Collaborative Argumentation: Tenth Graders Read Modern Iranian History

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THEY STARTED OUT THE YEAR *as a regular group of ninth graders. Diverse in all the ways that do and do not show up in demographic data. As a group, squirrelly. Abuzz with social interaction, most moving and chatting, a few watching intently. More interested in each other than whatever lesson today would bring. Expecting history to be a set of facts. Expecting the teacher to tell them what they needed to know, if not up front, at the beginning, "Here's what we're going to learn…," then certainly by the end of the period. She would tie it up in a bow for them. She would explain what was not yet clear. Maybe they would have to read something. Maybe not. Maybe the PowerPoint or video would be enough. Or they could just wait for the discussion, or the teacher's summary, or the study guide the day before the test. Certainly, they would need to recall those important facts in order to take a multiple-choice test, and the standardized test in the spring. For some, the results of those tests mattered. For some, not so much.*

We met this class as part of Project READI (Reading, Evidence, and Argumentation in Disciplinary Instruction), a five-year research

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project funded by the Institute of Education Sciences on reading comprehension.[1] Together with these students, we took up the challenge of strengthening their disciplinary literacy in history. We report here on what the students accomplished in the final culminating unit of their two-year world history course, at the end of their tenth grade year, when they studied the history of modern Iran.

Disciplinary literacy encompasses not only the ability to read the texts of a discipline, but also to engage in the practices and discourse of that discipline. At the center of the discipline of history is inquiry. Historians practice their craft within a community of inquiry,[2] to which they bring the dispositions, habits of mind, stances, frameworks, and thinking and reasoning processes that allow them to tackle this work. Vital to their craft is reading—reading primary sources as well as the work of other historians in the form of academic articles, monographs, and other secondary and tertiary texts. Historians handle an astounding array of text types, including letters, speeches, government documents, ships' manifests, political cartoons, maps, and charts; as well as the literature, science, and philosophy of an era; and artifacts, like mummies and tools, but also paintings, photographs, and counts of pollens in soils. It is from these varied, uneven, and incomplete remnants of the past that historians select evidence, apply reason, and construct interpretations. It is through this evidentiary record that historians attempt to understand the complexity and significance of human experience.

For students to develop disciplinary literacy, they need to engage in the practices of history and learn to think like historians. For these students to move from their ninth grade expectations about history toward the authentic discipline of history, they would need to become increasingly capable readers who could grapple with a wide range of history texts.

Fortunately, significant educational research offered direction. To inform the design research reported here, the history team of Project READI reviewed the literature on the epistemology, or knowledge building practices, of history; on the reading processes of both experts and novices; and on the pedagogies, texts, and tasks that support historical reading and reasoning. In a set of well-known studies, Sam Wineburg described the cognitive reading processes that distinguish expert readers of history from typical untrained students.[3] Building on this work, Wineburg and colleagues developed and tested historical

inquiries that allowed students to engage in sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization.[4] Studies have shown that students as young as fifth and sixth graders can engage in these and other historical reasoning practices and are capable of "sophisticated learning in science and history."[5] Consensus in the field that sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization are key historical thinking processes has led to several studies of how students develop these interpretive processes.

In a set of studies by Susan De La Paz, Chauncey Monte-Sano, Mark Felton, and others, scholars developed lessons, texts, and scaffolds for reading multiple sources and writing historical arguments from those sources that proved to be successful in their studies with culturally and academically diverse students.[6] In their interventions, they identified heuristics and developed scaffolds to support students to source, corroborate, and contextualize documents. The studies showed that students made significant gains using the scaffolds: their written historical arguments improved. In these studies, researchers modified texts to make them more accessible to students. The text sets consisted of three to five documents, accompanied by a question for students to answer, and scaffolds to support both the reading and the writing. Teachers provided necessary historical context.

In another study, researcher Avishag Reisman developed and tested a six-month, document-based high school U.S. history curriculum. The curriculum included text sets of three to five lexically and syntactically modified historical documents, background knowledge delivered in various formats, and a historical question for each text set. The intervention was successful in that students not only learned the content, but also improved in reading comprehension. As for historical thinking, there were treatment effects for sourcing and close reading, but not for corroboration or contextualization.[7]

The design for much of the foregoing research has, understandably, constrained both the historical texts and the historical tasks given to students. The researchers carefully constructed a text set and a historical question that could be reasonably answered by interpreting the documents included. Typically, these text sets were small and the question was often causal (e.g., Why did the U.S. invade Cuba?[8]) or binary (e.g., Were Daniel Shays and his followers rebels or freedom fighters?[9]). Researchers also provided historical context in some form, whether through teacher lecture, video, or a short reading, such that students could do the expected level of contextualization.

The texts were excerpted from longer pieces and modified to reduce their complexity. From this important research, we have learned that diverse middle and high school students can engage in historical reasoning and can write historical arguments. Yet, much of the work historians do is missing from this process.

Historians' work is not circumscribed by pre-selected text sets, curated to answer a particular question, accompanied by definitions of key terms, or translated into less archaic language. Their work is far less tidy. They ask questions for which there may be no answer, and search for evidence that may be unavailable in the existing historical record. They ask new questions of known sources. They build knowledge of a context continuously and then marshal that ever-expanding knowledge to contextualize sources, and then re-contextualize those source texts as they gain new knowledge. They encounter unexpected data, follow lines of inquiry that sometimes do not pan out, and revise their questions. They work with stamina in a large problem space and tolerate ambiguities for extended periods of time.

Moreover, sourcing, corroborating, and contextualizing are not the only thinking processes that historians engage. Peter Seixas and Tom Morton gave us six historical thinking concepts that "work together as various aspects of the thinking process": 1) historical significance, 2) evidence, 3) continuity and change, 4) cause and consequence, 5) historical perspectives, and 6) the ethical dimension.[10] Sourcing and corroboration primarily fall under the concept of evidence in this framework; contextualization primarily falls under the concepts of evidence and historical perspectives. Seixas and Morton view all six of these concepts as interrelated, informing each other recursively, within a context of inquiry. We would argue that this process requires additional thinking processes.

Furthermore, historians do not work to answer a set of predetermined questions; they generate their own questions from their central research questions, at many levels and grain sizes. Their questions develop and are revised as they proceed with an inquiry. However, as Jannet van Drie and Carla van Boxtel noted, "Questioning in educational research has been approached mainly as a reading strategy to improve understanding of texts and much less as a means for domain-specific reasoning. Questioning may function as an 'engine' for historical reasoning" because a "line of reasoning is

not only constructed in relation to an initial question, each component of historical reasoning can be shaped by its own questions."[11]

In the research reported here, we were interested in looking at students' reading for understanding within an inquiry that more closely approached the work of historians.

Project READI

Project READI defined reading comprehension, or reading for understanding, as "the capacity to engage in evidence-based argumentation drawing on multiple text sources. By evidence-based argumentation, we mean making a claim or assertion that is supported by evidence that connects to the claim in a principled way."[12] Often, argumentation is conceived of as a culminating written product, the summative task in a process of reading and thinking. However, argumentation does not begin there. Rather, it is a recursive process that involves readers in the development of an interpretation as they engage with sources.[13] Furthermore, argumentation in the disciplines is carried out in ways particular to each discipline, with standards of evidence and reasoning processes shaped by disciplinary beliefs and practices.

In the first two years of the project, based on our review of the literature, and in collaboration with teachers, the READI history team developed core constructs describing the forms of knowledge historians drew on when reading history sources and developing historical arguments (see **Appendix A**). From these, the team developed student learning goals for history to support the development of disciplinary literacy interventions (see **Figure 1**). These goals shaped our focus on engaging students in closely reading individual texts, making sense across texts, and engaging in ongoing argumentation to interpret texts. In order to reach these goals, we recognized that students would need different opportunities from those offered by typical history teaching in secondary schools. If students were to have the opportunity to engage in, and thus acquire, historical reading and reasoning skills, a shift to a classroom culture that promoted engaged and purposeful reading and reasoning would be required.

We hypothesize that reading and shared discussion of historical sources can build students' understanding of history as an interpretive enterprise and their ability to engage in historical argumentation. In

READI Learning Goals for History Inquiry

1. Engage in close reading of historical resources to construct domain knowledge, including primary, secondary, and tertiary sources. Close reading encompasses metacomprehension and self-regulation of the process.
2. Synthesize within and across historical resources using comparison, contrast, corroboration, contextualization, and sourcing processes.
3. Construct claim-evidence relations, using textual evidence and explaining the relationship among the pieces of evidence and between the evidence and claims.
4. Use interpretive frameworks developed by historians, such as societal structures, systems, and patterns across time and place, to analyze historical evidence and argument, and to address historical questions.
5. Evaluate historical interpretations for coherence, completeness, the quality of evidence and reasoning, and the historian's perspective.
6. Demonstrate understanding of the epistemology of history as inquiry into the past, seeing history as competing interpretations that are contested, incomplete approximations of the past, open to new evidence and new interpretations.

READI Definition of Historical Argument

Historical arguments interpret the past. These arguments can take the form of descriptive, explanatory, or narrative accounts. Historical arguments are composed of claims that are based on evidence and the reasoning that connects them. Historical claims are grounded in evidence from the historical record (primary sources: written documents, eyewitness testimonies, and artifacts from the period of study) and informed by the work of historians on the subject.

Figure 1: Project READI Learning Goals for History Inquiry and Definition of Historical Argument

the classroom context, individual students' tentative interpretations can be both surfaced and enriched by the interpretations of others when students are engaged in an evidence-based discussion about shared history sources. Students argue to make sense of the history texts they are reading and to work out their historical interpretations. As such, we consider these text-based discussions to be incipient historical argumentation. This discourse may serve as the foundation for written argument at a later stage in the process. It is also part of disciplinary literacy. As Elizabeth Moje noted, "how members of disciplines use oral and written language" is part and parcel of their work and is, hence, a fundamental aspect of disciplinary literacy.[14]

In the study reported here, we foregrounded two of the READI Learning Goals for History Inquiry—Goal 1 on close reading and Goal 6 on the epistemology of history as inquiry into the past.

Design-Based Research Partnership

Project READI recognized the central role teachers play in mediating the learning opportunities of students and, thus, invested in developing design partnerships that fostered two-way learning between teachers and researchers. Design-based research is a methodology that aims to test theories and frameworks for instruction in the complex environment of authentic educational settings—in this case, a classroom.[15] Typically, researchers design an intervention, which they then revise iteratively in response to their observations of its implementation.[16] Cynthia Greenleaf and Ruth Schoenbach have transformed this model by partnering with teachers in both the construction and implementation of new knowledge and approaches to instruction.[17] This study is the product of a design-based research collaboration between a history teacher and a history teacher-turned-researcher. In line with this collaborative knowledge building model, all levels of design decisions for the Iran unit were made collaboratively.

Gayle Cribb is a veteran classroom history teacher with significant experience implementing Reading Apprenticeship, an instructional framework that supports disciplinary literacy. She was invited to join Project READI as a researcher in Year 1 of the project. Crystal Maglio had been teaching for nine years and had been implementing Reading Apprenticeship for two years when she joined the project in Year 2

and became a member of the READI Teacher Inquiry Network.[18] This network was a professional learning community of Reading Apprenticeship teachers and READI researchers who met in four to six full-day sessions each year to explore disciplinary literacy with each other and to share their experiments in their classrooms. Gayle and Crystal's design-based research partnership began in Year 3 of the project, when they developed and implemented the first iteration of the Iran unit in 2013. They subsequently revised some of the texts, tasks, and teacher practices for the second iteration in 2015. In both years, Gayle and other Project READI researchers led by Cynthia Greenleaf carried out ongoing observations and data collection in Crystal's classes. It is the data from 2015 that we report on here.

School Context

The San Francisco Bay Area medium-size public high school where Crystal taught had a diverse population, with 1% Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 2% black or African American, 5% Filipino, 15% Asian, 26% Hispanic or Latino, 10% two or more races, and 40% white. Twenty-one percent of the student population qualified for free or reduced price school meals, 12% were English learners, 14% had been reclassified as fluent English proficient, and 12% had disabilities. The school prioritized a class size of twenty-eight for their ninth and tenth grade classes. In this particular class of twenty-eight students, parent educational level ranged from high school to some graduate school. Scores on California Standardized Tests in English Language Arts ranged from basic to advanced.

Both the school and the history department were committed to constructing heterogeneous classes for world history, attending to the demographic information available and the distribution of students in other classes that might result in "shadow tracking." Their goal was to equally distribute among the sections of the class the variety of academic achievement, reading levels, disabilities, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, home languages, English learners, and at-risk students. Hence, the demographics of the students in the class in this study mirrored the school population. Students had the same teacher for both years of world history, which was aligned with the California History-Social Science Standards and served as a core course for ninth and tenth graders within a Small Learning Community.

Research Goals

The unit we co-designed for this study came at the end of the two years. As such, students had already had many experiences reading sets of multiple texts; using heuristics for sourcing, corroboration, and contextualization similar to the ones used in the studies referenced above; collaborating with each other; and developing historical arguments.

We wanted to build on students' emerging epistemic understandings and capacities by removing scaffolds, expanding the scope of the inquiry, and designing for more independence, thereby approaching a more authentic historical investigation. We wanted to explore the question: What would the student outcomes be if we created and facilitated a unit designed to place historical inquiry—formulating questions, making sense of texts, and building knowledge—more fully into the hands of students? We documented the design, implementation, and instructional shifts, as well as student outcomes. Our focus here is on student outcomes.

Unit Design

We relied upon Reading Apprenticeship as a pedagogical foundation for supporting close reading. Reading Apprenticeship is a research-based and research-validated approach to academic literacy instruction designed to improve literacy skills and academic achievement for all students with increasingly complex and disciplinary texts. Reading Apprenticeship is aligned with the principles of reform initiatives that specify advanced literacy skills and understandings critical for college and career readiness across the content areas. In Reading Apprenticeship professional development, teachers across the subject areas learn how to build students' capacities to carry out close, intellectually engaged reading; make meaning; acquire academic and disciplinary language and literacy practices; read independently; and set personal goals for literacy development.[19]

Students had studied totalitarianism, World War I and II, and the Cold War, among other topics. Historical thinking, collaboration, and writing skills and processes had been introduced with significant scaffolds that had been gradually reduced as the students gained experience and competence. Students had read primary, secondary,

and tertiary sources; worked on historical thinking skills; and practiced the core routines of Reading Apprenticeship—namely, metacognitive conversations that surfaced and shared their sense-making processes with historical texts in the classroom community. Students had written arguments from multiple history sources with the expectation that they would make claims, provide evidence from the sources, and explain how the evidence supported their claims.

As the last unit in the course, the Iran unit would provide a venue for students to demonstrate what they had accomplished. Crystal chose this topic because it fit within the framework of the course, because Iran was in the news at the time, and because students had relatively little prior knowledge of Iran. This meant that they would have to rely on the knowledge they would build over the course of the unit.

Our first step in designing the unit was to learn more about the history of modern Iran than we knew at the time. We gathered texts and read. Then we began the challenging task of finding texts for students. We solicited help from several college and university history and Middle Eastern studies departments to no avail, but the California History-Social Science Project[20] at the University of California, Davis, generously responded with recommended sources. We also discovered that The Choices Program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University had developed a curriculum from which we could draw texts.[21]

Once we had collected candidate texts, we developed an essential question for the unit that was relatively open: "How can the study of history help us understand current conflicts?" At the time, the current conflict in the media was between the United States and Iran concerning Iran's development of nuclear technology and material.

The previous units in Crystal's 2013 curriculum had been developed by the history department. Text sets had ranged from two to eight documents. She had framed the work with the texts in two ways. First, she had provided what she had determined was relevant or essential context by lecture or a short, accessible text or film. Second, she had provided students with the question she expected them to answer—a question that could both be debated and be reasonably answered with the text set.

From our own inquiries into reading multiple texts for evidence-based argumentation in the READI Teacher Inquiry Network, we had noticed that *how* we read a set of texts changed in relation to

the task. The tasks affected our purposes for reading, which in turn affected how we approached the reading. When we were given a specific question to answer at the outset (e.g., To what extent was Theodore Roosevelt and his administration responsible for bringing about the Panamanian Revolution?) we found ourselves looking for evidence to answer that question early on in the process. When we were given a more open prompt (e.g., What claims might you make from this set of texts?), we read first to simply see what was there. We found that an intriguing variety of questions emerged as we each read. The sharing and discussion of those questions produced divergent views and increased our engagement with the text. The task of creating a claim across the texts that could be supported with evidence from the texts drove us back to re-read, repeatedly. Our reading deepened and became more disciplinary.

We therefore wanted to give students an opportunity to explore documents with this inquiry stance, to pick up a document with open questions like, "What have we here?" and "What might this text have to offer?" "Looking at these texts together, what claim can I make?" "What do I now understand?" We wanted inquiry questions to develop from students' own interactions with the texts. We also wanted to give students experience with actively building their understanding of the historical context through reading texts, rather than receiving it from the teacher in some other form. And, we wanted to give students experience with a type of historical argumentation different from the causal arguments that had dominated their work to date. In our experience as history teachers, students often ask as they encounter an unfamiliar part of the past, "Well, what *happened* anyhow?" We think that this is a legitimate historical question, but one that has been undervalued in the research to date. As historian Allan Megill argued, description of what happened is an integral historical task, a "recounting" that answers the question, "What is the case?" Description is a type of historical argument in and of itself, and it constitutes a vital component of narrative argumentation.[22]

Importantly, as much as possible, we wanted to turn the intellectual work of making sense of the texts over to the students. Texts would provide the sole sources of information students would use to build historical knowledge. Students would ask the questions, do the close reading, build the knowledge of the context, interpret the documents, and construct a narrative. They would drive the inquiry. Given this

opportunity, we wanted to know the extent to which students would use the skills, dispositions, and knowledge they had been developing over the course of the two years with Crystal.

To that end, we designed an investigation that was intentionally more complex. The scope was broader, the texts more numerous, the scaffolds fewer, and the students more independent than they had been in previous units. In order to be able to respond to students' developing lines of inquiry, we gathered many possible texts to pull into the unit as needed. We were prepared to adjust our plan as we saw both what was working pedagogically and how the students' investigation developed.

In keeping with these design goals, we did *not* provide context pieces for the documents, key terms, definitions, or guiding questions. We did provide the essential question and spare notetakers for students to keep track of their learning. Examples of these notetakers include a blank table of contents for students' unit work; a sheet with blank columns labeled "Term," "Definition," and "Example from Unit"; and a specific Iran Inquiry notetaker with columns labeled "Questions We Have" and "What We Know" (including source information). We selected and excerpted the texts, and provided their source information—all of which are, of course, significant scaffolds—but did not modify them in any other way.

We designed two assessments. The first asked for an argument of description, an argument that would answer the question: "What *happened* anyhow?" Students wrote an account of the 1953 coup, based on their understanding of the first sixteen documents, nine of which were primary sources related to the coup. The task in and of itself required using multiple documents, given that none of the documents gave an account of the coup.

The second assessment asked students to answer a question related to the essential question as applied to Iran: "What is important to know about the history of Iran that helps us understand the current conflict?" The current conflict was framed by current events articles early in the unit about Iran's nuclear program, the U.S. position on the issue, and the economic sanctions imposed upon Iran by the United States. In order to answer this question, students would need to understand the historical context in which Iran was situated, determine significance of evidence from the documents they read, synthesize various sources, and provide their text-based evidence and

reasoning. The question asked students to "grasp the significance of the past in shaping the present," as the National Council for History Education describes one of history's habits of mind.[23] Within Seixas and Morton's framework, the question foregrounds the concepts of historical significance and of the ethical dimension. Significance reveals "something about the time period in question, and more importantly, about an issue that interests us today." The ethical dimension of historical thinking uses the past "to inform judgments and actions on controversial issues in the present."[24]

In the second iteration of the unit, in 2015, students studied nineteen documents (see **Appendix B** for a list of the texts), including primary, secondary, and tertiary sources of varying types over the course of twenty-four class periods (see **Appendix C** for an overview of the lessons), six of which were focused on writing. Most of the reading and discussion of texts took place during class; students were invited, but not required, to continue reading for homework.

The unit began with students sharing what they knew or thought they knew about the topic, what questions they had, and what they wanted to know. We predicted that this would build their interest and agency. Student misconceptions at the beginning included that the U.S. was going to war with Iran, that Iran had nuclear weapons, and that "They want to bomb us." An early question was, "Why do they hate us?" Throughout the unit, students tracked their questions and their learnings, circling back to what they thought they knew and revising their conceptions as they built their schema. We selected texts and shifted the order of the texts in response to the arc of the students' inquiry and, at times, to provide a text that would challenge a misconception.

The introductory texts included a map, followed by three current events articles about the conflict, then a tertiary source and two primary sources. The next nine documents, all primary sources, centered on the 1953 coup. The first three of these coup texts were read individually and then discussed in pairs and in the whole group. The remaining six coup texts were divided among four groups of students, the Expert Groups. In these groups, students would grapple with their assigned text(s) with others assigned the same text(s). In a later lesson, students would meet in a Jigsaw Group, composed of one student from each Expert Group. Crystal constructed both the Expert and the Jigsaw Groups to be heterogeneous.

In preparation for their Expert Groups, students individually read and annotated the one or two texts about which they would become expert in a dedicated class period. For these students, annotation was routine, but not a procedural exercise. Students had *not* been taught to use set symbols (e.g., underline main ideas, circle unknown words), nor had they been given requirements (e.g., make at least one annotation per paragraph). Rather, they had been encouraged to make their thinking processes visible on the page, consistent with Reading Apprenticeship's routine of Talking to the Text (see **Appendix D** for a student work sample). Though students were provided copies of the entire text set, they initially focused on the one or two texts they had been assigned.

In the following lesson, each of the four Expert Groups met as a student-led seminar to work together to clarify and deepen their understanding of the assigned text(s). One at a time, each Expert Group worked in a "fish bowl," while the rest of the class listened in. One Expert from each Expert Group met in a Jigsaw Group in the following lesson, with seven different Jigsaw Groups meeting simultaneously. In those groups, each Expert reported out, and then invited their colleagues to ask questions and to work across the documents.

In the final lesson of this part of the unit, individuals wrote a historical account of the events and players surrounding the 1953 coup. After students wrote their accounts of the coup, they shifted their focus from 1953 to the 1979 Iranian Revolution and more recent history. They read the remaining four documents on the revolution and then commenced work on their final assessment of the year.

Crystal's role throughout was, of course, pivotal. She needed to facilitate the unit to support, but not usurp, meaning making and knowledge building. She needed to refrain from solving the problems students encountered in the process, and turn those problems back to the students to solve.

Data

This paper largely focuses on the students' conversations in the 2015 Expert and Jigsaw Groups. Data points are videos of two lessons midway through the unit. We analyzed student discourse in the four Expert Group conversations (about nine minutes each) and one Jigsaw Group conversation (forty-two minutes), for a total of eighty minutes.

We chose one of the seven Jigsaw Groups, the "RJKRR Group," to analyze more closely because we had additional data on two of the students in that group. Early in their ninth grade year, we had identified four focal students who seemed to have a range of different student identities. At three different times over the course of the two years, we videotaped interviews with the focal students. We drew on those interviews to augment and corroborate our findings. We also drew upon post-unit surveys and letters students wrote to incoming ninth graders. We present significant portions of their conversation here to illustrate the kinds of reading and reasoning they did in their collaborative work together.

Analysis Methods

Analysis of data drew on methods of constant comparative analysis.[25] We transcribed all of the videotaped discourse from the Expert Groups lesson and RJKRR Jigsaw Group. We then loaded the transcripts into ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software and began looking for patterns, open coding, and evidence of close reading and historical thinking. We developed codes and definitions for codes as we found evidence and patterns, refining the code definitions iteratively. We coded each person's utterances, including the teacher's, defining an utterance as when one person started—and then stopped—speaking. The only exception was when one person finished an idea, there was a significant pause, and then the same person spoke again with a new idea, on a different topic or aspect of the discussion. When our code book was stable, we went back through the data to confirm the codes we had assigned and to search for anything we may have overlooked.

Summary of Findings

Our analysis included all of the students' discourse in the four Expert Groups and RJKRR Jigsaw Group. The findings in the section below give a detailed analysis of the discussion during the RJKRR Jigsaw Group. Before introducing the students in that group and the detailed analysis of their Jigsaw discussion, however, we provide a summary of our findings (see **Figure 2** for frequency of codes and **Appendix E** for expanded descriptions of codes).

Code	Expert	RJKRR	Total
Close Reading			
Activated schema (total)	4	15	**19**
• Activated schema from an earlier unit	1	6	**7**
• Activated schema from Iran unit	3	3	**6**
• Activated personal/ world knowledge	0	6	**6**
Chose more Text	4	8	**12**
Correct gist	6	29	**35**
Decoding issue	1	5	**6**
Dictionary use	2	4	**6**
Expressed confusion	10	9	**19**
Language	14	8	**22**
Metacognition	5	0	**5**
Misconception	4	9	**13**
Multi-text sense making	4	8	**12**
Question (substantive)	71	77	**148**
Question (substantive) answered	27	35	**62**
Question (substantive) to teacher	1	2	**3**
Referenced text	55	58	**113**
Collaboration			
Collaborative knowledge building	11	9	**20**
Supported collaboration	50	10	**60**
Managed logistics	17	49	**66**

Code	Expert	RJKRR	Total
Historical Thinking and Reasoning			
Chronology	2	5	**7**
Contextualization	9	11	**20**
Corroboration	6	6	**12**
Noted omission	2	2	**4**
Reasoning	26	21	**47**
Referenced source	5	12	**17**
Sourcing	28	14	**42**
Student Utterances			
Total student utterances	307	281	**588**
• One-word student utterances	60	35	**95**
• Off-task student utterances	0	0	**0**
Role of the Teacher			
Substantive questions to students	1	24	**25**
Teacher managed logistics	9	3	**12**
Teacher supported students to do the intellectual work	15	25	**40**
Teacher Utterances			
Total teacher utterances	26	30	**56**
• One-word teacher utterances	1	1	**2**

*Note: See **Appendix E** for code descriptions.*

Figure 2: Codes and Counts for Expert Groups and RJKRR Jigsaw Group

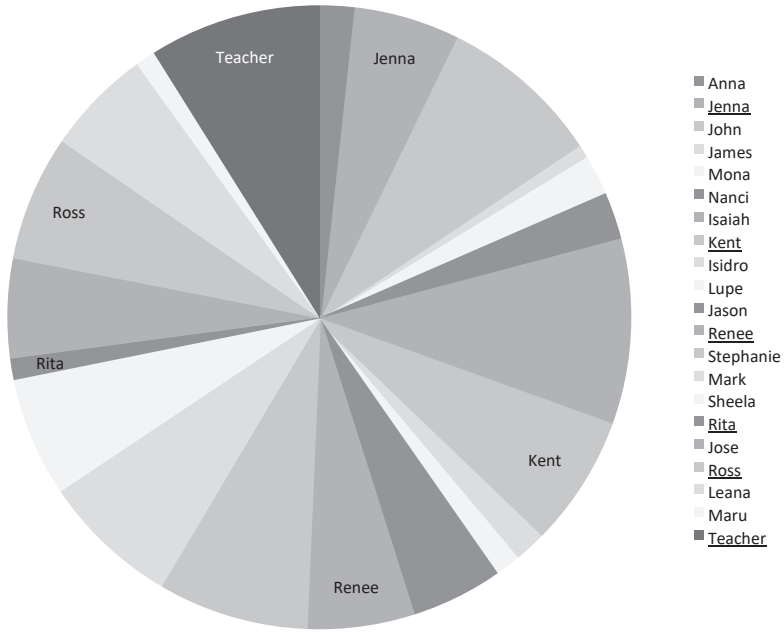
We found evidence of distributed talk, close reading, historical thinking and reasoning, collaboration, and epistemic fidelity to the discipline of history. The small groups worked with considerable independence, with very little intervention on the part of the teacher. During the Expert Groups, Crystal primarily facilitated the logistics of transitioning from one group to the other, keeping track of the time, and taking her own notes on the conversations. During the Jigsaw, she handled logistics and at one point entered into a substantive

five-and-a-half-minute conversation with the group. Nonetheless, the total teacher talk was less than 10%. The talk among students in both groups was widely distributed (see **Figures 3**, **4**, and **5)** and overwhelmingly on task: 89% was focused on the texts and the project of making sense of them. Just 11% dealt with the logistics of moving through the lessons and, remarkably, none of the talk was off task.

In the Expert Group, students worked collaboratively to clarify and deepen their understanding of the document(s). Throughout the lessons, the documents were visible on students' desks and referenced frequently. In their eight- to ten-minute Expert Groups, each group referenced the text verbally, between ten and nineteen times. In the subsequent lesson, students worked with the entire text set in their Jigsaw Groups. In the forty-two-minute Jigsaw discussion we analyzed, students referenced the text fifty-four times. In all groups, many of those references directed their classmates to a specific place in the text. In response, their classmates turned pages and located the indicated spot.

In their discussions, students employed a wide range of reading strategies spontaneously. They activated relevant schema; made connections between the text and that schema; asked questions; worked to answer their questions; re-read and used context, word parts, and the dictionary to clarify unfamiliar vocabulary; and paraphrased, summarized, and synthesized. They tried out sophisticated language. At times, they dug in; at times, they got a tentative gist and moved on. At different points in their conversation, they demonstrated key historical thinking processes, e.g., considering the historical context, author, audience, perspective, credibility, bias, purpose, tone, and even the provenance of documents.

They worked across the documents—corroborating, contextualizing, making claims, presenting evidence, and reasoning. They worked to see how the texts related to one another, how they might fit together, where there seemed to be discrepancies, where a question emerging from one document might be answered in another, and what story emerged from the totality of the document set. They worked to understand the documents within their emerging understanding of the historical context while recursively building knowledge of that context. They made tentative claims and explored them, offering text-based evidence, testing their claims against their own knowledge



Note: One-word utterances have been excluded from the counts for these charts. The first name on the list corresponds to the slice of the chart that begins at the 12:00 position.

On the day of the Expert Group lesson, eight of the twenty-eight students were not videotaped. Five of the students were absent from class for sports events or illness, and three of the students' parents had not granted permission for their children to be recorded.

In order to account for backchanneling—the kinds of things listeners say to signal that they are listening to whoever is speaking—we subtracted one-word utterances from the counts for the distribution of student talk. While backchanneling serves important social functions, supports collaboration, and is evidence of students attending to the conversation, we wanted to look at the distribution of talk that signified sense making and knowledge building. As a rough hedge against inflating the numbers of utterances for individuals, we subtracted all one-word utterances for the counts for these charts.

Figure 3: Distribution of Talk for Expert Group Conversations

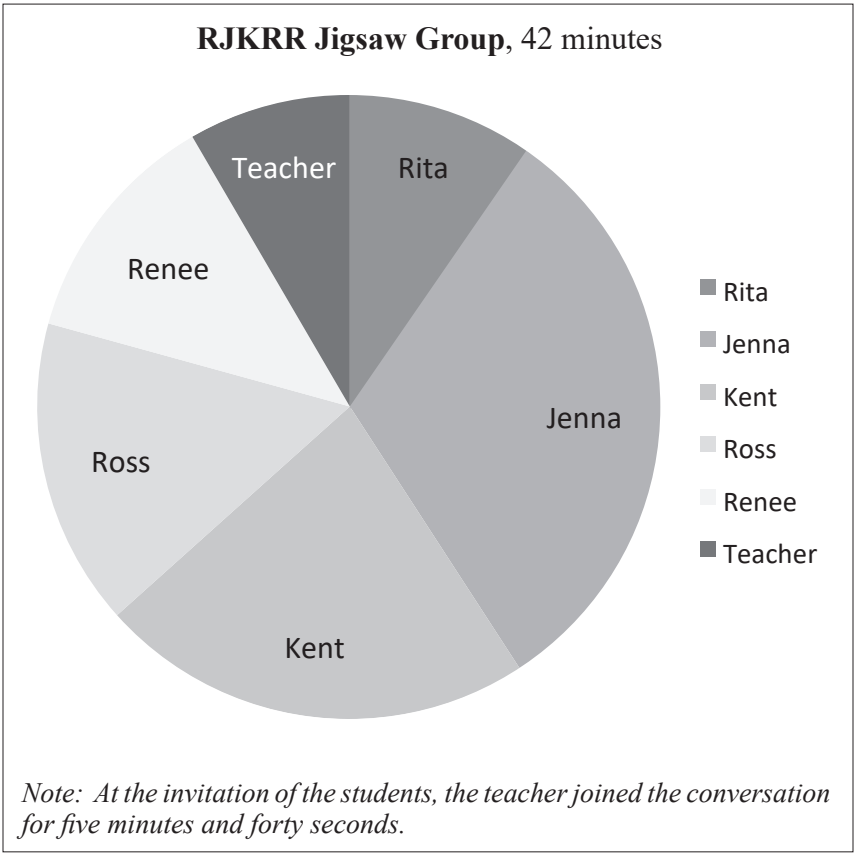


Figure 4: Distribution of Talk for the RJKRR Jigsaw Group

of the topic and of the world gained through their lived experiences, and testing them with their reasoning. They frequently revised their claims in the process of engaging in these historical arguments.

Their stance toward each document and the set of documents as a whole was one of inquiry. The students drove the inquiry, and in the process, steadily built knowledge. They extended their investigation by requesting and reading additional resources, whether that be the dictionary or the complete version of an excerpted document. They were unstymied by problems they could not resolve or questions they could not answer. They tolerated ambiguity and demonstrated curiosity, stamina, and persistence as they engaged these tasks over the eighty minutes of discourse in this data set.

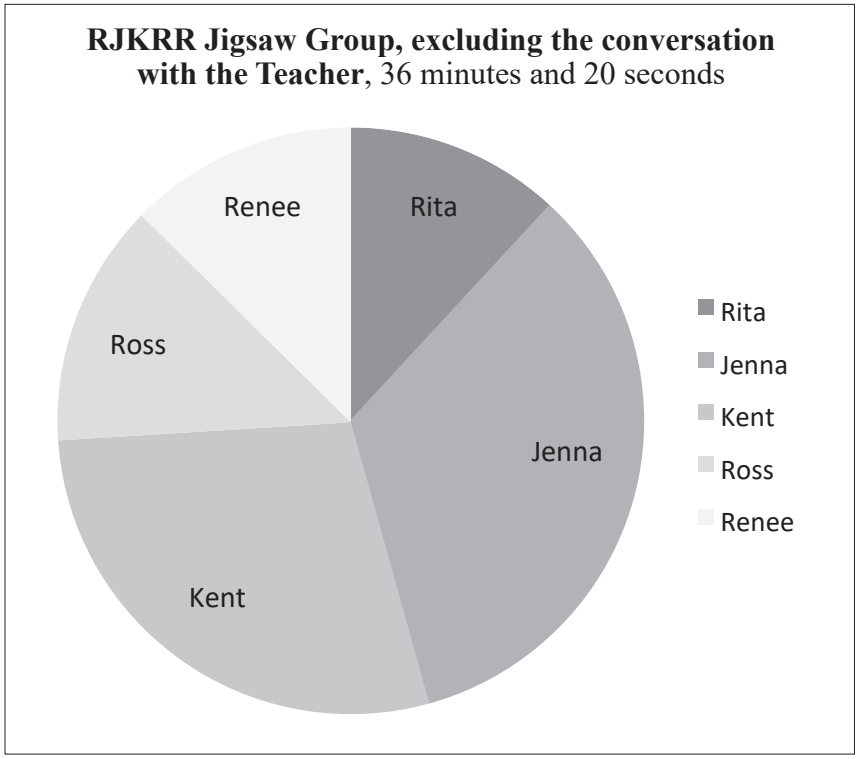


Figure 5: Distribution of Talk for the RJKRR Jigsaw Group, without Teacher

Throughout, they worked collaboratively (see "Collaboration" in **Figure 2**). They had developed language for referencing text that they used to move through texts together. They demonstrated nuanced collaboration skills, such as bringing a late-arriving member of the group up to date by summarizing their conversation thus far, surfacing confusions, looking to each other as potential resources, probing each other's thinking, acknowledging and expressing appreciation of each other's contributions, and building off of each other's ideas. They exercised judgment about when to pursue a line of inquiry and when to move on. They managed their time. And, most importantly, they harnessed these collaborative skills to do the work at hand, to deepen their read of the texts, and to build historical knowledge.

Also notable is what this group did *not* do. They did not throw up their hands in frustration. In fact, there was no expression of frustration in the transcripts. They did not complain about having to

read, about the difficulty or complexity of the texts, or about the task. In fact, only once in the RJKRR Jigsaw Group did a student ask the teacher a substantive question, which she turned back to the Jigsaw Group to answer. They did not ask the teacher for "the answer" or otherwise attempt to suss out the teacher's interpretation. And, they were overwhelmingly not off task. They did not rush to quick answers. They did not pack up early and wait to bolt out of class. Instead, they demonstrated dispositions to tackle the work throughout the lesson and, in the process, arrived at many reasonable interpretations of the texts and a fairly cohesive big picture.

We now present a closer analysis of the discourse in one Jigsaw Group because the extended forty-two-minute discussion sheds light on the kinds of moves the students were making as learners. Note that these students had diverse skill levels, academic motivations, and out of school situations, demonstrating the range of learners in Crystal's heterogeneous history class. For example, as an incoming ninth grader, one student had been identified by the school as "at risk" and was on a behavioral contract for oppositional behavior. Another had faced significant social emotional struggles in ninth grade that had caused her to miss school, sometimes for a week or more. One of the group identified primarily as a student athlete who was motivated to keep passing grades in order to participate in sports. One was usually quiet in class, yet an avid reader and learner. And yet another struggled with reading, writing, focusing, executive skills, and attendance. All students have been given pseudonyms to protect their identities.

Analysis of RJKRR Jigsaw Group Work on the 1953 Coup in Iran

To contextualize the activity for readers who may not be familiar with the subject, we offer a brief overview of the 1953 Coup (this overview was *not* provided to students):

> In the 1940s, a monarch held power in Iran. The monarch, called a Shah, was pro-Western. Another important Iranian political leader at the time was Mohammed Mossadegh. Unlike the Shah, Mossadegh advocated for the nationalization of Iran's oil, the rule of law, the limiting of the monarchy, and constitutionalism. In 1951, the legislative body of Iran, the Majlis, passed a bill nationalizing Iran's oil. The Majlis then requested that the Shah appoint Mossadegh as the prime minister and sign the bill to nationalize Iran's oil. The

> Shah complied with these requests. Mossadegh and the Majlis then worked to reduce the power of the Shah and the size of the army. In 1953, the CIA developed and executed a plan to remove Mossadegh and re-establish the Shah's power. After the coup on August 19th, General Zahedi headed the successor government with the support of the U.S. and the U.K., and the Shah returned to Iran as the monarch.[26]

In the absence of such a summary, the Jigsaw Group begins to work their way through the provided 1953 Coup documents (see **Appendix B** for document list). The following excerpts illustrate the kinds of work students were doing together. Each student has met in their Expert Group the day prior. The protocol is for each "Expert" to introduce the document for which he/she is responsible, and then invite discussion. Jenna begins with Document D, the "National Security Council Assessment of the Situation in Iran, November 20, 1952." Ross is assigned to this Jigsaw Group, but is absent—a few minutes later, Crystal adds Rita, who has arrived late, to fill out the group. Jenna explains:

> Jenna: To catch you up, the people involved were the U.S. and the National Security Council.
>
> Kent: And the mullahs were the ally, like, to bring—to have Iran have allyship [*sic*]?
>
> Jenna: Sort of. You could say it was an allyship [*sic*] but the main objective was to prevent communism from spreading into Iran, especially from the USSR.

Jenna welcomes Rita into the group by "catching her up." From what they have read and discussed so far, the group has concluded that Mossadegh nationalized Iran's oil and that he was not a communist. Document D delineates the anti-communist position of the National Security Council and Document E outlines the CIA's plan to overthrow Mossadegh. There is no explanation in these documents of how those two things are linked, nor why Mossadegh was targeted by the United States. One of the points in the CIA plan is to offer religious leaders, the mullahs, power in exchange for their cooperation in the coup. Here, Kent is stretching to articulate an idea that he does not yet have the technical vocabulary to express, inventing the word "allyship." Jenna takes up the invented word to serve the conceptual purpose she is attempting to convey.

Eight minutes into the group's conversation, Ross arrives with a pass and joins the other students. The group sorts out who is now

responsible for which documents and brings Ross up to speed. About five minutes later, after "Experts" have reported on four of the six texts, Documents D, E, F, and G, a new question emerges for Ross:

Ross: I want to ask, how does…how does nationalizing oil lead to communism?

His question is relevant and significant. Though it is not stated in the texts, one legitimate inference is that there is a relationship between nationalizing oil and communism.

Renee: Um, because nationalizing oil would mean that instead of, like, Britain getting most of the profits, all of the profits would go to Iran. And so it's kind of like, I don't know, they are not really expanding their economy to other countries.

Renee draws on her understanding of the definition of nationalization from earlier in the period, and her understanding of how the Soviet Bloc economies worked during the Cold War from the Cold War Unit earlier in the year—the Soviet Bloc countries were not "expanding their economies to other countries." She also pulls in what she understands about Britain's role in Iran from the first six texts (Documents 1-6) in the Iran unit, read prior to the Coup text set: "Britain [is] getting most of the profits" from Iran's oil. She is contextualizing the issue of Iran's nationalization of oil in 1951 within the larger context of the Cold War and within the national context of Iran's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century relationship with Britain.

Kent: Yeah, I didn't really get that, 'cause like—

Jenna: Plus, there was another document. I think it was Document B where it had an excerpt of Mossadegh's speech to the, to the United Nations, and I guess they [the U.S.] could have seen him as medium desperate, so they took advantage of him, and they had their own goal in mind, which was to prevent communism. So I guess, so they use his desperateness [*sic*], I don't know the word for that, um, him being desperate, to their advantage, to meet their own goal—

Kent: It was greedy…

Jenna: Yes, they were basically being greedy.

Kent: I don't really get that, though, because communism, people who convert to communism is, like, when they are really in need, like when their economy is really bad.

Jenna puts forward a possible explanation, inferring from her read of Document B that Mossadegh was desperate. Kent draws on

what he learned in an earlier unit on totalitarianism and the Soviet Union about the circumstances that may contribute to people being receptive to communist ideas when they are poor.

Renee: Yeah, and Iran's own economy was really bad.

Renee draws on information about Iran's economic difficulties in that period from Documents A and B. Collaboratively, the students piece together a picture, an argument—an interpretation across the texts.

Kent: …and everyone is suffering, so if Iran gets to nationalize, doesn't that mean that everyone, like, Iran's getting money, so why does it need to convert to communism?

Kent notices a contradiction in the reasoning. He explains his reasoning and raises a question.

Ross: And they're getting jobs, too.

Kent: Yeah, and they're getting jobs.

Renee: Whaaatt???

Kent: Like, do you get me?

Renee: No…

Ross: If they don't, I think he's saying if they don't nationalize the oil, then they get all—then Iran gets all the money.

Kent: No, no!

Renee: Nationalizing is…

Kent: If Iran *nationalizes* the oil, that means that they *get* money...

Renee: Yeah.

Kent: Iran gets money, so why do they need to convert to communism?

Renee: Nationalization is kind of like, um, an attribute of communism, like, and that's what the U.S. is scared of.

Again, Renee draws on her understanding of communism from the Cold War unit. Note that the students are dealing with high levels of conceptual difficulty (nationalization, communism, economic conditions) while keeping the chronology in mind, activating relevant schema, drawing from several texts, considering cause and effect, and knitting together an understanding. They all persist through that complexity, even Kent, the student with the least developed student/reader identity. Renee's explanation is accepted for the moment and the group moves on.

They discuss the rest of the documents and learn that Mossadegh was overthrown, the Shah reinstated, and Mossadegh tried for crimes against the state. They then focus on the penultimate document (Document H), a *New York Times* analysis of the situation in Iran written four days after the coup that includes the geopolitical effects on Russia in its analysis.

Jenna: …where were they, why did they bring up Russia in this whole analysis of the fall of the coup?

Kent: Well they were talking about Cold War. I don't know why they were talking about Cold War.

Ross: I think it connects to the earlier documents, so…

Kent: Yeah, this one connects to the Text E, my document, 'cause, if they have Dr. Mossadegh…Wait, why is he a doctor? Why—

Jenna: I think it's just something he got in college.

Ross: It's the degree he got.

Jenna's question is astute. Such questions are evidence that the students are engaged in reading this text for understanding, that they are expecting to understand it, and that they notice when something does not compute. Monitoring comprehension is a key metacognitive practice. That they notice Russia and the Cold War and are trying to figure out why these are mentioned may indicate some beginning moves toward contextualizing. They notice that there is a bigger picture that they have not yet made sense of.

Ross begins making connections to other documents. Kent connects it to the document he has worked with in his Expert Group, which he calls "my document," demonstrating his sense of ownership of the work to understand it. This is also the first document that has used "doctor" as Mossadegh's title, and Kent notices, indicating that he is paying attention and comparing this new text to what he has already read. While his question may appear to be gratuitous, this new information about Mossadegh may inform how Kent evaluates Mossadegh as a source and how he interprets the quotes by Mossadegh in the article. It would contextualize this central figure. Jenna and Ross pull in their world knowledge about doctors and doctorates and offer enough of a solution to the problem that the group can continue. They pick up their line of inquiry:

Kent: Yeah, but yeah, he, if he's in custody, that means that they got him already. And General Zahedi is in power now.

Rita: Yeah, and he is army, but…

Kent: So, this is the one that started with the coup to overthrow...

Rita: Yeah.

Kent: To overthrow.

Rita: Yeah, the 1953 coup.

Jenna: You mentioned that this relates back to Text E because of the…

Kent: Uh hum [affirming].

Jenna: How?

Kent: 'Cause, um, 'cause the U.S. wanted Zahedi to, um, to rule after Mossadegh.

Jenna: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. Okay.

Kent: So, yeah, now that he's…

Jenna: I see what you are saying. Yeah, um, when they got rid of Mossadegh, and Zahedi was ruling afterwards.

Kent: Hm hmm. [affirming].

Here, the students are using multiple texts (Documents E and H) to piece together the story—that the CIA's plan for the coup (Document E) was carried out as evidenced by the discussion of "how long the Zahedi regime can hold power" (Document H).

They then move on to the last paragraph in Document H, included here for the reader:

> Western officials withheld public comment—and action—pending a clarification of the sudden developments. But privately they were elated. The change, they pointed out, brought to power in Iran an openly anti-Communist Government free of obligations to Tudeh. They said the new regime, beginning with a clean diplomatic slate, could turn again to the West and reverse Dr. Mossadegh's drift into the Russian embrace. Their general feeling was that the change provided the West with a new chance to build friendship with Iran.

Ross has another question:

Ross: Um, later on, it like talks about, like in the last paragraph, um, my bad, it says, "the change they pointed out," oh, yeah, "the change they pointed out, brought to power in Iran, an openly anti-regimen [*sic*—here, Ross skips a line in the text, and should have read: "…openly anti-Communist Government free of obligations to Tudeh. They said the new

> regime…"], beginning with a clear diplomatic state, could turn again to the west and…and reverse Dr. Mossadegh's drift to the Russian embrace." Um, actually, sorry. Before that, it mentions, it says—it says, oh, "Communist Government free of obligations to Tudeh." Who is Tudeh?

Though Ross's fluency is disrupted when he skips a line and makes a decoding error, his focus is on comprehension, on *understanding* the paragraph. The term "Tudeh" is new to him and he wants clarification. Kent steps in to clarify:

> Kent: Oh, Tudeh! It talks about that in my text, in Text E [he flips back to Document E and looks for confirmation]. Tudehs are, I—I think they were for Mossadegh. 'Cause in here it says that "Zahedi must expect violent reaction from Tudeh," so that means that they were for Mossadegh, they were supporters of Mossadegh, 'cause Mossadegh is enemies with Zahedi, so, so they have to. Yeah.

Kent makes a mini argument that answers Ross's question accurately. He works across the two texts to infer the political views of the Tudeh Party. His claim is that the "Tudehs [*sic*]…were for Mossadegh." He provides textual evidence with the quote from Document E, the CIA Plan to overthrow Mossadegh, "Zahedi must expect violent reaction from Tudeh." He then explains his reasoning, "…so that means that they [Tudeh] were for Mossadegh… 'cause Mossadegh is enemies with Zahedi…" Note that he once again claims Document E as "my text." Jenna then moves the conversation along:

> Jenna: So basically, everything we have been coming up with, connecting the documents together. This sums it all up. But what was the purpose that he wrote this article then?
>
> Ross: Well the title says, "Who's [*sic*] Next?" so I'm not really sure.
>
> Kent: What do you mean, "Who's Next?" Oh, you mean "What's Next?"
>
> Jenna: So is it an opinion sort of thing, like he's predicting what's going to happen next?
>
> Ross: Oh, yeah, "What's Next?"
>
> Kent: Well, I think Zahedi is going to take control, 'cause, uh…
>
> Ross: I think it's just about, like, Zahedi's decisions, like is he going to, or like, will he nationalize oil or not, or like, how will he like do different from Mossadegh?

Jenna deepens the inquiry with her question about the author's purpose. Despite the miscue, "Who's Next" instead of "What's Next," Ross's interpretation of what the *Times* article is about shows an understanding of one of the article's main concerns, which is how control of the oil would be structured going forward with the new regime.

Rita: So what can we say happened?

Ross: Nothing really happened, but, or we could say…Mossadegh was taken out of power, like—

Kent: —for being friends with Russia—

Ross: —for acting against his government.

Kent: For "drifting into Russian embrace."

Jenna: That was because of nationalization of oil.

Renee: [listening and furiously writing notes]

Ross is correct in his initial statement, "Nothing really happened," because the article does not report events. Rather, as an analysis, it discusses the possible implications of the events. Ross then begins to synthesize the work they have done thus far, and is joined by Kent and Jenna. Their collaborative synthesis is a reasonable interpretation of the documents as a whole. A little later, they explore the implications of the phrase, "drifting into Russian embrace."

Ross: He [Mossadegh] was also acting against his government.

Jenna: Well, the way he worded it, though, "drift to Russian embrace," I don't think he was…

Rita: Fully there.

Jenna: Yeah, fully there. I don't think we can say he was fully there. He wasn't having an actually friendly relationship with Russia, like allies would, but I guess you could say he was developing a foundation for that. Because like Renee… was it Renee? No, it was Ryan who asked earlier, like, how does nationalization of oil lead to communism? And, USSR wants to have communism regime in Iran…

By looking closely at the language used by the author, and placing the "drift" into the larger context by considering Russia's interests, Jenna determines that Mossadegh was not "fully there" as an ally to Russia at that point.

Kent: Yeah, I get you. So, are we done with this [Document H]?

Jenna: I think so. You guys want to go on to Text I?

Kent: Sure.

The students then take up the last document in the text set and continue their discussion for another eighteen minutes. Throughout the Jigsaw lesson, Crystal has been circulating, monitoring the Jigsaw Groups, and mentoring as needed. She has paused at this RJKRR Jigsaw Group three times. Early on, she placed Rita in the group, then later added Ross when he arrived late. At minute 28, she pauses to listen in on the discussion of Document I, a *New York Times* article on the trial of Mossadegh under the Shah. The students are grappling with this complex text that includes quotes from both the Shah and Mossadegh. An expert reader would probably consider the implications of the fact that the trial was held by a military tribunal under the Shah, the political subtext of both figures' speeches, the context of the Cold War, the U.S.'s political goals during the era, and the political position of *The New York Times* in 1953. Crystal reminds the students that the Expert Group had requested the complete article, copies of which they had picked up at the beginning of class, and then moves on. She returns six minutes later to listen to how the conversation has developed when Renee asks her a question generated from her reading of the complete article. Crystal deftly turns the question back to the group:

Renee: Ms. Maglio, in the second paragraph, do they mean, like, that he wouldn't let Iran's diplomats to, like, talk—communicate with the Shah?

Crystal: Why don't you run that by your group to see what they think?

She continues to listen to the conversation, and then offers questions to deepen their historical reading of the document.

Crystal: Okay, so, on the surface he's [Mossadegh] accused of a lot of things, right? Including things that make it look like he's trying to get power. How are you factoring in perspective as you are intaking [*sic*] that information? Are you factoring in perspective? What is the perspective?

Her questions suggest a lens for interpreting the text that students have not considered thus far. In previous conversations, they have determined that *The New York Times* is a reliable source; it is an

established, respected newspaper with high journalistic values. Therefore, they reason, it is trustworthy and unbiased. Crystal wants them to keep thinking and delve deeper. The conversation with Crystal continues for five minutes. In that time, Crystal asks twenty-two questions and answers no questions. When she moves on to another group, the RJKRR Jigsaw Group continues the discussion of the document until the end of class. They have sustained their conversation for forty-two minutes.

Discussion

So, what did student talk look like when the inquiry and sense-making were turned over to this group of regular kids? What did it look like when students were invited in to engage history in this larger problem space? It looked messy. The process was uneven. It did not march along in an orderly fashion. The focus snapped from struggling with the pronunciation of an unfamiliar word, to a seemingly simple clarification, to the consideration of a central, historically significant question. Misconceptions hung in the air. Some got resolved and some lingered.

And, it looked promising. Lo and behold, these students wobbled toward and then arrived at a synthesis of the documents, a gist that was grounded in the texts and used sound reasoning. Was there more to understand in these rich primary sources? Certainly. Was there more geopolitical and historical context to bring to bear? Of course. Did it require Crystal to push beyond what she had previously been willing to tolerate as she watched students struggle or harbor misconceptions? Yes. Did it take time to do this kind of work? Yes. Was some other unit not taught and other topic not covered as a result? Yes. Did these students need significant support to translate their discourse into writing? Yes.

But what did students gain in the process? Let's look at one student for a moment. Kent had the lowest GPA in the Jigsaw Group, the lowest California Standards Test scores from eighth grade, and was arguably the student with the least developed student and reader identities. He was an immigrant and an English learner and had missed two semesters in the two-year progression of the course. Kent did not even turn in his packet at the end of the unit—an omission that Crystal did not find surprising, as he had often neglected or misplaced some part of an assignment. Nonetheless, Kent persisted

throughout this Jigsaw discussion contributing 24% of the five students' utterances. He asked questions, offered reasoning and information and insights, and contributed to the group's synthesized gist. His Exit Ticket, which he did turn in, while not the most detailed or sophisticated student writing submitted, was a fairly accurate and concise account of the coup, and included his citations in parentheses.

> The U.S. wanted to overthrow Mohammed Mossadegh. To do this, they had to make a plan that involved the CIA and the SIS which stands for Britain's Secret Intelligence Service. (Document E). The U.S. asked the Shah if Zahedi could take over after the 1953 coup, the U.S. and Britain agreed to support Zahedi by funding their government after Mossadegh is taken over. When it says, "it is still a question how long the Zahedi regime can hold power. But with the army behind him and Dr. Mossadegh in custody" (Document H). This tells me that the coup in 1953 was successful and that Zahedi took over. The army is for Zahedi so Zahedi has very good chances of being Iran's leader. In December 22, 1953, Mossadegh is taken to court.

Students in this class gained experience in attempting a high level of complexity. They managed an unwieldy set of data. They noticed their questions and confusions and pursued their own curiosities. They persevered with an expectation they could do the task of making sense of the many complex texts. They demonstrated the collaborative skills of organizing the work and managing the time and the talk in the group. They demonstrated a host of cognitive strategies for making meaning from texts. They grappled with primary sources and used historical thinking processes to examine them. They asked significant historical questions, created an account of the coup, and learned something about Iran and its history. They *experienced* the epistemology of history—the limits of the historical record, history as interpretation, history as inquiry, and the relationship of the history they had learned to the present.

At the end of her final assessment, in response to the question, "What is important to know about the history of Iran that helps us understand the current conflict?" Renee concluded:

> Therefore, we can infer that the 1953 coup has contributed to the current conflicts in Iran today…By taking note of a country's previous history, such as Iran, we can understand the root of current conflicts on a much deeper level. By studying history, we can gain a view on a country's motives, ideals, and previous conflicts, which consequently mold their actions today.

In his reflection on the unit, Ross, the baseball player who, in his words, "didn't really like history," wrote:

> It has lasted longer and we got a ton of packets. We also got to control what we learned through our own inquiry. I have been a lot more curious because M. Maglio never told us if that was a correct answer to the Unit or not. This makes me more engaged and work harder to find a logical answer.

Now at the end of his tenth grade year, Ross, wrote to an incoming ninth grader:

> Ms. M does not teach like your old teacher. In this class you are not expected to remember specific dates of events because as you will learn, history is not about dates. You will learn how to think and act like a true historian by evaluating and annotating documents.
>
> Hope you have fun.

In this unit, these students, who began their studies with Crystal as the squirrelly ninth graders we described at the beginning of this article, demonstrated agency, tenacity, persistence, stamina, the disposition to do the intellectual work of history, as well as the necessary social skills to do that work together. In that endeavor, they developed confidence in their abilities to read, to reason, and to think. And, there was more for them to learn; they were not yet expert, and needed the continued support and expertise of their teacher to deepen their disciplinary literacy. Even in this culminating unit, Crystal served as an itinerant mentor, moving through the room and listening to group discussions, alert to their struggles and ready to drop in and lift their thinking to a higher level. In the future, we hope to report on the pedagogies designed into the unit and the pedagogical shifts Crystal made over the course of our collaboration.

Conclusion

Those who are passionate about history and history education are well aware of the high levels of literacy our discipline demands. Fortunately, in this era, the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) acknowledge those demands and place value on building students' capacity to meet them.[27] The National Council for the Social Studies' College, Career, and Civic Life Framework for Social Studies State Standards both aligns with the CCSS and extends those goals with its Inquiry Arc, envisioning students who can develop and plan

inquiries, apply disciplinary concepts and tools, evaluate sources, use evidence, communicate conclusions, and take informed action.[28] If students are going to learn how to do all of this, they need many opportunities to practice.

We do not mean to diminish the role of tightly constructed text sets with targeted historical questions, thematic units, survey courses, and overviews. We argue, however, that there is *also* a role for a more open inquiry. Students need opportunities to develop a line of inquiry, to ask questions, to muck around in the complexity of it all—to gain experience in more of the practices of history for a more accurate understanding of the discipline. Those learning opportunities should not be reserved for the most academically experienced students, like those who are traditionally placed in honors and AP classes, but offered to *all* students, like those in the heterogeneous class in this study.

Imperative, then, is professional development and support for teachers to learn how to facilitate this kind of learning with the students they encounter on a daily basis, many of whom are inexperienced readers and underprepared for the demands of these texts. The National Assessment of Educational Progress reported that, in 2015, the reading scores of twelfth grade students had not improved and were, in fact, "lower in comparison to the earliest assessment in 1992."[29] This disappointing decline occurred despite a dramatic increase in enrollment in AP courses, which ostensibly require significant reading.[30]

The reality is that in most classrooms, even in many AP classrooms, reading remains minimal and peripheral. Cynthia Greenleaf and Sheila Valencia argue that in subject-area instruction, including history instruction, "there is an 'enduring problem of the MIA text.'" They argue that the fundamental problem is the *absence of learning from text* in the subject-area classroom.[31] In practice, many teachers teach *around* the text.[32] For example, in the AP U.S. Government and Politics course Valencia and her colleagues studied, more than 70% of the students "rarely read the course textbook although teachers frequently assigned it for homework. They didn't need to read it to get a good grade because teachers delivered the same information in class."[33]

Similarly, in a study of seventy-one lessons taught by highly regarded content-area teachers who had been asked to teach a lesson in which reading played a central role, Cindy Litman and colleagues found that the presence of text did not guarantee that students were engaged with those texts:

> Although our observations of these teachers documented more frequent use of text than previous studies of content-area instruction, their centrality to the authentic intellectual work of disciplinary reading and learning is greatly diminished from what we would view as ideal—or even rudimentary—if we are to achieve the vision of the new standards.[34]

Teachers continued, in subtle ways, to deliver the content and even the thinking. Yet another study of text use in seventy-nine middle and high school social studies lessons across the grade levels found the average amount of time reading in a fifty-minute period was five minutes—and in 20% of those five minutes, teachers were reading aloud to students.[35] These results are only the latest in a long line of research that documents the paucity of reading in history classrooms.

This situation is understandable. Pre-service programs gave most teachers few tools to support students' reading. Their programs emphasized content, and it is with the content that they are most comfortable and competent. Most are not yet equipped to teach our students *how* to read the complex texts of history, especially to teach the least experienced of our students, who by middle and high school may be discouraged, or entrenched in counter-productive coping mechanisms, or seem "too far behind." And, teachers often face classrooms with such a wide range of learners that they don't know where to begin helping each one of them learn to deal with the authentic texts of our discipline. Teachers are concerned that students won't, don't, can't read the text.

Teachers' responses to these challenges have been creative and well intentioned. They assign fewer texts or provide modified, simplified texts. Or they heavily scaffold the reading by front-loading context or providing vocabulary definitions, guiding questions, and graphic organizers. Or, rather than as a central source of knowledge, they use text on the side, as a condiment to spice up a topic, as an illustration of the larger point. Or they assign the texts as homework, and later tell students what they should have gotten out of the readings.

Compounding the problem is that, intentionally or unintentionally, schools often skim off the most capable, engaged, motivated, and willing students and place them in AP or honors courses. As a consequence of these and/or other factors that determine the master schedule, teachers may find themselves teaching rather homogeneous groups of students. To the more experienced AP and

honors students, teachers may assign healthy amounts of reading, which their students either do or don't actually do. In their non-AP/honors classes, they may move the text to the edges of those courses or supplant it entirely, spending their efforts on "more engaging" hands-on activities, PowerPoints, documentaries, or targeted test prep, unwittingly abandoning these students to whatever levels of literacy they had when they enrolled in the class.

We think that all students long for intellectual engagement. As human beings, they are wired for curiosity and problem solving. Their minds respond, when and if there is enough challenge, substance, and support to give them a way in. As adolescents, they are developmentally cued up to engage with each other. As Rita, Jenna, Kent, Ross, and Renee demonstrated, these strengths can be harnessed in service of historical inquiry. As Crystal demonstrated, teachers can learn to provide such challenge, substance, and support for their students.

The student outcomes reported here were not the result of the curriculum materials, per se, but of these materials in the hands of a capable teacher who participated in sustained professional development and a professional inquiry community with colleagues over six years. In that time, she deepened her understanding of reading processes, historical argumentation, the discipline of history, and the pedagogies that would support the ambitious learning goals she held for her students. While the pedagogical shifts she made developed incrementally, taken together, they were profound and made profound differences in what—and how—her students learned.

If students are going to achieve the goals set out by the Common Core State Standards and C3 Framework, teachers will need to learn to support disciplinary literacy in history. They will need the kinds of sustained professional development opportunities that Crystal was afforded. We recognize that this is not a small investment in teachers, but teachers can only facilitate student engagements in the practices of history to the degree that they themselves understand them. For students, engaging in historical inquiry builds valuable knowledge of context and content, understanding of diverse perspectives, and alternative ways of seeing. As important are the rich opportunities history provides to practice reasoning—to practice thinking through complex realities, complicated data, and knotty ethical issues. The great promise the study of history holds for our students—as

human beings, as citizens, and as members of a complex global community—warrants such an investment.

Notes

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33. Greenleaf and Valencia, "Missing in Action," 238.

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Appendix A

Core Constructs: General Definitions and Highlights of Instantiations for History

Core Construct: General Definition	History
Epistemology: Beliefs about the nature of knowledge and the nature of knowing. What counts as knowledge? How do we know what we know?	Claims about the past are based on a historical record that is inherently incomplete, conflicting, and obscure, and are, therefore, provisional and contestable. Historians make interpretive arguments about the past based on the historical record, but from their own perspectives.
Inquiry Practices, Reasoning Strategies: Ways in which claims and evidence are established, related, and validated	Historians investigate questions, interrogate the historical record, or analyze historical interpretations through: • Sourcing • Contextualization • Corroboration • Questioning inclusiveness (what perspectives, sources, data are included or omitted) • Questioning coherence • Avoiding logical and reasoning fallacies
Overarching Concepts, Themes, Principles, and Frameworks: The core ideas and principles that serve as a basis for warranting or connecting claims and evidence	Historians draw on a variety of interpretive frameworks: • Societal systems (political, social, economic, technological, geographic) • Relational (chronological, contingent, causal, coincidental) • Change over time • Thematic (migratory processes, industrialization, power relations) • Complex systems

Core Construct: General Definition	History
Forms of Information Representation/Types of Texts: Types of texts and media (e.g., traditional print, oral, video, digital) in which information is represented and expressed	Texts types in history are: • Primary sources that include all texts from the period of study (e.g., autobiography, memoir, fiction, news story, editorial, political cartoon, art, graphic novel, video, legal document) • Secondary and tertiary sources (e.g., biography, historical fiction, data table, textbook, editorial, polemic essay, political map) History texts appear in a range of media, including traditional print, radio, TV, video, and hypermedia.
Discourse and Language Structures: The oral and written language forms that express information	Structure of historical arguments can be: • Descriptive (What was the case?) • Explanatory (Why was it the case?) • Narrative (both descriptive and explanatory structures) Linguistic features of history texts mark conventions of chronology, periodization, perspective, theme, and topic. History texts include accurate and thorough documentation of sources, usually in the form of footnotes or endnotes. Conventions for claim and evidence presentation in oral and written forms include: • One-sided, two-sided, multi-sided arguments • Two-sided, multi-sided, refutational arguments • Implicit arguments (embedded in descriptive and narrative structure) • Oral arguments (debates, discussions, conversations)

Appendix B

Text Sets

Introductory Documents

1	"Map I: Iran and the Middle East," in *A History of Modern Iran*, by Ervand Abrahamian, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. xxix.
2	"Here's What You Need to Know about the Iran Deal," by Noah Rayman, *Time*, April 3, 2015. (blog)
3	"As Crowd Chants 'Death to America,' Khamenei Backs Nuclear Talks," by Ramin Mostaghim and Paul Richter, *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 2015. (news article)
4	"U.N. Chief Says Sanctions on Iran Affecting its People," by Michelle Nichols and Louis Charbonneau, *Reuters*, October 5, 2012. (news article)
5	"The Constitution of 1979: Structure of Iranian Government," in *Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution*, by The Choices Program, Providence, RI: Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, 2012, p. 38. (chart)
6	"Map of Iran in 1907," "The Harmless Necessary Cat," and other excerpts from *Iran Through the Looking Glass*, pp. 7-11. (map, political cartoon, narrative tertiary source)

1953 Coup Documents

A	"Man of the Year: Challenge of the East," *Time*, January 7, 1952, excerpt.
B	Speech to the United Nations by Mohammad Mossadegh, October 15, 1951, excerpt.
C	Statement by British Prime Minister Clement Atlee, 1951, excerpt.
D	National Security Council Assessment of the Situation in Iran, November 20, 1952.
E	CIA Plan to Overthrow Mossadegh, excerpt.
F	CIA Report of Intercept of Radio Tehran Broadcast, August 19, 1953.
G	*New York Times* article on the Return of the Shah to Iran, August 19, 1953.
H	*New York Times* article on the Fallout of the Coup, August 23, 1953.
I	*New York Times* article on the Trial of Mohammed Mossadegh, December 22, 1953.

Revolution of 1979 Documents

7	"Message to the Pilgrims," excerpt from a speech by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini on September 13, 1980, in *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*, ed. and trans. Hamid Algar, Berkeley, CA: Mizan Press, 1981. (primary source)
8	"The Veil," in *The Complete Persepolis*, by Marjane Satrapi, New York: Pantheon Books, 2007. (graphic novel, primary source). Students also saw a short clip of the 2007 animated film.
9	Account from *Iran Through the Looking Glass*, pp. 12-13. (narrative, tertiary source)
10	"The Iranian Revolution," in *World Civilizations, Volume II: Since 1500*, by Philip J. Adler and Randall L. Pouwels, Stamford, CT: Cengage, 2015. (high school textbook)

Document A is available from *Time* Magazine's online library.

Documents B and C are from the curriculum unit in *Iran Through the Looking Glass*, p. 19.

Documents D through I are from the Teacher Resource Book for *Iran Through the Looking Glass*, pp. 23-32.

The full text of Document I is available from *The New York Times* online library.

The 1953 Coup Documents, along with Teacher's Notes and a Student Interactive Notebook designed to support teachers and students unfamiliar with Reading Apprenticeship and READI Student Learning Goals, are available at <https://wested.box.com/v/readi-curric-modules> and <https://www.projectreadi.org>.

Appendix C

Iran Unit Lessons in Brief

Lesson				
Week 1	**Time**	**Topic**	**Texts**	**Tasks**
1	50 m	Introduction, Essential Question, List (of LINK)	-	Individuals: brainstorm. Whole groups: share. HW: Talk to parents and/or brief Internet search.
2	50 m	INK (of LINK)	1, 2	Small groups: identify pressing issues and inquiry questions. Whole groups: share. Individuals: read, TttT/Pairs/Share.
3	88 m	Current situation	3, 4	Introduction to written assignment. Develop inquiry questions for next steps. Small groups: determine key terms.
4	50 m	Current situation, Finalize inquiry questions	1-4	Students share key terms and key definitions. Small groups: write a paragraph: What is the current situation in Iran? (including claim and evidence from the documents, and both U.S. and Iranian perspectives). Add to LINK.
Week 2	**Time**	**Topic**	**Texts**	**Tasks**
5	50 m	Structure of government	5	MC about current situation paragraphs. Evidence/Interpretation chart for Structure of the Government. Small groups: update inquiry chart, share, identify further questions. Large groups: new inquiry questions.
6	50 m	History of oil	6	Individuals: read, TttT. Students identify key terms.
7	45 m	Introduction to Mossadegh, In a just society, who should control the government of a country?	A	Brief teacher introduction of British oil concessions and Shah's role in them; Mossadegh's entrance into politics. Individuals: write a response: In a just society, who should control the government? Knowledge rating of term "coup d'etat." Individuals: read, TttT (10 m).
8	45 m	Mossadegh	A	Sense making of Document A. Individuals/Pairs/Whole groups: MC.
9	50 m	Perspectives in texts and how that affects our interpretation	A-C	Brief teacher model. Individuals/Pairs/Whole groups: reading.

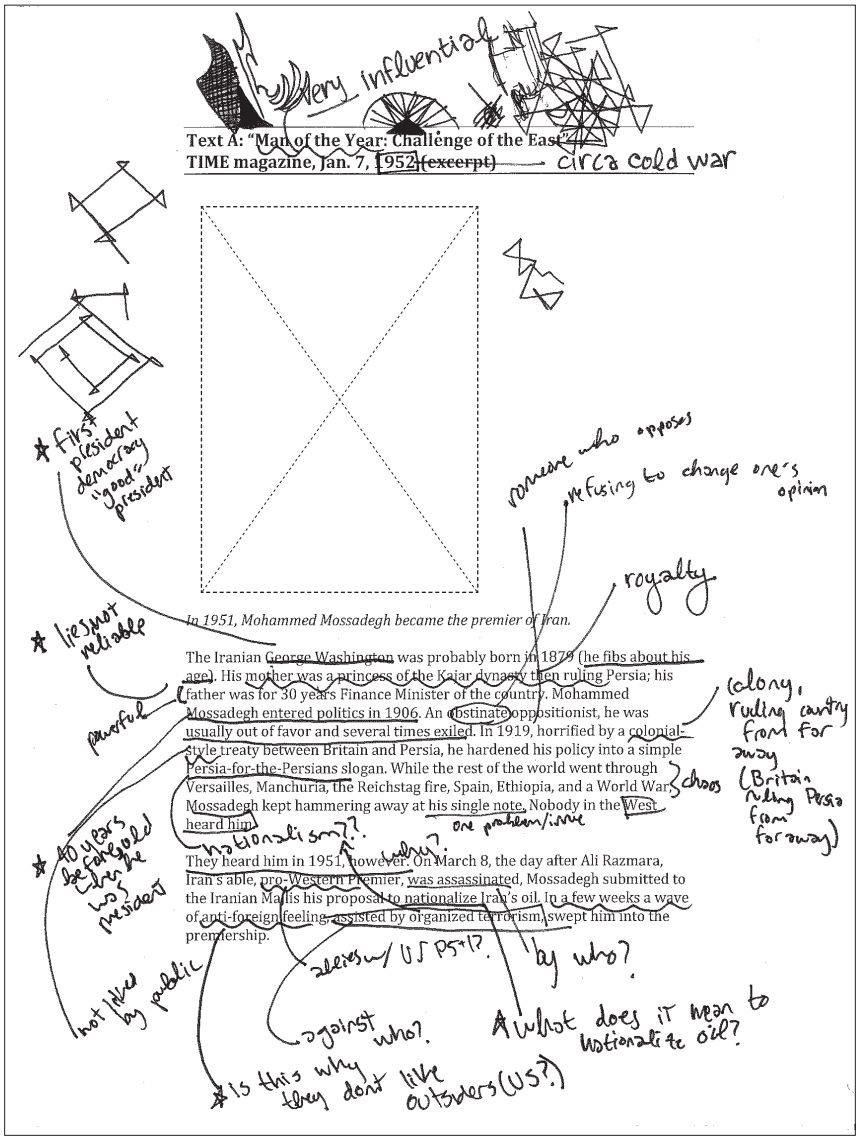
Lesson				
Week 3	**Time**	**Topic**	**Texts**	**Tasks**
10	50 m	The Coup, Set up Jigsaw, Assignment of Expert Group texts	D-I	Individuals: read texts assigned to Expert Group members, TttT.
11	50 m	**Expert Groups**	D-I	Expert Group: text-based discussions.
12	88 m	**Jigsaw Groups**, Begin Exit Tickets	D-I	Jigsaw Group: text-based discussions. Individual writing: Write a historical account of the 1953 coup.
13	50 m	Finish Exit Tickets	A-I	Individual writing.
Week 4	**Time**	**Topic**	**Texts**	**Tasks**
14	88 m	Review Coup documents, Clarify confusions, "Message to the Pilgrims"	A-I, 7	Whole class: debrief of coup documents, students work to clear up confusions. Individuals: Begin reading of "Message to the Pilgrims," TttT.
15	50 m	"Message to the Pilgrims"	7, 10	Individuals: re-read text with a disciplinary lens: sourcing, audience and purpose, perspective (claims and evidence supporting thoughts about perspective), summarize the gist. New inquiry questions, connections to current situation.
Week 5	**Time**	**Topic**	**Texts**	**Tasks**
16	50 m	"Message to the Pilgrims"	7	Individuals: re-read. Whole class: discussion: What is the perspective of the author of the speech? How do you know? MC about perspective and its value to gaining a deeper understanding.
		[Baltimore]	-	[This was an inquiry into the contemporary situation around the arrest of Freddie Gray in Baltimore on April 15, 2015, in response to student concerns. Though a shorter unit, the design paralleled the Iran unit.]

Lesson				
Week 6	**Time**	**Topic**	**Texts**	**Tasks**
17	50 m	Iranian Revolution	8	New inquiry questions. Individuals: reading of Persepolis E/I/Q chart.
18	50 m	Read and create unit questions, key terms, timeline, additional essential questions	8-10	Individuals: read Documents 8-10, TttT (20 m). Unit summary activity: Small groups: create unit questions, key terms, timeline, additional essential questions, and inquiry questions.
19	88 m	What was the cause of the Iranian Revolution?	Multi-text types	Stations for various texts: *Persepolis* reading; Pahlavi Dynasty and modernization; Iranian Revolution; photos of Shah and Ayatollah; Zoroastrianism and Islam; Persepolis video clip; structure of government chart (revisited).
20	50 m	What caused the Iranian Revolution? Group Unit Summary	-	Group Unit Summary. Group Summary Exit Ticket on the Causes of the Iranian Revolution.
Week 7	**Time**	**Topic**	**Texts**	**Tasks**
21	50 m	Group Unit Summary, Individual Final Assessment	-	Finish Group Unit Summary. Work on individual final assessment paper.
22	50 m	Individual Final Assessment	-	Work on individual final assessment paper.
23	50 m	Work on final paper, Peer edit	-	Work on individual final assessment paper. Peer edit of paper.
24	50 m	Revise final paper	-	Revise final paper.

LINK: List, Inquire, Note, Know
TttT: Talking to the Text
MC: Metacognitive Conversation
E/I/Q: Evidence/Interpretation/Questions

Appendix D

Renee's Talking to the Text Notes



Appendix E

Code Descriptions

Code	Description
Close Reading	
Activated schema (total)	A sum of the three "activates schema" categories.
• Activated schema from an earlier unit	Student brought up schema that was explicitly taught earlier in the course.
• Activated schema from Iran unit	Student brought up schema that was part of the Iran unit prior to the coup text set.
• Activated personal/ world knowledge	Student brought up knowledge that was not part of the course, nor of the unit.
Chose more text	Student chose to read or indicated that s/he wanted to read text beyond the text set, e.g., requested to use the dictionary, to look at documents earlier in the unit, to read a document that had been excerpted for the unit in its entirety.
Correct gist	Student discussion indicated that the sense they have made of the text was sound, in single or multiple utterances.
Decoding issue	Student had trouble decoding a word.
Dictionary use	Student looked up a word in the dictionary and used the definition to clarify meaning.
Expressed confusion	Student voiced confusion, puzzlement, uncertainty about meaning.
Language	Student focused in on word choice, usage, connotation, and/or denotation of language.
Metacognition	Student explained his/her reading process or other cognition.
Misconception	Student interpretation of the text was mistaken and the misconception was not recognized as such by the end of the group's conversation.
Multi-text sense-making	One or more students used information from more than one text to corroborate, raise a question, make an inference, or draw a conclusion.

Question (substantive)	Student asked a substantive question about the text or topic. (Logistical questions are not included in this count.)
Question (substantive) answered	Student answered a substantive question that had been posed.
Question (substantive) to teacher	Student directed a substantive question to the teacher.
Referenced text	Student referenced one of the Iran unit texts.
Historical Thinking	
Chronology	Student used the date(s) to infer or reason.
Contextualization	Student mentioned the time, place, audience in the documents, described contextual details, and/or integrated or used context and evidence in an explanation or conclusion.[i] And/or the student included the conditions and worldviews prevalent at the time in question in analyzing the source.[ii]
Corroboration	Student explicitly referenced two documents and explained how evidence within corroborated or how the pieces of evidence fit together.
Noted omission	Student noted what was missing from a text or from the text set.
Reasoning	Student explained his/her reasoning.
Referenced source	Student referenced the source, but did not use the source information to further the understanding.
Sourcing	Student used the source information in the interpretation of the text, e.g., to consider credibility, point of view, possible bias.
Collaboration	
Collaborative knowledge building	In multiple utterances, students built an understanding and arrived at a consensus about that understanding that they used going forward in their discussion. These varied in length from 5 to 29 utterances, and in oral participation from 2 to 5 students.
Supported collaboration	Student supported collaborative work, e.g., deferring to a colleague, validating a contribution, suggesting a gist was workable.
Managed logistics	Student facilitated by clarifying teacher instructions, seating, location of documents, timing, etc.

Student Utterances	
Total student utterances	When a student started, and then stopped, speaking, i.e., took a turn in the conversation.
• One-word utterance	Student uttered one word only.
• Off-task	Utterances that were neither working with the texts and sense-making, nor managing the group's logistics.
Role of the Teacher	
Substantive questions to students	Substantive (not logistical) questions posed to students. There could be more than one question in one utterance.
Teacher managed logistics	Timing, documents, permission, moving students through the groupings and steps in the lessons.
Teacher supported students doing intellectual work	Teacher supported equity, collaboration, and disciplinary thinking.
Teacher Utterances	
Total teacher utterances	When the teacher started, and then stopped, speaking, i.e., took a turn in the conversation.
• One-word utterances	Teacher uttered one word only.

i. Susan De La Paz, Mark Felton, Chauncey Monte-Sano, Robert Croninger, Cara Jackson, Jeehye Shim Deogracias, and Benjamin Polk Hoffman, "Developing Historical Reading and Writing with Adolescent Readers: Effects on Student Learning," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 42, no. 2 (2014): 251. We drew from the rubric for contextualization used in this study, as well as the definition offered by Seixas and Morton.

ii. Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto, Canada: Nelson Education, 2013), 47.