ELEMENTARY LITERACY AND SOCIAL STUDIES INTEGRATION: AN OBSERVATIONAL STUDY IN LOW- AND HIGH-SES CLASSROOMS

By

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ABSTRACT

ELEMENTARY LITERACY AND SOCIAL STUDIES INTEGRATION:
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This dissertation contains two manuscripts, both focused on the integration of reading and writing during elementary social studies. The first manuscript is written for an audience of researchers interested in elementary education and reports on the degree to which second graders have opportunities to read and write during social studies instruction. This manuscript follows a traditional format, including a rationale, literature review, methods used, data analysis, findings, and discussion of the study's implications. The second manuscript is written for an audience of practitioners and focuses on how elementary teachers can integrate social studies and literacy instruction in purposeful ways. This second manuscript begins with a brief review of the literature and overview of the dissertation study. The bulk of the manuscript discusses three integration suggestions for elementary teachers coupled with examples of lessons and findings from the dissertation study.

Both manuscripts report on the same study, a descriptive observational analysis of elementary social studies instruction in Michigan. Data collection took place in 10 low- and 10 high-SES second-grade classrooms in 10 school districts. It consisted of 52 systematic audio-recorded observations, teacher interviews (N=60), and photographs of read and written texts. I used a series of descriptive and nonparametric statistics to address the following research questions: (1) To what degree do second graders read and write written and visual text during social

studies instruction? and (2) To what degree, if any, do integration practices differ in second-grade classrooms in low- versus high-SES settings?

Of the 2011 minutes observed of social studies instruction, 47.6% included reading and 33.3% included writing. Of the time that did involve reading and writing, results indicated that textbooks were the most common type of text read and worksheets comprised almost half of all writing activities. Students had few opportunities to write independently or to a specified audience other than the teacher, especially in low-SES classrooms. Students also had few opportunities to read extended text independently. Again, this was especially true in low-SES classrooms. Finally, the curriculum materials teachers reported using also appeared to have influenced the types of text read and written in the classroom, as well as the overall amount of time spent writing.

This dissertation study contributes to the field of elementary education by alerting researchers and educators to missed opportunities to improve students' ability to read and write a variety of written and visual texts in ways that support students' literacy learning as well as their learning of social studies concepts, skills, and dispositions, suggesting the need for future research and development efforts focused on better texts and better ways to use texts in elementary social studies. This study also highlights important inequities in the quality of social studies education in low- and high-SES classrooms, and suggests practical strategies for elementary teachers who hope to integrate purposeful reading and writing opportunities during social studies.

For Austin

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INTRODUCTION

Reading and writing play an important role in fostering students' knowledge of the social world and development of social studies skills (Parker, 2011; VanSledright, 2002). In order to prepare students to read, write, and discuss social studies texts, teachers need to scaffold and apprentice students into a variety of content literacy skills, such as evaluating a range of sources for the author's bias and perspective and interpreting visual texts such as maps and diagrams (e.g., Alleman & Brophy, 2010; NCSS, 2013; NGA & CCSSO, 2010). Alleman and Brophy (2010) explain, "using the literacy skills in an authentic way results in acquisition of subject matter knowledge, promotes a sense of efficacy, and makes learning more powerful" (p. 51). Furthermore, integration of reading and writing with content learning appears to be a common feature of highly effective elementary teachers (e.g., McCall, 2006). Pressley and colleagues (2001), for example, noted a tendency of highly effective first-grade teachers to make extensive cross-curricular connections and integrate reading and writing within the context of social studies and science instruction. We have a small but mounting amount of evidence that elementary students can build their social studies and literacy knowledge during integrated project-based units in which texts are used as tools for content learning (e.g., Halvorsen et al., 2012; Halvorsen, Duke, Strachan, & Toledo, 2016).

I have spent the past six years studying, researching, and promoting the integration of reading and writing within high-quality content learning, particularly social studies. My research has explored three lines of questioning: (1) developing

and examining the efficacy of integrated project-based learning units on second graders' content literacy and social studies learning (e.g., Halvorsen et al., 2012; Halvorsen et al., 2016) and on preschoolers' math, science, literacy, and social emotional learning (Sarama, Brenneman, Clements, Duke, & Hemmeter, 2015); (2) investigating kindergarten students' content literacy and social studies learning from interactive read-alouds (Strachan, 2015); and (3) analyzing the ways a novice elementary teacher attempted discussion-based teaching during social studies (Strachan, Stanulis, & Johnson, 2016).

Although there is great potential in using integrated approaches, we have few observational studies examining the degree to which integration occurs during elementary social studies instruction, especially in the primary grades. This juxtapositioning of potential and lack of information about the current state of practice has led me to question how much integration is taking place during social studies and, if little, what role I might play in increasing the amount of high quality integration in elementary classrooms. This dissertation study stems from those questions.

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation study begins to address some of my questions about the opportunities young students have to use literacy to process social studies content and to develop important literacy skills in elementary social studies in order to provide a foundation for students' knowledge development. As you will read in the following pages, I observed second-grade teachers during their self-identified social studies lessons and examined students' opportunities to read and write written and visual texts during that time, as well as the degree to which those integration practices differed in low- and high-SES classrooms, if at all. Specifically, I addressed two research questions: (1) To what degree do second graders have opportunities to read and write written and visual text during social studies instruction? and (2) To what degree, if any, do integration practices differ in second-grade classrooms in low- versus high-SES school settings?

Given my desire to speak both towards ongoing research in the field and to practicing teachers, I chose to use an alternative format (Duke & Beck, 1999) consisting of two manuscripts to report the results of this study: one manuscript written for researchers and the other manuscript written for teachers, administrators, and literacy specialists. The research manuscript follows a traditional format, including a rationale, literature review, methods used, data analysis, findings, and discussion of the study's implications and directions for future research. The practitioner manuscript briefly reviews pertinent findings of the study but spends a majority of the manuscript focused on recommendations for

practice based on study findings and findings from previous research. This manuscript follows in the tradition of other researchers who have written articles aimed at practitioners that are based on dissertation studies (e.g., Heisey & Kucan, 2010; Wright, 2013).

This descriptive observational study took place in 20 second-grade classrooms in Michigan. I used purposive sampling to construct a sample of 10 teachers in high-SES schools and 10 teachers in low-SES schools. All willing teachers who reported teaching social studies to their students were accepted into the study; I did not select teachers based on perceived teaching quality or experience. I took descriptive notes using a researcher-created observation form during two or three observations in each classroom, followed by three interviews with each teacher and a brief questionnaire. All observations and interviews were audio-recorded and texts were photographed.

Following each lesson, I read over my descriptive notes recorded on the observation forms, reviewed photographs of all texts read or written during the observation, and listened to the audio data, adding transcriptions of talk about text when greater detail was needed for coding. I then coded observations using a combination of a priori and emergent codes. Finally, I used nonparametric and descriptive statistics to describe and compare students' reading and writing opportunities in low- and high-SES classrooms.

Overall, results showed that 47.6% of all social studies instructional time consisted of some type of reading and 33.3% of all social studies instructional time consisted of some type of writing. Results supported previous research suggesting

that textbooks made up a majority of all reading activities (Brophy & Alleman, 2010) yet extended this work by documenting how the published curriculum teachers reported following influenced students' reading and writing opportunities. Similar to some existing research (e.g., Hawkman, Castro, Bennett, & Barrow, 2015; NAEP, 2002), many writing activities within both low- and high-SES classrooms were comprised of worksheets, most of them at the word, phrase, or single sentence level. Students had few opportunities to read extended text independently or compare multiple sources while reading during social studies lessons. Students in low-SES schools had even fewer opportunities to read extended text independently or with peers, write without teacher support or to specified audiences other than the teacher, or experience any type of writing in the classroom.

The findings of this study have implications for curriculum developers, researchers, and teacher educators who work with in-service teachers. Most notably, curriculum developers should design purposeful learning units that embed the reading and comparison of multiple informational and literary texts or sources within social studies in hopes of supporting students' social studies knowledge and skills, as well as their literacy knowledge. Researchers can then systematically examine the impact of new and existing integrated curricula on students' content literacy, disciplinary literacy, and knowledge of social studies concepts, and use their results to inform revisions of those curricular programs. Finally, teacher educators who work with in-service teachers can begin to address how to effectively integrate social studies and literacy at the elementary level by sharing theories in support of integration, providing examples of high quality integration taking place

in published curricula or actual classrooms, and offering time to plan and reflect on integrated social studies units.

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MANUSCRIPT ONE: MISSED OPPORTUNITIES: LITERACY AND SOCIAL STUDIES INTEGRATION IN LOW- AND HIGH-SES ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Abstract

Few observational studies have investigated teachers' text integration during elementary social studies. This study examined reading and writing opportunities offered to students in 10 low- and 10 high-SES second-grade classrooms during social students lessons. It addressed two research questions: (1) To what degree do second graders have opportunities to read and write written and visual text during social studies instruction? and (2) To what degree, if any, do integration practices differ in second-grade classrooms in low- versus high-SES school settings? I collected 52 systematic audio-recorded observations coupled with teacher interviews (N=60) and photographs of read and written texts. Results showed that, of the 2011 minutes observed of social studies instructional time, 47.6% included some type of reading and 33.3% included some type of writing. Of the time that did involve reading and writing, results indicated that textbooks were the most common type of text read and worksheets comprised almost half of all writing activities. Across SES settings, students had few opportunities to read extended text independently, or compare multiple sources while reading. Students also had few opportunities to write independently or to a specified audience other than the teacher. Results also suggested that the curriculum materials teachers reported using may have been associated with the types of texts read during social studies instruction. Compared to students in high-SES schools, students in low-SES schools

had fewer opportunities to read extended text independently or with peers, write, write without teacher support, or write to specified audiences other than the teacher.

Manuscript One: Missed Opportunities: Literacy and Social Studies Integration in Low- and High-SES Elementary Schools

Integration of social studies with literacy, especially in the primary grades, has been employed by teachers as a way to make time for social studies instruction in a school day increasingly focused on reading and mathematics (e.g., Berson & Camicia, 2013; Burstein, Hutton, & Curtis, 2006; Rock et al., 2006). Well-planned integration has the potential to do more than merely increase (or maintain) time for social studies, however. Experts agree that integration can also benefit learning in literacy and social studies, as well as increase motivation. According to a review by Gavelek, Raphael, Biondo, and Wang (2000), integrated instruction across content areas can promote authenticity and purposeful instruction in addition to efficiency. The authors explain that by emphasizing the connections between literacy and subject matter, teachers can help students use literacy as a tool for deeper content learning. Pearson, Moje, and Greenleaf (2010) concur, explaining that reading and writing informational texts can help students actively make meaning of the natural world. Although their argument focuses on integration of science and literacy, there is reason to believe a similar argument would hold true for social studies. Likewise, Shanahan (2014) contends that integration of reading and writing into the content areas helps build a solid foundation of knowledge in social studies and science that thereby benefits future reading and writing attempts. In addition, Cervetti, Jaynes, and Hiebert (2009) argue that integration in which students develop literacy skills and processes in pursuit of building content knowledge can build engagement because students read and write for authentic reasons and focus upon deep

understanding of content. Levstik (2008), too, asserts that integrated approaches built on student inquiry support deeper content learning as well as motivation.

We have few observational studies examining the degree to which teachers integrate text during content instruction, especially in the early grades (Moje, Stockdill, Kim, & Kim, 2011). The studies we do have that examine primary-grade social studies integration tend to rely on self-report data (Rock et al., 2006), surveys of student teachers (Hawkman, Castro, Bennett, & Barrow, 2015; Sunal & Sunal, 2007), and small sample sizes of fewer than ten primary-grade classrooms (Boyle-Baise, Hsu, Johnson, Serriere, & Stewart, 2008). Furthermore, limited observational studies document the types of texts students learn to read and write in differing socioeconomic contexts. This is important to consider because we have some evidence that integrated instruction may be less common in low-SES communities, where teachers often have a heavily narrowed curriculum and limited teacher autonomy due to pressures to raise multiple subgroups' (e.g., race, SES, language) test scores on high-stakes exams (Center on Education Policy, 2006; Kantor & Lowe, 2013), among a variety of other reasons. Through her interviews with nine fifth-grade teachers, Pace (2008) uncovered unequal opportunities for teaching and learning social studies depending on teachers' school context. Specifically, teachers in high-SES, high performing schools had a great deal of autonomy to make curricular decisions in both social studies and the language arts. Teachers in these schools described their social studies as innovative, plentiful, and integrative. Yet teachers in lower-SES, low-performing schools expressed limited authority to make curricular decisions; teachers felt forced to follow the reading program and felt they

had little time for social studies because it was not tested or valued by administrators. Duke (2000) also found differences in the proportion of time spent with print during content area instruction, including social studies, between students in very high- and very low-SES classrooms; students in very high-SES classrooms engaged in print experiences in social studies more often than their lower-SES peers. If these patterns hold true today, then students in low-SES classrooms may be missing out on a host of purposeful reading and writing opportunities during social studies—experiences that could potentially support their development of content knowledge and disciplinary literacy.

This study fills this gap in the literature by examining the opportunities second-grade students have to read and write during social studies instruction, as well as the degree to which those integration practices differ in low- and high-SES classrooms, if at all. The reason for pursuing this line of work is to learn more about potential opportunity gaps in social studies and literacy learning in students' school experiences. Furthermore, because teachers might be more likely to integrate social studies and literacy were they to have examples of what effective integration entails (Bisland, 2011), the purpose of this work is to provide illustrative examples of integration.

Literature Review

Defining Social Studies-Literacy Integration

Educators and researchers have used the term *integration* inconsistently over the past 50 years. According to Gavelek, Raphael, Biondo, and Wang (2000), "integrated literacy instruction is one of our field's most multi-faceted and elusive

constructs" (p. 587). These authors describe three primary categories of integrated instruction: (1) integrated language arts, (2) integration in and out of school, and (3) integrated curriculum. Integrated language arts refers to the coordinated instruction of reading, writing, speaking, listening, and/or viewing typically in pursuit of some encompassing learning goal. Integration in and out of school focuses on a connection between students' home and school literacies. And in integrated curriculum, the focus of this study, "the presence of more than one discipline or school subject as part of the curricular unit is central—if not core—to integration" (p. 591).

This final category of integration across subject matters takes multiple forms. Stoddart, Pinal, Latzke, and Canaday (2002) explained that some integrated curricula are thematic, connecting different content areas by an overarching theme. For example, in a "pumpkin unit," students might grow pumpkins in a garden (science), count the number of seeds in a pumpkin (math), learn about where pumpkins tend to grow (social studies), and read about how pumpkins grow (language arts). Still other integrated curricula involve interdisciplinary learning that involves the application of skills and strategies in one domain to benefit learning in another. Students might use multiplication during a science observation, for example. A final form of integrated curricula, arguably the ideal, attends considerably to learning in each respective domain (Stoddart et al., 2002). Goodlad and Su (1992) argued that the intention of this form of integration is "to bring into close relationship such elements as concepts, skills, and values so that they are mutually reinforcing" (p. 330).

Arguments for Integration that Attends to Learning in Both Social Studies and Literacy

There are five main arguments as to why elementary teachers should integrate social studies and literacy. First, integration offers one way to increase attention to elementary social studies. The marginalization of elementary social studies is well documented in the research literature (e.g., Berson & Camicia, 2013; Center on Education Policy, 2008; Heafner & Fitchett, 2012). Alleman and Brophy (2010) advocate the integration of literacy with social studies in order to carve out more time for social studies by: (a) including reading and writing activities and skills within social studies in ways that augment social studies learning goals, and (b) introducing social studies content within reading and writing instruction. Although we should be wary of those who argue for teaching social studies content solely through literacy instruction, integration, when thoughtfully and carefully planned, can extend the amount of exposure students have with challenging social studies content, skills, and dispositions important to their development as citizens of our diverse world.

A second argument for why teachers should integrate social studies and literacy is that some empirical evidence suggests that integration can positively influence both content learning and literacy learning. In elementary science, Cervetti, Barber, Dorph, Pearson, and Goldschmidt (2012) observed statistically significant gains in students' science content knowledge, writing, and vocabulary knowledge following participation in units that integrated hands-on science inquiry with reading, writing, and discussion of concepts. Romance and Vitale (2001) also

observed statistically significant learning gains with grades 2-5 students, this time in science content knowledge, reading, and science and reading attitudes following the implementation of science units that utilized reading, writing, and hands-on exploration in place of the typical reading and science curriculum.

Although there is less evidence of the effects of integration on students' literacy and social studies learning, the existing scholarship is encouraging. For example, fourth-grade teachers who reported integrating a variety of texts during social studies, including books, newspapers, magazines, maps, and the Internet, had students who significantly outperformed students in classrooms without such text opportunities on the 2010 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in Civics and History (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2011a; NCES, 2011b). If we consider younger students, Strachan (2015) found that kindergarten students made statistically significant gains in both their social studies knowledge and literacy learning following the interactive reading aloud of a set of just five informational texts. Similarly, in a recent study of second-grade classrooms in low-SES communities, Halvorsen and colleagues (2016) observed statistically significant gains in second graders' social studies and reading, and less of a decline in their motivation, following their participation in project-based units integrating social studies with reading and writing (Halvorsen, Duke, Strachan, & Toledo, 2016). Although one cannot ascertain whether students' learning resulted from the integrated nature of the curriculum, project approach, or some other aspect of the study, the significant learning advantage students in the study had compared to those receiving their typical social studies and literacy instruction is promising.

Furthermore, integration of literacy with social studies learning appears to be a common feature of highly effective elementary teachers; in a collective case study of four exemplary fourth-grade teachers, McCall (2006) found all of the teachers integrated reading and writing into social studies in purposeful ways. Pressley and colleagues (2001) similarly noted a tendency of highly effective first-grade teachers to make extensive cross-curricular connections and integrate reading and writing within the context of social studies.

A third argument as to why elementary teachers should integrate social studies and literacy is that integration can help teachers address multiple standards simultaneously. Both the Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects (CCSS; National Governors Association Center for Best Practices [NGA] & Council of Chief State School Officers [CCSSO], 2010) and the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards (National Council for the Social Studies, 2013) underscore the significance of reading and writing in social studies. Even in the primary grades, the CCSS calls on teachers to provide their students with experiences reading and listening to a variety of informational text types about social studies topics, and includes exemplar texts for teachers, such as Freedman's (1987) *Lincoln: A Photobiography* or Smith's (2011) *If the World Were a Village: A Book about the World's People.* Similarly, the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013), a document collectively written by social studies experts to guide states in revising their content learning standards, directly calls on elementary teachers to apprentice students in a variety of literacy skills, including evaluating a range of historical

sources for the author's bias and perspective; interpreting visual texts such as photographs and maps in history and geography; and formulating claims based on evidence.

A fourth argument for the integration of elementary social studies and literacy is that situating reading and writing within clear social studies content learning goals can facilitate young students' building of background and content knowledge, knowledge that supports later achievement. It is well established in the research literature that a readers' knowledge base affects her text comprehension (e.g., McNamara, Floyd, Best, & Louwerse, 2004; McNamara & Kintsch, 1996). For example, in a study of third graders' reading of narrative and informational texts, Best, Floyd, and McNamara (2008) concluded that world knowledge explained 14%-19% of all reading comprehension variance and played the greatest role in predicting students' text comprehension even compared to decoding skills. Kintsch (1998) explained this strong relationship between knowledge and comprehension in his Construction-Integration Model of reading comprehension, noting that as students read and write texts for the purpose of building their knowledge of the social and natural world, both past and present, as they do in social studies, they integrate new social studies and literacy skills with their existing schemata. This new knowledge then becomes the prior knowledge that will support a students' comprehension of texts in the future (Pearson & Cervetti, 2010).

Finally, some researchers reason that integration has the potential to lay a foundation for young students' developing disciplinary literacy skills. Disciplinary literacy is grounded in the assumption that the nature of a discipline influences the

literacy practices those within the discipline employ, including the language and styles of discourse, vocabulary, approaches to engaging with text, and the types of evidence valued (Moje et al., 2011; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014; Wade & Moje, 2000), and that those literacy practices are an essential aspect of learning in any subject area (Moje, 2008). When educators take a disciplinary literacy lens, they attempt to craft instruction that supports students in learning to read and write and discuss in ways that cultivate students' involvement in the practices of that discipline (Cervetti, 2014). Although typically discussed in relation to adolescent readers, some researchers think a case might be made for some initial form of disciplinary literacy in the primary grades. For example, Shanahan and Shanahan (2014) argued "informational text demands [on young students] serve as a precursor to the disciplinary reading to follow" (Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014, p. 637). Similarly, Cervetti (2014) maintained that elementary educators can help students gain access to important science learning while simultaneously modeling dispositions and general ways of knowing in science when they teach and practice literacy skills and strategies in service of content learning.

The reading and writing students engage in during social studies communicates something to students about the nature of learning in social studies. If educators allow young children, with support, to begin to engage in social studies skills such as analyzing and comparing multiple sources, classifying texts into evidence-based claims versus opinions, and sharing their knowledge through writing, these experiences have the potential to lay a foundation for later learning in the disciplines. If, however, students only read one source of information and

engage in activities such as completing fill-in-the-blank worksheets, then children will learn that learning social studies is little more than an accumulation of facts to be memorized and restated.

The Important Role of Text in Integrated Social Studies-Literacy Curricula

The types of texts utilized in classrooms during social studies instruction are important to analyze because texts play an important role in students' disciplinary learning (Moje et al., 2011). Moje and colleagues (2011) maintained that "texts in disciplines and subject areas control, to some extent, what can be known and learned. [Texts] provide the artifacts of past knowledge production and meditational tools for learning" (p. 455). Texts give, or conceal, access not only to essential disciplinary concepts, but also to skills and dispositions important to that discipline. In social studies disciplines, for example, many types of informational texts include commonly used graphics such as timelines, tables, captioned images, and maps that give students insight into how those in the field graphically organize their ideas (Fingeret, 2012). Conversely, many social studies textbooks are notorious for distorting the nature of history by presenting history as a boring, dense collection of facts (e.g., Beck, McKeown, & Gromoll, 1989; Brophy & Alleman, 2008; Paxton, 1999). Furthermore, although well selected stories can be effectively used to personalize abstract social studies content for young learners (Alleman & Brophy, 2010), overreliance on stories and other narratives limits students' access to the language and structure of informational text types, thereby, among other things, hindering students' ability to compare and evaluate a variety of sources on topics later in schooling (Duke & Roberts, 2010). Overall, whether a teacher uses

themes to unite the disciplines, employs skills in one domain to benefit another, or teaches integrated, synergistic units that benefit learning in social studies and literacy, the analysis of the texts read and written by students can offer insight into the nature of the integrative literacy-social studies experiences students receive in school.

Although an analysis of every text occurring in a lesson would be ideal, the number of potential texts used in any classroom is too high to estimate. Text can refer to any network of meaning that individuals create or use in a given context (Wade & Moje, 2000). Even when we limit our analysis to written texts alone, Bain (2006) identified 40 different primary and secondary sources in a high school history unit, including papal decrees, demographic data, and photographs, whereas Duke and Purcell-Gates (2003) observed over 80 written genres (i.e., texts with identifiable structures, formats, language patterns, and content) used in first-grade classroom and home contexts. Given the staggering number of texts in any given classroom, I focused my analysis on the reading and writing of written and visual text, both electronic and print format, used in the classroom in pursuit of learning social studies concepts, skills, and dispositions. For example, during a history unit on the local community, a second-grade teacher might read aloud an informational trade book about transportation in the previous century, record ideas in a graphic organizer on a whiteboard, and compare this information to a video about the historical content being studied. In this example, we observe three different kinds of written or visual text: a printed informational trade book, a whiteboard graphic organizer, and an informational video. I did not include strictly oral texts for

manageability of data collection and analysis and because I was particularly interested in written and visual language development.

Theoretical Framework

This work is framed by social constructivist approaches to language and literacy and the theory of social reproduction.

Social Constructivist Approaches

When viewed within a social constructivist framework, students' developing skills and knowledge are understood as situated in their interactions within communities of practice (Greeno, Collins, & Resnick, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Stone, 2004). Literacy learning is understood to occur most readily within functional contexts, and learning does not necessarily transfer from context to context (e.g., from the reading block to a social studies lesson). Stone (2004) explains, "through guided participation in desired activities, students are led to adopt the patterns of use of the cultural tools characteristic of a given society" (p. 8). Within content learning specifically, Cervetti (2014) adds that literacy learning in content area lessons influences students' content learning as well as their understanding of "the nature and dispositions of work in that domain" (p. 13). Classroom observations of literacy practices within social studies instruction can, in this way, offer insight into any opportunities students have to access content knowledge, practice cognitive skills, and acquire dispositions through reading and writing during elementary social studies.

Social Reproduction

The theory of social reproduction provides a useful lens to examine differential access to literacy learning within social studies. This theory explains that social structures, including schools, often preserve social stratification (Nash, 2004). Differences in both curriculum materials and the enacted curriculum may help maintain educational inequalities (Anyon, 1981; Duke, 2000; Schmidt & Cogan, 2009; Teale, Paciga, & Hoffman, 2007). As explained by Schmidt, Burroughs, Zoido, and Houang (2015), students in low-SES schools are often offered weaker content in schools than their counterparts in high-SES schools, and this has an indirect effect on their academic achievement. If opportunities to read and write social studies texts differ for students in low- versus high-SES schools, then some students may be less prepared to perform such skills as critically examining multiple sources of information, reasoning historically, and civically engaging in our diverse nation and interconnected global society. In addition, if students in low-SES schools have fewer opportunities to read and write texts in well planned social studies lessons than students in high-SES schools, then they will have less opportunity to build schemata and therefore may struggle with historical, geographic, economic, and civic learning throughout schooling, missing out on learning important to their development as productive citizens. In this way, social reproduction might help explain any observed differences in low- and high-SES schools in terms of the reading and writing practices during second-grade social studies.

Research Questions

This study addressed the following research questions:

(1) To what degree do second graders have opportunities to read and write written and visual text during social studies instruction?

(2) To what degree, if any, do integration practices differ in second-grade classrooms in low- versus high-SES school settings?

Method

To address these questions, this study employed systematic observations of 20 second-grade classrooms. According to Hoffman, Maloch, and Sailors (2011), systematic observations are useful tools enabling researchers to explore classroom practices in naturalistic settings and examine particular features of the classroom environment. Descriptive studies of this nature have been successfully used in investigations of instructional opportunities for differing student groups (e.g., Billman, 2008; Waxman, Tharp, & Hilberg, 2004). In the field of literacy, a rich line of descriptive work has showcased instructional inequities in need of attention by researchers, professional developers, and teacher education programs (e.g., Duke, 2000; Durkin, 1978-1979; Wright & Neuman, 2014). In social studies, too, researchers such as Boyle-Baise and colleagues (2008), Passe and Fitchett (2013), and Van Fossen (2005) have used observations or surveys to describe the current state of social studies instruction.

Participants

In order to compare the opportunities students have to read and write during social studies instruction in different socioeconomic settings, I compiled a sample of 20 teachers: 10 in high-SES schools and 10 in low-SES schools from a total

of 10 school districts across Michigan. Districts varied in size and location and included urban and suburban settings.

Districts within 60 minutes driving distance of a major university were selected for the purposes of this study. Subsets of these districts were classified as high-SES or low-SES based on the percentage of students receiving free and reduced lunch (FARL) as noted in the 2012 Michigan Department of Education School Breakfast and Lunch Information (Michigan Center for Educational Performance, 2013). Districts with a minimum of 70% of students qualifying for FARL were classified as low-SES whereas districts with a maximum of 30% of students qualifying for FARL were classified as high-SES.

I contacted, in order, the lowest-SES and highest-SES districts meeting the aforementioned criteria. A total of 12 high-SES districts and 7 low-SES districts were contacted. I reached out to a greater number of high-SES districts because they were, on average, smaller in size than the lower-SES districts. Of those districts I contacted, two high-SES districts declined to participate, indicating that teachers were overwhelmed by other observations. One high-SES district was ineligible because all classrooms in the school were taught social studies by a specialist rather than the base classroom teacher. Four high-SES districts and one low-SES district never responded to the request to participate, and one low-SES district responded affirmatively after the final sample had been selected.

A total of five high-SES and five low-SES districts agreed to participate, including one low-SES public charter school that was in an urban district all of its own (see Table 1). I included charter schools because a growing number of public

school students attend charter schools in Michigan; approximately 9% of K-12 public school students in Michigan attended charter schools in 2013-2014. The percentage of students attending charter schools is even higher in urban, low-SES communities with high proportions of students of color (e.g., 55% of students in Greater Detroit attended charter schools in 2013-2014) (Moorehouse, 2014).

I then shared the study design with administrators and teachers at eligible schools (according to FARL counts) and accepted as participants all willing teachers who taught social studies; I did not select teachers based on perceived quality or experience. In total, 10 second-grade teachers at eight low-SES schools and 10 second-grade teachers at five high-SES schools agreed to participate (see Table 1). I selected multiple schools from multiple districts to increase the likelihood of observing a variety of instructional approaches and curricula. In all, there were three types of social studies curricula used in classrooms in this study: no formal curriculum (Curriculum 1 in Table 1), a textbook-based curriculum (Curriculum 2), and a curriculum published and freely accessible online by the Michigan Citizenship Curriculum and Oakland Public Schools (MC3; Curriculum 3). The different types of curriculum materials were roughly equally represented in low- and high-SES schools. All participants were female, ranging in teaching experience from 3-29 years with an average of 13.4 years of experience in low-SES schools and 14.4 years in high-SES schools. According to teacher self-report, teachers taught social studies between one and three times a week; however, some teachers alternated teaching science and social studies units, meaning that during some weeks they taught social studies multiple times whereas other weeks they did not teach social studies.

Each participating teacher received a letter describing the study in general terms without providing details about the focus on integration or high-/low-SES comparisons. The letter asked teachers to teach as they typically would during observations. I explained to the participants the importance of not doing anything out of the ordinary for these observations, but rather of providing an example of the typical teaching they do with social studies concepts. At the close of each observation, teachers rated the lesson on a scale of 1-5 with 1 being atypical and 5 being very typical of their instruction; average ratings for teachers in high-SES schools ($\mu = 3.78$, $SD = 0.99$) and low-SES schools ($\mu = 4.08$, $SD = 0.78$) were statistically the same [$t(24) = 1.47$, *ns*].

Data Sources

I collected five sources of data for this study: (a) time-coded descriptive notes of social studies lessons using a researcher-designed observation form; (b) audio-recordings of lessons; (c) photographs of texts used during the lesson to support classification of text type; (d) audio-recorded semi-structured interviews with teachers following each observation; and (e) a short teacher questionnaire completed prior to beginning observations.

Table 1

Demographics of Participating Schools/Districts

District	School	No. of Teachers	FARL*	Curriculum	RLA MEAP (2012-2013) Third Grade*†	% of Students Living Below Poverty Line‡	% Adults in District Community w/Bachelor's Degree‡
A	Alpha	1	100%	1	66.7%	41.2%	11.1%
B	Beta§	2	92%	3	57.5%	45.2%	7.3%**
C	Gamma	1	86%	2	47.6%	32.3%	13%
	Delta	1	86%	2	50%		
D	Epsilon	2	86%	3	57.8%	23.1%	11.5%
E	Zeta	1	80%	2	60%	31.2%	15.9%
	Eta	1	71%	1	64%		
	Theta	1	70%	1	67%		
F	Iota	2	28%	2	88.9%	7.1%	19.1%
G	Kappa	1	27%	3	77.9%	9.9%	16.9%
H	Lambda	2	24%	2	82%	7.4%	20.3%
I	Mu	3	23%	1	92.9%	5.4%	29.2%
J	Nu	2	20%	3	67.7%	9.1%	17.6%

* Data obtained from www.mischool.data.org

† Percentage of students scoring as proficient on the Reading Language Arts portion of the Michigan Ed. Assessment Program

‡ Data obtained at nces.ed.gov at district level

§ Charter School

** Data was not available at the district level, so city data was utilized. As such, this is an estimate.

Observation forms. The primary instrument used for this study was a researcher-designed observation form intended to quantify and describe the characteristics of reading and writing activities during elementary social studies instruction (see Appendix A). To develop this form, I observed in two classrooms not involved in this study on several occasions and took qualitative, descriptive notes of teacher and student actions focused on visual and written text. From those observations, I developed a low-inference tool that, coupled with descriptive notes, would enable me to calculate the amount of time spent reading and writing text without losing too much attention to describing details. I piloted the form with instructional videos as well as additional classroom visits and made multiple rounds of revisions before data collection began. I continued to refine the form during the course of data collection. I also shared the observation form with five experts in the fields of elementary social studies and literacy to obtain evidence related to its validity.

I designed the observation form to be used within the context of the lesson at both the lesson and activity level. I coded data at the lesson level during the observation and included the teacher-identified content area of the observed lesson (i.e., social studies, writing, reading), start and end time of the lesson, social studies discipline (e.g., history, geography), and the lesson topic (e.g., history of local community). Within each observed lesson, I also collected data at the level of activity setting. According to Rivera and Tharp (2004), activity settings incorporate the activity or actions (i.e., what is happening) and the setting or external features (i.e., the who, when, where, and why of the activity). For this study, I was

particularly interested in activities including the reading and writing of written or visual text. During observations, I coded a new text activity whenever there was a change in text(s) being used or the level of responsibility students had with text (e.g., a switch from choral reading to independent reading). I noted the start and end time of each text activity using minute increments shown on a time keeping device from the time a majority of students were reading and/or writing text to the minute a majority of students were finished with a text activity. Every activity counted as at least one minute, so the overall time with text added up to more than the total number of minutes with text in some cases. If different students read or wrote different types of texts during the same activity, such as one student reading a social studies magazine and another student reading a textbook, I counted these activities towards the total time spent with text (in this case, reading) but did not code for any other variables because these would differ across students. For each text activity, I described in as much depth as possible all teacher and student interactions with text and recorded any questions I had to ask the participating teacher following the observation.

I visited each participant during the time of day she self-identified as social studies instruction. Between February and May, I observed five teachers in high-SES schools and five teachers in low-SES schools on three occasions. Due to difficulty scheduling observations, I observed the remaining five teachers in high-SES schools and five teachers in low-SES schools two times during this same time period. This provided a total of 52 classroom observations. I worked with teacher participants to plan particular days and times that would work well for observations in order to

ensure that I would see social studies instruction during my visits. As previously mentioned, I asked teachers to maintain their typical social studies instruction during my visits and to not plan anything out of the ordinary due to having an observer in the classroom.

In order to support teachers in maintaining their typical instruction, I attempted to take the role of privileged observer during these visits, meaning that I did not interact with students during instruction so as to reduce the impact of my presence on instruction and learning as much as possible (Wolcott, 1988). I sat in a corner or back of the room for observations in such a way that I could still observe all classroom instruction.

In total, I observed 2,011 minutes of instruction identified by teachers as social studies. Lesson observations ranged from 20 minutes to 83 minutes with an average time of 38.7 minutes and a standard deviation of 10.5 minutes. In all but one case in which a teacher was observed on consecutive weeks, I scheduled a minimum of 2.5 weeks between observations of the same teacher in an attempt to observe a greater variety of learning units and disciplines.

Audio-recordings of lessons. I audio-recorded all classroom observations. This enabled me to transcribe pertinent teacher and student discourse during text activities following the observations.

Photographs of texts. I also took digital photographs of any texts read or written to support later classification of text type. If a teacher used a website, I obtained the link for later reference.

Interviews. I interviewed teachers following each observation as well as on a third occasion for those who were observed only two times for a total of 60 interviews (see Appendix B for interview protocols). The primary purposes of the teacher interviews were to allow teachers to rate their lesson in terms of their typical instruction, provide context for the observed lessons, and highlight teacher beliefs and practices regarding the integration of social studies and literacy. All interviews that directly followed observations (52 total) included questions about teachers' primary and secondary learning goals for students, as well as what instruction preceded and would follow the observed lesson. The first interview also included questions focused on the curriculum used for social studies and any other influences on teachers' curricular and instructional decisions. Questions in the second interview inquired about the materials teachers tended to use to teach social studies, what a typical lesson entailed, and any barriers or facilitators to enacting their ideal vision of teaching social studies. The final interview included questions about who determined how much time teachers spent on social studies instruction, whether teachers had ever used particular text types or implemented literacy instruction during social studies (with examples), and teachers' experiences with and desires for professional development on integrating social studies and literacy. As stated previously, all interviews took place at the school sites at times convenient to the teachers. In all but one case, interviews following observations occurred on the same day. Interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed for data analysis.

Teacher questionnaires. Prior to beginning observations, I met with each teacher to explain the study parameters and to allow each teacher to complete a short questionnaire. This questionnaire included such information as teachers' years in the profession and how often they taught social studies.

Data Analysis

Coding of observation forms. Following each lesson, I read over my descriptive notes recorded on the observation forms, reviewed photographs of all texts read or written during the observation, and listened to the audio data, adding transcriptions of talk about text when greater detail was needed for coding. For any observed text activities involving printed or visual text, I calculated the length of the activity in minutes and coded for: (a) reading and writing process; (b) extended text; (c) text type; (d) responsibility of the teachers and students; and (e) audience of any student-written texts (see Appendix C for code list; descriptions of each code follow later in this section). The only exception to my coding of activities involving text occurred when teachers wrote non-permanent notes on a whiteboard or piece of paper consisting of fewer than ten words during the lesson. For example, if the teacher wrote two vocabulary words on the whiteboard during a 15-minute whole-class discussion, I did not code this as a writing activity because this activity was not focused on writing texts.

Reading and writing process. A primary purpose of this study was to examine the degree to which the enacted, second-grade social studies curriculum offered opportunities to read and write during social studies instruction. The reading and writing process code denoted whether literacy activities involving

written or visual texts were read (including viewing and listening to text read aloud) or written (including illustrating). I included viewing and listening to text read aloud because these are both modes that students use to make sense of texts, such as when they read a diagram in a textbook or listen to a teacher read aloud a biography. Similarly, I included illustrating because young writers can illustrate their ideas or draw them graphically in addition to using words. The activity of coloring worksheets was not included in analysis because these do not involve generating visual text. Another rater reviewed 15% of the observational data (descriptive notes, audio recordings, photographs of texts read or written), a total of 284 minutes of classroom instruction. Our mean inter-rater agreement for distinguishing one reading and writing event from the next was 95% ($\kappa = .912$).

Extended text. The amount of reading and writing opportunities students have with extended text (three of more continuous sentences) was important to consider given that the CCSS (NGA & CCSSO, 2010) lay out expectations for primary-grade students to read and write extended text forms, such as newspaper articles (informative/explanatory), editorials (persuasive), and personal accounts of past events (narratives). Furthermore, Duke (2000b) found that first graders in low-SES schools had less exposure to extended texts than first graders in high-SES schools. I thought it important to consider the extent to which this pattern continued more than a decade and a half later during elementary social studies instruction.

To code for extended text, I coded all read and written texts in each lesson of three sentences or more as extended text and texts with fewer than three sentences as non-extended text. Texts at the word or phrase level were always coded as non-

extended. Post-hoc comparison of a second rater's coding of extended text for 15% of the data was 96.9% (κ = .92).

Text type. The scholarly literature provides a number of reasons to consider the types of texts read or written during elementary social studies, such as concerns with textbook quality (e.g., Beck, McKeown, & Grommol, 1989) and students' difficulty separating fictional elements when reading or listening to texts that combine informational and narrative elements (Cervetti, Bravo, Hiebert, Pearson, & Jaynes, 2009). Perhaps more importantly, we know that genre knowledge does not necessarily transfer between different types of texts (Duke & Roberts, 2010), meaning that a reader might struggle to comprehend a persuasive text even if she reads storybooks regularly. Martin (2011) even observed differences in students' reading strategy use when reading procedural texts as compared to biographies and persuasive texts, all three of which could be labeled informational texts.

To code for the specific type of texts read or written in each text activity, I began with descriptive coding of text genres such as newspaper articles, web pages, and tradebooks. To enable statistical analysis, I then grouped these descriptive codes into larger text type categories based on the CCSS (NGSS & CCSSO, 2014) descriptors in reading (p. 31) and writing (p. 18). For texts read in the classroom, I noted whether the text was a literary text type: 1) story, 2) drama, or 3) poetry; or an informational text type: 4) literary nonfiction, 5) informative/explanatory text, 6) technical text (including directions, procedural text, and graphical device), and 7) digital text. I reserved a final code for texts that did not fit clearly into any CCSS reading text type category. For texts written in the classroom, I coded whether the

text was 1) argument/opinion/persuasive, 2) informative/explanatory, 3) narrative, or 4) unclassifiable by the CCSS categories. Post-hoc scoring of text type by another rater of a random selection of 15% of the lessons produced a mean interrater agreement of 97.5% (κ = .932)

Responsibility. Responsibility of reading and writing activities entailed who in the classroom was responsible for the reading or writing of written or visual text, whether the teacher, students, or some combination of these. I was interested in reading and writing responsibility because of some research (and anecdotal evidence) suggesting that elementary teachers sometimes become what Palmer and Stewart (2003) refer to as an "information broker" (p. 42) when using informational texts, meaning that they may feel there is so much content to cover or that the text is too challenging for students and so may only read aloud and interpret the information without teaching and allowing students to do so as well. Although read-alouds of informational texts have been shown to positively affect students' content area and literacy learning (Strachan, 2015), young students also benefit from opportunities to read texts with coaching by the teacher, with partners and other students, and independently.

To code for responsibility, I coded all reading activities as 1) teacher reads aloud while students listen; 2) teacher and students read a text together (i.e., teacher coaches and scaffolds students' decisions and contributions); 3) students read together in partners or small groups; or 4) students read independently. A fellow rater reviewed 15% of the observational data; mean interrater agreement was 85.2% (κ = .743) for reading responsibility. I coded all writing activities as 1)

teacher writes while students watch and listen; 2) teacher and students write a text together (i.e., teacher coaches and scaffolds students' decisions and contributions in terms of oral composition and transcription); 3) students write together in partners or small groups, or 4) students write independently. A fellow rater reviewed 15% of the observational data; mean interrater agreement was 95.8% ($\kappa = .91$)

Audience. Both the CCSS (NGA &CCSSO, 2010, p. 7) and the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013, p. 60) attend to the importance of audience on students' written communication. Empirical evidence with elementary and middle school students supports the claim that consideration of audience when writing influences students' overall writing quality (Block, 2013; Cohen & Riel, 1989). There is reason to believe, however, that many young students rarely have opportunities to write to specified audiences beyond the classroom (Billman, 2009). Furthermore, one study found that first graders in low-SES classrooms received even fewer opportunities to write for specified audiences beyond the teacher than first graders in high-SES classrooms (Duke, 2000). By examining the opportunities students have to write for audiences beyond the classroom during social studies, this study can speak to the degree to which teachers are providing the strongest conditions for writing quality in the content areas.

To code for audience, I categorized all writing activities as having 1) an unspecified audience or an inferred audience of the teacher, 2) a classroom-based audience (other students, parent volunteers), 3) a school-based audience (e.g., principal, other teacher), or 4) a beyond-school audience (e.g., local government

official, city librarian). Comparison of another rater's post-hoc analysis of 15% of the data was 100%.

Observational databases. I entered the results of observational data coding into two databases detailing the time and characteristics of text activities during social studies observations: one at the classroom level and another at the activity level.

***Classroom-level database*.** The classroom-level database included the total number of minutes and average number of minutes spent reading and writing during social studies for each classroom (N = 20). This database was used to describe the degree to which second graders have opportunities to read and write during social studies as well as to compare integration practices in low- versus high-SES classrooms using a series of nonparametric statistics and descriptive statistics (see Appendix D for classroom-level database description).

I first averaged the time observed reading and writing across observations in each classroom to provide a mean number of reading minutes and a mean number of writing minutes per classroom. Mann-Whitney U tests, a non-parametric statistical test appropriate for small sample sizes and data that do not follow a normal distribution, allowed for comparison of these means by SES. I used a Pearson's Chi Square test of independence to examine the distribution of total minutes spent reading and writing compared to minutes not spent reading and writing in low- and high-SES classrooms. Cramer's V was used as a measure of effect size. Based on Field's (2009) recommendations, Cramer's V was interpreted as follows: (1) .1 shows a small effect, (2) .3 indicates a medium effect, and (3) .5 or

higher indicates a large effect. Significance levels for all tests were established as $p < .05$ on two-tailed probability values; however, because this was an exploratory comparison study, I also reported any statistics where $p < .10$ on two-tailed probability levels.

I then totaled the minutes for the categories of text type detailed in the CCSS, creating subtotals by classroom. I repeated this process for minutes spent reading and writing the categories of extended and non-extended text, reading and writing responsibilities, and writing audiences. I used Pearson's Chi Square test of independence to compare the distribution of these variables in high- and low-SES classrooms, followed by Mann-Whitney U follow-up tests in those cases when the Pearson's Chi Square was significant and there were more than three categories. As before, significance levels were established as $p < .05$ on two-tailed probability values and Cramer's V was used as an estimator of effect size (Ott & Locknecker, 2001).

Some types of text did not occur with sufficient time for analysis and therefore could not be statistically analyzed. For reading, poetry and dramas were read on only three occasions across all 52 observations and only one teacher read a biography. In order to enable statistical comparisons, I therefore compiled the total and average minutes classrooms read either literary (including stories, poetry, and dramas), informational (including literary nonfiction, informative/explanatory texts, technical texts, and digital sources), or texts unclassifiable by the CCSS categories.

In terms of writing, no classroom engaged in writing persuasive texts. Given these limitations, text type categories that students or the teacher wrote in class that were analyzed and compared consisted of informative/explanatory texts, narrative texts, and texts unclassifiable by CCSS categories, such as fill-in-the-blank worksheets.

Some of the original categories for audience did not occur with sufficient time for analysis, including writing for an audience beyond school, such as to the community's mayor, or to a school-based audience, such as another teacher or school administrator. I therefore collapsed the categories of beyond-school, school-based, and classroom-based audiences into one category.

***Activity-level database*.** This database housed all the raw data from the 52 classroom observations and was used to calculate totals and averages at the classroom level as well as to identify the specific activities in which each reading or writing code occurred to allow for further inspection of the data in the descriptive observation notes.

Interviews. Upon reading the analysis of all observational data, I then read over the interview transcripts and highlighted any instances that dealt with reading or writing in social studies. As I read, I created a set of provisional descriptive codes related to classroom integration practices. I then reread all the interviews and refined those descriptive codes into pattern codes, transferring sections of highlighted interviews into a matrix to support interpretation. ††

†† Results of the interviews will be reported in a separate paper.

Results

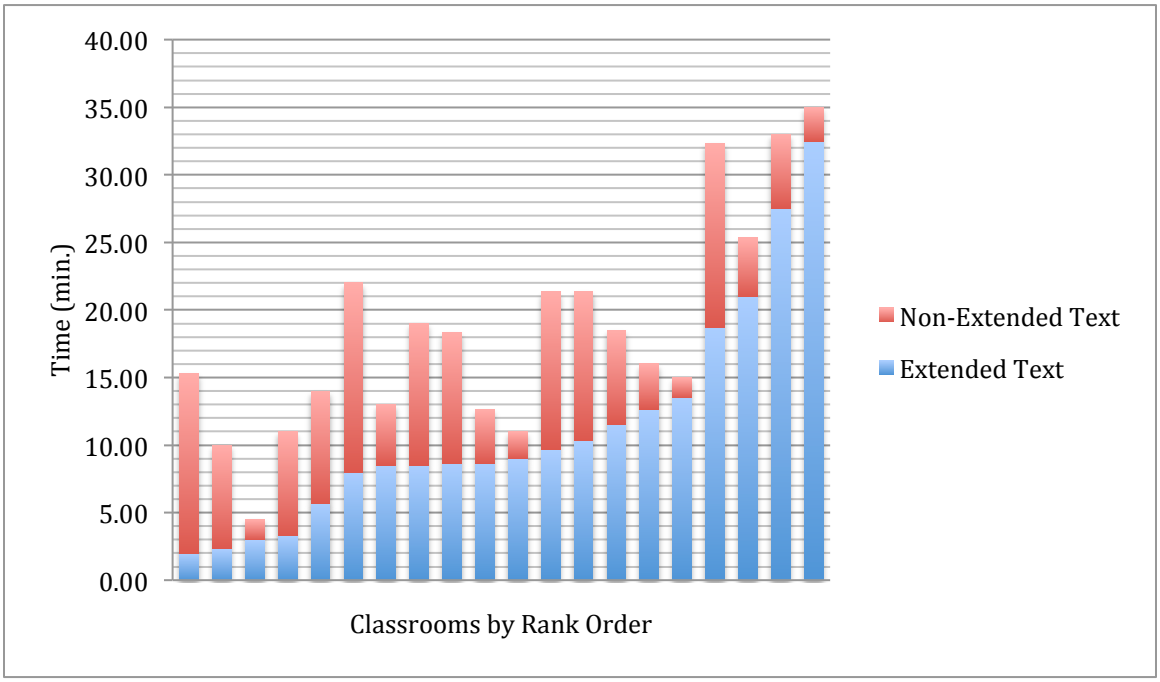
Two research questions guided this study: (1) To what degree do second graders have opportunities to read and write written and visual text during social studies instruction? and (2) To what degree, if any, do integration practices differ in second-grade classrooms in low- versus high-SES school settings? Results for the first research question are shared below under the heading *Opportunities to Read and Write During Social Studies*, first in terms of reading and then in terms of writing. Subsequently, I address the second research question comparing low- and high-SES contexts under the heading *Integration Practices in Low- Versus High-SES School Settings.*

Opportunities to Read and Write During Social Studies

Reading. Students and teachers engaged in reading some type of written or visual text a total of 957 minutes out of the 2011 minutes of social studies instruction I observed, or 47.6% of social studies instruction. The average time classrooms spent reading during social studies lessons ranged from a low of 4.5 minutes to a high of 35 minutes. Of those 957 minutes spent reading, a slight majority (560 minutes; 58.5%) involved reading extended text (three of more sentences on the same topic) as compared to non-extended text. Across the 20 classrooms, opportunities to read extended text varied widely, however. The mean time for reading extended text ranged from 2 minutes to 32.5 minutes by classroom and the average time spent reading non-extended text ranged from 1.5 minutes to 14 minutes by classroom (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Average Number of Minutes Spent Reading Extended Text by Classroom

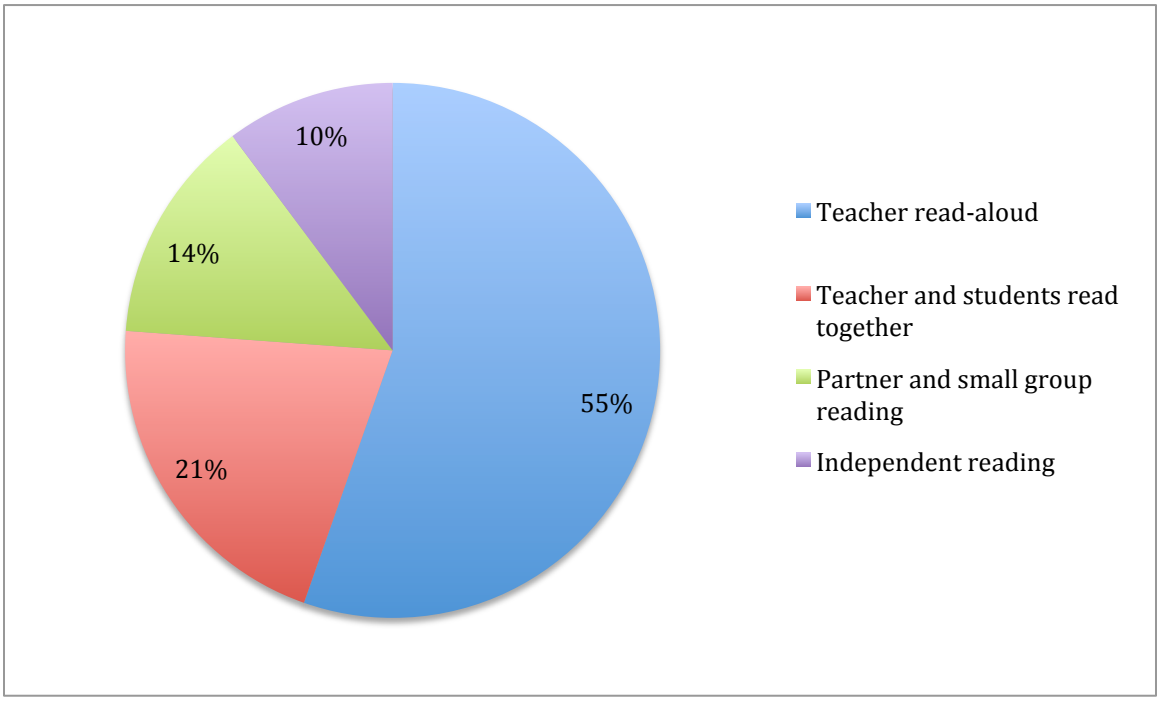


Although there were more opportunities overall to read extended text as compared to non-extended text, the classroom teacher was more likely to read extended text than the students; of the total time spent reading extended text, teachers read aloud 55% of the time whereas students independently read 10% of the time (see Figure 2).

Text types read. I observed the reading of 32 different genres of written and visual text, both extended and non-extended, during social studies (see Appendix E for a categorical list of all genres read in this study organized by the CCSS text type categories). The five most commonly read genres across the 957 minutes of reading were textbooks (21.3%); storybooks (15.7%); informational PowerPoints (8.3%); informative/explanatory books, excluding textbooks (7.6%); and maps (5.4%). These five text genres comprised more than half (55.9%) of all the

Figure 2

Proportion of Time Spent Reading Extended Text by Levels of Responsibility



reading time during social studies, and reading textbooks and storybooks comprised 59.3% of all extended text reading activities.

The 32 genres read included both literary as well as informational texts (see Table 2). Based on the classification system used in the CCSS (NGSS & CCSSO, 2010, p. 31), almost 18% of all reading activities, or 167 minutes, utilized some sort of literary text type. Of those 167 minutes, 90% involved storybooks whereas the remaining 10% included poetry and drama scripts. Informational text types comprised an additional 74% of all reading activities, or 709 total minutes.

Table 2

Minutes Spent Reading Literary and Informational Text Types

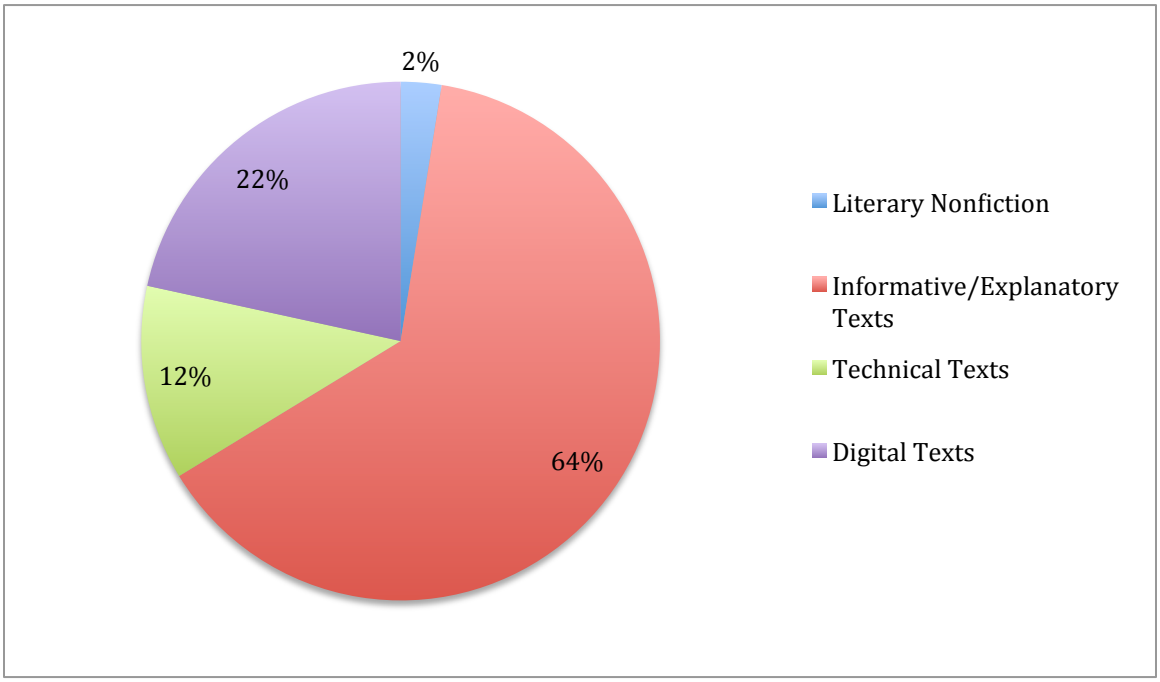
	Storybooks	Dramas	Poetry		Total
Literary	150	7	10		167
	Lit. Nonfiction	**Info/Exp**	**Technical**	**Digital**	**Total**
Informational	18	452	86	153	709

Note: Texts unclassified by the CCSS are not included. Total time spent reading of unclassified text totaled 82 minutes.

Figure 3 depicts the proportion of time spent reading different types of texts classified by the CCSS as informational. Students and teachers read literary nonfiction on only two occasions; once when a teacher read aloud a biography and another time when students read aloud their own personal narratives about a time they had experienced scarcity. Students and teachers read what the CCSS (NGSS & CCSSO, 2010, p. 31) refers to as *technical texts* (including procedural texts and graphical or visual texts like maps, diagrams, and timelines) for a total of 86 minutes, 52 minutes of which involved the reading of maps. An additional 22% of all minutes spent reading informational texts, or 153 minutes, involved digital texts. This category of text type included informational PowerPoints, webpages, and YouTube videos.

Figure 3

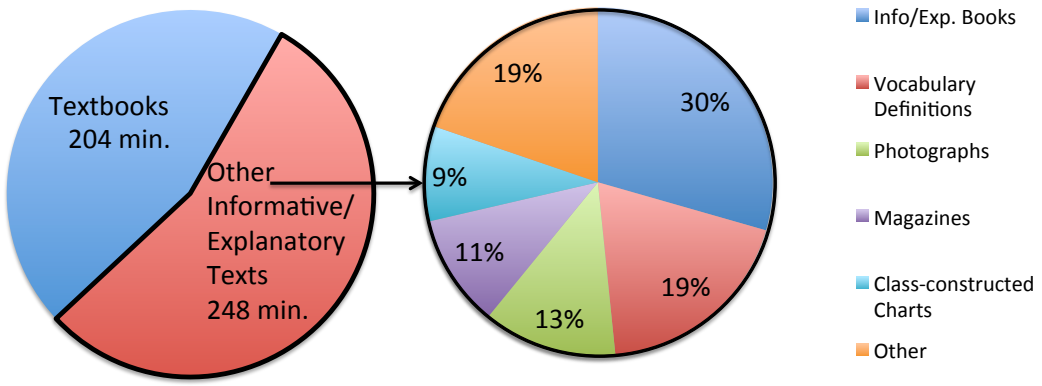
Proportion of Time Spent Reading Different Types of Informational Texts



The bulk of time spent reading informational texts entailed reading informative/explanatory texts. Multiple genres comprised this category, including magazines, newsletters, newspapers, photographs, vocabulary definitions, informative/explanatory trade books, a variety of classroom-constructed lists and charts, and textbooks. Textbooks were read for 204 total minutes and were the most commonly read type of informative/explanatory text. Other types of texts in this category included informative/explanatory books (e.g., *The City Mayor* by Terri DeGazelle), vocabulary definitions, photographs, magazines, and class-constructed charts (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

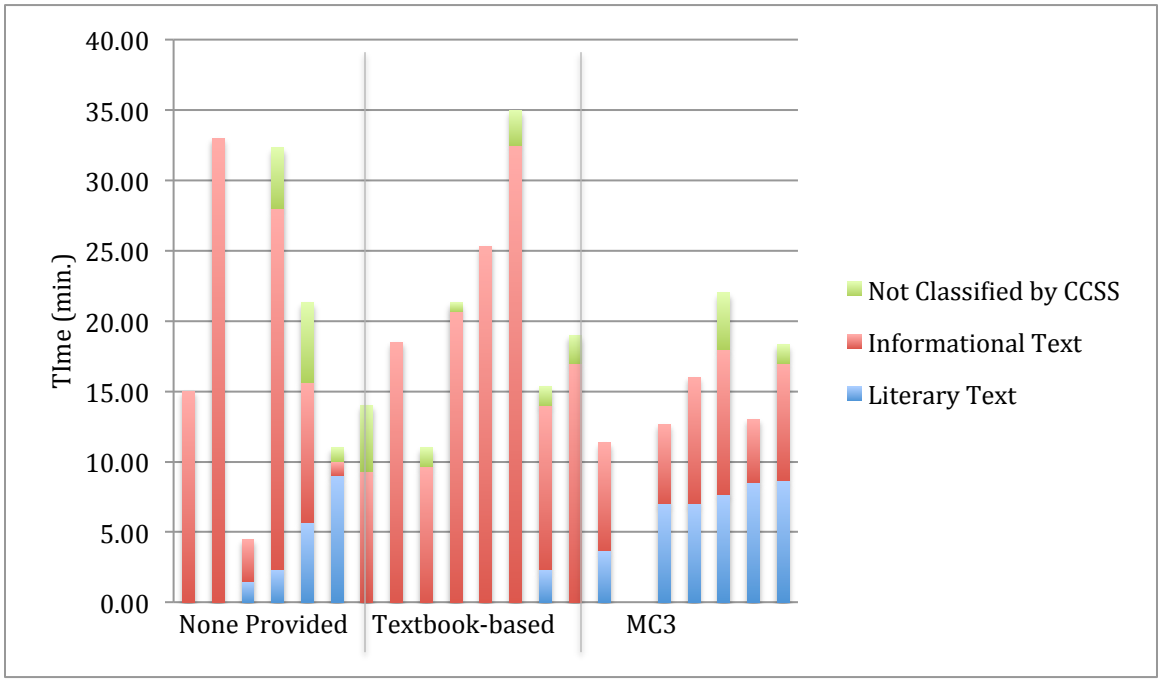
Proportion of Time Spent Reading Different Types of Informative/Explanatory Texts



Potential influence of curriculum materials. A plot of the average number of minutes spent reading the different text types for each classroom suggested a possible relationship between the curriculum materials teachers reported using in our interviews to teach social studies and time spent reading different text types (see Figure 5). Specifically, classrooms in which the teacher reported following textbook-based curriculum materials spent less time reading literary texts and more time reading informational texts than classrooms in which the teacher reported using the Michigan Citizenship Collaborative Curriculum (MC3). Classroom teachers who reported not following a published social studies curriculum varied greatly in terms of the time spent reading different types of texts. Two classrooms read less than five minutes of informational texts during social studies on average and two classrooms read more than 25 minutes of informational texts during social studies on average.

Figure 5

Average Number of Minutes Reading Different Text Types by Published Curriculum

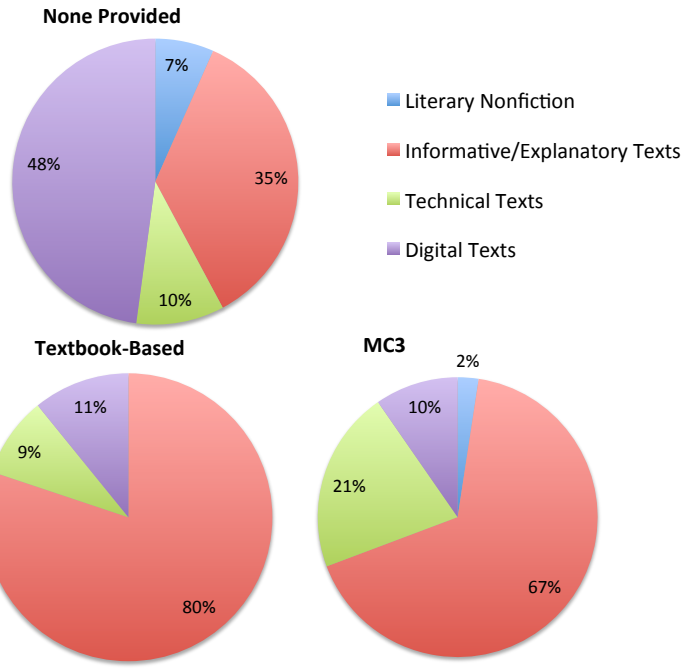


Proportionally, the types of informational texts read in classrooms in which teachers reported using different written curricula also appeared to differ substantially (see Figure 6). For example, in classrooms in which teachers reported not having a published social studies curriculum, 48% of all time spent reading informational texts involved digital texts (a majority consisting of teacher-created PowerPoints) compared to only 11% in classrooms in which the teacher reported using a textbook-based curriculum and only 10% in classrooms in which the teacher reported using the MC3 curriculum. In contrast, classrooms in which the teacher reported using the MC3 curriculum materials dedicated 21% of all informational text reading time to technical texts (in this case, maps, graphs, concept maps, and timelines) compared to only 10% in classrooms in which teachers reported not

having published curriculum materials and 9% in classrooms in which teachers reported using a textbook-based curriculum.

Figure 6

Proportion of Time Spent Reading Types of Informational Texts by Published Curriculum



I also observed differences between teachers' enactment of different curricula within the informative/explanatory text type category. Classrooms in which teachers reported using a textbook-based curriculum spent a large proportion of informational text reading time with informative/explanatory texts (80%) compared to only 35% in classrooms in which teachers reported having no formal written social studies curriculum; however, the overwhelming majority of the time spent reading informative/explanatory texts in classrooms in which teachers reported following a textbook-based curriculum involved reading just one source: the textbook. Textbook reading accounted for almost 75% of all

informational text reading in classrooms in which the teacher reported using a textbook for social studies instruction. Thus, although textbook-based curricula enabled classrooms more time to read informational texts, the vast majority of that reading came directly from the textbook. In contrast, classrooms in which teachers reported using the MC3 curriculum devoted slightly less time overall to reading informative/explanatory text (and to informational texts in general), yet classrooms using this curriculum read a greater variety of informative/explanatory texts, including trade books, photographs, and newsletters.

Statistical analyses could not be performed and so one cannot be certain of the strength of the relationship between curriculum and text types used; however, it stands to reason, at least for teachers following a formal social studies curriculum, that the curriculum materials might influence the enacted curriculum in terms of which texts get read during social studies.

Perspective taking and comparison of sources. Two important areas addressed in both the CCSS and the C3 Framework are consideration of perspective and comparison of multiple sources (Strachan, 2016). Upon review of the descriptive notes and associated audio-recordings, I found no instances when students discussed the perspective of a particular author or text and only two cases in which a classroom compared information across two different texts. Considering perspective and comparing multiple sources are included as important skills in both the CCSS (NGA & CCSSO, 2010, p. 13) and the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2011, p. 47). In one of the classroom lessons that involved comparison of multiple sources, the teacher read aloud two books during the lesson: a story titled *My Grandma's the*

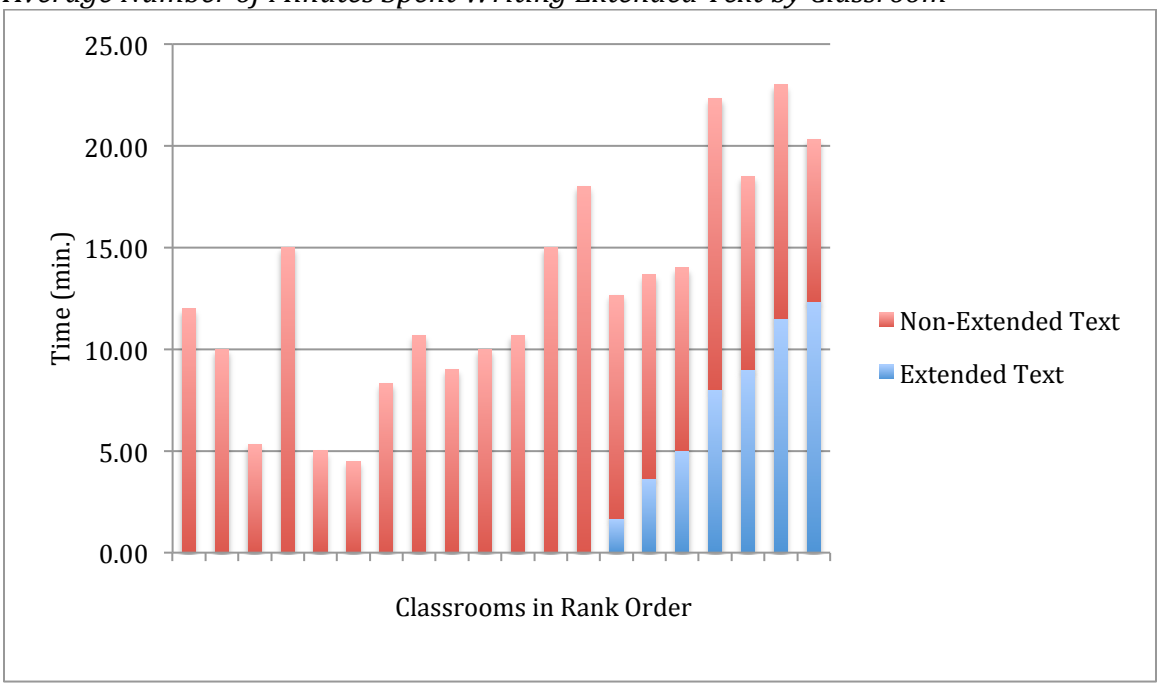
Mayor (Pellegrino, 2000) and an informative/explanatory trade book titled *The City Mayor* (DeGezelle, 2005). After the read-alouds, the teacher and students collectively wrote on a t-chart what evidence they had heard in the two books about the jobs mayors do. The classroom orally compared the types of information found in the books as well as discussed the differing purposes of the texts, collectively creating a classroom t-chart of their conclusions. In the other lesson involving comparison, the teacher read-aloud two texts about Harriet Tubman and encouraged students to draw connections between the texts and note differences between them.

Writing. Of the 2011 total minutes I observed during social studies instruction, 670 minutes involved writing text. The average number of minutes spent writing during social studies lessons was 12.9 minutes. Classroom averages ranged from 4.5 minutes of writing per lesson to 23 minutes of writing per lesson.

Only 128 minutes, or 19.1%, of the total observed writing activities included extended text. Proportionally, that means that 19.1% of writing activities and 6.3% of all social studies instruction involved writing extended text. Thirteen classrooms did not provide any opportunities to write extended text, and of the remaining seven classrooms that did offer time for extended text writing, lesson averages ranged from a low of 1.7 minutes of writing extended text to a high of 12.3 minutes of writing extended text (see Figure 7). It was even more rare for students to write extended text without the guidance of the teacher (i.e., either independently or with classmates); I observed a total of 82 minutes of independent, partner, or small group extended text writing, 60 minutes of which occurred in two classrooms.

Figure 7

Average Number of Minutes Spent Writing Extended Text by Classroom



Text types written. Students and teachers wrote 13 different genres of written or visual text during 649 minutes[‡‡] of social studies writing. These included observational notes about artifacts; graphical devices such as timelines and maps; worksheets, and classroom charts to guide learning, such as a list of ways to have a voice (see Appendix E for a categorical list of all texts written in this study).

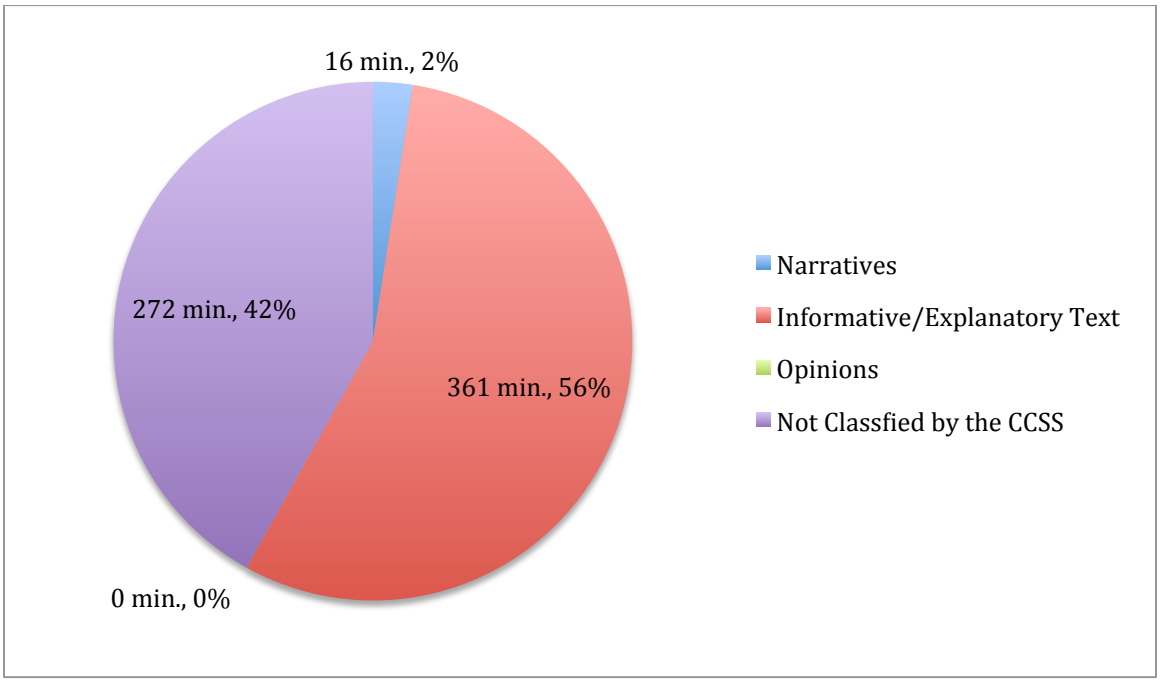
To determine the writing opportunities to write different types of texts offered to students, I classified all writing activities according to the CCSS K-5 Writing Standards categories (NGA & CCSSO, 2010, p. 18). As can be seen in Figure 8, the bulk of the 649 total minutes of writing included different types of informative/explanatory texts and writing activities not classifiable by the CCSS

[‡‡] A total of 670 minutes of writing were observed; however, 21 minutes of writing instruction occurred during centers in which different groups of students wrote different types of texts. As such, only 649 minutes of writing could be analyzed by text type.

categories. Only 16 minutes of narrative writing took place and no opinion or persuasive writing was observed.

Figure 8

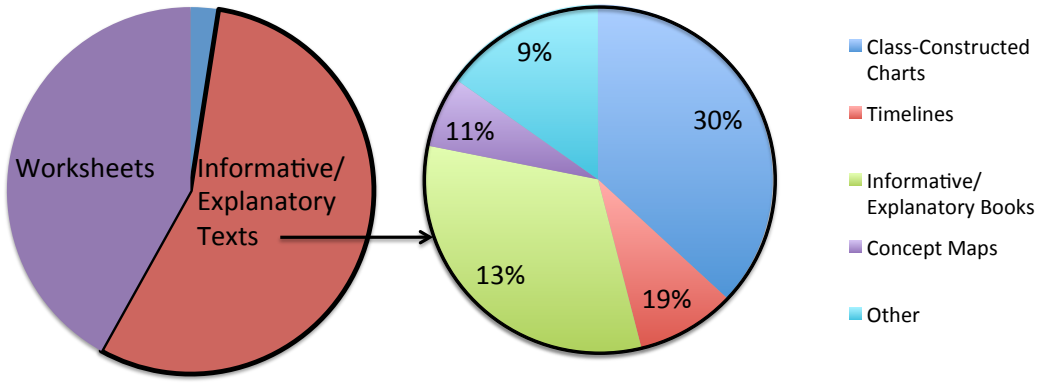
Number of Minutes and Percentage of Time Spent Reading CCSS Text Types



The category of unclassifiable texts according to the CCSS consisted entirely of worksheets. Worksheets comprised 42% of the total observed writing time across the sample and 49.8% of all writing activities in which students wrote independently or with their peers. These worksheets included short answer response, fill-in-the-blank questions, multiple choice items, and word banks requiring students to match a vocabulary word to a picture. Multiple types of text comprised the informative/explanatory text category, including informative/explanatory books, class-constructed charts, and timelines (see Figure 9).

Figure 9

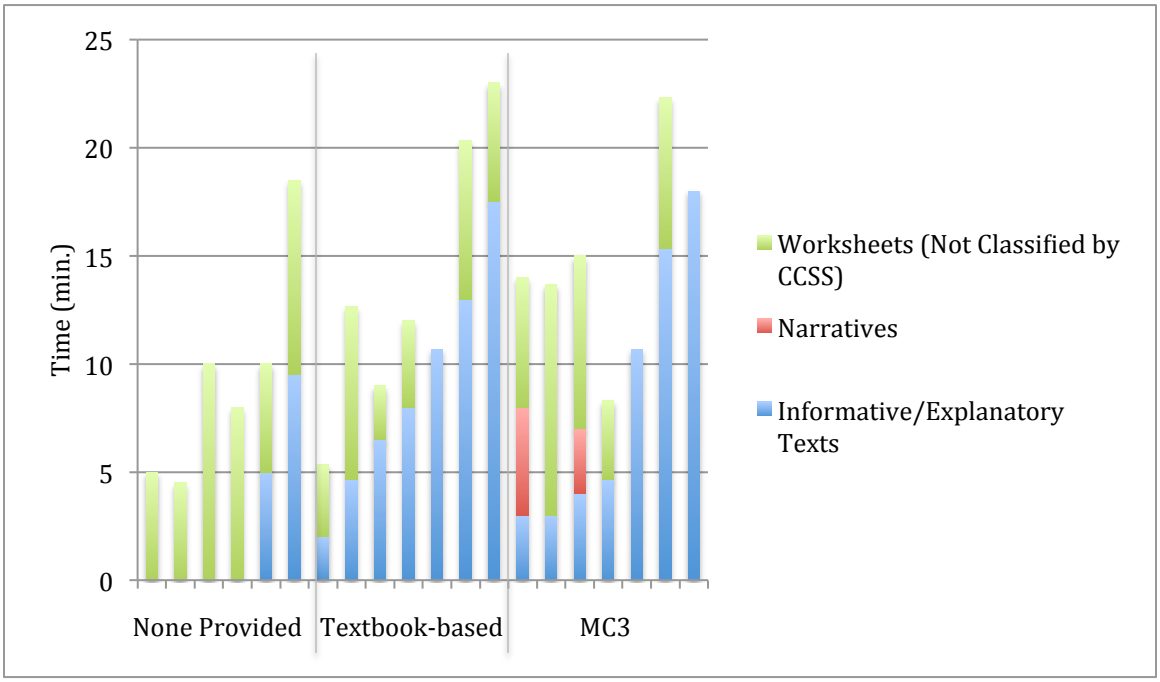
Proportion of Time Spent Writing Different Types of Informative/Explanatory Texts



Potential influence of curriculum materials. A plot of the average number of minutes spent writing different text types by classroom revealed some potentially interesting patterns between the curriculum materials teachers reported using to teach social studies and time spent writing different text types (see Figure 10). Specifically, classrooms in which teachers reported not following a published social studies curriculum appeared to have fewer writing opportunities overall and especially fewer informative/explanatory writing opportunities than classrooms in which teachers reported following a textbook-based curriculum or the MC3. No statistical comparisons were performed given the number of occurrences in each curriculum group.

Figure 10

Average Number of Minutes Writing Different Text Types by Published Curriculum



Audience. During the 650 minutes[§§] of classroom writing coded for audience, no classroom wrote for an audience beyond the school during my observations, and only two classrooms were observed writing to a school-based audience. In one of these classrooms, students wrote personal timelines to post in the classroom hallway for all other students to read in the school. This entailed drawing a timeline, gluing on four pictures of events that students had drawn at home on a previous night for homework, and writing a title for the timeline. In the second classroom, students worked with a partner to complete a worksheet describing what type of invention students would like to make, materials they would need to make it, what the invention would do, and who would use the invention (target customers). The

[§§] A total of 670 minutes of writing were observed; however, 20 minutes of writing instruction occurred without any type of student input, even through oral composition. As such, only 650 minutes of writing could be analyzed for audience.

classroom teacher made clear to students that they would eventually work with their partner to produce and sell their inventions to their fifth-grade buddies. She explained that students would need to advertise their product, set up a store, and do all the parts of production. Even though students never shared the written worksheet with their fifth-grade buddies, the written work they did in this lesson was part of a larger project with a specified school-based audience. Although this classroom teacher often used the written textbook-based curriculum, this lesson did not come from the textbook but rather was an economics unit she had created many years ago that she reported teaching each spring.

All other writing activities were coded either as having 1) a teacher or unspecified audience or 2) a classroom-based audience. Writing activities with a classroom audience most typically occurred during whole group shared writing activities, such as when the teacher and students worked together to write characteristics of communities. A majority of these cases did not specify that the students in the classroom were the audience; however, these writing activities implied that the students in the classroom were the intended audience of the writing.

Integration Practices in Low- and High-SES School Settings

Reading. Overall, there were a variety of differences, some statistically significant and others not, between low- and high-SES classrooms in terms of the integration of reading and elementary social studies (see Table 3). With regard to the average minutes spent reading during social studies lessons, no statistically significant differences were observed between low- and high-SES classrooms (U=

49, *ns*). However, the distribution of the total minutes spent reading and not reading did differ significantly between low- and high-SES classrooms [$\chi^2(1, N = 2011) = 7.04, p = .008$].

Table 3

Overall Comparison of Reading Activities in Low- and High-SES Classrooms

Item Examined	χ^2	p_{χ^2}	Cramer's V	U	p_U	r
Avg Min. Reading	--	--	--	49.0	.94	.017
Min. Reading/ Non-Reading	7.04	.008**	.059			
Min. Reading Extended Text	10.33	.001**	.104	--	--	--
Min. Extended Text by Responsibility	7.42	.006**	.115	--	--	--
Min. Reading Literary/ Informational Texts	14.06	.001**	.127	--	--	--
Min. Reading Informational Text Types	28.72	.001**	.201	--	--	--

*p<.05; **p<.01

I also observed statistically significant differences in the distribution of opportunities students in low- and high-SES classrooms had to read extended text [$\chi^2(1, N = 957) = 10.3$, $p = .001$, Cramer's V = .104]. The size of this relationship was small as measured by Cramer's V. Students in low-SES classrooms averaged 8.0 minutes of extended text reading whereas high-SES classrooms averaged 13.6 minutes of extended text reading per lesson. Proportionally, students were exposed to extended text 53.6% of their overall time spent reading compared to students in

high-SES classrooms who engaged with extended text 63.8% of their overall reading activities.

Responsibility for reading (i.e., the students or the teacher) extended text differed between low- and high-SES classrooms with a small effect size (see Table 4). A total of 62.9% of all extended text reading minutes in low-SES classrooms were performed by the teacher compared to 51.5% in high-SES classrooms. Both in terms of the distribution of extended and non-extended reading minutes and the absolute number of extended reading minutes, students in low-SES classrooms were afforded fewer opportunities to engage in eyes-on-text reading activities with extended text (e.g., students read together in small groups, partners, or read independently) than students in high-SES classrooms.

Table 4

Minutes Reading Extended Text by SES and Responsibility

	Teacher-led	Not Teacher-led	Total
Classroom SES			
Low-SES	163	96	259
High-SES	155	146	301
Total	318	242	560

Note. Data reported in minutes. $\chi^2(1, N = 560) = 7.4$, $p = .006$, Cramer's $V = .115$.

Text types read. A Pearson's Chi Square test of independence comparing low- and high-SES classrooms in terms of the distribution of time devoted to reading literary and informational texts was statistically significant, with students in low-

SES classrooms having fewer opportunities to participate in literary text reading activities and more opportunities to participate in informational text reading activities than students in high-SES classrooms (see Table 5). The size of this relationship was small as measured by Cramer's V.

Table 5

Time Spent Reading Literary and Informational Texts in Low- and High-SES Classrooms

	Literary Text	Informational Text	Total
Classroom SES			
Low-SES	64	386	450
High-SES	103	323	426
Total	167	709	876

Note. Data reported in minutes. $\chi^2(1, N = 876) = 14.06$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .127.

Not only did the quantity of text types read vary by SES, but there were also differences by SES in the types of text read within the categories of literary and informational texts. Specifically with literary texts, 31.2% of the 64 total minutes spent reading in low-SES classrooms was dedicated to reading decodable printed stories from the site www.readinga-z, an online leveled reading program with printable texts. Another 42.4% of that time was spent reading storybooks, and the remaining time went to reading poetry and role-play scenarios. Contrast this with high-SES classrooms where 98% of the 103 minutes reading literary text involved published storybooks.

Given that a large proportion of all reading minutes entailed informational texts in both low- and high-SES classrooms, I examined how the distribution of time spent reading the four broad categories of informational text (i.e., literary nonfiction, informative/explanatory texts, technical texts, and digital texts) compared between low- and high-SES classrooms. Results of this analysis were statistically significant with a small to medium effect size (see Table 6). Additional Mann-Whitney U tests contrasting each particular category of text by SES were not statistically significant, meaning that although the overall distribution differed significantly, individual categories of texts did not.

Table 6

Time Spent Reading Informational Text Types in Low- and High-SES Classrooms

	Lit. Nonfic.	Inf./Exp.	Technical	Digital	Total
Classroom SES					
Low-SES	18	239	33	96	386
High-SES	0	213	53	57	323
Total	18	452	86	153	709

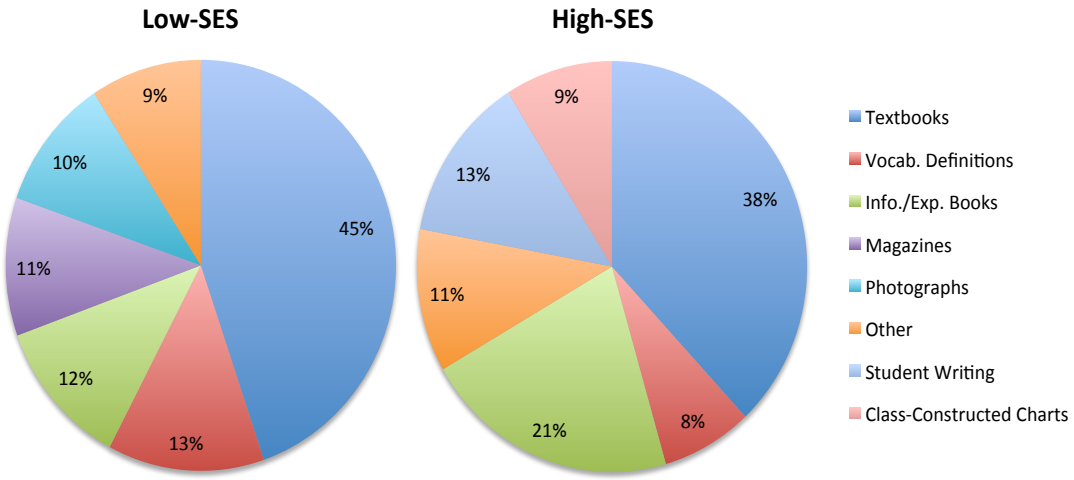
Note. Data reported in minutes. $\chi^2(3, N = 709) = 28.72$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .201.

In both low- and high-SES classrooms, a large percentage of time spent reading informational texts entailed informative/explanatory text types. Of the time spent reading informative/explanatory texts in this study, a majority in both low- and high-SES classrooms entailed reading textbooks; textbooks comprised a total of 107 minutes (44.8% of all informative/explanatory text reading) in low-SES classrooms and 81 minutes (38.0% of all informative/explanatory text reading) in

high-SES classrooms. As shown in Figure 11, I observed some differences in the distribution of informative/explanatory texts read other than the textbook in low- and high-SES classrooms. In low-SES classrooms, the most regularly read type of text in this category excluding the textbook was vocabulary definitions followed closely by informative/explanatory trade books. *Scholastic News* magazines and photographs were also commonly read. In high-SES classrooms, informative/explanatory tradebooks were read almost twice as often as any other text type, excluding the textbook. Other commonly read texts included classroom-constructed charts, vocabulary definitions, and students' own writing.

Figure 11

Proportion of Time Spent Reading Informative/Explanatory Text Types by SES



Writing. I observed statistically significant differences between low- and high-SES classrooms in terms of the integration of writing and elementary social studies for some variables examined in this study but not for others (see Table 7).

Table 7

Overall Comparison of Writing Activities in Low- and High-SES Classrooms

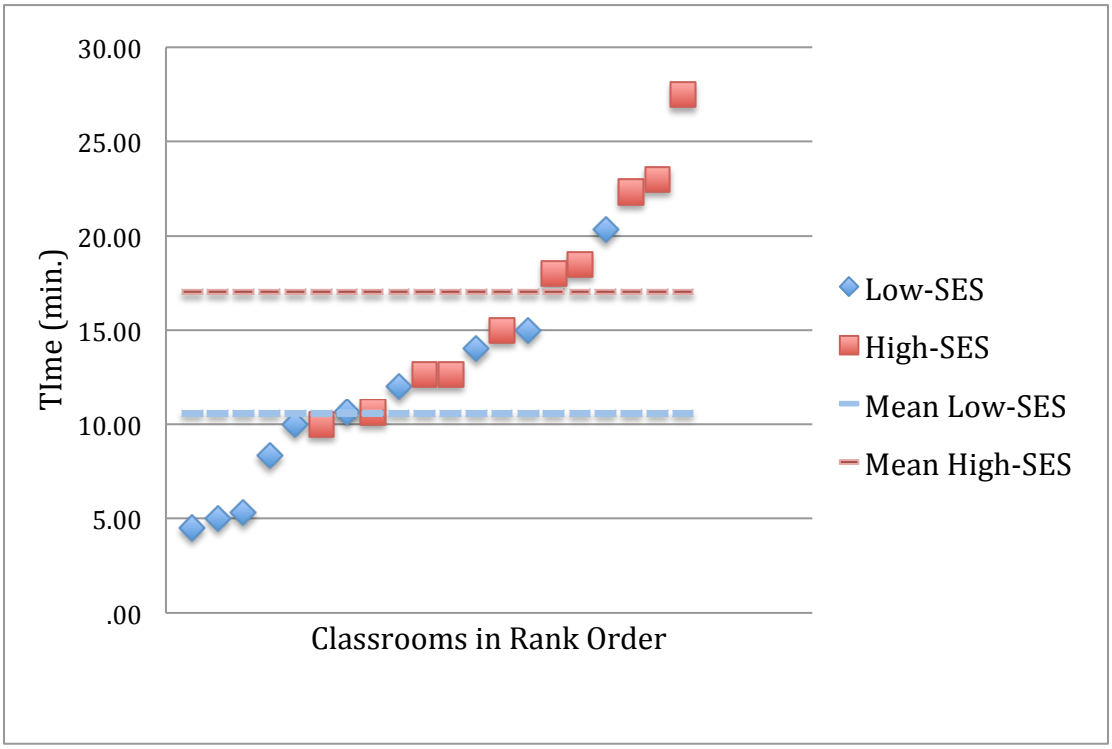
Item Examined	χ^2	p_{χ^2}	Cramer's V	U	p_U	r
Avg Min. Writing	--	--	--	22.0	.034**	.473
Min. Writing/ Non-Writing	20.53	.001***	.101			
Min. Writing Extended Text	0.99	.321	.038	--	--	--
Distrib. of Min. by Responsibility	24.71	.001***	.192	--	--	--
Teacher-led/ Student-led Responsibility	--	--	--	22.0	.034**	.473
Min. Writing Narr, Inf/Exp Texts	24.03	.001***	.192	--	--	--
Min. Audience	3.18	.074*	.070	--	--	--

*p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01

I observed statistically significant differences in the mean writing minutes for low- and high-SES classrooms (see Figure 12). Specifically, low-SES classrooms devoted less time on average to writing during social studies lessons than high-SES classrooms (U = 22.0, p = .034, r = .473). Low-SES classrooms spent a mean average of 10.5 minutes on writing per social studies lesson whereas high-SES classrooms participated in a mean average of 17.0 minutes of writing during social studies instruction. A Chi Square analysis comparing the distribution of minutes spent writing and not writing text in low- and high-SES classrooms was significant with a small effect size [χ^2(1, N = 2009) = 20.5, p < .001, Cramer's V = .101].

Figure 12

Average Time Spent Writing During Social Studies in Low- and High-SES Classrooms



Furthermore, fewer low-SES classrooms included opportunities to write extended texts during social studies as compared to high-SES classrooms. In total, two low-SES classrooms and five high-SES classrooms included some type of extended text writing. Low- and high-SES classrooms did not differ at a level of statistical significance in the distribution of overall number of minutes spent writing extended and non-extended text (see Table 8). The number of minutes spent writing extended text was low across the sample; only 17.3% of the overall writing time in low-SES classrooms and 20.3% in high-SES classrooms involved extended text.

Table 8

Time Spent Writing Extended Texts in Low- and High-SES Classrooms

	Extended Text	Non-Extended Text	Total
Classroom SES			
Low-SES	47	225	272
High-SES	81	317	398
Total	128	542	670

Note. Data reported in minutes. $\chi^2(1, N = 670) = .99$, *ns*.

When considering both extended and non-extended texts, teachers and students wrote many texts together, such as when students offered ideas orally and the teacher scaffolded their contributions and then transcribed the written text for the class. In order to compare the degree to which students wrote without teacher assistance, either in partners, small groups, or independently, I combined the three codes that did not include teacher assistance (i.e., partner, small group, and independent writing) and then compared them to times when students wrote with the teacher and times the teacher wrote while students watched and listened. Results suggested that the distribution of writing time across these three kinds of writing experiences (i.e., student-led, co-writing, teacher-led) differed significantly in high- and low-SES classrooms with a small to medium effect size (see Table 9). Follow-up Mann-Whitney U tests confirmed statistically significant differences between the time that students in low-SES classrooms had to write texts without teacher support (i.e., student-led) compared to the time students in high-SES classrooms had to write texts without teacher assistance ($U = 22$, $p = .034$, $r = .47$).

Table 9

Time Spent With Differing Levels of Writing Responsibility by SES

	Teacher-led	Co-writing	Student-led	Total
Classroom SES				
Low-SES	82	45	145	272
High-SES	117	21	260	405
Total	199	68	384	670

Note. Data reported in minutes. $\chi^2(2, N = 670) = 24.71$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .192.

Text types written. Informative/explanatory texts and worksheets (i.e., texts not defined by the CCSS) made up the majority of text types written in both low- and high-SES classrooms. A Pearson's Chi Square test of independence comparing the distribution of time spent writing informative/explanatory, narrative, and non-CCSS defined texts in high- and low-SES classrooms was statistically significant with a small to medium effect size, with low-SES classrooms spending 37.4% less time writing informative/explanatory texts and 24.5% less time writing worksheets (see Table 10). These differences can likely be explained by the overall lesser number of minutes spent writing overall in low-SES classrooms. Additional Mann-Whitney U tests comparing individual text types by SES did not produce statistically significant results. I could not compare the time spent writing opinions or persuasive texts

because, as mentioned previously, no writing of this type of text occurred during the 649[***] minutes of writing activities that I analyzed by text type.

Table 10

Text Types Written in Low- and High-SES Classrooms

	Info/Exp	Narrative	Not Def. by CCSS	Total
Classroom SES				
Low-SES	139	16	117	272
High-SES	222	0	155	377
Total	361	16	272	649

Note. Data reported in minutes. $\chi^2(2, N = 649) = 24.0$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .192.

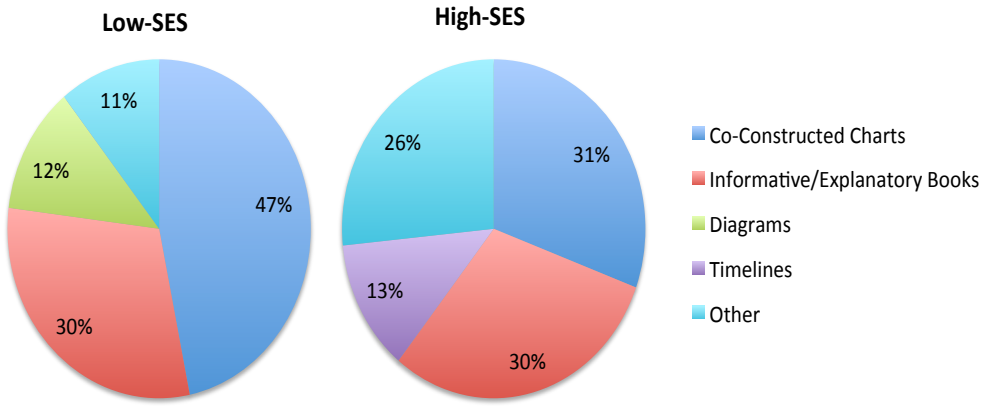
I observed similarities in the time spent writing different types of informative/explanatory texts in low- and high-SES classrooms (see Figure 13). Specifically, the most commonly written informative/explanatory texts in both low- and high-SES classrooms were co-constructed informational charts and informative/explanatory books.

Audience. When comparing the distribution of time students spent writing for audiences other than the teacher, results were statistically significant for SES, with low-SES classrooms engaging in less writing for a non-teacher audience than high-SES classrooms (see Table 11). The size of this relationship was small as measured by Cramer's V. Low-SES classrooms also devoted a smaller proportion of the total writing time to specified audiences other

[***] A total of 670 minutes of writing were observed; however, 21 minutes of writing instruction occurred during centers in which different groups of students wrote different types of texts. As such, only 649 minutes of writing could be analyzed by text type.

Figure 13

Proportion of Time Spent Writing Types of Informative/Explanatory Texts by SES



than the teacher than high-SES classrooms. Specifically, low-SES classrooms wrote for the teacher or for an unspecified audience in 65.9% of all writing activities, whereas high-SES classrooms wrote for their teacher or for an unspecified audience in 59.0% of all writing activities.

Table 11

Time Spent Writing to Different Audiences for Student-Written Text

	Teacher or Unspecified	Non-teacher	Total
Classroom SES			
Low-SES	176	91	267
High-SES	226	157	383
Total	402	248	650

Note. Data reported in minutes. $\chi^2(1, N = 650) = 3.18$, $p = .074$, Cramer's $V = .070$.

Discussion

This study sought to examine the opportunities second graders had to read and write written and visual text during social studies instruction and to compare those opportunities in low- versus high-SES classrooms.

Summary of Results

Overall, almost half of all social studies instruction in the second-grade classrooms I observed included some type of reading activity and approximately one-third involved some type of writing activity. The large amount of reading and writing taking place during social studies instruction makes examining the types of reading and writing taking place all the more imperative. A slight majority of the texts read in classrooms were three or more sentences on the same topic, most commonly textbooks and storybooks, and teachers tended to read those extended texts to students either through read-alouds or shared readings. Extended writing opportunities were rare in classrooms, and students most often completed fill-in-the-blank, multiple choice, and other types of short-answer response worksheets for an unspecified audience or the teacher. Results highlighted that teachers used different integration practices depending on which social studies curriculum materials they reported using, particularly regarding the types of texts read and written and the amount of time spent writing.

Results also illustrated statistically significant and important differences between low- and high-SES classrooms in terms of the amount of extended text reading and overall writing, who held responsibility in the reading and writing activities, the types of texts read and written, and awareness of audience in writing

activities.

Textbooks: The bully of classroom social studies texts. Overall, textbooks accounted for more minutes of reading than any other type of text during the 957 minutes of reading observed in this study. This finding aligns with other studies that have documented the prominence of textbooks in elementary social studies (e.g., Hawkman et al., 2015; NAEP, 2002), although previous studies have found that their use appears to be somewhat less in many primary-grade classrooms (e.g., Boyle-Baise et al., 2008; Passe & Patterson, 2013). Study results also extend previous research by highlighting the potential influence of the curriculum materials that teachers report following during social studies. In classrooms where teachers reported following a textbook-based curriculum, textbooks were read more than 50% of the total time spent reading during social studies, and more than 70% of all informational reading minutes. This left very little time for students and teachers to read other types of informational text sources, such as newspapers, photographs, trade books, webpages, videos, or multiple texts of any kind. Contrast this with classrooms in which teachers reported following the MC3 curriculum, where students spent slightly less time reading informational texts overall yet read a greater variety of informational text types, including trade books, magazines, photographs, newspapers, biographies, and digital sources.

Textbooks can play a useful role in the classroom by providing an informational source to which students can refer; however, the teachers who reported following a textbook-based curriculum in this study tended to use this text as the chief source of information during social studies. This is concerning given that

research has demonstrated many textbooks are wrought with problems. In their content analysis of fourth-grade geography and fifth-grade history textbooks from four widely used social studies programs, for example, Beck, McKeown, and Gromoll (1989) observed a tendency for textbooks to present information in a disconnected manner (i.e., an assortment of facts) with inadequate explanation of complex concepts. The disconnected nature of textbooks is likely exacerbated by the sheer volume of information provided in each textbook. For example, Paxton (1999) judged K-12 history textbooks as difficult to comprehend and unreasonably broad in topic coverage. One classroom teacher in the present study stated,

> I'm not one to use a [textbook] and start at the beginning and work my way through this unit and that unit. I just find it very empty, dry. The writing is above their heads. I just don't find it very appealing for the kids.

Another teacher explained that her students read from the textbook because that was the only text provided. She explained, "I just don't have trade books of any kind that go with our social studies. I would love to just throw the textbooks out the window and just use trade books instead."

A reliance on textbooks is also problematic because reading from only one source distorts the nature of the social studies disciplines. As explained the C3 Framework (2013), students should learn to gather a range of sources with differing perspectives and evaluate the claims of those sources based on evidence provided in the texts. When students are provided time to read from only one text, they miss out on the opportunity to read multiple sources and compare information, an essential aspect of social studies that is often challenging for students (VanSledright & Frankes, 2000). That said, regardless of the curriculum teachers reported following,

I observed comparison of sources on only two occasions. This represents a missed opportunity to learn how historians construct meaning from sources, as well as opportunities to compare the purpose and structure of differing text types, a critical instructional element that supports children's genre knowledge development. Relying on only one source of information, whether the textbook or some other text, risks teaching young students that social studies is little more than an accumulation of facts held within some text. If we hope to use integration of literacy and social studies as a way to lay a foundation for young students' disciplinary literacy and to teach them about the nature of learning in social studies, then we will need to include multiple text types, including primary and secondary sources.

Worksheets: The typical text for classroom social studies writing. A pressing finding of this study stemmed from the heavy use of short-answer response worksheets. Across the entire sample, classrooms engaged in writing worksheets 41% of all writing minutes. Very little time was spent composing texts with the purpose of sharing real or imagined experiences (i.e., narrative texts) or explaining information (i.e., informative/explanatory texts) and no classroom attended to writing with the purpose of persuading readers (i.e., opinions or persuasive texts). This limited attention to these types of writing was observed despite the emphasis on these text types in the Common Core (NGA & CCSSO, 2010) and the National Assessment of Education Progress (2011). Interestingly, several teachers commented in the interviews that they taught entire writing units focused on these types of texts during writing instruction, but had never considered using these types of writing during social studies. Furthermore, I observed very little time

spent writing to audiences beyond the classroom, perhaps, due in part, to the reliance on worksheets during social studies that do not lend themselves to consideration of audience.

Yet, as indicated earlier in the paper, both purpose and audience are critical dimensions of effective writing practice in the elementary classroom. Research suggests that a real communicative purpose in writing is associated with greater growth in students' writing quality (e.g., Purcell-Gates, Duke, & Martineau, 2007). Research also demonstrates a beneficial relationship between non-teacher audiences and overall quality of students' writing (e.g., Cohen & Riel, 1989; Block, 2013). Audience and purpose are also specifically addressed in the CCSS Anchor Standards for Writing. The Standards state, "[students] learn to appreciate that a key purpose of writing is to communicate clearly to an external, sometimes unfamiliar audience, and they begin to adapt the form and content of their writing to accomplish a particular task and purpose" (NGA & CCSSO, 2010. p. 18). Furthermore, a key component of the C3 Framework involves students in "communicating and critiquing their conclusions in public venues," work that assumes both a clearly defined purpose and audience (NCSS, 2013, p. 59).

Inattention to purpose and audience during social studies writing represents another missed opportunity for classroom teachers to develop young children's content literacy while simultaneously supporting their social studies learning. I therefore argue for re-conceptualizing how we think about writing during social studies. Specifically, instead of thinking about writing primarily as a form of assessment of students' knowledge or practice of concepts (as in the case of many

worksheets), teachers might come to think of writing as a critical aspect of Dimension Four of the C3 Framework: *Communicating Conclusions and Taking Informed Action.* The writing students do in social studies can become a way to share students' knowledge with audiences beyond the classroom or to clarify students' own thinking about new concepts. Standard D4.7.K-2 of the C3 Framework states, "Identify ways to take action to help address local, regional, and global problems." For everyday adult citizens, these actions will almost certainly involve some type of writing, whether through an e-mail to a local politician, the creation of the sign to post in one's yard about a ballot measure, or the writing of a report summarizing new learning to share at a local meeting of the City Council. I contend that allowing our students to participate in these types of writing experiences during social studies has the potential to make writing instruction more meaningful and effective while also making social studies lessons more purposeful and motivating.

Curriculum materials matter. As previously mentioned, students in classrooms where the teacher reported using a textbook-based curriculum had their social studies reading experiences dominated by the textbook. This stands in contrast to students in classrooms where the teacher reported following the MC3 curriculum; these students spent less time reading informational texts overall but read a greater variety of informational text types and sources, including photographs, maps, timelines, trade books, and newspapers. Students in these classrooms also had more opportunities to read storybooks on social studies themes and concepts than those students in classrooms with a textbook-based curriculum. Perhaps not surprisingly, the data suggest that the type of curriculum a teacher uses

in her classroom to teach social studies can influence the types and amount of reading and writing taking place.

It is tempting to blame the published social studies curriculum materials that teachers reported following in this study on the missed integration opportunities. Yet the six teachers who reported not following any published social studies curriculum and who instead created their own materials independently or with the help of their colleagues did not necessarily offer enhanced integration opportunities during social studies instruction as compared to the other teachers in the study. There was great variability in the total amount of time spent reading and writing across these classrooms, as well as the types of texts read and written. For example, whereas one classroom teacher provided more than 30 minutes on average for reading informational texts, other classroom teachers offered fewer than five minutes on average. As another example, some classroom teachers preferred informational videos whereas others included more storybooks. One consistent finding in five of the six classrooms without a published social studies curriculum involved writing: students in these classrooms had fewer opportunities to write compared to students in other classrooms, and even less time to write informative/explanatory texts. Four of these classrooms only offered students opportunities to write through worksheets, something that never occurred in any other classroom in which teachers reported following a published social studies curriculum. These results are somewhat surprising given Pace's (2008) finding that teachers who had autonomy to make their own curricular decisions in social studies and the language arts felt they were able to construct innovative and integrated

social studies learning opportunities. It seems quite possible that, although having complete freedom to construct a social studies curriculum may be ideal for some teachers in terms of integration, other teachers may benefit from some type of written curriculum to use as a starting point.

Social reproduction. Overall, my analyses show that, compared to students in high-SES classrooms, students in low-SES classrooms experienced fewer opportunities to read extended text independently or with peers, to write to specified audiences other than the teacher, to write without teacher support, or to experience any type of writing activity during social studies instruction. These differences were statistically significant, and although effect sizes were small, they were not negligible. Even small differences in the reading and writing opportunities during social studies instruction in low- and high-SES classrooms can accumulate over the school years, leaving students in low-SES schools less prepared to read challenging extended social studies texts later in schooling or to write informational texts on important social studies topics. Furthermore, if students in low-SES classrooms continue to have fewer opportunities to communicate and write to specified audiences beyond their own teacher, such as a local mayor, during elementary social studies, then those students may acquire fewer firsthand experiences learning that citizens can enact change in their communities. They may also have lower quality writing given that students appear to write better for audiences other than their teacher (Block, 2013). As noted previously, communication and informed action are key dimensions of the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013), teaching students that it is not enough just to learn disciplinary

concepts without sharing it with others.

These differences, however, bring to our attention that opportunity gaps exist in the integration practices taking place during second-grade social studies instruction, at least in the classrooms in this study. Similar to Levinson (2010), who argued that many students in low-SES schools populated by non-white students had fewer civic learning opportunities that their higher-SES peers, I contend that these gaps in opportunity may very well translate into achievement gaps later in schooling in terms of students' ability to use literacy to process and communicate social studies content, which may then influence students' opportunity to build a solid schemata and lead to unequal access to citizenship skills.

Implications

Engaging young students in purposeful reading and writing during social studies has the potential to increase attention to social studies, increase literacy and social studies learning, help classrooms address the CCSS and C3 Framework, build students' background and content knowledge that can support children's comprehension of future texts, and develop children's disciplinary literacy skills. Although one would not expect every social studies lesson to entail reading or writing, building a foundation for young children's disciplinary literacy skills requires that classrooms engage in identifying, evaluating, and comparing multiple sources of information (including visual and multimodal texts) before forming and communicating conclusions orally and through writing and then taking informed action. These skills are important elements of the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013). Reading and writing social studies (and science) texts to build foundational

knowledge is also a key tenet of the CCSS (NGA & CCSSO, 2010).

The findings of this study highlight several missed opportunities to improve students' ability to read and write a variety of written and visual texts in ways that support students' content literacy learning as well as their learning of social studies concepts, skills, and dispositions, especially in low-SES classrooms. Findings have implications for curriculum developers, teacher educators, and researchers.

Curriculum development. The fact that a majority of classroom teachers in this study, regardless of SES, reported utilizing a social studies curriculum as opposed to relying on the core reading program to teach social studies is reassuring given that, as stated previously, reading programs are not written with social studies learning goals in mind and tend to only haphazardly and superficially address social studies concepts. Yet it also puts pressure on social studies curriculum developers to move beyond worksheets and textbook reading. The teachers in this study explained during interviews that they had little time to prepare for social studies instruction, and although efforts can and should be made to change that, it seems wise to construct better learning materials in the meantime. As one teacher stated, "I just don't spend a ton of time out looking for other resources to enhance our social studies time."

It is time for social studies curriculum developers to extend beyond the textbook and construct powerful learning units that embed purposeful reading and writing of a variety of informational and literary texts within social studies learning in ways that support students' development of social studies conceptions, skills, and dispositions. The curriculum materials might include comparison of multiple

sources and instruction in how readers can consider perspective and bias of authors when examining evidence and drawing conclusions. Compelling questions could provide a clear purpose for reading and writing, and provision of authentic text types such as magazines, primary sources, and trade books, would offer motivating sources for students to examine in independent reading, guided reading, shared reading, and read-alouds. Instead of worksheets, units might include time and instruction for social studies writing, including narratives, informative/explanatory texts, and persuasive writing, to provide students with a space to share their findings with real audiences and make informed action in their school or community. The project-based units detailed by Halvorsen and colleagues (2012) offer one example of what these types of high-quality curricula might entail.

Teacher educators. Those who work with in-service teachers can use the results of this study to identify aspects of integrated instruction in need of support in practicing teachers' classrooms. In-service teachers have likely received little professional development on literacy integration in social studies or on social studies in general (e.g., Rock et al., 2006), and many existing social studies curricula provide little support for teachers hoping to integrate reading and writing with social studies (Brophy & Alleman, 2008). Those who work with in-service educators will need to provide time for teachers to read research articles about integration, observe video-recorded examples of teachers enacting high quality integration, and co-plan or revise social studies curricula.

Future research. Research should examine the extent to which particular teacher and school contextual variables support the effective integration of reading

and writing with social studies, such as freedom to modify existing curricula or administrative support of social studies instruction. For example, researchers might identify classrooms and schools in which powerful integration is already taking place to learn more about how those teaching contexts support teachers in their integration attempts. Future studies should also systematically test the impact of curricula that are specifically written to integrate purposeful reading and writing within social studies in ways that align with the CCSS and C3 Framework. Researchers might utilize a formative experiment approach to design units of study alongside classroom teachers, examine the effects of the units on students' content literacy, disciplinary literacy, and knowledge of social studies concepts, and then continue to revise the units in an iterative process based on observed student learning and teacher input (see Halvorsen et al., 2012, for an example of this type of design). As part of this work, researchers can build on the work of others (e.g., Strachan, 2015) and continue to identify the synergies of elementary social studies and literacy, or the particular qualities or types of reading and writing that support both literacy and elementary social studies learning.

Limitations

There are five important limitations of this study to consider when interpreting the results. Foremost, classroom teacher were not randomly selected for this study. Research makes clear social studies instruction is becoming an increasingly rare practice in the elementary grades (Center on Education Policy, 2008), so the decision to select teachers who taught social studies was necessary given the research questions. However, it may have positively skewed findings;

teachers who agreed to participate may have been better versed in or committed to social studies instruction than other second-grade teachers. They may also have been more confident in their teaching or committed to research in the field of education in general.

Multiple studies that have surveyed teachers have concluded that second-grade teachers commonly combine integration in the reading block with stand-alone social studies. The teacher participants in this study were no exception based on teacher self-report. Yet all of the lessons I observed were stand-alone social studies lessons. Although I asked to observe lessons integrated into the reading block in those classrooms in which teachers said they sometimes integrate in this manner, multiple classroom teachers explained that this was not typically something they planned for but rather something that arose organically as content permitted. As such, I was unable to schedule observations with teachers during the reading block due to their unpredictable nature. This, in turn, may have limited any observed differences between high- and low-SES classrooms.

Another important limitation to consider is that my presence in the classrooms may have influenced teachers' planning for and implementation of social studies lessons. Although teachers rated their instruction on average as typical of their social studies instruction, it is possible that teachers spent additional time planning for their lessons on days of my observations. Given that the primary findings center on missed integration opportunities in the classroom, additional planning would not likely have invalidated these results but rather may have further compounded them.

Yet another limitation is the size of the study and geographic restrictions; I observed only 10 classrooms in 5 low-SES districts and 10 classrooms in 5 high-SES districts within driving distance from my university. Furthermore, I observed teachers on only two or three occasions, a small fraction of the social studies lessons they taught during the year. Observing a greater number of lessons and classrooms in a greater number of districts would increase the robustness and generalizability of any findings.

Finally, data from these observations extend beyond individual teacher decision-making. A variety of contextual constraints influence teaching, such as limited resources and pressures to meet high stakes expectations in reading and math that often limits time for teaching and planning for social studies instruction. This study does not speak to why differences in literacy-social studies integration exist (or not) across aggregate SES levels or why particular teachers include more or less reading and writing of different text types and responsibilities based on their content knowledge, teacher experience, administrative support, access to high-quality tools, expectations of students, or other factors. This study focused on what occurred during social studies in terms of integration. Results can speak to potential directions for future research that might examine reasons for those differences (or similarities). Any results should be interpreted with these caveats in mind.

Significance

Despite these limitations, this study provides a rich description of the current state of social studies in Michigan second-grade classrooms, contributes to the existing literature on elementary social studies reading and writing, and expands

the limited body of knowledge about the degree to which integration practices differ in low- and high-SES second-grade classrooms. Results alert researchers and educators to missed learning opportunities to improve students' ability to read and write a variety of written and visual texts in ways that support students' literacy learning as well as their learning of social studies concepts, skills, and dispositions. This study also highlights important inequities in the quality of social studies education in low- and high-SES classrooms, and suggests practical strategies for elementary teachers who hope to integrate purposeful reading and writing opportunities during social studies. Overall, results of this study should inform future curriculum development and work with practicing teachers focused on the integration of purposeful reading and writing during social studies that supports learning in all domains.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: OBSERVATION FORM

Classroom ID:
Date:
Observation Number:
Teacher Identified Part of Day:
Discipline:

Topic of Study:
Number of Students Present:
Time Observation Began:
Time Observation Ended:
Total Observation Time:

Record instruction verbatim as much as possible. Note teacher and student actions as well as materials used. Underline any vocab directly taught.

Lit Event #	Start/End Time of instructional activity	Description of Teacher and Students actions during instructional activity	Texts Actively Referred to by Teacher or Students	Reading/Writing Process	Extended	Text Type	Responsibility	Talking About Text - Amount	Talking About Text - Type	Audience

Questions for the teacher:

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

The questions used in these interviews are based, in part, on the work of Boyle-Baise et al. (2009), Donovan and Smolkin (2001), Rock et al. (2006), Shymansky et al. (1991), and Sosniak and Stodolsky (1993).

Questions Asked at Every Interview

1. Tell me about your social studies lesson and teaching today, including what you did in the previous lesson and what you have planned for the next lesson.
2. What were your primary learning goals for students in the lesson I observed today? Why did you select those goals?
3. Did you have any secondary learning goals for students? If so, what were they? Why did you select those goals?
4. What do you have planned for the last lesson of the unit?
5. On a scale of 1-5, with 1 being highly atypical and 5 being very typical of your social studies instruction as a whole, how would you rate today's lesson compared to other social studies lessons you teach. Why?
6. *[Any clarification questions based on observations]*

Additional Questions Asked at First interview

7. Do you use a particular social studies curriculum? If so, what is it called?
   [If the teacher has set curricular materials, ask:]
   i) Whose decision was it to follow this curriculum?
   ii) How closely are you expected to follow the curriculum?
   iii) Are there particular things you tend to change in these lessons from the written curriculum? If so, why?
   [If the teacher doesn't use a set curriculum but rather creates her own, ask:]
   i) What influences your decisions of what to teach and how to teach it during social studies?

Additional Questions Asked at Second interview

8. What influenced how you taught today?
9. Setting aside today's lesson, what does a typical social studies lesson entail in your classroom, and why?
10. What types of resources or materials do you tend to use during social studies lessons, and why?
11. Are there other resources that you would like to use that you think could positively contribute to your social studies teaching? How would you use those materials if you had them?
12. Please describe an ideal, outstanding social studies lesson, either one you can envision or one you have taught.
13. What do you see as barriers to that kind of teaching?
14. What do you see as facilitators of that kind of teaching?

Additional Questions Asked at Third interview

15. *[Show Questionnaire response on how often tend to teach social studies, whether swapping with science units, teaching twice a week, etc., and clarify response as needed.]* Now that you've been through this semester, do you think these estimates accurately reflect how often you taught? Please explain.
16. Who decides how much time is devoted to social studies instruction?
17. *[Show a list of different text types, including the following: informative/explanatory books; informational magazines (e.g., Scholastic News); narrative picture books (stories, folktales, fables, legends); historical fiction; biographies/autobiographies; digital sources (e.g., videos, websites); persuasive texts (e.g., editorials; speeches; advertisements); procedural texts (e.g., directions, how-to books); graphical devices (e.g., captions, tables, timelines, maps); textbooks; student worksheets; primary sources.]* Have you ever had your students read, listen to, or write *[read and point to each text type on the list, one at a time]* during social studies?
    [If teacher says yes, ask:]
    i) Why, and can you give me an example?
    [If teacher says no, ask:]
    ii) Why do you choose not to use this type of text during social studies?
18. *[Show a list of different areas of instruction, including the following: content vocabulary; graphics (e.g., captions, timelines, maps, tables); text features (e.g., table of contents, glossary, bold print); comparing multiple sources; comprehension strategies; text structure; persuasive writing; and informative/explanatory writing.]* For each one of these areas of instruction, I'd like you to tell me whether and why you do or do not teach it during social studies time, as well as provide some examples if you do teach it.
19. Would you like to receive additional professional development in social studies?
    [If teachers responds affirmatively:]
    i) Being as specific as you can, in what areas or aspects of social studies instruction would you like additional professional development?
20. What mode or kind or characteristics of professional development would be most useful?
21. Have you ever participated in professional development, coaching, or coursework in integrating social studies with other subjects? If so, please tell me about it.

APPENDIX C: CODE LIST

Reading/ Writing Process	**Reading:** a majority of students are reading, viewing, or listening to text **Writing:** a majority of students are participating in the writing of text (composing and/or encoding)	RDG WTG
Extended	A minimum of 3 sentences of text on same topic Less than 3 sentences of text on the same topic (phrases, words, letters)	1 0
Texts Actively Referred to (Descriptive)	- Reading Basal	BAS
	-Biography/autobiography	BIO
	- Class Chart (used to recap or guide learning)	CLS
	- Concept Map	CON
	-Leveled Decodable Readers	DCD
	- Vocabulary Definitions	DFN
	- Diagram	DIA
	-Directions (procedural)	DIR
	- Storybook	FNV
	- Graph	GPH
	- Multiple texts being used in group work; differing texts by group	GRP
	- Guided Reading Text	GUD
	-Informative/explanatory trade books or texts of students' making	IET
	- Informational print-outs with follow up short-answer or multiple choice questions	IPO
	- Label	LBL
	- Learning Goal	LRN
	- List (e.g., rules, materials)	LST
	- Personal or Formal Letter	LTR
	- Magazine article	MAG
	- Map/globe	MAP
	- Newsletter	NEW
	- Notes or phrases on whiteboard/paper/Smart Board (e.g., words, directions, phrases)	NTS

APPENDIX C (CONT'D)

	-Newspaper article	NWS
	- Play/script/role play	PLY
	- Poetry/song	POE
	- Power Point Presentation	PPT
	- How to Texts	PRO
	- Photograph	PTO
	- Open ended student response (i.e., free write, student journal)	RRJ
	-Short story (not a storybook)	STR
	- Textbook	TBK
	-Timeline	TML
	- Informational Video	VID
	- Worksheets (short answer, multiple choice)	WBK
	- Web-page/online document/Google search engine	WPG
Text Type for Reading Events	**Storybooks:** **Dramas:** **Poetry:** **Literary Nonfiction:** **Informative/Explanatory Texts about Social Studies:** **Technical:** **-Directions/Procedural:** **-Graphical Devices:** **Digital:** **Unclassified:** (includes miscellaneous class charts, worksheets, notes)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

APPENDIX C (CONT'D)

Text Type for Writing Events	**Arguments/Opinion/Persuasive:** states and supports opinions	10
	Informative/Explanatory: informs and explains information	11
	Narratives: conveys real or imagined experiences	12
	Currently Unclassified: (worksheets, class charts, notes)	13
Responsibility (Reading Event) (code contingent on RDG)	**Teacher-led:** Teacher reads text aloud while students listen	1
	Guided Practice: Teacher and students read text together; teacher coaches and scaffolds students' decisions and contributions.	2
	Collaborative: Students read text together in partners or small groups; teacher may support particular small groups or partners as she circulates	3
	Independent: Students read text independently; may be seated in table groups but the responsibility of reading falls on the individual student	4

APPENDIX C (CONT'D)

Responsibility (Writing Event) (code contingent on WTG)	**Teacher-led:** Teacher writes text while students watch or listen. **Guided Practice:** Teacher and students write text together; teacher coaches and scaffolds students' decisions and contributions. **Collaborative:** Students write text together in partners or small groups; teacher may support particular small groups or partners as she circulates **Independent:** Students write text independently; may be seated in table groups but the responsibility of writing falls on the individual student	1 2 3 4
Audience Contingent on student-composed text	**Teacher:** the only intended audience is the teacher or is unspecified **Classroom-based:** the only intended audience is within the classroom, including other students or a teacher's helper **School-based:** the intended audience is school-based, including the principal or another teacher or classroom **Beyond-school:** the intended audience is beyond the school, such as a local school council or newspaper	TCHR CLSS SCHL BYND

APPENDIX D: CLASSROOM LEVEL DATABASE VARIABLES

- ID:
- School ID:
- District ID:
- TCHREXP = Years Teaching Total
- TCHREXP2 = Years Teaching Second Grade
- EDUC = Education (0=Bachelors; 1=Early Childhood Endorsement; 2=social studies specialization; 3=MA; 4= MA and either social studies specialization or ECE)
- TEAMTEACH = Teaching Organization (0=alternate science/ss lessons; 1=alternate science/ss units; 2=team teach)
- FARL = SES: (0=low-SES; 1=high-SES)
- CURR = Curriculum (1=none provided, 2=Social Studies Alive or Scott Foresman, 3=MC3)
- TLLSNTIME = Total number of minutes across all observations per classroom
- OVRDG = Total number of minutes spent reading across all observations per classroom
- OVNONRDG = Total number of minutes spent not reading text across all observations per classroom
- AVGRDG = Average number of minutes spent reading across all observations per classroom
- AVGNONRDG = Average number of minutes spent not reading across all observations per classroom
- OVWTG = Total number of minutes spent writing across all observations per classroom
- AVGWTG = Average number of minutes spent writing across all observations per classroom
- OVNONWTG = Total number of minutes not writing across all observations per classroom
- AVGWTG = Average number of minutes spent writing across all observations per classroom
- AVGNONWTG = Average number of minutes spent not writing across all observations per classroom
- EXT-RDG = Total number of minutes spent reading extended text
- NONEXT-RDG = Total number of minutes spent reading non-extended text
- AVGEXT-RDG = Average number of minutes spent reading extended text
- AVGNONEXT-RDG = Average number of minutes spent reading non-extended text
- EXT-WTG = Total number of minutes spent writing extended text
- NONEXT- WTG = Total number of minutes spent writing non-extended text
- AVGEXT- WTG = Average number of minutes spent writing extended text

– AVGNONEXT- WTG = Average number of minutes spent writing non-extended text

Responsibility

– OVRESPRDG (1-4) = Total number of minutes spent reading at different levels of responsibility
– AVGRESPRDG (1-4) = Average number of minutes spent reading at different levels of responsibility
– OVWRTRESP (1-4) = Total number of minutes spent writing text at different levels of responsibility
– AVGWRTRESP(1-4) = Average number of minutes spent writing text at different levels of responsibility

Text Types

– RTXTTYPE(1-8) = Total number of minutes reading text type X across all observations per classroom
– AVGRTXTTYPE(1-8) = Average number of minutes reading text type X across all observations per classroom
– WTXTTYPE(10-14) = Total number of minutes writing text type X across all observations per classroom
– AVGWTXTTYPE(10-14) = Average number of minutes writing text type X across all observations per classroom

Audience

– AUD(TCHR, CLSS, SCHL, BYND) = Total number of minutes writing text to differing audiences across all observations per classroom
– AVGAUD(TCHR, CLSS, SCHL, BYND) = Average number of minutes writing text to differing audiences across all observations per classroom

APPENDIX E: CATEGORICAL LIST OF TEXTS READ AND WRITTEN

Read

Stories, Dramas, Poetry

- Trade books: *Ox Cart Man* (T2-1, T10-1; T15-1); *Sam and the Lucky Money* (T8-1; T 14-1); *Everybody Eats Rice* (T10-2); *My Grandmother the Mayor* (T11-3); *If you take a mouse to school* (T14-1); *If you Give a Pig a Pancake* (8-2); *The Wartville Wizard* (T13-2); *Old Henry* (T13-3); *House on Maple Street* (T15-2); *Umps Fwat* (T20-3)
- Big book from reading basal: *Aisha in the Attic* (T14-3);
- Stories written for the social studies curriculum: *Biggy the Elephant* (T13-3)
- Decodable leveled readers (T2-2; T10-2)
- Roles for role play (T6-1)
- Songs: Scarcity lyrics (T7-2); Star Spangled Banner lyrics (T16-3)

Literary Nonfiction

- *A Picture Book of Harriet Tubman* (T16-1)
- Personal narrative about a time student experience scarcity (student-written) (T17-1)

Informative/Explanatory Texts about Social Studies

- Short passages from commercial producer: *Publication* (T 5-1); *Harriet Tubman* (T 16-1)
- Trade books: *The City Mayor* (T11-3)*, We are Citizens* (T15-3); *At Home* (T17-2)
- Informational books written for social studies curriculum: *Our community: The history of X* (T19-2); School worker book (T1-2)
- Newspaper (T11-1)
- Magazines: Scholastic News (T16-1, T16-3); Social Studies Weekly (T8-2)
- Newsletter (T5-1)
- Textbook (T1-3; T3-1; T3-2; T3-3; T4-1, T4-2; T4-3; T5-2; T6-1; T6-2; T6-3; T9-1; T9-2; T9-3)
- Photographs (T2-2; T10-2; T17-2)
- Illustrations (T1-3; T6-3; T15-3)
- Vocabulary definitions (T2-2; 3-2)
- Canned goods ingredients lists (T3-1)
- Decodable leveled readers (T 2-3)
- Observations/drawings of history artifacts (student-written) (T18-2)
- How to have a voice (student-written) (T5-2)
- Class-created lists: Public Service worker charts (T19-1); Unknown words (T5-1); Ingredients (T3-1); Goods (T 14-1)
- Definitions (T2-2; T7-1,2; 8-1; 11-1; 14-1,3; 15-3; 16-3; 17-1, 2; 20-1,2, 3)

Technical Texts

- Directions: How to make the clown game (T1-1; T3-2); How to do activity (T5-2; T7-1)
- Graphical Devices
    - Timelines (T14-3)
    - Maps: fictitious maps (T13-1); state maps (T13-1); nation maps (T19-2) (T16-2); local county map (T19-2); globe (T12-2); student-created maps (T20-1)
    - Graphs (T11-1)
    - Venn Diagrams (T 4-1)
    - Concept Map: Ways to learn about the past (T2-2); Characteristics of a community (T11-1; T15-3);

Digital Sources

- Google images (T12-2; T14-2)
- Videos: School workers (T1-2); Public service workers (T4-2); Book review (T10-1); Trees to paper (T 14-2); Video of students creating timelines on youtube (T14-3); Star Spangled banner video (T16-3); Landforms (T20-1); Video showing primary sources (photos) of school houses from the turn of the century (T18-1); Landform video (T20-1)
- Webpages: Google Images of robin eggs and apple blossoms (T12-2); State information from facts4me.com (printed) (16-2)
- Power points: How to make clown game smart board presentation (T3-2); Economics power point (T12-1); Artifacts/history power point (T15-1); Schoolhouses 100 years ago ppt with many primary sources (T18-1)

Unclassified

- Student-written worksheets (T3-3, T20-1; 4-3; 8-1; 8-2; 13-3; 16-1; 16-3; 17-2; 20-3)
- Learning goals or objectives (T1-1, 2; 3-2, 3)
- Notes (T6-3)
- Questions (T3-2)
- Personal correspondence (T5-2)

WRITTEN

Arguments/Opinion/Persuasive Texts (opinion pieces in which they introduce the topic or book they are writing about, state an opinion, supply reasons that support that opinion, use linking words to connect opinion and reasons, and provide concluding statement or section)

- None

Informative/Explanatory Texts (introduce a topic, use facts and definitions to develop points, and provide a concluding statement or section)

- Expository Books/Texts: Good Citizen book (T15-3); School Worker book (T1-2); How to have a voice in the community (T5-2); Things that come from trees (T14-2); Native American tribes (T9-1, 2)
- Observational Notes on Historical artifacts (T18-2)
- Class Charts (both Permanent and Non-)
    - T-charts: Individual rights vs. common good (T13-3); Businesses and if provides goods/services (7-1); Wants/needs/services/goods (T8-1); Pictures/words from the past (T10-1); Comparison of info text with storybook about mayors (T11-3); Consequences chart (T13-2); Wants/needs chart (T17-1); Schoolhouses today vs. 100 years ago (T18-1)
    - Lists: Ingredients included in canned goods made from plants (T3-1); Topics might discuss with partner to compare between lives (T4-1); Way to have voice (5-2); How to be a good neighbor (6-2); Things to build in a community (6-3); Pros/cons list (T11-1); Goods (T14-1); Needs (T14-1); Things that come from trees (T 14-2); Events from class schoolyear for timeline (T14-3); Changes to landscape in a read aloud (T15-2); Ways to be a good citizen (T15-3); Types of artifacts that give clues about Native American life (T19-2); Unknown words (T5-1)
- Notes: Event for timeline on sticky notes (T14-3); Own solution for story's problem on sticky note (T13-3); Whiteboard recollection of past economics vocabulary (T5-1)
- Graphical Devices
    - Venn diagrams (T2-2; 4-1)
    - Concept maps (T11-1;2)
    - Timelines (T14-3; 15-1; 19-2)
    - Maps (T 9-3; 20-2)
- Procedural
    - Directions (5-2)
- Definitions (T9-2; T14-2)

Narratives

- Response about time students "experienced scarcity" (T17-1)
- Response about how family members talked about something from the past (T2-2)

Unclassified

- Worksheets/workbooks
    - Short answer response: Comparing past/present (T2-1; T17-2); Questions about DCD (T2-3); Making a toy to sell (T3-3); Solutions to community problem (T11-1); Response to Old Henry (T13-3); Economic goods to produce (T20-3); Health Services (T4-3); Community Assessment (T13-1); Where do you live (county, state) assessment practice (T13-2)
    - Draw and label activities: Needs and wants (T8-2); Items in photo from past (T10-2); Three branches of government (T11-3); Product to make and cost (T12-1); Draw how to find a way to a different city (T19-2); Draw landforms

(T20-1) and label others (T20-1, 2); Draw/label natural resources (T20-2); Consumer/producer cards (T7-1)

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MANUSCRIPT TWO: PURPOSEFUL READING AND WRITING IN ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES: THE POTENTIAL OF INTEGRATION

Abstract

Many elementary teachers feel pressured to reduce their social studies instructional time in order to make additional time for reading and writing instruction. Yet eliminating time for social studies instruction limits students' opportunities to build world knowledge that supports their reading comprehension as well as their development as citizens. This article argues for integration of reading and writing to learn within elementary social studies. It presents three integration practices that elementary teachers can use to simultaneously address the Common Core State Standards and the College, Career, and Civic Life Framework for Social Studies State Standards.

Manuscript Two: Purposeful Reading and Writing in Elementary Social Studies: The Potential of Integration

It is well accepted among literacy researchers and practitioners that a reader's prior knowledge influences her reading success (e.g., Best, Floyd, & McNamara, 2008). One important way that children build their prior knowledge is through learning in the subject areas, such as social studies, science, art, health, and music. Yet, when I speak with teachers across the nation—from California to Michigan to Florida—I realize that many elementary teachers in the United States are finding it difficult to justify the time they spend teaching social studies and other subject areas that are not directly tested on high-stakes standardized exams.

Ample studies have documented the steady decline of social studies instruction (and other untested subjects areas) coupled with increased attention to English Language Arts and literacy (e.g., Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2014; Heafner & Fitchett, 2012). One example comes from a study by the Center on Education Policy (2008) that examined changes to instructional time during the five years following the enactment of No Child Left Behind. The researchers concluded that 58% of the 349 districts they surveyed reported an increase in instructional time in English Language Arts averaging 124 additional minutes per week. Contrast this with the 31% of districts who reported a decrease in social studies instructional time averaging 70 fewer minutes each week.

These findings are alarming given what we know about the reading-knowledge relationship (Duke, Halvorsen, & Knight, 2012). According to Duke, Pearson, Strachan, and Billman (2011), the irony of reducing time for social studies (and other subject areas) to make more time for reading instruction "is that the knowledge that students would gain in

more vigorous social studies and science instruction would . . . fuel comprehension development directly and powerfully" (p. 58). Each minute elementary teachers spend investigating new social studies concepts has the potential to enable their young learners to acquire a better understanding of the world and thereby a better understanding of the informational texts they read. Social studies instruction also develops children's civic knowledge base, which supports their development into citizens who can make reasoned decisions, effectively communicate their ideas, and parse out evidence-based claims from opinions while reading. As Pearson and Cervetti (2012) so deftly explained, "today's new knowledge is, quite literally, tomorrow's prior knowledge" which directly fuels students' text comprehension (p. 9). Simply put, we cannot continue to marginalize social studies in elementary classrooms if we desire to support our children's development into successful readers of informational texts on social studies topics later in life.

The Potential of Integration

Integration of literacy and social studies offers elementary educators a way to make time for social studies because integration has the potential to build children's knowledge of important social studies concepts and skills while also addressing literacy learning expectations. There are many connections between literacy and social studies, as evidenced by the overlap in the Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects (CCSS; National Governors Association Center for Best Practices [NGA] & Council of Chief State School Officers [CCSSO], 2010) and the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards (National Council for the Social Studies [NCSS], 2013) (see Table 12). These standards provide an opportunity for elementary teachers looking to integrate purposeful

reading and writing experiences within high-quality social studies instruction. For example, the CCSS (NGA & CCSSO, 2010) expect second graders to understand how to read certain graphical devices common to social studies (RI.2.7) and compare information from two informational sources on the same topic (RI.2.9), both key components of effective elementary social studies instruction according to the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013). The CCSS also require young learners to collaboratively engage in research projects (W.2.7), such as reading a variety of informational sources and maps in order to write informational brochures about the local community for new community members (Halvorsen et al., 2016). Similarly,

critical dimensions of the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013) include reading and evaluating multiple sources (D3.1.K-2) and communicating conclusions orally and through writing (D4.3.K-2).

The Status of Integration

Given the great potential of integration of literacy and social studies, I was surprised to learn that few social studies curricula written for young learners simultaneously support children's progress toward literacy and social studies goals (Brophy & Alleman, 2008). I wondered, what types of reading and writing opportunities do young children tend to have during social studies lessons in the primary-grades? In order learn more, I decided to observe 52 second-grade social studies lessons in 20 classrooms across the state of Michigan (Strachan, 2016). These observations took place in both low- and high-SES districts, including urban and suburban settings, and I focused my attention the types of reading and writing activities taking place during lessons identified by teachers as social studies instruction.

Table 12

Example Connections Between the CCSS and C3 Framework

CCSS	C3 Framework
RI.5.1[10]. Quote accurately from a text when explaining what the text says explicitly and when drawing inferences from the text.	D3.3.3-5[11]. Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources in response to compelling questions.
RI.5.3. Explain the relationships or interactions between two or more individuals, events, ideas, or concepts in a historical, scientific, or technical text based on specific information in the text.	D2.His.14.3-5. Explain probable causes and effects of events and developments.
RI.5.9. Integrate information from several texts on the same topic in order to write or speak about the subject knowledgeably.	D3.3.3-5. Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources in response to compelling questions.
W.5.1 Write opinion pieces on topics or texts, supporting a point of view with reasons and information.	D4.1.3-5. Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources.
W.5.7. Conduct short research projects that use several sources to build knowledge through investigation of different aspects of a topic.	D1.5.3-5. Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration the different opinions people have about how to answer the questions.
SL.5.2. Summarize a written text read aloud or information presented in diverse media and formats, including visually, quantitatively, and orally.	D4.3.3-5. Present a summary of arguments and explanations to others outside the classroom using print and oral technologies and digital technologies

Overall, students and teachers read and wrote a variety of texts during the 2011 minutes of social studies instruction I observed. Yet I also observed many missed opportunities to integrate. For example, although almost half of all the social studies time I observed included some type of reading, more than 75% of that time involved teacher

[10] Individual CCSS Standards are listed by their strand (e.g., reading informational texts; writing; speaking and listening), grade (in this case, grade 5), and number.
[11] C3 Framework standards are listed by the dimension of the inquiry arc (e.g., developing questions and planning inquiries), number, and grade span (in this case, grades 3-5).

read-alouds or teacher-supported reading (e.g., shared reading). Children had little time to try and make sense of challenging text independently or with their peers. Read-alouds of informational texts can contribute positively to children's social studies and literacy learning (Strachan, 2015), yet we would also hope that children could gain experiences reading informational social studies texts on their own in order to build their content literacy and stamina with challenging texts. As another example, although writing activities comprised one-third of all social studies instruction, only two literacy activities involved writing to specific audiences in the school, and no activities involved writing to a specified audience beyond the school. The lack of an authentic audience represents a missed opportunity because we know that consideration of audience when writing positively influences young students' writing quality (Block, 2013). Plus, as previously noted, oral and written communication are important aspects of social studies learning (NCSS, 2013).

Taking Advantage of Missed Opportunities to Integrate

Despite the fact that teachers told me that they had little time to plan for social studies as well as limited support from published curriculum materials, I did observe glimmers of hope during my observations. I observed examples of classroom teachers taking steps to integrate social studies and literacy learning that we, as educators of young children, would be wise to pay attention to should we desire to build our children's civic knowledge and knowledge of the social world and support their reading comprehension. In the following pages, I present three integration suggestions that directly stem from my observations during social studies instruction in these 20 elementary classrooms coupled with my knowledge of synergies between the CCSS and the C3 Framework. I share these suggestions in conjunction with samples of actual classroom practices that I observed in

hopes of providing ideas of small ways to enhance current instruction by making the integration of literacy and social studies more effective.

Suggestion One: Use Children's Questions About the World as a Starting Point for Literacy-Social Studies Integration Projects

Students have just finished reading a short section of the social studies textbook about George Washington Carver, yet the text provided little information about who Carver was beyond that he found multiple uses for peanuts and sweet potatoes. Hands quickly shoot up into the air. "How did he know you could make so many things out of peanuts?" asks Trinh. "Yeah, can you make lots of things out of other plants, too, like green beans?" questions Jamal. Henry chimes in, "Why did George Washington Carver spend so much time figuring out how to use peanuts? Was he a chef?"

Anyone who works with young children knows that they love to ask questions like these, and children's questions provide a useful platform on which to construct integrated literacy-social studies units. The C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013) places asking questions as the first dimension of its inquiry arc, noting that historians and social scientists ask and answer questions to gain new knowledge, and that using questions to frame inquiry is "central to a rich social studies experience" (p. 66). Children's questions also provide one way to set an authentic purpose for reading and writing, something that research tells us is associated with greater growth in literacy learning (Purcell-Gates, Duke, & Martineau, 2007). Instead of reading for the sake of learning to read, children can read to learn about social studies topics of interest, such as the causes of global warming, its effects on the local community, and our responsibility as global citizens to address the problem. Plus, in what Duke and colleagues (2011) referred to as a virtuous cycle, children then improve their

ability to read texts in the future by building their knowledge base of social studies concepts.

So often we see children's propensity to ask questions dwindle in elementary school because the practice is not encouraged in many of the written curriculum materials teachers follow. In the example above, students read about George Washington Carver in the textbook in the following lesson, but they missed out on the opportunity to have their many questions drive further reading. In fact, in the second-grade social studies lessons I observed, I did not ever see students' questions used as the driving force of instruction. There are many possible reasons this was the case, including the pressing need by teachers to address lengthy and often challenging content learning standards. Yet although it can be a balancing act to address the standards while simultaneously centering instruction around children's questions, the effort can be well worth the reward.

To begin, teachers can take a look at their state social studies standards and ask what types of experiences might be useful to explore that will meet these standards and still provide children space to ask their own questions that can drive future reading and writing. With elementary students, it will be helpful to prepare ideas for possible key questions aligned to the standards that can guide children's learning, then give them space to form their own more specific questions. The C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013) distinguishes between these two types of questions to model and teach young children to ask: "compelling questions [that] focus on enduring issues and concerns" on which children can take multiple stances, and "supporting questions [that] focus on descriptions, definitions, and processes of which there is general agreement" (p. 23). For example, some sample compelling questions might include the following: "What does it mean to be a good

citizen?" or "What does it mean to be a hero and why are certain people called heroes but not others?" The supporting questions would then determine the specifics of the curriculum, such as "Who are heroes in our past who we celebrate through holidays? What makes them heroes?"

In second-grade civics and government in the state of Michigan, for example, children need to learn about the local government of their community, yet this topic leaves much open to interpretation by teachers. A teacher might decide to work with children to craft the following compelling question: "What types of services should the local government provide?" Then, if some children are interested in supporting questions about cars, they might choose to research how the government provides transportation services related to cars, such as local roads and highways. Or perhaps other children love the outdoors. They might research the parks and recreation department and learn about the services currently provided (or not) by the local government and determine whether any other services might be added.

Another idea is to provide children with some type of shared experience from which they can construct their own questions. For example, one of the classroom teachers I observed had recently taken a trip to city hall where children were able to meet the mayor, see the room where the city council convened, and take part in a mock council meeting. This trip provided the students an opportunity to be able to raise their own questions about the local government that they could have then explored further through reading, writing, and other learning activities. As another example, perhaps the standards require a teacher to teach about the distribution and production of goods and services. To help students generate questions, she might begin her social studies unit with a walking field

trip to a local business in order to learn more about the business from the employees and owner and perhaps even see the goods or service produced. This would set a motivating context for students to then explore additional questions they have about distribution and production. Teachers might very well be surprised at the authentic and interesting questions children might generate from such experiences that can form a platform for future inquiries in class, such as "Why do we need money to buy things?" "How do they decide how much something costs?" or "How do people figure out whether to buy what the business is selling?"

Suggestion Two: Select and Compare a Variety of Text Types to Address Children's Questions

Ms. Moss[12] *sits at her desk as she discusses her social studies instruction. She explains, "There is almost always reading and writing in every lesson and then probably in about every two lessons there's some kind of hands-on….If they were reading something that was more engaging and at their own level [as opposed to the textbook], I think that would be more authentic….I just don't have any trade books of any kind that go with our social studies. I would love to just throw the textbooks out the window and just use trade books instead….we really just follow the program for the most part."*

Gathering, reading, and evaluating a variety of sources are important aspects of both the CCSS (NGA & CCSSO, 2010) and the C3 Framework (NCSS, 2013); the CCSS standards related to comparing sources focus on analyzing multiple texts on the same topic whereas the C3 Framework focuses this comparison more narrowly on credibility. These might include written texts (e.g., biographies, editorials), oral texts (e.g., interviews), and visual

[12] All names included in this manuscript are pseudonyms.

texts, including those that present information quantitatively (e.g., timelines, graphs). Yet like Ms. Moss, selecting a variety of text types and sources to address children's questions (and help them form new questions in the process!) does not align with the way that many elementary teachers currently integrate reading with social studies, especially those who use a textbook-based curriculum.

Some of the classrooms I observed who did not use a textbook read a variety of text types during social studies. Storybooks were sometimes used as teacher-led read-alouds, such as *Old Henry* (Gammell, 1987), a text about a man with a run-down house that supports discussions of the balance between individual rights (i.e., the right to maintain one's personal property as he or she sees fit) and the common good (i.e., what is safe and healthy for the entire community). Reading aloud texts such as these, according to Alleman and Brophy (2010), helps to personalize abstract and unfamiliar social studies content and make it more concrete to children. Informational text types were also commonplace. Although this most often included a textbook in many classrooms, classrooms that didn't use a textbook instead selected informative/explanatory trade books; magazines; newspapers; and photographs; and well as digital texts (most often in the form of PowerPoint presentations, videos, and Google images); graphical devices such as maps and timelines; and, to a lesser extent, procedural texts such as directions for constructing a clown game board on an assembly line. (See Table 13 for examples of how some of the second-grade teachers I observed included different types of texts during social studies lessons.)

Gathering and reading a variety of sources and text types sets the stage for teachers to help children learn to compare those multiple sources and discuss any differences between them. Although comparison of sources occurred on only two occasions in the 52 lessons that I observed, the CCSS calls upon teachers to help children as young as kindergarteners to begin to compare informational texts and make progress toward Anchor Standard 9: "Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take" (NGA & CCSSO, 2010, p. 10). In social studies, too, comparison of

Table 13

Examples of Different Types of Texts that Can Be Integrated into Social Studies Lessons

Concept map, newspaper article, graph, pros/cons list	Children in this lesson discussed a concept map about "good citizens" they had co-constructed in a previous lesson, then did a shared reading of a newspaper article detailing the community's many complaints about dog barking. This was coupled with a shared reading of a graph that visually documented the average number of dog complaints based on the number of dogs per household (e.g., two complaints for households with one dog). Children worked in small groups to propose solutions to this public issue and then co-constructed a pros/cons list as a class for each solution shared by student groups.
Ingredients labels, textbooks, tables, and lists	Another teacher began her lesson by having children read a portion of the textbook with a partner about different products that use peanuts as an ingredient, along with a table identify food products created by George Washington Carver. They then examined the ingredients lists of different packaged food goods in small groups and concluded the lesson by writing a co-constructed list of ingredients children identified as coming from plants (e.g., aloe).
Interviews, videos, and observation notes	One teacher had interviewed various school staff, including the school nurse and librarian, after school about their job responsibilities. The teacher video-recorded the interviews and then shared the interviews with her class. Children watched the video multiple times, took notes on points of interest, and then transferred what they had learned about each worker's job to small books titled "School Jobs."

multiple sources is an essential dimension of high quality instruction that encourages children to consider the perspectives and potential biases of different sources (NCSS, 2013). Some research suggests that teaching children to compare differences between two texts is challenging even for those students in the upper elementary grades (VanSledright & Frankes, 2000), so this type of instruction will require ample teacher guidance in the early years. As one example, one of the two teachers I observed comparing sources read aloud two texts about Harriet Tubman, a biography and a short informative/explanatory passage with subsequent reading comprehension questions. As she read, she modeled her thinking about how and why the two read-aloud texts might differ with respect to Harriet's age, explaining,

> Hmmmm. This is a little different from what we read. This says she ran away at 25 years old. One thing about slaves is that they didn't have birth certificates so they didn't know exactly how old they were. They might not be sure how old she was.

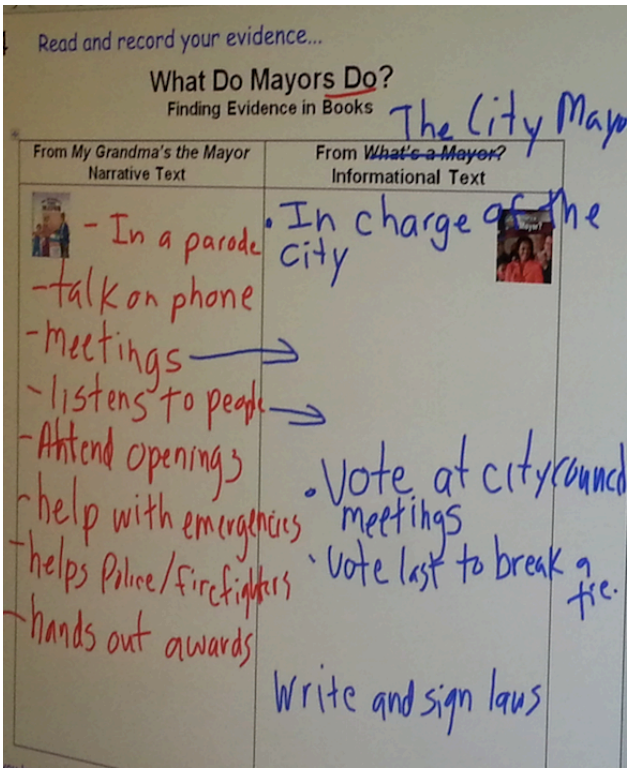
In this example, the teacher drew children's attention to the differences between the texts and provided additional background knowledge that might explain those differences. Other situations might call for analysis of an author's expertise or perspective.

Comparison can occur not only across content, but also across the purpose and structure of different genres. For example, the only other classroom teacher who engaged in comparing multiple sources during my observations read aloud two books, a storybook about having a grandma who was a mayor and an informational trade book that provided information about the responsibilities mayors have. As she read the books aloud, she worked with children to record how the content compared (see Figure 14) while also discussing how the structure of the texts differed and how their retellings would focus on different elements. The following excerpt occurred before the two read-alouds:

T: If you were doing a retell, you would tell what the story was about, the lesson. What comes next?
Children share out simultaneously: Characters, setting, problem, and solution.
T: Now what about the nonfiction book? We are working on retelling what it's…
S: Mainly about.
S: Three important facts.
S: A connection.

Figure 14

Classroom-Constructed Chart Comparing Two Read-Aloud Texts



Note that this teacher used a graphic organizer to support her class in comparing the two sources and text types. Graphic organizers such as t-charts or Venn Diagrams can help young children visualize how the content, format, and purpose of each text compare. When comparing sources, consider teaching children to ask some of the following questions that stem from the CCSS and C3 Framework:

- What are the main ideas of each of these texts and the key supporting details?

- What is the purpose of these texts?
- How are they organized?
- What types of language does the author use?
- Do these texts include any graphs, diagrams, or pictures that give me additional information as a reader?
- Are the authors of these texts trustworthy?
- What types of evidence do they give to support their claims?

By helping children compare different texts, teachers can help them draw on and synthesize what they've read in order to meet their overall unit purpose, such as trying to persuade their town's mayor to make a specific change in the community.

Suggestion Three: Provide Writing Opportunities to Authentic Audiences

The children in Mrs. Zokowski's classroom exude excitement. Their teacher has just explained that they will have the opportunity to work with a partner to produce something they can sell to their fifth-grade buddies. She tells them that they will eventually need to create advertisements for their good so that they can convince others to buy it, but today they will focus on identifying and writing about which product they should make, how the product will work, and who the potential consumers will be (i.e., who might want or need this good). Students move into various places throughout the room and set to work brainstorming and writing with their partners.

As elementary teachers, we know that the CCSS (2010) Anchor Standards for Writing remind us the important role of purpose in writing by setting the expectation that children should be able to "produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience" (p. 18). As noted

earlier, children who engage in writing for real-world purposes make significantly greater writing gains than those who do not (Purcell-Gates, Duke, & Martineau, 2007). In Mrs. Zokowski's classrooms, I observed students having the opportunity to write plans for their potential product, and they would later have the opportunity to write persuasive advertisements to convince their fifth-grade buddies that their product was worth purchasing. Yet writing for a clearly defined purpose was not commonplace during my observations. Instead, the most common writing activity to conclude a lesson or unit involved a worksheet, whether short answer, fill-in-the-blank, or multiple choice. Over 40% of all the minutes spent writing text during my observations involved worksheets, and the percentage is even higher if you only include texts that children wrote without teacher support. Yet worksheets offer little purpose for young children in terms of their writing during social studies. None of my observations included writing of opinions/persuasive texts, and narratives were written on only two occasions. Even informative/explanatory writing, a type of writing you might expect to see in social studies, occurred in only five of the twenty classrooms.

What other options might there be for purposeful writing during social studies? The options are endless! For example, if children have been studying the production of goods moving from a local organic farm to their tables, teachers might invite them to write informative/explanatory brochures about that production and distribution process to post in the community in order to explain why the farm's prices are a bit more expensive than non-organic produce. Or if children have been learning about how life in their community differed 100 years ago as compared to today, their class might decide to write historical

narratives to share with the school library so that others can learn about the history of the community, too.

Audience is directly tied to purpose when writing, and it is another key dimension of writing to consider during social studies. Attention to audience is called for in the CCSS, the C3 Framework, and is supported by research in writing (see Block, 2013 for a good example of research on audience with second graders). In the aforementioned examples, children wrote for the local community members and for the school librarian respectively. In the writing time I observed during social studies, however, students rarely focused on audiences other than the classroom or the teacher. Beyond Mrs. Zokowski, only one other classroom wrote for a school-based audience; these students wrote timelines to teach other children about their school year and then posted them in the school hallway for others to read. Children never wrote specifically for other teachers or administrators, and they never wrote for anyone beyond the school walls. Interestingly, several of the teachers I observed noted that they incorporated other audiences during their typical writing instruction, such as a teacher whose class wrote persuasive posters for the rest of the school attempting to convince other children to clean up their trash at the end of recess (see Figure 15). The fact that I did not observe writing to outside audiences may have been related to the fact that I observed so much writing of social studies worksheets, which aren't likely to have an authentic audience.

Classroom teachers might find that the purpose for social studies writings will most likely determine the genre and audience. For example, Halvorsen and colleagues (2012) described a unit where second graders wanted to improve their local park or public space. Their purpose for writing then led them to decide to write a persuasive multi-media

Figure 15

One Classroom's Persuasive Writing to Other Children in the School

presentation to a local official (e.g., a representative from the community's parks and recreation department or a city council member). Ideally, children should have opportunities to write consistently for beyond-classroom audiences during social studies whenever possible. Communicating conclusions to specified audiences through writing aligns well with the call in the C3 Framework to "take constructive, independent, and collaborative action" in our society following the acquisition of new knowledge from multiple sources (NCSS, 2013, p. 62). Taking informed action allows children to share their knowledge with others in the community in meaningful and purposeful ways. These types of writing projects take more time that quick worksheets, but the efforts are worthwhile when one considers the potentially positive effects on children's writing as well as their social studies understanding. These extended writing projects also provide a way to meet the recommendation by What Works Clearinghouse that children, beginning in first grade,

spend 30 minutes each day practicing and applying their writing skills as a complement to an additional 30 minutes spent on learning a variety of writing strategies (Graham et al., 2012).

When I asked the teachers I observed about integrating specific genres of writing, such as opinion writing, during social studies instruction, many were surprised they had never considered using social studies as an outlet for children's writing. One teacher explained that she typically taught a large persuasive writing unit on pets during reading and language arts, but she has never contemplated doing this type of writing in social studies. Most elementary teachers today are now teaching narrative, informative/explanatory, and opinion or persuasive writing units. Instead of teaching this solely during writing instruction, why not also embed this type of writing during social studies? This type of integration will provide a clear purpose for the writing activity and will also support children's development of social studies dispositions in terms of taking action in the community as an informed citizen.

Conclusion

As a field, we are still learning how to best support children's social studies learning and literacy development. Yet we can be confident that reducing time for social studies in order to make more time for literacy instruction is likely to have long-term negative consequences. I have argued instead for integration in which teachers provide purposeful reading and writing opportunities during social studies in ways that support learning in both domains. This article presented three suggestions for elementary teachers to adapt for their particular teaching context in an attempt to improve their existing integration, as well as real integration examples from second-grade classrooms. By helping children use

compelling and supporting questions as the foundation for inquiry projects, read multiple sources to compare in terms of content and genre, and share newfound knowledge in written texts with a clearly defined purpose and audience, teachers have the potential to help salvage time for social studies, build children's knowledge base, and support children's development as readers, writers, and informed citizens.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX F: PAUSE AND PONDER

- What types of reading and writing activities do I typically plan for during social studies?
- What types of shared experiences might I plan for my class to help them generate questions related to social studies concepts included in the standards?
- What types of texts, purposes for writing, and audiences might facilitate children's social studies learning and simultaneously make room for high quality reading and writing activities?

APPENDIX G: TAKE ACTION!

1. Take time to review the C3 Framework and your state social studies standards in order to better understand the big ideas children are expected to know and to generate different compelling and supporting questions that might be included in instruction?
2. Visit with your school or local librarian to discuss different sources you might use for any upcoming units of study in social studies. Seek out texts written from differing perspectives as well as different genres in order to compare ideas and concepts as well as text purpose and features.
3. Brainstorm a list of possible audiences in the school, local community, and beyond for whom children can purposefully construct their written products and share their learning at the close of the unit.

APPENDIX H: MORE TO EXPLORE

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