrently in meaningful ways. Similarly, perhaps the middle school teachers could not envision finding time to implement civic literacy supports in synchrony with their current traditional and

content-area literacy approaches. The teacher-participants reported implementing very little civic literacy in their instruction despite a great appreciation for this paradigm. It is almost as if they chose one or two paradigms to primarily focus on in their instruction rather than implementing a combined, integrated focus. The findings of this study again underscore the lack of representation of the paradigms as interrelated and connected in the reform literature rather than as disparate, siloed approaches.

Reform literature. The teachers' reported lack of focus on civic literacies in their practice is somewhat surprising given that supporting students' civic literacies is a prominent focus of reform literature (e.g., Frey & Fisher, 2015; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Leahey, 2014). In fact, citizenship education, aligned with Dewey's (1916) philosophy of democratic schooling, "has long been recognized as one of the fundamental purposes of schooling" across grade levels and content areas (Anderson et al., 1997, p. 334). This philosophy is arguably most relevant to social studies classrooms, which ideally aim to hone students' ability to read and reason about information to "nurture" their "civic sensibilities" (Leahey, 2014, p. 66).

The teacher-participants' reported lack of attention to civic literacy in their social studies classrooms, however, aligns with research indicating that most U.S. classrooms include a shallow focus on civic education (Carnegie Corporation, 2011; Morgan, 2016). Furthermore, youth in the United States are generally not very civically engaged (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Martens & Gainous, 2013), and there is a link between the amount of time spent on civics instruction and learners' civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions (Galston, 2001; Martens & Gainous, 2013).

The lack of focus on civic literacies in social studies classrooms is unfortunate, given that research indicates numerous benefits to this approach. For example, research demonstrates a link between civic-focused education and increases in students' civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions (Carnegie Corporation, 2011). Civic literacy engagement has also been shown to increase students' civic efficacy and their "passion for improving their community" (Morgan, 2016, p. 14). Finally, research also indicates that when students of color, those from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and those living in urban or rural areas learn civic literacies, they "perform considerably higher than their counterparts," reflecting the potential for "civic learning to fulfill the ideal of civic equality" (Carnegie Corporation, 2011, p. 6).

Thus, rather than teachers "losing" students when engaging their civic literacies, it seems more likely that integrating this paradigm into instruction can gain students' attention and engagement. This is especially important in middle and lower grades' classrooms, because students usually dislike and disengage from social studies (Zhao & Hoge, 2005), and therefore it is important to attract them early on. Perhaps if students read, discussed, and wrote about topics that were more relevant to them and more consequential to their communities, it would motivate them to purposefully and productively engage with social studies content. This is even more imperative for students of color and students from marginalized communities, because these groups are historically left out of the democratic decision-making process. Therefore, scaffolding students' civic literacies is a fundamental step in equalizing the democratic playing field.

Lack of integration of civic literacy paradigm. Given that both middle and high school teachers valued Noah's civic literacy paradigm and recognized related areas of improvement in their practice, the findings of this study do not suggest a lack of prevalence of the civic literacy paradigm in the reform literature. Nor do the findings indicate a

difference in messaging in the literature about civic literacies for upper or lower grades. Rather, the findings suggest a possible lack of crossover between the various bodies of literature. In other words, the civic literacy paradigm may be presented as a distinct, separate approach that is unrelated and incompatible with the other paradigms. Therefore, teachers may be left to guess about how to integrate the approaches, potentially leaving them to prioritize one paradigm over the others in their practice.

This division of paradigms is an unfortunate and unnecessary representation in the literature, because there is natural cohesion among the goals of civic literacies and the other paradigms. For example, in a study focused on supporting middle school students' civic literacies, Morgan (2016) found an increase in students' "efficacy to gather information" (p. 14). This component of civic literacy involved students learning to research a topic, including how to search for and determine the reliability of information and communicate one's findings. This information-gathering process shares several characteristics of disciplinary literacy, content-area literacy, and traditional content-acquisition paradigms. But teachers are left to do the work of making (sometimes veiled) connections among the paradigms, given that they are rarely presented as interrelated and sometimes even pitted against each other in the reform literature.

Implications

Teacher-participants in this study recognized the value of integrating each of the four paradigms and the importance of the "lower level" models building toward the "higher level" paradigms for productive textual engagement. Middle and high school content-area teachers would benefit from a reform of the reform literature to better represent these fundamental principles. Furthermore, all stakeholders—including researchers, teacher educators, and teachers—would benefit from a deeper understanding of teachers' perspectives about the varying paradigms for productive textual engagement in social studies.

Reform the reform literature. Because the middle school teachers reported a focus on implementing the "foundational" paradigms (Tony's traditional and Yolanda's content-area) and the high school teachers on the "higher level" paradigm (Maria's hist lit) in their instruction, one important step to reform the reform literature is to more explicitly emphasize the need for both foundational and higher level literacies for all students at all developmental levels. In other words, instead of students moving through a "progression of basic to intermediate to disciplinary literacy" (Dobbs et al., 2016, p. 132) across lower to higher grade levels, the literature should more explicitly emphasize higher level literacies, such as disciplinary and civic literacies, as umbrella goals of productive textual engagement for students across all grade levels rather than as reserved for older students. Likewise, the reform literature would improve by more explicitly communicating how general literacies and content acquisition are foundational for productively engaging in higher level, critical discourses for all students rather than as basic skills that first need to be mastered in the younger grades.

This congruent, integrated representation of paradigms for PTE would counter the linear view of literacy that positions historical literacies as developmentally higher and thus an inappropriate focus for younger students. A more cohesive, unifying view would also counter what Wolsey and Lapp (2017) describe as a "versus syndrome" (p. 6), which results in teachers feeling they need to choose one paradigm over another.

Furthermore, given that the middle and high school teachers both expressed high value in the paradigms they were not regularly implementing as well as a desire

to integrate these approaches more in their own instruction, it seems teachers would benefit from reform literature that provides more concrete exemplars of integrated literacy instruction that “works.” It would be valuable for teachers to read examples of teachers who have learned to effectively integrate key aspects from each paradigm for PTE across grade levels. Thus, we call for researcher–teacher partnership studies that collaboratively explore how social studies teachers develop effective strategies for integrated instructional approaches and address barriers that impede teachers’ learning and progress in this area. We also call for practitioner resources to provide more tangible, accessible examples of purposeful, interconnected approaches to PTE. For instance, teachers would benefit from examples of effective ways to scaffold students’ comprehension of the dense information in history textbooks while also reading for meaningful purposes, such as asking questions about how historians/textbook authors derived their information, how the information compares to other historical sources, and what information might be left out of the narrative (Teachinghistory.org, 2018; Wineburg, 2007).

Deeper understanding of teachers’ perspectives. In addition to reforming the reform literature, a more thorough understanding of content-area teachers’ perspectives would be beneficial, because it would inform researchers’ and teacher educators’ support of their practice. From a sense-making theoretical perspective (e.g., Spillane et al., 2002), a deeper understanding of social studies teachers’ dynamic and complex perspectives about productive textual engagement would help shape how the reform literature frames their messaging to be clearer and more meaningful to teachers. It could also contribute to changes in the nature of the recommended reforms. As Blackman (2016) explains, teachers’ sense-making and related implementation of reform recommendations can influence the overall effect of the reform initiative.

We advocate for more research that builds on the current study to determine the extent to which these findings reflect the perspectives of other teachers and why that might be the case. For example, is it common for social studies teachers to place higher value on historical and civic literacies than content-area literacy and traditional content acquisition? Is it common for social studies teachers to report a lack of civic literacy focus in their classrooms and, if so, why? Furthermore, what paradigms are valued and practiced in other content areas, and how does this compare to social studies teachers’ perspectives?

Finally, a deeper understanding of teachers’ own perspectives about productive textual engagement can inform their professional growth. The findings of this study can prompt teacher educators to engage pre- and in-service teachers in self-assessment of their perspectives about productive textual engagement and their related instructional practices. Teachers can be guided in analyzing discrepancies between their values and practices and reflecting about what may be contributing to this misalignment. These reflections can inform the supports teacher educators provide to guide teachers in designing and implementing more connected, unified approaches for scaffolding their students’ productive textual engagement.

Limitations and Conclusion

The findings of this study illuminate teachers’ perspectives about the complexities of ideal and realized paradigms for supporting students’ textual engagement in social studies. It is important to consider the limitations of this study in light of the findings. For example, teacher-participants were asked to rank and reason about four distinct hypothetical vignettes representing productive textual engagement, and therefore the results do not reflect how such approaches might be implemented in either more piecemeal,

disfluent or more cohesive, integrated ways in real classroom contexts. Furthermore, the study focused on participants' reasoning about the paradigms and did not examine their enacted instructional practices in relation to these perspectives. However, the findings do present interesting and useful information about what the teachers valued and how they identified with different paradigms, and therefore serve as a starting point to inform future studies of teachers' perspectives vis-à-vis their current practices.

Ravitch (2003) asserts that social studies instruction should ensure students “encounter a variety of views” and “gain a solid body of knowledge as well as the tools and dispositions to view that knowledge skeptically and analytically” (p. 5) to contribute to our country and world's future. Similarly, Zevin (2015) highlights that the point of social studies instruction “lies in stimulating the production of ideas, looking at knowledge from others' viewpoints, developing a sense of empathy, and formulating for oneself a set of values and beliefs that can be explained and justified in open discussion” (p. xvii). These characterizations seem to reflect a harmonious combination of key aspects of each paradigm. The teacher-participants recognized the value of each of the paradigms and commented on their complementarity. However, being able to consistently integrate aspects of each paradigm into one's teaching is no doubt a challenge. This may in part reflect how and for whom reform literature is framed, which impacts how educators translate theory into practice. As Zevin asserts, teachers must balance two worlds: “one of day-to-day classroom practice and the other of ideological goals, debate, and research” (p. 11).

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Appendix A. Teacher Participants

Teacher-participant number and pseudonym	Grade level	Years teaching	Degrees/credentials	School information
TP1 (Bella)	5th	16	BA, elementary education, communications; MA, teaching and learning	Suburban elementary school; 591 students 86.3% Hispanic, 10.2% Black, 1.0% White
TP2 (Mark)	7th	14	BS, broadcast journalism; MA, teaching social studies	Suburban middle school; 478 students 48.3% Hispanic, 42.3% White, 5.0% Asian
TP3 (Henry)	7th, 8th	18	BA, economics; MS, secondary education	Suburban middle school; 448 students 89.5% White, 3.6% Hispanic, 2.2% Asian
TP4 (Wendy)	5th	14	BA, elementary education; AS, animal science	Suburban middle school; 770 students 66.5% White, 20.0% Hispanic, 5.2% Black
TP5 (Sam)	5th	25	BA, history; MA, education	Suburban middle school; 431 students 83.3% White, 6.5% Asian, 5.3% Hispanic
TP6 (Grace)	6th	26	BA, history, secondary education; BS, biology; MS, literacy instruction	Suburban middle school; 431 students 83.3% White, 6.5% Asian, 5.3% Hispanic
TP7 (Rachel)	7th	20	BA, elementary education; MA, teaching and leadership	Suburban middle school; 733 students 76% Hispanic, 12.1% White, 7.8% Black
TP8 (Gina)	5th, 6th	11	BA, history, secondary education; MA, reading and literacy	Suburban elementary school; 259 students 93.1% White, 6.2% Asian, 0.8% Hispanic

TP9 (Albert)	11th	13	BA, history; MAT, history, secondary education	Suburban high school; 3,285 students 44% White, 29% Black, 18% Hispanic
TP10 (Ellena)	11th	17	BS, history education; MS, curriculum and instruction; currently obtaining MAT, history	Suburban high school; 1,781 students 40% White, 1.4% Black, 52.5% Hispanic
TP11 (William)	11th	13	BS, social and cultural history; MS, education	Suburban high school; 2,010 students 77% White, 14.4% Asian, 4.7% Hispanic
TP12 (Megan)	10th	7	BS, history education; MS, education	Selective enrollment, urban school; 1,292 students 71.5% Black, 24% Hispanic

Appendix B. Think-Aloud Vignettes

Hypothetical vignette teacher name	Vignette title (abbreviation): description	Supporting literature
Maria	Historical literacy (hist lit): Maria develops inquiry units about a historical topic and guides her students in closely reading a variety of primary and secondary sources that each contribute to a “piece of the inquiry puzzle” about the unit. While reading these sources, Maria prompts students to notice the author, date, audience, and type of text to consider the source’s reliability as relates to the inquiry. Maria also prompts students to compare historical information across sources to determine the likelihood of claims in the texts. Maria guides students in developing evidence-based arguments about the inquiry based on their analysis of these texts.	Barton & Levstik, 2003; Fang & Coatoam, 2013; Goldman et al., 2016; Moje, 2007, 2008; T. Shanahan et al., 2011; Wineburg, 2001; Wineburg & Reisman, 2015
Noah	Civic literacy (civ lit): Noah engages his students in learning about historical topics to gain a deeper understanding of current events and develop as knowledgeable, engaged citizens. Noah helps students build knowledge of social and global issues through reading a variety of texts, from historians’ arguments and legal documents to OpEd articles and social media sources. Noah guides students in lively discussions about these texts that represent issues of culture, power and governance, and change over time. He also helps students analyze themes across sources to explore the relation between democratic ideals and practices and to develop students’ dispositions to actively engage in civic roles in their community.	Carnegie Corporation, 2011; Galston, 2001; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Knowles, 2018; Martens & Gainous, 2013; Morgan, 2016; National Council for the Social Studies, 2013; Silay, 2014

Yolanda	Content-area literacy (content-area): Yolanda finds interesting texts with historical content to help her students develop their skills for reading nonfiction/informational texts, such as articles from Scholastic News or Cobblestone. Before reading, Yolanda guides students in previewing the text structures and text features (e.g., subheadings, captions) to make predictions about the text. During reading, Yolanda guides students to ask questions, define unknown words, and make connections with the text. After reading, Yolanda helps students respond to the texts through activities like identifying the main idea and details or writing opinion essays about the topic of study.	Adams & Pegg, 2012; Duke & Pearson, 2002; Kucan & Palinscar, 2018; Neufeld, 2005; Phelps, 2005; Schoenbach et al., 2012
Tony	Traditional content acquisition (traditional): Tony guides his students in reading important portions of the social studies textbook, asking them questions and providing clear examples to ensure students understand and remember the information. Tony also finds useful materials to supplement the textbook, such as engaging photos and videos that help students build content knowledge. Tony also makes learning historical content fun through engaging projects such as drawing visual timelines, competing in quiz game shows, and creating posters or shoebox dioramas of a particular event.	Fogo, 2014; Leahey, 2014; Moje, 2007; Monte-Sano, 2008; Nokes, 2013; Paxton, 1997

Note. Teacher-participants did not see the title or abbreviations on the vignettes they read and ranked.