

# Interpersonal Understanding in Historical Context

Matthias Martens, Ulrike Hartmann,  
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## EDITORIAL

In the spring of 2008, researchers from the United States and Europe gathered at Göttingen University in Germany for a conference on interpersonal and historical understanding. Two days were filled with papers and discussions about how the fields of social and historical thinking are interrelated with regard to educational issues and challenges. Educational scientists, history educators as well as educational and developmental psychologists exchanged their ideas on history as a school subject and its connections to psychological theories on social cognition and civic engagement. For instance, they discussed what the term historical consciousness may mean to researchers from different disciplines as well as to teachers and students. They also talked about how history can be taught in a way that is meaningful to the lives of students and teachers living in a complex world while being confronted with pieces of history every day.

This book is a synopsis of the papers that were presented at the conference. Before turning to the contributions themselves, we would like to outline the context and the goals of this conference on interpersonal understanding in historical contexts.

The conference was organized by the research group “Successful Matching of School Learning: Understanding and Optimization”, (*Passungsverhältnisse schulischen Lernens: Verstehen und Optimieren*) a graduate program funded by the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG*). The aim of this graduate program is to foster empirically oriented junior scientists in research on school-related teaching and learning. In the context of an interdisciplinary cooperation between researchers from educational science, psychology, and domain related didactics, a number of doctoral projects investigate different aspects of teaching and learning at school. Experimental as well as field oriented approaches are pursued, and quantitative as well as qualitative empirical methods are used for data collection and analysis. All projects are supervised by at least two senior researchers from different disciplines.

One project within the graduate program is called “Levels of competence for historical thinking”. On the grounds of national and international debates on educational standards and standard-based testing for the relevant domains in secondary education, researchers have started to assess students’ competencies in the field of history. This line of research does not merely imply testing students’ knowledge of historical facts and figures, but it follows a broader notion of historical thinking and understanding as outlined by various models of historical competence (e.g., Sauer, 2006; Körber et al., 2007). To date, the collaborators in this project at Göttingen University (also the editors of this book) have mainly focused on two competencies of historical thinking; that of historical perspective taking (Hartmann & Hasselhorn, 2008), and that of dealing with historical accounts (Martens, 2008). In the first sub-project Ulrike Hartmann created a measure to assess the competence of historical perspective taking based on the framework of Selman’s theory on social perspective coordination (Selman, 1980). The second sub-project describes processes of historical understanding as a contribution to a

domain-specific theory of historical learning. It aims to modelling a core competence of historical thinking by a qualitative empirical approach. However, in many discussions, more general questions emerged like *What is historical consciousness?*, *How can we measure sophisticated historical thinking?*, or *How can qualitative and quantitative approaches go together to enhance our understanding of history?*, and they later served as guidelines in the course of planning the conference.

The actual idea for the conference was triggered by two visits to the United States of America that Ulrike Hartmann and Matthias Martens made in 2007. After residing as visiting scholars in Robert L. Selman's group at Harvard University and in Sam Wineburg's group at Stanford University respectively, they felt that it was worth while to introduce the discussions that had started in this context to a broader audience of European researchers. Thus, an international meeting was organized in Germany where the guests from the United States presented their views and items of current research. Also, German researchers from the field of history education highlighted the German perspective as well as issues that need to be discussed in an international context.

As a result, this book comprises work from researchers of very different backgrounds. History educators define their positions, as well as psychologists and educational scientists. Some are more concerned about aspects of teaching history, some focus on what makes students good citizens. Some work with quantitative, some with qualitative data and methods for analyzing them, and some even try to connect both.

The book starts with a paper by Fritz Oser who reflects on school as a place for social and moral development. He reports on approaches to foster students' civic responsibility and mentions hopes and challenges that need to be considered, and that are grounded in his own empirical work. Robert L. Selman then bridges the gap between interpersonal and historical understanding by introducing the program *Facing History and Ourselves*, a curriculum initiative that promotes social responsibility in dealing with morally relevant historical topics such as the Holocaust. He reflects on the evaluation of the Facing History program and describes the process of designing an approach wherein research and practice inform each other to capture students' social and historical understanding.

Avishag Reisman's paper focuses on one core concept of historical thinking. She presents some empirical work on how students learn the principle of contextual causation. She compares students who have read a series of primary documents with students who are exposed to a textbook passage yielding the same information about the Salem witch trials. She also investigates whether these two groups differ in their achievement when confronted with a different historical context.

Subsequently, Michele Barricelli and Michael Sauer deliver an overview of current perspectives in German research on historical understanding. They describe different strands of empirical research focusing historical consciousness as the leading concept in history education in Germany and the construction of historical meaning by empirical research on narrativity. Besides this traditional research field they also mention research on second-order concepts, which originated in an Anglo-American context but is now gaining some importance in current German research on students' competencies.

Carlos Kölbl elaborates on a term that is widely used in the national and international debates on historical understanding – *historical consciousness*. He approaches this concept from different theoretical angles (e.g., genetic structuralism, narrative psychology, and socio-historical psychology) that result in a broad conception of the term historical consciousness. He also presents evidence from different studies targeting historical consciousness and providing insights into children's and adolescents' strategies of making sense of history.

In his reflection on a single case study, Bodo von Borries suggests that investigating a highly complex phenomenon like historical understanding requires handling the high variety and individuality that students provide in their responses. He uses different theoretical strands to demonstrate how they can be applied to the case of a seventeen year-old girl that is asked to think about the time of industrialization and the meaning it has for her own life.

Eventually, Matthias Martens provides an insight into his empirical research with eighth grade students. He approaches students' competence in dealing with historical accounts by analyzing empirical material from group discussions using the documentary method. As one thematic aspect of his empirical findings, his paper illustrates the students' perspective understanding of history. His study is a contribution to current research on competencies in school learning, especially in history education.

Finally, a few words have to be said about one contribution to the conference that is not presented in this book. The chapter on a measure for historical understanding, written by Alan Stoskopf, Angela Bermudez and Ulrike Hartmann had to be taken out from the conference volume since the authors could not reach a consent on details in content and copyright of the chapter with the Facing History and Ourselves organization. As editors, we find this issue extremely regrettable for at least two reasons – the time lag in publishing the book, and, even more important, the loss of presenting a creative theoretical and methodological approach to assess historical thinking to a broader scientific community. We hope that the authors will continue their work of integrating the core concepts of historical evidence, causality, and agency into a measure that can be used for research in this field in the near future.

Following the written summaries of the papers presented in Göttingen in spring 2008, we try to integrate the different strands of research and reflect on intriguing theoretical issues and methodological challenges. Even though this can only be a small selection of the various discussions that evolved during the conference, we are confident that the compilation of theoretical and empirical research will contribute to a richer understanding of teaching and learning history. We hope that students' historical thinking will continue to be investigated as a shared endeavour of educational science, psychology and history education.

*Matthias Martens, Ulrike Hartmann, Michael Sauer,  
and Marcus Hasselhorn*

Göttingen  
September 2009

## EDITORIAL

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# **1. THE JUST COMMUNITY APPROACH TO POLITICAL THINKING: TOWARDS A NEW MODEL OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS**

## 1. INTRODUCTION: THE CIVIC SIDE OF A HOLISTIC CONCEPT

Figure 1 illustrates the culmination point of a so-called Just Community meeting of a school: the voting procedure. This procedure is a political one, and students thereby learn political decision-making, civic customs and civil power distribution. Until today such Just Community processes have only been analyzed in the Kohlberg tradition as to the aspect of justice and morality respectively (Kohlberg, 1985; Power, 1981; Higgins, 1991). For these researchers justice is in the first place a moral dimension (not a political one) that is related to many different contents and different situations.

It is concerned with the distribution of any good under the aspect of neutrality with respect to differences in age, gender, income, health etc. (for each the same, for each according to performances, for each according to needs, see Höffe, 1979 (p. 91-95)). Philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Rawls, Nozick, Habermas, and Höffe have proposed theories containing principles that, if carefully applied, lead to solutions with a more or less well equilibrated balance of justice. In many cases, justice is only seen as a psychological issue: man has conceptions of what is just in a particular situation; he/she has feelings of injustice and show the respective expressions of indignation (see Montada & Kals, 2001).

Still, what happens in a Just Community meeting does not only concern justice, but also political issues, and politicians often do not use moral justifications for creating a just balance, but rather refer to situations of power use, majority vote or equity application (see Rawls, 1992, p. 333). Lawyers claim they are fighting for justice even if they do not accept that the law is connected to morality (see Niggli & Keshelava, 2008).

In this paper I would like to frame the Just Community school program from the point of view of learning politics and political decision-making. In the Just Community, the students, teachers, principals and all the other members of the school build up a parliamentary form of decision making on issues that concern the social climate, the moral behavior, the special programs, the artistic surrounding. We think that a political view of this approach is justified since the core of such a program is the regular assembly that is prepared by representatives from all of the classes and teachers, and because it is accompanied by forms of decision-making



*Figure 1. Voting procedure in the central assembly of a Just Community School  
(from Althof & Stadelmann, in press).*

such as the fairness committee, an institution that helps to bring the decisions of the assembly into action, accompanied by discourses and dilemma discussions within each single classroom, where formal civic education and moral decision making are trained.

## 2. CIVIC COMPETENCES: THE POTENTIAL OF DEMOCRACY

An in-depth program of such a parliamentary form of common decision making in school is ingrained in a number of special concepts, and we subsequently need to find variables for its measurement. As mentioned above, it is not only essential to strive for justice and to develop a moral judgment in general and moral sensitivity to overcome the judgment-action gap, but it is also necessary to develop political thinking, show civic engagement and political participation, exercise political courage, learn from community errors (false decisions), learn about the common sense, learn about ethnocentrism, to prevent far-right views, and to become antiracist. This program is of great importance for society because responsible educational politicians need – for every new generation – to set conditions for learning about democracy, power sharing, and care for others in given social situations and tensions. It is plausible that such an enterprise can be studied or steered by political aptitudes alone; in this case issues like lobbying, voting

procedures, majorities, minorities, power of the community against power of teachers and principals, ideologies and law generation are central. This view is opposed to perceiving the program from a moral point of view only, focusing on moral feelings, moral sensitivities, moral knowledge, moral concepts, moral judgment, domain specificities, justice, care, truthfulness, moral courage, moral commitment and moral motivation. Even a third perspective exists, that is to perceive the program from a social framework view; in this case social climate, pro-social helping and sustaining, social exclusion, social inclusion, racism, prejudice against foreigners or gender or races are important. In practice, these three views go together; the same decision-making process can be seen from each of these points of view at the same time. From a scientific point of view, it is adequate to analyze each of these angles in its own right.

Obviously, our research program dealt with all three views but we will only reflect upon the first view here. However, the separation of each point within the program and the hypothesis stating the orthogonality of these domains contribute to overcoming the knowledge gap with respect to political, moral, and social thoughts and feelings of students.

### 3. CONTRIBUTIONS FROM EXTERNAL SOURCES: IEA-DATA ON POLITICAL COMPETENCES

What do we know with regard to the political respectively civic part of this approach? I will present results from studies that indirectly influenced the Just Community approach, in the sense that we subsequently have a better understanding of children's ways of participating "politically" in this program. I will thus present some results of the

- IEA-Studies 1 and 2 conducted in 2003 and IEA-Study 2009
- Study on political development (2004)

Other studies such as a study on participation (Biedermann & Oser, 2006), a study on standard based political instruction (diagnosis of teacher competences in the vocational fields), a study on ethnos-fundamentalism and demos-centrism, an intervention study on the prevention of right-wing views, and direct evaluation studies of the Just Community model as such will not be considered here (for an overview see Oser et al., 2008).

### 4. FIRST STUDY: IEA STUDY ON POLITICAL CONTENT

The IEA is the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, and in its research framework, Civic Education is dealt with in terms of political education. 29 countries participated in the study, involving 93 882 students aged 14 and 15 years; Switzerland contributed with 4136 students (2350 German speaking, 634 French speaking and 111 Italian speaking). The types of questioning were a) content specific political knowledge, b) Skills for interpretation of civil or political problems (a + b = political understanding), c) political and civic concepts, d) political attitudes, e) political action orientation (in German: Politiknahe Handlungen) (see Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Here some important results: The acceptance of immigrants (see table 1) is low compared to other countries; the positive attitude toward one's own nation is also low (see table 2). Additional results are that the Swiss adolescents (compared to the other 28 countries) did not possess a good political understanding; they refused to accept that the state should interfere with respect to economic problems. However, they showed a high degree of trust in our governmental institutions such as federal and cantonal ministers, in the police and judges, they prefer a social political concept of democracy against the regulation of economics by the state, they were not very interested in political action such as voting or being a party member (see tables 3 and 4), they also mistrusted school participative experiments.

Table 1. Positive attitudes towards immigrants (Haenni Hoti, 2003, p. 105)

Country	M	S.E.		8	10	12
Cyprus	10.9	(0.03)	↗			
Colombia	10.8	(0.04)	↗			
Sweden	10.7	(0.08)	↗			
Greece	10.6	(0.05)	↗			
Poland	10.6	(0.06)	↗			
Hong Kong	10.5	(0.05)	↗			
Chile	10.4	(0.03)	↗			
Norway	10.3	(0.07)	↗			
Portugal	10.3	(0.03)	↗			
USA	10.3	(0.06)	↗			
Romania	10.2	(0.06)				
<b>Mean</b>	<b>10.0</b>					
Australia	10.0	(0.08)				
Belgium (French)	10.0	(0.09)				
Czech Republic	10.0	(0.06)				
Finland	9.8	(0.06)				
Russia	9.8	(0.06)				
Italy	9.8	(0.05)	↗			
Slovak Republic	9.8	(0.05)	↗			
Bulgaria	9.7	(0.1)	↗			
England	9.7	(0.07)	↗			
Estonia	9.7	(0.04)	↗			
Denmark	9.6	(0.05)	↗			
Lithuania	9.6	(0.03)	↗			
Hungary	9.5	(0.05)	↗			
Latvia	9.5	(0.05)	↗			
Slovenia	9.4	(0.05)	↗			
<b>Switzerland</b>	<b>9.4</b>	<b>(0.07)</b>	↗			
Germany	9.2	(0.07)	↗			

↗ = significant above international Mean (p < .05)  
 ↘ = significant below international Mean (p < .05)

—|— = Mean (± 2 SE)



Tab.3: Percentage of the students who will participate in elections in the future (with high probability or always)

Country	Percent	SE
Cyprus	95.08	.49
Slovak Republic	93.17	.64
Denmark	91.04	.67
Hungary	90.92	.71
Poland	87.96	1.19
Portugal	87.52	.76
Norway	87.00	.74
Colombia	86.87	1.26
Finland	86.54	.74
Greece	86.49	.89
Australia	85.40	.97
USA	84.56	.95
Slovenia	83.58	.96
Romania	82.07	1.08
Russia	81.88	.99
Italy	80.37	1.14
England	80.20	1.04
Hong Kong (SAR)	80.19	1.02
Lithuania	79.83	1.10
Sweden	74.73	1.39
Chile	74.19	.96
Latvia	71.41	1.31
Belgium (French)	68.51	2.03
Estonia	68.31	1.14
Germany	67.50	1.08
Czech Republic	64.92	1.70
Bulgaria	58.44	1.94
<b>Switzerland</b>	<b>54.62</b>	<b>1.30</b>

Tab.4: Percentage of the students getting information regarding the election of new government candidates

Country	Percent	SE
Slovak Republic	91.57	.69
Cyprus	90.24	.63
Poland	85.55	.87
Finland	84.79	.88
Colombia	84.32	.98
Portugal	83.57	.92
Chile	83.27	.77
Greece	82.33	.86
Norway	80.26	.85
USA	79.77	1.19
Romania	79.58	1.03
Hungary	78.96	.93
Denmark	77.54	.95
Slovenia	77.26	1.08
Australia	76.23	1.01
Lithuania	75.33	1.08
Czech Republic	74.34	1.55
Italy	74.17	.99
Sweden	73.87	1.39
Germany	73.56	.92
England	70.09	1.03
Latvia	69.02	1.39
Bulgaria	64.71	2.06
Estonia	64.59	1.23
<b>Switzerland</b>	<b>64.24</b>	<b>1.49</b>
Hong Kong (SAR)	63.35	.83
Belgium (French)	61.39	1.63
Russia	48.31	1.30

Note: Estimation of standard error (SE) with Jackknife Procedure (JK2) (Maiello, 2003, p. 150).

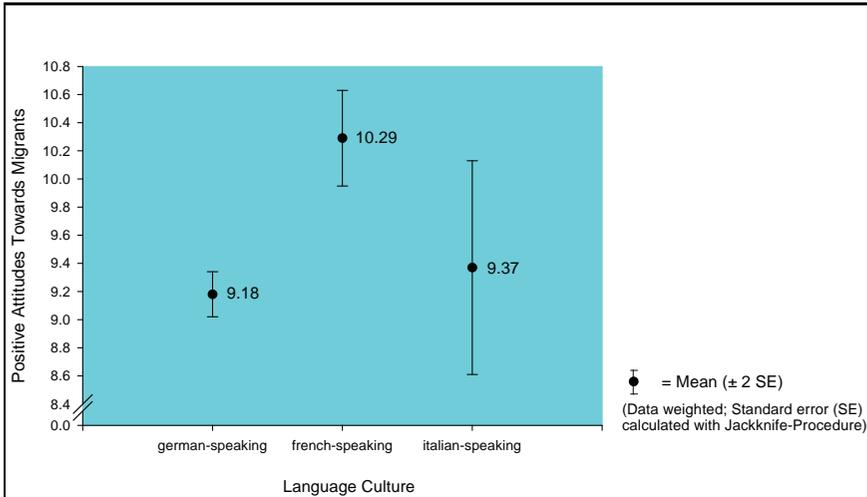


Figure 2. Positive attitudes towards migrants in the three different language cultures of Switzerland (Haenni Hoti, 2003, p. 112).

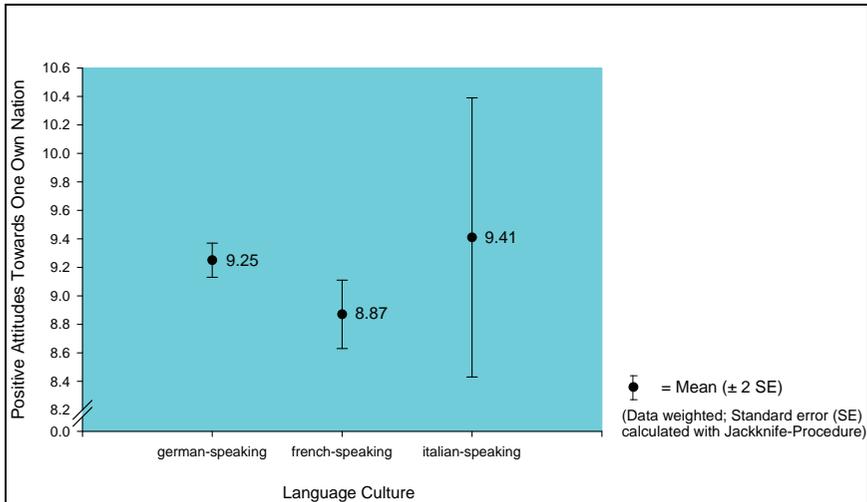


Figure 3. Positive attitudes towards one's own nation in three different cultures of Switzerland (Haenni Hoti, 2003, p. 96).

these results important as regards building up a Just Community school? They provide insights into how Swiss youth see their own democracy in comparison with their peers in other countries. It is not true that these young persons feel they are part of one of the most long-standing democracies in the world. They are not at

all proud of their nation. It is not true that teachers have contributed a lot to making students love what we call a direct democratic system in which the people vote on every important political issue (not only in elections). It is not true that these students feel politically motivated to take part in processes that concern their life, at least as active spectators, if not as players. – All these facts have to be considered if taking up a program that might force students to participate. In one of the Just Community meetings where all of the secondary classes of a school were assembled, one student said to me before the meeting began: “Is it really necessary that we decide again? It takes so much tension and so much responsibility. It would be much easier if you, Dr. Oser, decided; you know everything, and we will do anything you want but we do not want to be responsible. It hurts.” This reflects the study in its full scope.

#### 5. SECOND STUDY: DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES IN CIVIC EDUCATION. QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA

In a second study (see Oser et al., 2005) our interest was less guided by civic knowledge, or political attitudes, concepts and action dispositions, but by the hypothesis that age and development explain a substantial difference with respect to these issues. We questioned 1412 students (52.64 % females, 47.36% males), each student being tested twice (t1 and t2 one year later), on 17 scales partly taken from other authors, partly tested in prior studies (number of items 154). I refrain here from presenting all the necessary information about the scales and present the raw version only. The scales were: 1. political heteronomy, 2. orientation toward democracy, 3. political abuse of power, 4. political common sense, 5. belief in a just world, 6. anarchy, 7. national pride on collective goods, 8. national pride on social performances, 9. national pride on roots, and 10. national pride on the traditional hospitality, 11. national pride on common success, 12. ethnocentrism1: Pride on ancestors, 13. ethnocentrism2: Pride on superiority, 14. acceptance of foreigners, 15. moral indignation, 16. feeling guilty for social deprivation, 17. Machiavellism (the scales containing 2 to 7 items, Cronbachs alpha .771 until .583, with one exception). The comprehensive report states that in most cases these scales are sufficiently reliable to compare some of the most important issues. One finding seems necessary to report here, namely a central difference between ages, grouped in two year phases. For instance, figure 4 shows differences with respect to political heteronomy (example item: a state can only function well if everyone thinks in the same way).

There is a typical age x value effect insofar as with older age, relatively more diversity is accepted. – A second example is demos-orientation. As figure 5 shows, older persons are more connected to democratic decision making and general democratic attitude (item example: In a democracy the power is not important but the sharing of responsibility). As these two figures illustrate, the greater changes always occur after the age of fifteen. Similar effects can be observed for belief in a just world, political knowledge, rejection of anarchy, ethnos and centrisism. We did not find gender differences, but of course differences with respect to knowledge

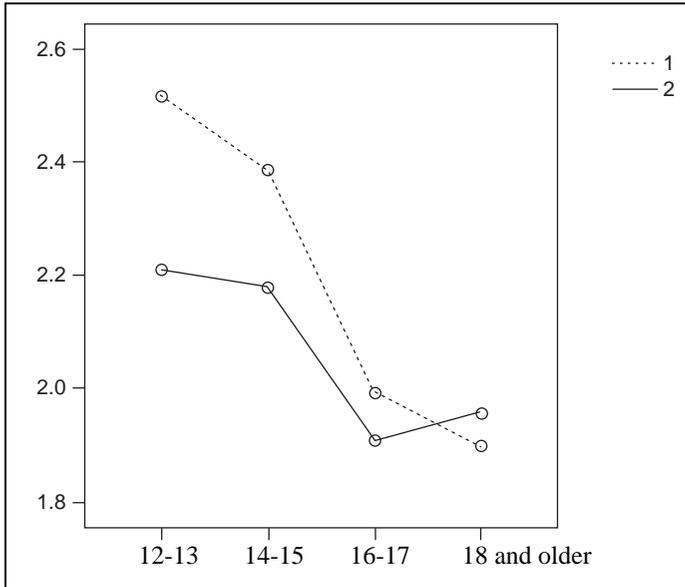


Figure 4. Political heteronomy: Interaction age x measurement ( $F(3,981)=29.90$ ;  $p < .001$ ) between  $t1$  and  $t2$  not sig. (from Oser et al., 2005).

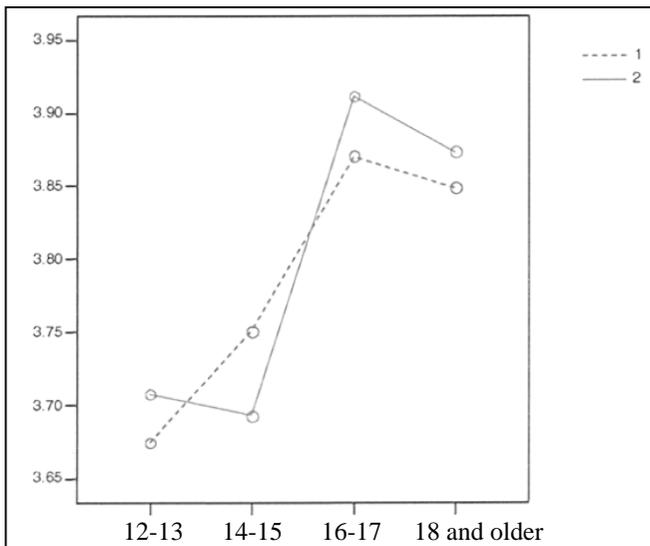


Figure 5. Demos-orientation over 4 age groups ( $F(3,973)=5.52$ ;  $p < .005$ ) ( $t1 - t2$  effect not sig.) (from Oser et al., 2005).

(see figure 6), school type, social status, nationality (foreigners versus natives) and some effects with respect to t1 and t 2.

The age trend in figure 6 is not trivial as it indicates that learning has taken place and that transformations have occurred.

In a first reaction we felt happy about differences but afterwards we asked ourselves about the nature of the differences and we had no answers. How do different age groups think, judge and feel about political issues and what does it mean if we say that older youths are less egocentric and represent more political heteronomy?

In order to be able to answer these questions we undertook a qualitative study asking students of different ages about their reaction to typical civic stories. We thus had the idea that the political judgment is a cognitive psychological mother structure, similar to the one of morality but substantially orthogonal to it, with its own ontogenetic path and its own hierarchy of thinking and value patterns of its own. We assumed that elements of a political judgment must contain issues such as a) consensual power versus personal force, b) public versus private, c) constitutional versus procedural law genesis, d) demos orientation versus ethnos orientation, e) political freedom versus political constraints, f) political equality versus hierarchy of status, and similar. A political judgment thus must include a) a concrete statement about why and how public power is used according to certain criteria, independent of one's own political attitudes (belonging to a political party), b) a statement that balances this power use with distributive freedom, and c) a statement as to how we deal with law and the control of societal issues.

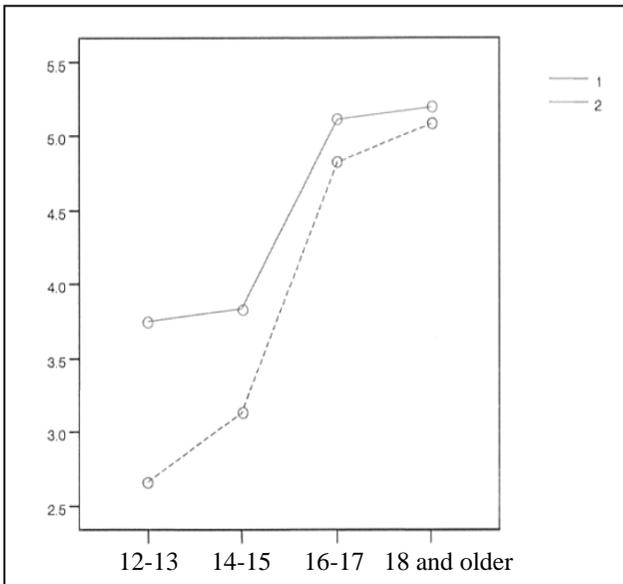


Figure 6. Political knowledge over four age groups ( $F=3,934$ ;  $= 100.67$ ;  $p < .001$ ) and between t1 and t2 ( $3,934=18.58$ ;  $p = .001$ ) (from Oser et al., 2005).

In order to elicit such statements from persons of different age groups we created political dilemmas, stories, in which precise issues such as power use, freedom, law or democracy are at stake. These dilemmas are different from ethical stories dealing with questions of justice, care and truthfulness or questions of moral virtue. An example is the story of a city mayor:

*In the city of X the public officers have not received their salaries for two months. Not the financial crisis is the problem, there rather seems to be a slackness in the administration. The public officers have tried everything to get their dues. They have now had enough and they stop working- they go on strike and hold a demonstration in the city centre. But in this country, demonstrations organised by public officers are forbidden. The mayor is compelled to comply with the law. He calls upon the police but he is not sure whether he should give the order to stop the demonstration. If he does not pass the order, he will not comply with the law. If he does pass the order, the public officers will be even more dissatisfied.*

The story contains issues of power-use, of subordination, of economic tensions (state economy), but also of political mistakes, of law and of the right to protest against the law if human considerations are at stake. The questions and the respective dimensions are displayed in table 5.

In order to construct a kind of developmental framework we analyzed the interview data grouping them according to age and complexity. Here are five small examples, small parts of each total interview, focusing on the concept of “power” in particular. We interviewed persons aged seven years, 14, 19 and a 40 year old person.

*Table 5. Interview questions and the respective dimensions following the story of the city mayor*

<b>Questions:</b>	<b>Dimensions:</b>
Shall he give the order? Why? Why not? What shall he do? Why?	Political acts Judgement in general
Does the mayor have the right to resolve this problem? Why? Why not?	Power
Who has the right to resolve this problem? Why? Why not?	Laws and remission
Some people say that this is only a problem for the public officers and not for the public. Are they right? Why? Why not?	Public
Can we say, that the mayor can decide the way he likes to? Why? Why not? Can we say that the public officers can proceed the way they want? Why? Why not?	Freedom versus equality
There are people saying that the mayor shall decide against the law and to explain it to the public. Do you have the same opinion? Why? Why not? There are people saying that the public officers don't have to strike. Do you have the same opinion? Why? Why not?	Political courage (Additional criteria)

Table 6. Interview parts. Four age groups

A. Interview with a seven-year old boy
<p><b><i>Has the mayor the right to resolve this problem?</i></b></p> <p>Yes.</p> <p><b><i>Why?</i></b></p> <p>Because he could “tell” (order) the people to work again.</p> <p><b><i>And why can he resolve the problem in which he tells them that they have to work again?</i></b></p> <p>Because he can give them money, then they will work again.</p>
B. Interview with a 14 year old teenager
<p><b><i>What do you think, shall the mayor order the police to stop the strike or should he not pass the order?</i></b></p> <p>It depends. If he passes the order to stop the strike and is friendly, yes.</p> <p>It also depends on whether he would like to be re-elected next year.</p> <p><b><i>Why?</i></b></p> <p>Yes, because of the sympathy from the people.</p>
C. Interview with a young man aged 19
<p><b><i>Should the mayor give the order to stop the strike or not?</i></b></p> <p>Yes, he should.</p> <p><b><i>Why?</i></b></p> <p>Because he has to respect the law. He is obligated to do so by law.</p> <p><b><i>But if he gives this order, his employees will be even more dissatisfied.</i></b></p> <p>Yes, this is regrettable, but in this situation you have to abide by the law.</p>
D. Interview with a 40 year old woman
<p><b><i>Does the mayor have to give the order to terminate the strike or not?</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Why?</i></b></p> <p>It is his duty to do so. He must inform the administration people that he has heard their voice. He should promise them that he will initiate processes in order to solve the problem in different ways (discussions, inaugurations of commissions, analysis of the situation, proposition of solutions etc.).</p> <p><b><i>Do you believe that the mayor has the power to solve the problem?</i></b></p> <p>Which problem? The one of not paying salaries or the one of the organised strike? He has no power to solve the problem of the salaries alone. But he has the power to ask representatives of each party at a round table.</p>

The four examples in table 6 show extraordinary differences; they may be due to general social-cognitive development but we rather believe that until now nobody has paid close attention to the aforementioned fundamental mother structure of political reasoning.

If we analyse these interviews as in a first triage, grouping them according to age and complexity we see that for the seven-year old power is absolute. The mayor can give orders for this and that to be done, he is entitled to do so, he can also give money to the public officers as he is the authority.

For the 14-year old, this is different; the mayor can give orders, but a friendly attitude is needed, and he needs to be friendly if he wishes to be re-elected. Here the power is mediated by the good social climate, and it is not power in itself. We could also say that this subject thinks that the mayor must be soft in his style of communication, but firm with respect to the issue at stake. – The 19-year old sees political decision making as regulated by the system. The mayor must do what the system allows him to do and even if the consequences are negative, he has no choice; he must abide by the law. – For the 40-year old woman power is networked into a whole cluster of communications. She sees that problems are intertwined and also that power is related to a coordination of many interests. She does not see the direct top down decision process, but an organized problem solving process in which power is distributed to different agents.

These examples are only small elements sketching thinking on one issue only, namely political power, with respect to age differences. By contrast to the study of Adelson et al. (1969) who asked subjects aged 11 to 18 about the necessary justice of laws regarding people on an isolated island we do not ask about morality but about political force. Knowing that different elements relate to different structures, knowing that there is a domain specificity in the sense that different issues lead to different developmental *décalages*, knowing about content specificities, we tried to draft a developmental scale that can only be tentative. In addition, this scale only allows for the issue of political power. We have labelled the scale “stages of political consciousness”.

**Stage 1** (approx. 5-9 years old): Power is related to individual persons. It is understood according to tasks and situations. It depends on the level of importance of a person. The degree of freedom of a person correlates with the power the person possesses. Laws must be stressed only if the person in power wishes so. The political public sphere lies outside of home. It is connected with politicians who hold certain offices. Human beings are not equal, e.g. a mayor of a city has more rights than other people.

**Stage 2** (approx. 9-12 years): Power is related to the entitlement to act. The one who is elected is entitled. He/she has power. Freedom has nothing to do with power: it is personal freedom. The public sphere covers everything that is not private. All human beings are equal but there are exceptions. The function of laws is not to accept people acting wrongly.

**Stage 3** (approx. 13-16 years): Power has to do with influence on groups and parties. It is related to the right of a majority. Democracy means compromise

and consensus. The public sphere covers all that is concerned with large groups and parties. Freedom is related to constraints. If someone disobeys the law or acts against the community, freedom is reduced. Equality depends on majorities or minorities.

**Stage 4** (approx. 18 and older): To understand power means to see it as a condition for the guaranty of the political discourse and the political decisions. Taking position is different from being a party member. The belief that democracy generates the better argument is prevalent. Freedom means a controlled debate with legal means. All the public is political, and policy is public in itself. There is a distinction between public and personal power. Equality is given through the freedom to produce laws.

**Stage 5** (adults): Power is a means of enforcing justice and freedom. It is limited by the constraints of political discourse and the procedure for the realisation of discourse. The public sphere must protect intimacy on the one hand and legitimise the decision making of politicians on the other. Democracy is seen as a guarantee for equality. The political consensus is subordinated to the search for truth. Freedom on the one hand and quality on the other are mutually interdependent conditions

(see our first presentation of this scale, Oser, 2000).

With respect to the Just Community approach it becomes clear that age and content are necessary to understand that students do not judge political issues in the same way as moral ones; the political issue has its own thinking pattern. We must also accept that students use different thinking structures with respect to different domains (domain specificity) and different content matter (segmentation), often even simultaneously. Thus

- It is only justified to mix morality and politics if both domains are developed separately.
- It is only justified to mix morality and politics if both domains are used consciously as points of reference for solving a real problem.
- It can only be justified to mix domains if the framing effect is taken into consideration.

We can thus imagine that a student is on stage 4 with respect to political thinking, on stage 2 with respect to moral judgment, on stage 3 regarding social development etc. We can furthermore assume that within one mother structure, the judgment of the same student can be segmented with respect to different content. Nevertheless it is important, if we create a Just Community setting, that we understand the complexity and the sensitivity of students' civic thinking and commitment.

## 6. EVALUATION STUDY: TEACHERS' POWER TRANSMISSION INTO THE COMMUNITY

Each school introducing the Just Community approach is obliged to accept an evaluation procedure that reports changes with respect to the intended political, moral and social goals. Leaving aside the moral and social dimensions here, we see

that the political behavior of students within a Just Community approach is quite intensive, and we will find some principles guiding this part of the model with its situated learning concept for democracy. Students thus develop a sense of: 1. power, 2. conflict resolution, 3. anarchy versus structure, 4. errors, 5. consensus, 6. law creation and 7. distributed political courage as democratic legitimacy. In a Just Community school, however, this can only happen if some of the decision-making power is transferred from one person, the principal, to the school as a whole. This is not quite precise as the teachers also relinquish some of their power and submit themselves to the community as a whole. In other schools – even in an excellent one – principals and teachers form a power oligarchy. In Just Communities, with respect to rules and general behavior, the decision-making power is handed to the community so that nobody can know in advance what the argumentation process will be like and what kind of decision will be made. Thus control is lost, control is given up.

Many teachers see this partial transfer of social power and coercion – from a leader or several adults to the children – as school anarchy: the rationality of power hierarchy seems to be destroyed. In the teachers' minds, the risk that the school community decides arbitrarily becomes the risk to the entire functioning of the school; they fear that there will be no more rules, no more legitimate power structures, no more given mandate for any professional task. The freedom of power is seen as a ghost that makes the school uncontrollable and that all persons concerned will be subjected to a symptomatically learned helplessness. In our first handbook on moral education, W. Althof and I (Oser & Althof, 1992) mention trust-in-advance and positive impertinence that is required from teachers, principals and parents in this situation. More than ever the main reasons for such fears are - according to many discussions and interviews with teachers - that they do not believe in the trustworthiness of adolescents and children, they do not presuppose that adolescents and children are able to search for a balance between claims of justice, care, and truthfulness, and that they will take responsibilities and keep their promises. Furthermore, teachers often do not believe that children can put themselves into someone else's position and hence their egocentric thinking leads to an overwhelming partial decision making, despite empirical results showing the opposite is true: adolescents and children are able to take responsibilities and to take on different roles.

Here, we discover a substantial difference between those teachers participating in a Just Community program and non-participating teachers. Non-participation leads to the belief that the power of those who are physically strongest, of gangs or of bullying groups takes over. Anarchy is accordingly uncontrollable and such uncontrolled power is abused, and it destroys all social structures. The ones who participate experience something else: teachers involved in this model, even if they thus have much more work to do, felt less strain, less burned out and less symptoms of meaninglessness than a control group from a "normal" school. They state that they participate more in school decisions, that they feel better supported by colleagues, that they felt more accepted by the principal. They report more trust of the students towards teachers, more trust of students towards students, more positive relationships between groups, and less formal authority (see Althof, 2003).

They have discovered that the students do not destroy the social structure as such but are searching for a different and more direct and transparent one. The Child Development Project, a similar school program, (Watson, Battistich, & Solomon, 1997) yields a higher pro-social feeling, pro-social commitment, a rule enforcing behaviour and a better dispute culture.

Taken all this into consideration, we might conclude that a school which is guided by a strong top down leadership, might – if we have a look at the hidden interaction and a hidden curriculum – be much more anarchical than the Just Community schools. For in the latter, the interaction of students is discussed, evaluated and judged. Authority is transformed into a helping and supporting force, an authority that gives instead of taking, an authority of trust instead of mistrust. These dimensions that are yielded by the Just Community approach are conditions for learning democracy, learning civics and developing political competence.

What goes beyond this transformative view of power for learning democracy? A central justification cluster of the Just Community approach can also be pro-social behavior oriented. In psychology and especially social psychology “pro-social behavior” is often treated as orientated towards helping or giving (e.g., Youniss & Yates, 1997; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1979; Staub, 1984; Bar-Tal, 1976; Pakaslahti et al., 2002). Sometimes it is called “supererogatory” acting (Nunner-Winkler, 1997), which means acting that goes beyond what is necessary and socially demanded. We intuitively find that this form of “getting involved” is somehow too individualistic and not related to a common civil society but we have to admit that it is a special part of society. Pro-social behavior is the result of civic inclusiveness and thus the driving force for a Just Community school from the point of view of teachers and parents.

## 7. CONCLUSION

In this paper I tried to demonstrate that the school program called Just Community approach has not yet been analyzed as to its civic and political framework. In order to do so we must go beyond such a program and see how students conceive themselves politically, how they think politically and how they include civic knowledge into their lives. From an evaluative point of view we must show how a school is able to transform formal power into informal entitlement to trust in advance and how such belief and expectation structures can indeed change the thinking, the judgment and the attitude of students towards politics and towards democracy in general. Evidently, more of these processes have to be measured from a quality point of view.

But this not the only consequence. Since the Just Community approach refers only to one single model for civic education and democracy learning we would like – in the sense of educational recommendations – postulate that schools in general should become committed to civic education, this with respect to civic knowledge, democratic attachment and political engagement. Western societies have seen in a short historical moment like the last century so much dictatorship, so much Holocaust, so much unjust killing and destroying that it is not understandable why educational politicians do not place civic education – within history education or as

contemporary struggle for political justice in itself – on the first place of any educational goals. If we do not give civics priority we tend to fall into the danger of accepting the normal as normally given and not as a century long struggle for a better world.

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## **2. CAN ADOLESCENTS LEARN TO CREATE ETHICAL RELATIONSHIPS FOR THEMSELVES IN THE FUTURE BY REFLECTING ON ETHICAL VIOLATIONS FACED BY OTHERS IN THE PAST?**

*“Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home – so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person: the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.”*

– Eleanor Roosevelt at the United Nations, March 27, 1958

Where, after all, does new knowledge about the nature of adolescent social development begin? Not only in universities or laboratories alone, but in small places like the class rooms and corridors of schools as well. And unless this new knowledge has meaning there, it has little meaning anywhere. The challenge, however, to research and practice is to make this captured knowledge usable. One way this can be done is to embed scientific methods in the very heart of educational practice. We present such a case in historical perspective here.

### **PART 1: A FERTILE CONTEXT FOR EMPIRICAL RESEARCH AND THE GROWTH OF DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY: THE CASE OF FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES**

In the winter of 2004, *Facing History and Ourselves*' was in a position to pursue a significant opportunity<sup>1</sup>. For more than thirty years, this international non-profit educational organization has had a mission of “engaging students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism and prejudice, as well as equity and social justice, in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry. By studying the development of the Holocaust and other examples of

genocide, students make the essential connections between history and the moral choices they confront in their own lives”<sup>2</sup>. The organization has provided professional development to more than 26,000 teachers who in turn reach almost two million adolescent students yearly around the world. From its inception, the organization had prioritized building knowledge through evaluation and basic research on how teachers and their students develop their capacities to connect history to their current moral and civic concerns and commitments (e.g. Strom, 1980; Lieberman, 1981; Bardige, 1983; Strom, Sleeper and Johnson, 1992; Brabeck, et al., 1994; Fine, 1995; Schultz, Barr and Selman, 2001). The opportunity was to seek support from a foundation to build the organization’s capacity to impact teachers and students worldwide by conducting the next generation of rigorous evaluation research, theory building, and staff development.

Facing History is an interdisciplinary approach to promoting historical understanding, ethical awareness, and informed civic engagement. Typically, educational approaches focus on only one or, at most, two of these academic and ethical skills and values. Facing History submitted to the foundation a proposal that articulated a vision for research that would match the complexity of the program’s interdisciplinary approach and reflect its impact on students through the professional development of teachers. The foundation’s priority was that the research would influence educational policy by demonstrating that the educational strategies employed by Facing History have significant, long-lasting and meaningful impacts on young people. The design should produce “bullet proof results” – in other words, findings that would be unassailable on the basis of being biased or because there were other plausible explanations for the outcomes unrelated to the program, leaving the specifics of the research design that would meet these expectations to the organization and its external partners.

In that context, Facing History and Ourselves formed a Steering Committee that included Lead Investigator, Dennis Barr, a member of the organization’s leadership team, Terry Tollefson, and university-based scholar, Robert Selman to help the organization make some choices. The steering committee recommended to the Facing History leadership in the spring of 2005 that an experimental study would indeed be worthwhile, but it would not be easy. It would require a large investment of program staff time, qualitative and exploratory quantitative research would be needed to make meaning of the outcomes, and the overall project would need to be consistent with the strategic goals of the organization.

In addition to the tough decision about whether or not to implement an experimental study, the steering committee needed to confront other critical questions. Would the research focus on teachers or students or both? If both, would the teacher and student research be integrated within one single study? What outcomes would be measured for teachers and students? This last question was particularly challenging. The committee alerted the organization that the field of “evidence based practice,” or, reciprocally, “experimental evaluation research,” had not yielded much evidence that purportedly innovative educational approaches in other areas, such as math and literacy, had demonstrated much that was positive in the way of student impact. We felt it would be even more challenging to do so in the case of Facing History, and a significant part of the challenge would be to pay a good deal of attention to good measurement.

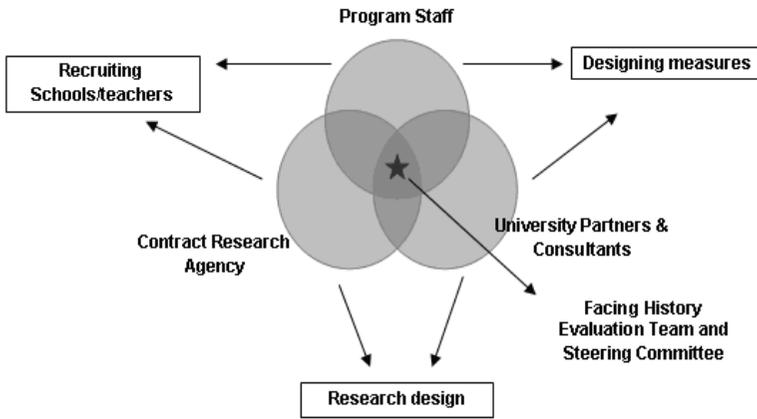
We cautioned that we needed to move somewhat deliberately at the beginning of the project. We could not assume that the program's effects on students could be measured using existing measurement tools, but might also require an investment in constructing measures that could prove more adequate or appropriate to the task (Boulay, Moss, & Gamse, 2006; Light, Singer, & Willett, 1990; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). It also meant that Facing History would need to form partnerships with researchers with expertise in the design and implementation of experimental evaluation studies, as well as with scholars with theoretical knowledge in the fields of civic, historical, and moral development, who could guide the research and measurement construction in their respective fields of study.<sup>3</sup>

Since the Facing History approach focuses on teacher professional development, we and Facing History decided to include a teacher outcome component within the study (Facing History and Ourselves, 2009; Lowenstein, 2006; Lowenstein, Selman, Barr, & Adalbjarnardottir, 2007). The student aspect of the evaluation targeted whether students who received the Facing History "treatment" were better prepared to make more sophisticated *historical analyses*, to engage in deeper *ethical awareness/reflection*, and to express more informed *civic attitudes and beliefs*. But, we asked then, and we ask now, better than whom and what?

We decided it would be worthwhile first to investigate what each of these components of informed engagement in society might look like in adolescence and to review the state of the art of measurement in each of these domains before we attempted to measure them (Damon, Menon, & Bronc, 2003; Flanagan et al., 2007; Flanagan & Tucker, 1999; Haste, 2005; Nakkula & Toshalis, 2006; Oser, F., Scarlett, G. & Bucher, A. 2006; Selman, 1980; Youniss, Bales, Christmas-Best, Diversi, McLaughlin, & Silbereisen, 2002; Youniss, in press). For the design component, after a yearlong search, Facing History formed a partnership with an applied social science research agency that had the infrastructure, skills and objectivity to formulate and carry out the experimental aspect of the research.

As 2005 drew to a close, we had forged an unusual, if not unique, partnership of three types of entities ready to undertake this project (as depicted in Figure 1): the Facing History program staff would provide professional development to teachers so that they could implement the intervention in their classrooms; the "Co-Investigators," would spearhead the construction of the assessment measures and support the overall research<sup>4</sup>; and a team from Abt Associates<sup>5</sup> would lead in the design of the experimental study, and would independently collect, and analyze quantitative data from samples in each of the eight cities of the United States where Facing History had regional program offices<sup>6</sup>. The Facing History Lead Investigator would direct the overall project, coordinating and integrating the work of each of these three entities with support from the Steering Committee.

Throughout 2006, and into 2007, Abt Associates would also work with the Facing History program staff to identify and recruit a range of high schools, public and private, urban and suburban, that previously had not implemented the Facing History approach and were willing to be randomly assigned to treatment and control (the "compared to whom", identified "as is") conditions. According to Abt Associates (and our scientific advisory board), this was the study design that could best produce evaluation results that would meet the criteria described earlier.



*Figure 1. Evaluation Partnership Model: Evaluation Design and Recruitments of Subjects.*

Although these stringent parameters were intended to guarantee that any positive impact the program had, relative to conventional models (“as is”) of historical, moral, and civic education, could be confidently attributed to the causal effects of the program alone (both statistically significant and educationally meaningful, of course), this kind of applied educational research presented a number of difficulties that might elude the untrained eye. For instance, the attrition of students is a challenge because students tend to move around a lot, especially in low income urban environments, and in some schools, drop out rates are relatively high after ninth or tenth grade. Moreover, unlike clinical trials of experimental but potentially life saving medical procedures, it is hard in high schools to get students and parents to give informed consent, logistically if for no other reason.<sup>7</sup>

With respect to teachers and their classrooms, teachers also move around a lot, from school to school, or out of teaching (teacher retention rates are comparatively low among professions). It is difficult also to monitor effectively the fidelity (compliance and competence) of the delivery of a program, especially if it is not highly prescriptive, and as we will see, the Facing History approach does not tilt toward the prescriptive. Add to this that in this study the teacher sample is limited to those teachers using the content and pedagogical methods for the first time (for a modest period of six weeks on average) and these teachers are not likely to have fully developed the knowledge and pedagogical skills to use this innovative pedagogical approach well for several years, as claimed by the Facing History organization. Issues of fidelity, therefore, exposed the evaluation to additional risk because in an experimental study one cannot eliminate from the analysis the students of those teachers who do not fully implement the program.

Moreover, Facing History's approach is both meaning-centered, that is, oriented to balancing "facticity" learning with "critical reflection", and "non-prescriptive", that is, the program seeks to provide teachers with the autonomy and agency to make their own pedagogical and curricular choices (Barr, 2005; Fine, 1992; Tollefson, Barr, & Strom, 2004). These conditions made a large-scale randomized quantitative evaluation even more difficult to implement.<sup>8</sup> As a uniquely rich and complex program, some might even say the intended impact the Facing History program has on students' character, historical learning, or civic engagement cannot be measured by conventional quantitative methods at all.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, we launched the Facing History and Ourselves National Professional Development and (Experimental) Evaluation Project (NPDEP) in the spring of 2006.

As each of the three partner groups within the project team went to work on their respective tasks, they also remained working in very close alignment with each other. For example, the Facing History organization agreed to Abt Associates' recommendation to assemble a pool of high schools, naïve to the Facing History approach, whose principals, department heads, and ninth and tenth grade History and English teachers expressed a willingness to participate in the study. The Directors of the Facing History regional offices and their staffs<sup>10</sup> combed their local school districts for these schools, who, in turn, agreed to participate in a "random assignment" lottery whereby those teachers in schools selected for the experimental group would receive teacher professional development in the first year of the evaluation (2007–2008) and those assigned to the comparison schools would receive it in the second year (2008–2009). It took our team another year to recruit the sample and to finalize the measures. The actual experimental study of outcomes for students, with measures in place, officially was launched during the 2007–2008 academic year<sup>11</sup> (Boulay, McCormick, & Kliorys., 2009). The measurement team would work with both the program team and the design team to develop measures that aligned with both the program's pedagogy themes and the fields' latest thinking on conceptual definitions in each domain, and that would not be biased in favor of teachers and students who had participated in Facing History classes.

As Facing History waited and watched for the data to be collected and analysed by Abt Associates, like all innovative programs that must call upon the courage to allow their approach to be subjected to experimental evaluation, it, and we, needed to face the uncertainty of three fundamental experimental design questions (Light et al., 1990). First, would the program be implemented with fidelity, providing the "treatment" the way it was designed to be taught? It was crucial that the teachers participate as fully as possible in the Facing History professional development, and that they be thorough in their classroom application of what they had learned during the summer professional development seminar, and the follow up available across the school year.

Second, would the design of the assessment and data collection be carried out with rigor and thoroughness? Would the data be fully collected, the sample representative, and enough students and teachers willing to participate to make the scientific evidence powerful enough to be more compelling? Not only did we need a sample large enough to meet the quantitative requirements necessary to demonstrate statistically significant differences, but we also were seeking differences

between experimental and control (“as is”) groups of such a magnitude that they would be able to indicate that the “effect-size” of the program’s impact was, well, sizable.

Finally, would the assessment measures capture significant student (and teacher) outcomes that do occur, and do so in a fair and objective way that could be replicated as necessary in other/future studies? Would the measures used be adequately designed to assess or detect whether the Facing History approach actually has the impacts on teachers and students that fulfill the goals of its mission statement “to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry” (Barr, 2005)? And, of course, could they do so without being biased towards (or against) the program?

This was a tall order and an ambitious agenda. While each of these questions provided fascinating opportunities and challenges for research, it is this last question, that of the measures’ design and potential effectiveness, that we turn to here. Unfortunately, measurement construction and selection in experimental educational evaluation studies are often the items to which the least attention is paid, addressed as almost an afterthought to all the other design issues. However, for an experimental evaluation of a complex program one cannot simply “shop” for measures “off the shelf.” Measures must be carefully shaped in great detail to align with not only the program’s theory of what it wants to change, but also with what scholars and educators in the field think about what, how, and why civics, ethics, and history education should be taught in high schools. This requires a careful analysis of an intervention’s “theory of change;” it’s assumptions about what it is trying to influence and how it attempts to do so.

Figure 2 provides an impressionistic portrait of Facing History’s “scope and sequence” (Strom, 1994). The sequence is the order the thematic material in each of its historical case studies is presented, beginning with a focus on general (pan-historical) issues of psychosocial identity and belonging (both individual and cultural) as fundamental to human behavior, moving next to the introduction of specific historical material and information (the history “back then”), and then back to issues of individual choices and participation of the self in society (both then and now).<sup>12</sup> Yet, teachers have the autonomy to choose among recommended

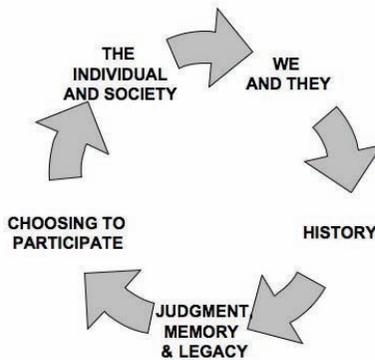


Figure 2. Components of Facing History Pedagogical Scope and Sequence.

resources, documents, artifacts, video and other curricular material to promote the ethical, historical, and civic learning of their students as they progress through the sequence (Strom, 1994).

Figure 3 portrays another aspect of this educational theory, a description of the “pedagogical inputs” that the approach attempts to weave into each step in the sequence. By pedagogical inputs – intellectual rigor, emotional engagement and ethical reflection – we are speaking about classroom processes between and among students and teachers. Consider how the following exercise might be guided by this pedagogical framework as portrayed in Figures 2 and 3: In a tenth grade world history class, students read the speech Eleanor Roosevelt gave in 1958 to the United Nations as part of the “Judgment, Legacy and Memory” component in the sequence of one Facing History case study, *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior* (Strom, 1994; Tollefson et al., 2004). How will classroom discussion and assignments *rigorously* focus on the particular importance of that speech in its time and place? For instance, what impact did it have on the emerging field of international human rights (historical causality), did the document actually suggest Roosevelt’s full support for the United Nations (historical evidence), and what did Roosevelt hope her speech would accomplish during this period of the “cold war” (historical agency)?

In addition to developing analytic skills to interpret historical information, will students see the relevance of Roosevelt’s words to their own personal lives, such as their response to bullying at recess, or to racist graffiti scrawled on the auditorium walls (ethical awareness/ reflection)? Will students within the class even agree with each other on the importance of achieving universal human rights, or how to achieve a deeper understanding of them in classroom conversation (emotional

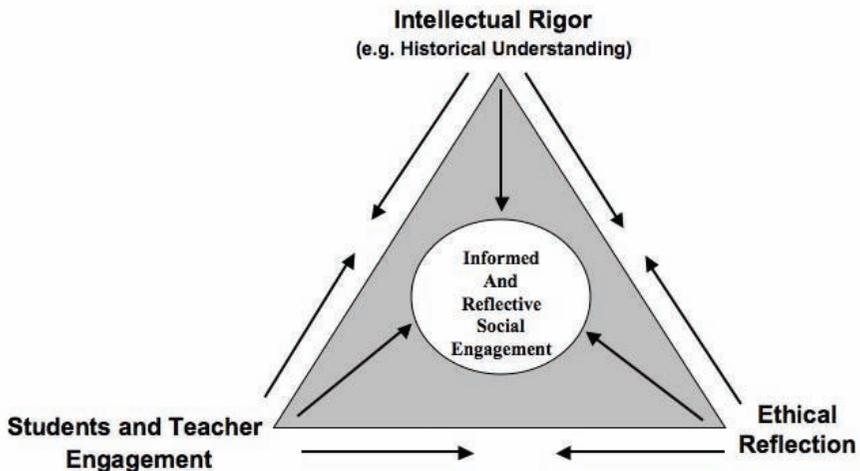


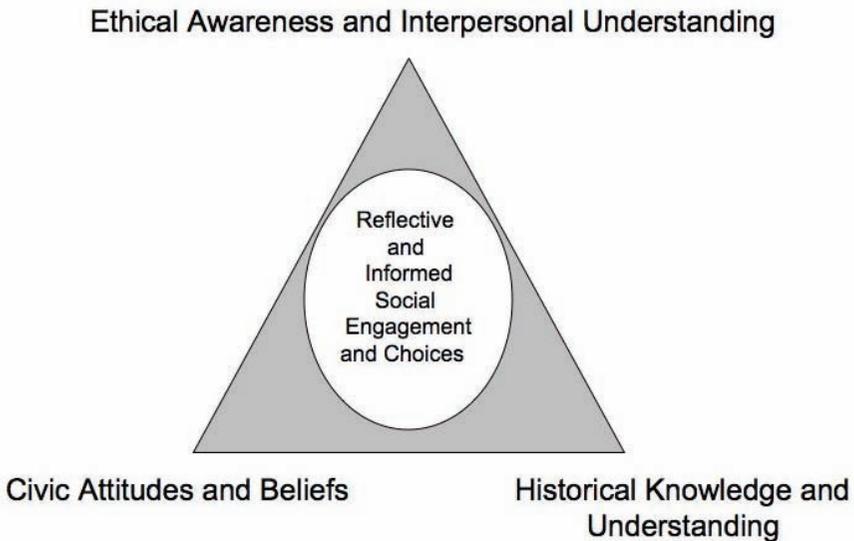
Figure 3. Pedagogical Inputs in Secondary Humanities Education.

engagement)? Do the students and the teacher agree on what the important actions are that *they* might need to take to achieve these ends (reciprocal engagement and teacher growth)?

Each of these framing pedagogical questions speaks to the way one of the three “inputs” in Figure 3 might be implemented in classrooms to promote a more richly informed sense of social and civic engagement – both for the student and teacher. Significant to the program’s theory of change, each of the three primary inputs, while distinguishable, relates to and blends in with the other two (Lowenstein et al., 2007).

One does not teach history with intellectual rigor apart from the promotion of ethical reflection on personal relations, Facing History asserts (but other history education scholars may disagree, see, for example, Carretero & Voss, 1994). Nor does one engage with emotional responses to the case study in debate and deliberation about historical or current events, e.g., the processes of partisanship, apart from promoting the students’ sensitivity to historical consciousness and cultural narratives, their own, and others’.

So, in order to assess the program’s impact on students, we decided our working definition of “informed social engagement” required us to assess student outputs that align not only with each of the three connected pedagogical inputs in Figure 3, but also with each other. Figure 4, the student outcome measures, provides a preliminary sketch of what we think the primary content components of “informed social engagement” would be, both for the Facing History organization as a practice and for ourselves as researchers. Furthermore, as with the pedagogical



*Figure 4. Students Outcomes: Ethical Awareness and Interpersonal Understanding.*

inputs, no disciplinary “output” component is measured as completely distinct or apart from the other two. Given the pedagogical and developmental theories of adolescence upon which this program is based, and the history of research on the program (Facing History and Ourselves, 2009), it is not surprising that our emphasis is on these three content areas. As we turn from this important broader educational context to the deep structure of the research embedded in it, we hope it will become equally clear why we place a strong emphasis upon the term “informed.”

PART 2: A JOURNEY BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN SEARCH OF A  
MEASURE TO STUDY ADOLESCENTS’ INTERPERSONAL AND ETHICAL  
AWARENESS: THE DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGISTS’ TALE

In the context of the just told story about our current evaluation project, we now consider the history of our search for key methods of measurement which can serve as the foundation for this ongoing evaluation. Eventually, these measures will be used to consider whether (and how) changes in student outcomes occur<sup>13</sup>. But for now, we revisit the earlier story of how the foundations for these measures were constructed. Our entry point into this tale will be the ethical awareness portal in Figure 4, the assessment of the depth and breadth of students’ ethical awareness in a “place (very) close to home” – in high schools.

Figure 5 is a map that locates the “primary problem space” worked by each of the three partners in the evaluation. In this sense, each point on the triangle (P, B, and A) can be seen as a representation of the “primary home” of each of those three partners working together on the NPDEP project (Facing History and Ourselves, 2009). In addition, we use this figure in a temporal sense, as a map to illustrate the pilgrimage of the Co-Investigators – those researchers, theorists, developmental psychologists, analysts of teaching and learning, scholars of civic, moral, and history education – who have banded together in fellowship with the Facing History organization in the quest not only for a better way to measure “informed social engagement”, but still more fundamentally, as a better way to describe how the constructs that comprise “informed social engagement” might begin to be defined, and how they might look during adolescence.

Questions about psychological meaning and measurement in the civic, ethical, and historical understanding domains are far from new; many earlier scientific explorers, some biased toward building measures based on empirical data (Loevinger, 1966; 1978), others toward deducing their epistemological structure through psychologically oriented developmental theory (Kohlberg, 1979), have travelled on parts of this well worn path that lay before us. Most recently, our sojourn has been along that leg of the triangle that runs between the Practice (here of Facing History) and the Basic Research (here of the development of social and ethical awareness) points. We have been commuting along the “practice inspired road” for more than 15 years (Selman, 2003), with inspiration coming from a view of what new knowledge developmental science can obtain when it does not confine itself solely to laboratories, but is freely able to roam, embedding itself for a time in the unruly heart of practice.

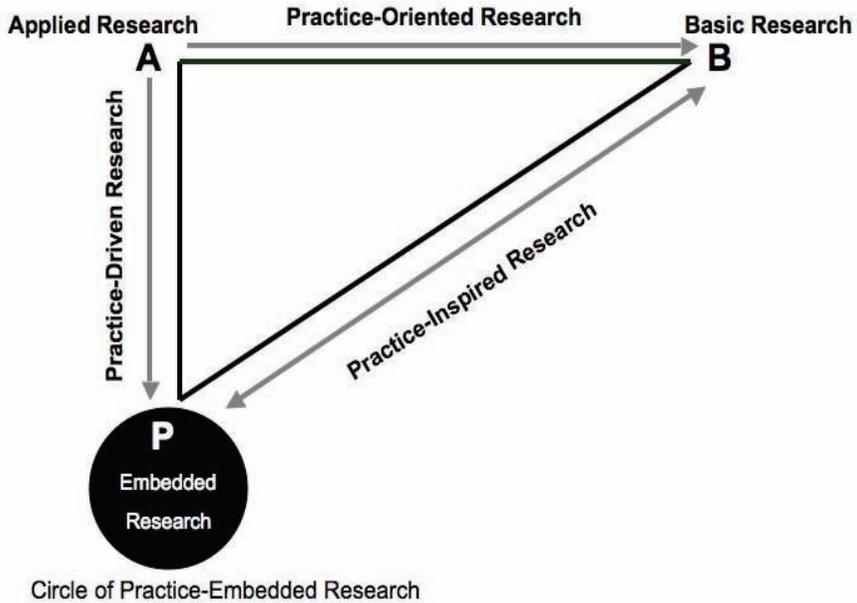


Figure 5. (Re)conceptualization Practice-Based Research.

*A. Inclusion and Exclusion During Adolescence: The Search for a Research Method to Study The Difficult Social Choices They Face:*

This current pilgrimage began circa 1996, just as we were completing an earlier evaluation of the Facing History program (Schultz, Barr, & Selman, 2001). For a period of three years in the mid-nineteen nineties, we held regular and intense conversations with the Facing History leadership team about authentic assessments. Together, we focused on how to authentically capture in measurement what might be the most powerful and positive ingredients that catalyze the learning for both teachers and students that we believed occurred through the Facing History approach (i.e. what best captured the organization’s “theory of change”).

One important ingredient, we speculated, was teacher-facilitated emotionally engaging classroom conversation about the connection between current personal, social and societal events and those historical times when the consequences of collective attempts to destroy (or transform, we suppose, if one tries to maintain neutrality<sup>14</sup>) civil society, and to show courage, care and compassion, have been well documented. In particular, our focus was on understanding the factors that influenced the choices made by ordinary people – as well as organized political authorities during past times to exclude, ostracize or even exterminate disenfranchised groups, those with different “social identities” – in connection to the factors that influence the kinds

of choices students make in their own social relationships and see in contemporary society. To answer these questions we needed a method to collect data on adolescent ethical choices in school contexts, a theory to shape the method, and a measurement strategy to interpret the data (Selman & Adalbjarnardottir, 2000).

Together, practitioners and researchers looked back to a moment in the early spring of 1992, when several high school students from the Chicago area in the United States who had participated in a *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior* unit that year, had been invited to speak and be in conversation with Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Prize winning essayist and Holocaust survivor, before an audience of more than 700 people attending a Facing History event in Chicago. Among those students was Eve Shalen, a ninth grader whose eloquent essay on her personal experience with the painful experience of exclusion and the powerful lure of being included and accepted, of belonging, captured the hearts, the souls, and the imagination of the audience in attendance. Here is what she told that audience:

*My eighth grade consisted of 28 students most of whom knew each other from the age of five or six. Although we grew up together, we still had class outcasts. From second grade on, a small elite group spent a large portion of their time harassing two or three of the others. I was one of those two or three, though I don't know why... The harassment was subtle. It came in the form of muffled giggles when I talked, and rolled eyes when I turned around. If I was out in the playground and approached a group of people, they often fell silent. Sometimes someone would not see me coming and I would catch the tail end of a joke at my expense.*

*There was another girl in our class who was perhaps even more rejected than I. One day during lunch... one of the popular girls in the class came up to me to show me something she said I wouldn't want to miss. We walked to a corner of the playground where a group of three or four sat. One of them read aloud from a small book, which I was told was the girl's diary. I sat down and, laughing till my sides hurt, heard my voice finally blend with the others.*

An essay by Eve Shalen, a ninth grade student (*Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior Resource Book*, 1994, p. 29–30).

As researchers, we too were inspired by the authenticity and commonality of Eve's essay. Understanding the origins and evolution of the "we" versus "they" mentality across the span of human history and the breadth of human cultures is essential to understanding the devolution and violations of human rights. The destructive force of binary thought is most obvious in historical periods of genocide, in times when great waves of immigration roil a society, or in periods of the emergence of powerful religious and ethnic factions battle one another within a culture. It is also obvious in small places – elementary and high schools, for instance. This is where we choose to study ethical awareness, the product of deep reflection, as it aligned with the program pedagogy.

Using the Eve Shalen story as a base, we chose to focus our analysis on various ways in which the dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion play out among adolescents in schools: in the classrooms and corridors as well as during the recess and lunch time periods. In 1996, as we were designing our measures for this earlier evaluation study, Eve's story inspired us, not only because of its heightened salience during adolescence, but also because of its ubiquity across all strata of society: In-groups and their exclusions occur in families, neighborhoods, communities, and cultures, and palpably in schools. However, the translation of a critical incident such as the one faced by Eve into a vehicle for the construction of a method useful for basic and applied research would take twelve more years.

We began by asking two research questions with respect to peer group inclusion and exclusion in general, and in classrooms and schools in particular that we hoped empirical evidence could illuminate:

- 1) How do adolescents understand the difficult civic, social and ethical choices they commonly confront in situations of interpersonal/group/inter-group conflict, including the explicit strategies they can consider in making their choices, and the conscious justifications they can imagine for their actions? (And, what are the implications for classroom practices?)
- 2) What can systematic attention to the variations in the classroom and school context, climate, and culture in which these choices are made contribute to our understanding of how adolescents' interpret the social behavior of others and reflect on their own? (And, what are the implications for classroom practices?)

For example, when adolescents find themselves as potential bystanders of, resisters to, or participants, in an act of exclusion in school, what are the factors that connect – or disconnect – what they (and we) claim they would do and what they actually might do under similar circumstances?<sup>15</sup> This information could provide teachers with insights in using their educational material with greater proficiency. Laboratory research on how adolescents think about peer-oriented social and ethical choices could return dividends in the form of theoretical knowledge directly usable to the practice (B to P) (Figure 5). And it could provide knowledge useful to application, to the assessment of programs with a theory of education whose aim is to inform youth on how to deal with the kind of issue Eve faced (B to A to P). In any case, it takes time to implement this two pronged research agenda carefully, to analyze the data scientifically, and to make peer-reviewed scientific findings available more broadly and in usable forms.

We decided to use Eve's essay first as part of our ongoing theory and practice inspired research on social and ethical development during adolescence (Barr, 2005; Feigenberg, Steel King, Barr, & Selman, 2008). For this research, we jointly developed an interview protocol with Facing History staff<sup>16</sup> – the *In-Group Assessment* – with protocol of questions about the events described by Eve that were based on the integration of developmental psychology theory (awareness of perspectives taken into account, points of view considered and coordinated) and on Facing History pedagogy (the focus on understanding the roles of victim,

bystander, perpetrator, resistor in history and ourselves), and we collected data on the responses from a wide range of middle and high school students (Barr, 2005; Selman, 2003). Two sets of questions yielded particularly illuminating results.

The first set of questions asked students to respond as a witness or as a bystander to the social exclusion, and the second asked students to suggest the choices available to Eve when she was invited to join the perpetrators. Students were asked to write about the choices they perceived as available for negotiating the situation, and to justify what they considered the best choice, with the term “best” undefined. This dual-prompt approach allowed us to compare strategies and justifications across each of the two vantage points.

We coded the interviews in two iterative steps. First, we classified the *strategies* the participants in our study felt were available to Eve in dealing with the choices she faced in both roles, observer and invitee, and second, we coded the *justifications* participants gave for the strategies they said they thought *they* would personally use in each role. After a good deal of experimentation, we found we could reliably code for four types of strategies (active upstanding/ resisting, passive upstanding, joining the perpetrators or perpetuating the exclusion, or by-standing), and for four orientations that covered most of the justification they gave for the strategies chosen.

We characterized these four interpretative orientations as: personal safety-oriented, where actions are guided by self-defence or protection; rule-oriented, where actions are guided by an adherence to conventions and order; respect- and care-oriented, where actions are aimed towards the cultivation of equitable treatment or where actions are directed towards harmonious social relationships, and what we called a pro-social transformative orientation. This “fourth” orientation most saliently focuses on the justifications for actions that promote or ensure the sustainability of better group circumstances in the current context and extending into the future. One might even call this a “rights-oriented orientation”, an orientation that moves toward expressing a belief in the “universality of human rights”, at the same time taking into account the particular or contextually based matters of respect, care, safety, and rules, i.e., each of the other three orientations.

*B. Toward a Theoretical Analysis: “When searching for essential truths, there is no need to rush”:*

How often, then, did the adolescents in our study express each of these choices (types of strategies) and (orientations to) their justifications for them? Some findings in our studies were intriguing. As witnesses, many adolescents recommended active resistance to the in-group perpetrators. When asked to consider what they would do if given the opportunity to participate, however, there was a major shift away from upstanding. With respect to gender, more male respondents opted to join in mocking the excluded student, and more females tended to withdraw to a bystander status when in the position to join the in group. These gender differences are aligned with research in the field (Christiansen & Evans, 2005; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996;

Seals & Young, 2003). Yet, it did surprise us to some degree that by the ninth grade, the strategies for choices offered or their justifications as adolescents espoused them did not vary along the usual or traditional demographics lines, either by social class or by grade level.<sup>17</sup>

When we compared the justification orientations expressed across the different schools our participants attended, however, the analysis revealed striking, and unexpected, results. We were surprised to find there were some schools where students were, on average, more likely to choose defending the victim, as opposed to remaining uninvolved. While in all schools this was still a minority stance, there were also clear school-level differences in the number of students who made choices based on socially transforming justifications. We were not only surprised; we also were caught “off guard.” We had not thought to collect any data on what was going on in those schools that could shed light on the observed differences in students’ choices.

So, to illuminate these (quantitative) findings, led us to rely on some qualitative data we did collect: let us consider the (qualitative) differences, both in strategy and in justification, of two girls from very different backgrounds who were interviewed in greater depth about Eve’s situation, and their own: Ann, an upper middle class ninth grader in a school located within a resource rich community, and Danielle, a good student in the eleventh grade who lives in a low income community with high crime rates and weapons inspections at the school’s entrance.<sup>18</sup>

Ann suggests a choice we code as an up-stand strategy (“tell [the bullies] what they were doing was wrong”) while Danielle recommends a mix of by-stand and perpetuation/perpetrate (“you got to do what’s best for yourself, join in if that’s what you have to do”) as the way to deal with exclusion. Ann’s justified her choice with a response we interpreted as a Pro-social Transformational orientation (“if enough people are willing to do something right about a problem, the problem would not exist anymore”) and Danielle relied on a Safety justification (“The most important thing is to protect yourself. You know how girls are, bitchy, and in this community you gotta know how to deal with them.”). Using the four types of strategies and four orientations as a guide to the interpretation of the difference between these two girls’ responses raises several theoretical questions for us about how to assess the ethical awareness component of informed social engagement as well as its connection to theories of social, developmental, and cultural psychology (Coll & Garcia, 1995; LaRusso & Selman, 2003; Moos & Trickett, 1974; Serpell, 2002).

Do these responses provide evidence that Danielle and Ann differ in their ability to understand the different kinds of strategies or justifications in our analytic framework? Not really. Because the prosocial/transformational accounts tend to emerge in children’s repertoire of expressed justifications later than the others chronologically speaking, around age 13 normatively (Selman, 2003), we may initially be prone to use that correlation to interpret the transformational justification used by Ann as more “developed.” However, it is important to consider that Ann, or more specifically, Ann’s response, is embedded within a social context that most likely promotes and supports, or at least does not present explicit or obvious hurdles to, the tendency to expressing a sense of self empowerment and social transformation. Since it is likely her primary day-to-day

concern may not necessarily be her own psychological or physical safety (as it very well may be for Danielle), her justification could just as well imply that she has the privilege, perhaps as much as or even more than simply the courage (or even the wisdom) to incorporate these concerns into the consideration of how social situations might be made different (transformed). In other words, Ann's use of a transformational justification can just as legitimately be interpreted as an indicator (or expression) of the supportive context in which she lives as of her own social awareness. The same may be true for Danielle's responses.

In other words, by early adolescence, but probably not much before this age, developmentally speaking, students have "developed" the competencies to understand each kind of social strategy and each type of justification in our analysis (see also Flanagan & Tucker, 1999; Kohlberg, 1979; Martin, Sokol, & Elfers, 2008; Selman, 2003; Selman & Adalbjarnardottir, 2000). Sometimes they (and we) will want to orient to safety and other times to the promotion of social change as the basis of action, while sometimes we (and they) will think following rules is preferable, and sometimes focusing on ongoing relationships is the most caring option. There likely may be times where all these motivations may emerge or be in play simultaneously. Students' capacities to sort out these "terms of engagement" needs to be sorted out in the context they express them. However, this is not the end of Eve's story.

As Eve reflected back in concluding her essay,

*Looking back, I wonder how I could have participated in mocking this girl when I knew perfectly well what it felt like to be mocked myself. I would like to say that if I were in that situation today I would react differently, but I can't honestly be sure. Often being accepted by others is more satisfying than being accepted by oneself, even though the satisfaction does not last. Too often our actions are determined by the moment."*

*(Facing History and Ourselves, 1994).*

This reflective, yet sobering, comment is more than just rationalization or mere social reasoning. Eve's conclusion suggests an important type of critical social and ethical reflection that goes beyond the plane of the four types of justifications we most commonly found in our research. Our interpretation of Eve's final comments is that she has expressed the capacity to look back in time so as to look forward. In that sense she takes both self and social awareness into account. Her words both differentiate and integrate Danielle's cynicism and Ann's idealism respectively, into a kind of healthy skepticism. This is the classical hallmark of a developmental capacity (Werner, 1948): Eve's response exemplifies the important depth of critical social and ethical awareness adolescents are capable of, but do not often achieve. In effect, Eve demonstrates the capacity to contextualize (get on top of) a wide range of strategies and justifications, and that comment points us to the level of informed social engagement toward which we and our students must strive as fundamental to the purposes of education.

From both a causal and a practical perspective, however, we need to ask, was it Facing History that promoted this type of informed awareness in Eve (or gave her the language and opportunity to express it), or was she already primed to be critically reflective by dint of her temperament and personal background? The answer is probably “both” and our assessment must be able to take both adolescents’ achieved competencies and their interpretations of social relationships into account. But by asking questions such as this, we allow ourselves to face some basic issues that are highly pertinent to the program’s evaluation and others like it.

First, this analysis suggests that how one understands, let alone justifies, one’s own social actions requires an awareness of the range of social strategies and justification that can be imagined. It is this capacity to *imagine* choices, based both in one’s cognitive development and in one’s interpretation of the social context, which brings about developmental advances in the capacity to coordinate social perspectives. Martin et al. (2008) in a recent theoretical paper aptly describes this development as an aspect of “meta-reflective sociality,” the capacity to reflect on the range of strategic social opportunities and their justifications in context. This competence is both conceptual and motivational; that is what makes it imaginative.

Second, this theoretical framework, derived in part from our empirical findings, suggests that to translate our method and analysis of adolescents’ choices into measures useful for the assessment of a program such as Facing History, it needs to be conceived not only as a developmental measure of increasing social-cognitive complexity (i.e., as if it primarily, or only, assessed students’ skills at generating strategies and justifications) but also/simultaneously as a measure of the increased psychological capacity to *imagine* all the possible ways for being *engaged* in society, for instance by being an upstander in a particular situation, and a bystander in others. And, somehow, it also must be a measure that can indicate the degree to which a student values upstanding while at the same time they understand the forces that prevent or promote it. That is, it should be seen as a measure of informed social engagement, the willingness to engage and imagine (pro-social transforming) possibilities in an informed way that is built in part on the student’s developing reflective self awareness and in part on the student’s perceptions and interpretations of the social world, theirs now and those of others in the past (Selman, 2008).

This is what it should do. But, there is also something this measure should not be expected to do. A measure based on this theoretical framework should not take on the added obligation to claim to assess, or even predict, whether the *conduct* of students who take Facing History, or a program with similar goals, will be different from those who do not, at least not in the short run.<sup>19</sup> It needs to be understood to be a measure of how well *informed* adolescents are that there are different possible reasons or justifications for the range of social, civic, and ethical choices they make, and how the particular context and culture they are in will influence those choices and their justification (Selman, 2008). Its connection to social action or to ethical conduct is not as a predictor but as a comparison. The fundamental (basic) question in need of study is not whether people do what they say they will; we know they

often do not. From a theoretical perspective the question is this: With development, when are social thought and action in alignment with one another and when are they not, and why!

### PART 3: MOVING DOWN THE “PRACTICE ORIENTED ROAD”: LOOKING FORWARD TO THE APPLICATION TO EVALUATION

Can an approach such as Facing History’s help students like Ann and Danielle to understand these alternative possibilities, and so not be trapped in what appears to be their singular orientations? Can the program help Ann to be more contextualized about the actions she preaches while, at the same time, support her idealistic orientation? Conversely, can the program help Danielle be less cynical about her world, while at the same time supporting her practicality that is grounded in her assessment of the risks in her school environment? It would be an impressive enough achievement if a measure using this theoretical framework could detect whether a program like Facing History helps students like Danielle be less automatically critical and cynical and those like Ann to be more critically sceptical.

But, while the nuances of this case comparison facilitates our understanding of whether, or when, some student responses are better (more aware) than others, versus when they are simply differentially aligned with the context in which they live, and is grist for understanding the role of this methodology in the evolution of an integrated developmental and contextual theory of adolescents’ social choices (LaRusso & Selman, 2003), it also presents a real challenge to researchers that want to adapt this method as an evaluation to foreground students’ competencies and background the effects of context or climate.

For instance, it is difficult to resist the recommendation that the aim of a program such as Facing History is to move students’ responses to measures born of Eve’s dilemma in the direction of that corner of a four by four matrix where upstanding choices and pro-social transformative justifications meet. But even if more such responses are found in the Facing History than control group, we must resist the conclusion that these outcomes can be attributed to changes in students’ abilities alone, even under the conditions of an experimental evaluation. Given the program’s theory of change, they could just as easily be considered an impact on the school or classroom climate (Powers, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989; Schaps, Battistich, & Solomon, 2004).

Even in an experimental evaluation design such as the one we are using, we are not sure if (or when) any programmatic impact found is an impact on the students’ competencies that they have internalized, or an impact on the classroom context, which influences students’ willingness to engage in imagining these kinds of strategies and justifications, perhaps because they are engaged in a safe and supportive class, but which they may not be willing or able to use in the next classroom, or in the corridor, or in their walk home from school.

One could argue that either way, if a program, such as Facing History, moves students in the direction of that corner of a four by four matrix where upstanding choices and pro-social justifications meet, it is a good thing. However, we also need to remember, both theoretically and practically, we do not aim for students to

act in pro-social transformative orientations *all*, or even most of the time, even as we do want them to imagine the possibility of a full range of choices and to understand a full range of justifications for each of their possible choices. If this approach moves more students more often beyond the limits of each of the four orientations to be able to use the developmental level of awareness demonstrated by Eve, that is a very good thing This is why the program’s goal needs to be to help students be *well informed* in ways that help them shape their own civic attitudes and beliefs and ethical awareness, as informed by their understanding of history.

A BRIEF CODA

One final caveat but also a roadmap for future work: Early in this story, we noted the importance of teachers, both in the pedagogy and in the evaluation. That part of our tale will have to wait for another time. However, to foreshadow its importance it is worth noting that for assessment and evaluation purposes, the findings from our “Points A- B” research study also suggest we will need to measure at least one other program element in our evaluation beyond student and teacher outcomes: the role of classroom and school climate in how students learn to make the connection between the choices made in the historical cases they study and in their own lives (Fine, 1992; Kahne & Westheimer, 2003; Powers, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989; Schaps et al., 2004; Shindler, Jones, Taylor & Cadenas, 2004)?

This broadening of emphasis brings the teacher, revitalized and re-educated by her students’ developing awareness, back into the larger landscape, as seen in a revised model “theory of change” in Figure 6. If we can track both student and teacher progress, for example the program’s effects on student outcomes when teachers have used it more than once, we will have a much better idea whether the lessons students learned in ninth and tenth grade from historical cases about the

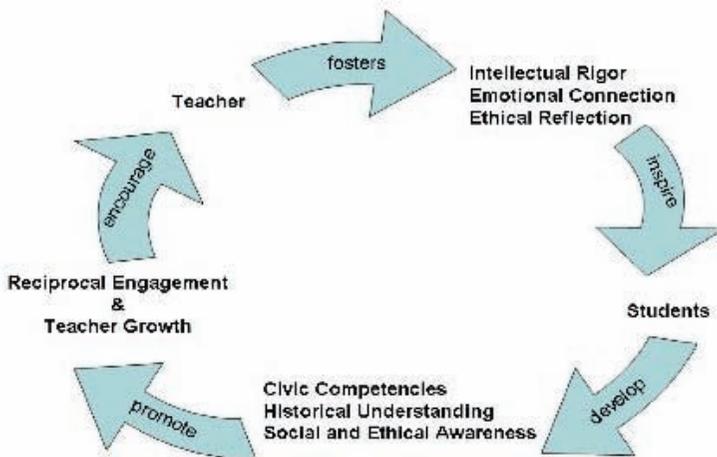


Figure 6. A Change in the Theory of Change.

choices individuals and people made in the past, and how those past (mis)steps lead up to the loss of civil liberties and human rights, really do have any impact on students' understanding of the actions they, *themselves*, will need to take in the future to preserve these rights. So can adolescents really learn anything about their own engagement in society by studying historical attempts to destroy and protect the opportunities for others to do so? For now, we do not know for sure. But because of the measures we have developed, based on a strong theoretical foundation in both developmental and social psychology, we will have a better idea when our experimental educational evaluation is completed of whether there is any valid evidence, statistical, practical, and, for our purposes, most significantly, theoretical, whether or not they do. So we will have to wait for that time to come when we can finish this story.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the history and components of the research described in this chapter, please see: Barr, D.J. and Facing History and Ourselves (2009). *The Facing History and Ourselves National Professional Development and Evaluation Project: Continuing a tradition of research on the foundations of democratic education*. Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Inc., [www.facinghistory.org/eval/npdep](http://www.facinghistory.org/eval/npdep).

<sup>2</sup> "History and Mission" <http://www.facinghistory.org/about/history/mission>.

<sup>3</sup> Members of the measurement groups included the Lead Investigator, Dennis Barr, Co-Investigators Melinda Fine, Ethan Lowenstein and Robert Selman and researchers Angela Bermudez, Alan Stoskopf and Luba Falk Feigenberg.

<sup>4</sup> It is probably worth mentioning at the outset, that the Facing History organization also invests in research and development, meaning for them the development of historical case materials and other

educational products. In this paper, however, in collaboration with the program's evaluation unit, we use the term research primarily to refer to scientific and empirical studies, both quantitative and qualitative. The term "development" as we use it most usually refers to ontogenesis, the psychological development of social awareness during adolescence.

<sup>5</sup> The Abt Associates design, data collection and analysis team was lead by Beth Boulay, Beth Gamse, Marc Moss and Rachel McCormick.

<sup>6</sup> Regional offices in the United States are located in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Memphis, Chicago, New York, Cleveland, and New England.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, in large urban school districts, turnover in students can be as high as 40% a year.

<sup>8</sup> Programs that are described as "meaning oriented" rather than, or as well as, skills/behavioral or knowledge/factual oriented often focus on class climate and reflective teaching, which may make them more amenable to qualitative analyses of *what learning matters to teachers and students* (Miller, 2006). But experimental evaluations still require quantitative analyses for its experimental design criteria of *what impact counts to policy makers and school leadership*.

<sup>9</sup> It only has been within the last 15 to 20 years or so that such "experimental" evaluations have been (somewhat hesitantly) embraced more widely by the public education sector, more frequently in literacy and math education than in civic, history, or moral education (Hedges & Hedberg, 2007). This slow acceptance has been due, in part, to the challenges that experimental evaluations of educational programs naturally face—their susceptibility to all those factors that cannot be either easily controlled for or easily measured. This is especially true of programs oriented to high schools with their emphasis on discipline-oriented courses, and to an even greater degree for the evaluation or assessment of high school humanities courses (Bloom, 1984). Hence, good measurement is crucial.

<sup>10</sup> Under the guidance of the evaluation team at Facing History (Dennis Barr, Anna Romer, Abbey Mann), and staff members Ted Scot, Molly Schen and Marc Skvirsky.

<sup>11</sup> With the baseline assessment of all the teachers' sense of efficacy, professional development training began in the summer of that year, and first wave of assessment of students was complete by the spring of 2008 (see Lowenstein et al., 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Facing History's core historical case study is of the steps that led to the failure of democracy in pre World War II Germany and the Holocaust. Other case studies have also been developed that amplify this core case (i.e. *Race and Membership in American History: the Eugenics Movement and Choices in Little Rock* which covers the history and legacies of desegregation in the United States), The sequence of themes described is used in each case study and is an important part of the organization's theory of how change occurs in students (and teachers).

<sup>13</sup> The research team also selected and developed tools for the measurement of teacher outcomes. This process and the measures that were developed are described elsewhere (Barr, 2009; Lowenstein, et al. 2007).

<sup>14</sup> After all, dictators and demagogues, as well as divinities and democracies, can effect transformations.

<sup>15</sup> Behind research questions such as these, open as they are to empirical investigation, stand two other questions theoretical in spirit, grounded in philosophical, normative, and interpretive sciences, but also of great importance for the fundamentals of developmental and cultural psychology: First, how do we know, or decide, when an ethical choice and its justification is simply different from others in interesting and illuminating ways, and when it is either a better or worse choice? Second, how do we know when or why an adolescent will or will not act in accordance with the choices and justifications he or she warrants to be the right or best thing to do? This is the fundamental issue of how do we know when people mean what they say, or say what they mean (interpretive analysis).

<sup>16</sup> Terry Tollefson, Margot Strom, Marty Sleeper and Marc Skvirsky.

<sup>17</sup> However, importantly, research with younger students suggests that before ninth grade, few students offer prosocial transforming justifications for whatever action or choice they suggest (Selman, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> We have written about Danielle's case in more depth elsewhere (Selman & Feigenberg, in press).

<sup>19</sup> There is some anecdotal data that students who participate in the Facing History approach are more likely to treat each other with greater respect in school, for example, reduce the level of teasing,

insults, and hurtful comments about one another and the faculty. There is also some anecdotal evidence that the program has a long term effect on students, for example, reports from alumni of the program of how what they learned in the course stayed with them over time and influenced their conduct and choices in later life. However, the empirical study to strengthen these anecdotal claims has yet to be done.

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