The Foundation for Democracy: Promoting Social, Emotional, Ethical, Cognitive Skills and Dispositions in K-12 Schools

The Foundation for Democracy: Promoting Social, Emotional, Ethical, Cognitive Skills and Dispositions in K-12 Schools

Jonathan Cohen

Center for Social and Emotional Education

Terry Pickeral

Cascade Educational Consultants

Peter Levine

The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.
Jonathan M. Tisch College of Citizenship and Public Service, Tufts University

Abstract:

The Organization of American States' (OAS) Inter-American Charter (2001) declares that "The peoples of the Americas have a right to democracy and their governments have an obligation to promote and defend it" (preface). As the Charter also recognizes, one important means to promote and defend democracy is to teach it in schools. We will examine how schools can promote democratic knowledge, skills and dispositions, using examples from the United States that can be considered, adopted and/or adapted in nations throughout the Americas. Civics education in the United States has tended to focus on civic knowledge (how government works, voting policies, etc.) rather than skills and dispositions. In this paper, we briefly review the evolution of how educational and political leaders have considered the relationship between social, emotional, ethical, civic and intellectual skills, knowledge and dispositions and democracy. We suggest a model of essential social, emotional, ethical and cognitive skills and dispositions that provide the foundation for participation in a democracy. We then outline two essential goals that K-12 schools need to consider to effectively promote these capacities: How and what students and adults learn? And, how school communities work together to create safe, caring, and responsive and participatory environments. We suggest that measuring and working to improve school climate is the single most powerful K-12 educational strategy that supports schools' intentionally creating democratically informed communities which foster the skills, knowledge and dispositions that support students' healthy development and capacity to learn and become engaged and effective citizens.

Introduction

Most democracies recognize that their formal political institutions will not function well or last long unless their citizens have democratic skills and values, that such skills and values must be cultivated deliberately; and that universal public education provides an opportunity to do so. For example, in the aftermath of its 1910

Revolution, Mexico reorganized its school system to promote equality, secularization, and good civic "character" for all students; and with the increase of political pluralism in 2001, Mexico introduced a new mandatory course entitled "Civic and Ethical Formation" (Levinson, 2007, pp. 245-247). In 1992, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America advocated democratic education as a way to
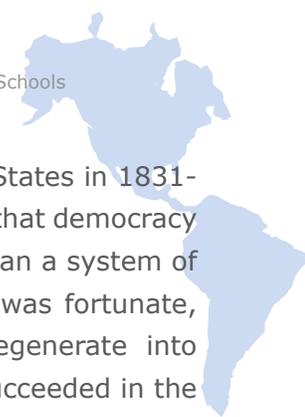
achieve economic competitiveness without losing democratic government, and most nations in the region implemented reforms consistent with some of its recommendations (Reimers, 2007, p. 7). This article concentrates on the United States but tries to draw lessons applicable to other countries of the Americas.

Since the founding of the United States of America, some influential thinkers and reformers have argued that schools should to be places where children learn to be engaged citizens[1]. Thomas Jefferson underscored the notion that democracy rests on education and the character of its people when he wrote, "I know of no safe repository of the ultimate power of society but the people themselves. And if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion" (Jefferson, 1820/1903, p. 278). In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which provided for the creation of public schools in the new territories of the West, Congress found that schools were "necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind" (Section 14, Art. 3). A similar concern with the need to "inform the discretion" of citizens led Horace Mann and his contemporaries in the early 1800s to establish universal public education in the United States.

Most of the founders of the United States held negative views of "democracy" (as opposed to republicanism, which they favored[2]). Then, in the 1800s, proponents of democracy championed broader voting rights and majority rule through periodic elections. They saw that preparing citizens to participate in such a system would require education—in schools and through other institutions such as political parties, newspapers, and churches—so that people would become judicious and informed voters.

On his visit to the United States in 1831-2, Alexis de Tocqueville observed that democracy had actually evolved into more than a system of majority rule (which he thought was fortunate, because majority rule would degenerate into majority tyranny[3]). Democracy succeeded in the United States of America because voting and other majoritarian processes were embedded in a new democratic *culture*. These Americans were skillful at associating in small, voluntary groups that handled many social issues without depending on a single, overly powerful state. Voluntary association required norms, skills, and values, and those traits had to be taught. Public schooling was not yet universal, but de Tocqueville analyzed the educative functions of jury service, newspapers, and local government (de Tocqueville, 1835/1954).

Early in the next century, John Dewey argued for an even deeper connection between democracy and education. For him, a democracy was a form of social organization in which people realized that they were interconnected, and learned by working together. "Wherever there is conjoint activity whose consequences are appreciated as good by all singular persons who take part in it, and where the realization of the good is such as to effect an energetic desire and effort to sustain it in being just because it is a good shared by all, there is in so far a community. The clear consciousness of a communal life, in all its implications, constitutes the idea of democracy" (Dewey, 1927, pp. 149). Dewey was rather dismissive of elections, except insofar as they promoted communal learning. "The strongest point to be made in behalf of even such rudimentary political forms as democracy has already attained, popular voting, majority rule and so on, is that to some extent they involve a consultation and discussion which uncover social needs and troubles" (Dewey, 1916, pp. 206).

For Dewey, a democratic society was more than just the institution of government. It was a way of living together, of learning to cooperatively agree and disagree nonviolently, and of appreciating and learning from diversity and of coming to support one another for the good of the whole. In this sense, democracy demanded of its people the social-emotional skills and ethical dispositions as well as cognitive capacities to participate in a whole range of interactions.

Dewey's ideas (and those of important colleagues like Jane Addams) had deep and persistent influence. In 1915, the US Bureau of Education formally endorsed a movement for "community civics" that was by then quite widespread. Its aim was "to help the child know his community—not merely a lot about it, but the meaning of community life, what it does for him and how it does it, what the community has a right to expect from him, and how he may fulfill his obligations, meanwhile cultivating in him the essential qualities and habits of good citizenship" (Brown, 1929, p. 28). Concrete reforms that were launched in that era have remained prevalent: these include school newspapers, student governments, community service projects and clubs, and the field of "social studies," which included the "Problems of Democracy" course (devoted to critical discussion of current events) that 41% of high school students were taking by the mid-20th century (Niemi & Smith, 2001). Today, many American K-12 schools'[4] mission statements still emphasize that schooling should support students' capacity to become engaged citizens in our democratic society. And for many decades, parents have reported that the single most important purpose of public schooling was to prepare people to become responsible citizens (Rose & Gallup, 2000).

There are certainly grounds for criticizing Dewey's theories of democracy and education. Classical liberals argue that to expect citizens to exhibit a high degree of civic virtue and participation interferes with their personal liberty and involves the state in dangerous indoctrination (Madison, 1788/1982). Dewey's contemporary Walter Lippman argued that the public could no longer govern society effectively because the population had grown too large, issues were too complex, expertise was too potent, and the mass media had made major institutions too persuasive. Democracy now required elites whose power would be limited and constrained by elections (Lippman, 1925). Critics of philosophical pragmatism ask whether Dewey's theory of democracy as learning and experimentation can differentiate between good experiments and bad ones; after all, fascists have also cooperated and learned from collective experience. Dewey denied that there were any "antecedent universal propositions" that could distinguish just institutions from unjust ones. The nature of the good society was "something to be critically and experimentally determined" (Dewey, 1927, p. 74). Critics of such pure pragmatism maintain the importance of abstract and permanent moral norms, such as equality and freedom, to limit and assess what the public chooses to do.

Finally, educators of a more traditionalist bent believe that Dewey's belief in learning from direct personal experience ("child-centered," "constructivist," or interactive education) is romantic. For example, Edward Thorndike was a prominent educational theorist whose views have been more consistent with actual schooling and education policy in the United States than Dewey's have ever been (Gibboney, 2006; Tomlinson, 1997). Thorndike was a behavioral psychologist who suggested that K-12 education should exclusively focus on the "three R's" and

only recognize what we could measure and standardize. In many respects, the U. S. Federal Education Act No Child Left Behind (enacted in 2002) continues to support Thorndike's vision of K-12 education[5]. Meanwhile, the "Problems of Democracy" course has virtually disappeared from American high schools, but students are likely today to study political science as an abstract and detached discipline. Over the decades, in practice, Dewey "lost" his debate with Thorndike (Lagermann, 1989).

We see merit in the various critiques of Dewey, yet we believe that schools should be more Deweyan than they actually are. Although it is utopian to picture modern America as one "Great Community" in which all citizens voluntarily and collaboratively create public institutions to meet the values of their generation (Dewey, 1927), we do need more participation and association than is evident in the United States today (Putnam, 2000). Political science emphasizes the importance of widespread civic knowledge, dispositions, and values to the functioning of a fair democracy (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). The most effective way to build civic skills and norms is to influence people while they are still young—of school age (Sherrod, Flanagan & Youniss, 2002). And the best way to teach skills and values of participation is by providing direct experiences of democracy and association.

Perhaps the ideal pedagogy would include both a Deweyan commitment to schools as democratic communities *and* a more traditionalist emphasis on learning about principles and institutions. But real schools typically tilt far toward abstract principles. For example, an observer in 1930 noted that "the time [in classrooms is dedicated] almost entirely to a detailed study of the structure of government, with extremely little attention to the problem of behavior as a citizen" (Peters, 1930, p. 148). The same situation seemed to prevail 76 years later, notwithstanding repeated calls for civic education to become more interactive and focused on real problems. In a 2006 survey, 56% of young Americans recalled either "great American heroes and virtues of the political system" or "the Constitution or U.S. system of government and how it works" as the main themes in their own social studies courses. Only 5.6 percent recalled "problems facing the country today" (Levine, 2007). State standards and textbooks focus on civic knowledge. Students mainly learn, for example, how a bill becomes a law, about what the Electoral College is, and how often elections occur.

Social, Emotional, Ethical and Intellectual Abilities and Dispositions: The Essential Foundation for Engaged Citizens

Although the vast majority of civics curricula explicitly focus on civic related knowledge, there is typically an implicit focus on the social, emotional and/or ethical skills and dispositions. For example, civic educators encourage students to consider the importance of being open to others' points of view. They stress that we can disagree without becoming enemies, but they typically focus less – if at all – on promoting the skills, knowledge and dispositions that support this kind of reflective discourse and action.

What skills and dispositions citizens need is more of a political question than an educational one. The answer depends on (a) what kind of a society we seek, and (b) what skills and dispositions are needed on a large scale to secure that kind of society. Answers to part (a) would differ greatly between libertarians and socialists, to name just two examples. Part (b) is empirical, but it depends on the preliminary question of what makes a good
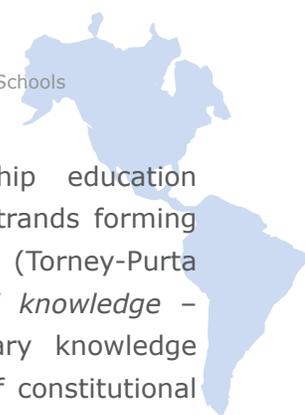
society. Political scientists and theorists who have endorsed de Tocqueville's basic account of a good democratic system for the United States (i.e., one that is protective of individual rights and cultural diversity, decentralized, capitalistic, and moderately egalitarian) have assembled empirical evidence that certain values and skills are necessary, or at least helpful, to such a society. For example, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) identify the disposition to attend meetings where decisions are made, the skills necessary to function effectively in such meetings, and knowledge of how to convene such meetings as examples of valuable civic skills. Robert Putnam (2001) finds that trust in other people, membership in groups, and interest in the news correlate impressively with the performance of American democratic institutions, including schools. The National Commission on Civic Renewal; the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement (CIRCLE); and the National Conference on Citizenship have all created indices of civic engagement for adult populations, meant to predict the performance of democratic institutions. Each of these efforts built on the previous ones. The Kennedy Serve America Act of 2009 calls on the National Conference on Citizenship and the Census Bureau to produce an annual Civic Health Index of the United States (for additional surveys of beneficial civic skills and dispositions, see Kirlin 2003; Torney-Purta & Vermeer 2004; and Levine 2007, chapters 1 and 2). At the international level, the Inter-American Democratic Charter "emphasizes the importance of fundamental democratic values and advocates promoting them to establish a democratic culture and teach new generations to commit themselves to those values" (Organization of American States, 2001).

Recently, the Education Commission of the States' National Center for Learning and Citizenship (ESC/NCLC) issued a report on citizenship education. Citizenship education was defined in terms of three strands forming "a braid" of civic competencies (Torney-Purta & Vermeer, 2004): *civic-related knowledge* – both historical and contemporary knowledge (e.g. structure and mechanics of constitutional movement); c*ognitive and participative skills and associated behaviors* – such as the ability to understand issues (e.g. to be a critical thinker and flexible problem solver) and skills that help a student to resolve conflicts creatively and non-violently; and *civic dispositions* (or our motivations for behavior and values/attitudes) – including an appreciation of and involvement with social justice, and developing a sense of responsibility and purpose beyond self-interest.

The concept of a "braid" suggests that various aspects of good citizenship can be harmonized. However, after reviewing 10 well-regarded programs for interactive civic engagement, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) found that there was no consensus about what "good citizens" know and do (beyond banalities). They classified programs according to which of three major conceptions they promoted: the "personally responsible" citizen (who obeys laws and helps others by volunteering), the "participatory citizen" (who joins and organizes groups in civil society), and the "justice-oriented citizen" (who critically assesses social issues and attacks "root causes." In theory, a single program or school could value all three objectives, and an individual could meet all three criteria. Damon (2001) suggests that children should follow a developmental sequence, with positive commitments to the community preceding critical analysis. But Westheimer and Kahne (2004) believe that, in practice, these goals trade off: teaching "personally responsible" citizenship blocks or undermines "justice-oriented citizenship." Even if educators can learn to reduce these tradeoffs, we should not fool
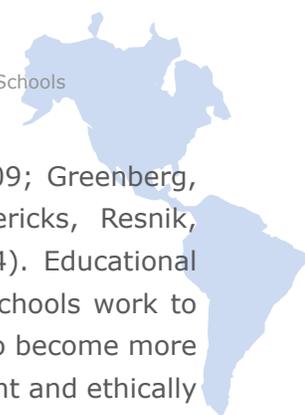
ourselves into thinking that "good citizenship" is one thing or that its components are all in harmony.

With the caveat that these are diverse values —and the tension among them should be a topic of reflection for individual citizens and communities alike— we suggest a list of skills and dispositions (with a series of somewhat overlapping examples) that provide the foundation for participation in a democratic community (Table 1). Our framework (which builds on Torney-Purta and Vermeer's (2004) as well as Cohen's (2006) work) is a proposal. We hope that this detailed outline of skills and dispositions will spur discussion and debate by policymakers, education leaders, civic education advocates, practitioners and school-community collaborators. Below we detail how measuring and working to improve school climate is a data-driven K-12 school process that promotes the development and practice of these essential abilities.

Educational research shows that learning these civic skills and dispositions also promotes general success in schooling and in life. This finding suggests that promoting democratic citizenship does not conflict with other educational goals but supports them. First, these social, emotional and ethical competencies/dispositions are predictive of students' ability to learn and solve problems nonviolently (Berkowitz & Bier, 2005; Zins, Weissberg, Wang & Walberg, 2004). These are the same competencies that provide the foundation for healthy adult personal and professional relationships (Cohen, 2006). More recently, there is a compelling body of educational research that provides clear guidelines for effective social, emotional, ethical and academic learning which in turn promote these core competencies and dispositions (American Psychological Association, 2003; Beland, 2003a; Cohen,

McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009; Greenberg, Weissberg, O'Brien, Zins, Fredericks, Resnik, & Elias, 2003; Zins, et al., 2004). Educational research has shown that when schools work to (1) intentionally teach students to become more socially and emotionally competent and ethically able and inclined, and when we (2) systemically work to create safe, caring, participatory schools, academic achievement increases and school violence decreases over a 3 to 5 year period (Cohen, 2006; Zins, et.al., 2004).

These findings overlap with civic educational findings. Students who study civic issues show better skills for collaborating with others (Torney-Purta & Wilkenfeld, 2009). Thus interactive civic education prepares citizens to be competent members of their communities, as measured by academic achievement, cooperativeness, and law-abidingness. These findings are not, by themselves, evidence that interactive civic education benefits democracy (which means popular self-government and not just peaceful cooperation). However, we also know that young people who are engaged in civic and voluntary activities within schools remain engaged in civil society even decades later (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997). Civic participation also correlates with voting and other political behavior. This is circumstantial evidence that interactive civic education does benefit democracy.

Some program evaluations further support this thesis. For example, *Facing History and Ourselves* is a curriculum that involves reflection on historical examples of genocide combined with discussion of current issues. Participating eighth-grade students (in 14 social studies or English language/arts classrooms in four different schools in the northeastern United States) "showed increased relationship maturity and decreased fighting behavior, racist

Table 1.

Skills and dispositions that provide the foundation for effective citizenry

Essential skills

- *Learning to listen to ourselves and others*;
- *Critical and reflective thinking abilities* (e.g. being able to think about various points of view and goals; being able to understand, analyze and check the reliability of information about government; being able to analyze instances of social injustice and decide when some action or nonviolent protest is justified; being able to analyze how conditions in the community are connected to policy decisions);
- *Flexible problem solving/decision making abilities* (e.g. the ability to resolve conflicts in creative and non-violent ways; being able to build consensus; being able to reach an informed decision about a candidate or conclusion about an issue; being able to reach an informed decision about a candidate or conclusion about an issue);
- *Communicative abilities* (e.g. being able to participate in discussion; learning to argue thoughtfully and directly for one's position and use evidence in support of it; being able to articulate the meaning of abstract concepts such as democracy and patriotism; being able to articulate the relationship between the common good and self-interest and use these ideas in making decisions; being able to express one's opinion on a political or civic matter when contacting an elected official or a media outlet);
- *Collaborative capacities* (e.g. working together for a common goal; learning to compromise; being able to participate in a respectful and informed discussion about an issue; being able to act in a group in a way that includes others and communicates respect for their views; be ing able to envision a plan for action on community problems and mobilize others to pursueit.).

Essential dispositions

- *Responsibility* (e.g. sense of personal responsibility at many levels including obeying the law and voting; respect for human rights and willingness to search out and listen to others' views; personal commitment to others and their well-being, and to justice);
- *An appreciation that we are social creatures and need others to survive and thrive, and an overlapping sense of social trust in the community*;
- *Appreciation of and involvement with social justice* (e.g. a nation is as strong as its weakest members; when certain groups are discriminated against it is not only unfair to them but, in the long run undermines society; support for justice, equality and other democratic values and pro cedures);
- *Service to others or an appreciation that it is an honor and a pleasure to serve and help others;*
- *Appreciation that – most of the time – others do the best they can* (e.g. sense of realistic efficacy about citizen' actions).

attitudes, and insular ethnic identity relative to comparison students" (Schultz, Barr, & Selman 2001). They also learned information and concepts from history and social studies. Likewise, in schools that were successful with service-learning (combining community service with academic study), students learned as much as in comparison schools about government but also gained interpersonal skills (Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005).

There is no "ideal" curriculum or program that educators can use to actualize these two core processes noted above: (1) intentionally teaching students to become more socially, emotionally and ethically able, and (2) working to create a climate for learning or safe, caring, participatory and responsive schools and home. After describing several valid approaches, we suggest below that measuring and working to improve school climate is the most powerful way that K-12 school communities can support children's school – and life – success, on the one hand, and to promote the skills, knowledge and dispositions that provide the foundation for an engaged citizenry on the other hand.

Educational Methods and Opportunities

Educators have intentionally used a range of pedagogic strategies (e.g., classroom instruction in social studies, discussion of current issues, service-learning, extracurricular activities, and student voice in school governance) to intentionally promote civic skills and dispositions (Torney-Purta & Vermeer, 2004). As we note below, some of these overlap with intentionally working to promote students' social, emotional and ethical abilities.

Over the past 2 decades, researchers and educators in the United States have introduced an array of programmatic efforts designed to enhance these core social-emotional-ethical abilities and dispositions. There are two essential dimensions that educational leaders should consider: (1) learning and teaching, and (2) school wide improvement efforts, or how K-12 school communities learn and work to create a climate for learning.

Learning and teaching: Learning is the primary mission of K-12 schools. Both adults and students should be considered "learners." Adult actions or behavior are as important if not much more so than what we say verbally to children (Pianta, 1999). For example, adults must learn how to address conflicts and act accordingly. We all experience conflict in an ongoing, intermittent manner. What varies is the extent to which we recognize a problem or decision that needs to be addressed and how we (mis)manage the conflict. Often, conflict is challenging. It stirs all kinds of feelings and memories that may have very little to do with "the moment." When children/students see you having a problem with another student, a colleague, and/or a parent, how do you act? What are the lessons your behavior is "teaching" children about recognizing and (mis)managing conflict? Modeling appropriate behavior during conflict serves a dual purpose: children see it and model the behavior when they experience conflict, and the appropriate behavior modeled by adults creates a more respectful climate among colleagues who work to improve student's school experiences.

There is a growing group of educators who are focusing on adult as well as student conflict resolution-related learning. Most U.S. colleges and departments of education are including conflict resolution/mediation teaching and learning in their curriculum, and in their college freshman orientation programs. Nonprofit educational organizations teach school staff and

community members these important skills and dispositions in workshops and web-based courses.

Being able to collaborate is one of the most fundamentally important skills that teachers – and learners – must demonstrate to others (Cohen, 1999a). It is also a skill that supports educators, parents, mental health professionals and other school staff working together to support positive youth development and learning. Being able to collaborate is a pillar of democracy.

When we manage conflict in respectful and inclusive ways, we strengthen the quality of our interactions, trust and collaborative efforts. An important longitudinal study (using quantitative and qualitative methodologies) revealed that the quality of social relations operating in and around schools is central to their functioning and strongly predicts student outcomes and school improvement efforts (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; Bryk, Sebring, Allensworth, Luppescu, & Easton, 2010). Although the skills and dispositions that support social skills and relational trust are not as heavily focused on in colleges and departments of education, they shape school life and the kinds of role models that educators are for students. There are networks that explicitly seek to promote adult social, emotional and ethical learning, like the Annenberg Institute for School Reform/School Reform Initiative *Faculty's Critical Friend's Group* (www.schoolreforminitiative. org), Parker Palmer's *Courage to Teach* (www. couragerenewal.org/) and the Center for Social and Emotional Educations' *Emotionally Responsive Classroom/Tools for Teachers to Improve Classroom Climate* professional development efforts (www.schoolclimate.org/ programs/), as well as a growing number of professional learning communities (www.sedl. org/change/issues/issues61.html).

Promoting student learning is the primary task for K-12 schools. Schools need to consider how they want to promote students' social, emotional and ethical as well as intellectual skills and dispositions. In fact, adults who work and/ or live with children are always social, emotional and ethical teachers: consciously, intentionally and helpfully or not! Given that there is now a compelling and growing body of empirical research that underscores how social, emotional, ethical and intellectual learning provides the foundation for school – and life – success, this is a critical question: How can and should schools promote these critical abilities and dispositions?

The Character Education Partnership and the Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL) have taken a leadership role in reviewing existing social-emotional/character education curriculum. In 2003, CASEL reviewed 80 social- emotional learning curriculums and identified a number of "select" programs in *Safe and Sound: An Educational Leader's Guide to SEL Programs* (available on www.casel.org). The Character Education Partnership's 2005 report *"What Works in Character Education: A Research-driven Guide for Educators"* describes 33 scientifically supported programmatic efforts (available at www.character.org). There are also a number of ways that educators can intentionally infuse social, emotional and ethical learning into existing academic study (e.g., Beland, 2003b; Elias, 2004; Shepherd & Cohen, 2010).

Another powerful instructional method that promotes social, emotional and ethical as well as cognitive capacities is service-learning. Service-learning is a teaching method that engages young people in solving problems within their schools and communities as part of their academic studies or other type of intentional learning activity. The quality and impact of actual

service-learning varies enormously, but when well done, it is a promising practice to enhance social and emotional development (Billig, 2000; Billig, Root, & Jesse 2005). The National Service Learning Partnership (www.service-learningpartnership.org) is a rich resource for information about resources and current practice. The Education Commission of the States' (ECS) 2001 Issue Paper, *Service-Learning and Character Education: One Plus One is More than Two*, explores the link between service-learning and character education, including a focus on policy.

Another ECS Issue Brief (2003), *Making the Case for Social and Emotional Learning*, provides an overview and description of both social and emotional learning (SEL) and service-learning (S-L) as tools to improve the lives and performance of students. It describes how the two practices are interrelated, and presents the research evidence that supports the expanded use of both practices in the classroom. Also provided are descriptions of the essential elements required of successful SEL and S-L programs, examples of such successful programs that are in existence today, and a discussion of state activities and experiences. Lastly, the brief discusses a series of likely challenges that education leaders implementing SEL and S-L programs could face. The brief offers recommendations and advice for addressing such challenges and provides lists of available resources where more information can be found.

Schools must consider how to create a *climate* for learning. School climate refers to the quality and character of school life. School climate is based on patterns of people's experiences of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching, learning, leadership practices, and organizational structures. Educators have appreciated the importance of school climate for a hundred years (National School Climate Council, 2007). Positive school climate is associated with and/or predictive of academic achievement, effective risk prevention efforts, positive youth development, and teacher retention (for a recent review and critique of school climate policy, practice and teacher education as well as research, see Cohen, McCabe, Michelli & Pickeral, 2009). Systemic or school-wide efforts designed to create a climate of safety and learning involve a range of processes, including: creating a shared vision of what kind of school students, parents and school personnel want; developing norms and codes of conduct like the promotion of a communitywide commitment to "upstander" behavior (as opposed to passive bystander behavior) in the face of bully-victim behavior; developing data-driven goals, methods and linked assessment processes; creating mental health-educator-parent partnerships; identifying barriers to learning and addressing them; aligning district policy with school practice; and working to insure that risk prevention, health promotion as well as teaching and learning are coordinated.

We suggest that measuring and improving school climate is the single most powerful and effective method of furthering these systemic goals. In fact, as we detail below, when school communities work together to measure and improve school climate, they are promoting student and adult social, emotional, ethical and civic learning.

School climate also matters because it can be measured and hence "counts." And, when we measure school climate we recognize the social, emotional, ethical and civic as well as intellectual aspects of learning and school improvement. In fact, the United States Department of Education is examining ways to use school climate as an

organizing data- driven concept and process that recognizes the range of interventions (e.g. character education, social emotional learning, developmental assets, community schools and risk prevention/health-mental health promotion efforts) that protect children and promote essential social, emotional, ethical and civic learning (Jennings, 2009).

Such efforts typically focus on non-confrontational service and group-membership as indicators of positive school climate. These indicators correlate with the healthy development of young people (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). For example, in the influential and rigorous National Longitudinal Study of Youth, funded by 4-H, trust for adults and peers, civic duty, and "civic helping" have emerged as precursors of healthy development (Lerner, Lerner, Phelps & Colleagues, 2008). However, democracy requires protest, skepticism, criticism, and resistance as well as trust and belonging. There is very little evidence about the relationship between confrontational civic engagement and school climate or student performance. For example, the 4-H National Longitudinal Study of Youth does not measure protest.

Dewey and his colleagues saw their efforts to enhance the community of schools as part of a radical "social and political reform movement" that simultaneously addressed fundamental injustices beyond the school (Ravitch, 1983, p. 46). Their original reform goals were soon forgotten, and the innovations of Dewey's era (such as student governments and service clubs) were preserved and defended mainly because they seemed to cause young people to adjust better to schools and work. If there is an appropriate balance or tension between what Westheimer and Kahne call the "personally responsible" and the "justice oriented" citizen, the latter was lost completely as the Progressive Era passed. It is important, in assessing school climate today, to retain a positive view of conflict, dissent, and social criticism. Those may or may not be precursors of healthy and safe human development, but they are definitely democratic values.

Measuring and improving school climate: A school improvement strategy that promotes the skills/dispositions that provides the foundation for an engaged citizenry

Growing out of the work of the National School Climate Council and the Center for Social and Emotional Education (2007), we have developed a five stage school climate model that integrates the "problem solving" process that colors and shapes all school reform efforts, with research and best practices that grow out of character education, social emotional learning, and community schools and risk prevention/ health promotion research and best practices (Cohen, 1999b; Cohen, 2006; Devine & Cohen, 2007; Cohen & Pickeral, 2009). Each of these five stages is characterized by a series of tasks and challenges that we have listed below in Table 2 below.

What follows is a brief discussion of some of the tasks and challenges that define each of the first three stages of the school climate improvement process and how they support the development of skills and dispositions outlined in Table 1.

Preparation and planning for the next phase of the school improvement process. By synthesizing research and best practices from a number of overlapping but historically disparate fields (character education, social emotional learning, democracy education, community schools and mental health), we have delineated a series of tasks and challenges that shape
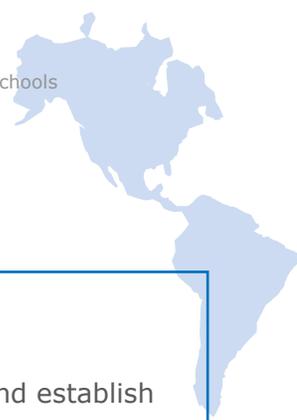
Table 2.

School Climate Improvement Process: Stages, tasks and challenges

Stage One: Preparation and planning

- Forming a representative School Climate (SC) improvement leadership team and establishing ground rules collaboratively.
- Building support and fostering "Buy In" for the school climate improvement process.
- Establishing a "no fault" framework and promoting a culture of trust.
- Ensuring your team has adequate resources to support the process.
- Celebrating successes and building on past efforts
- Reflecting on Stage One work

Stage Two: Evaluation

- Systematically evaluating the school's strengths, needs and weaknesses with any number of school climate as well as other potential measurement tools
- Developing plans to share evaluation findings with the school community
- Reflecting on Stage Two work

Stage Three: Understanding the findings, engagement & developing an action plan

- Understanding the evaluation findings
- Digging into the findings to understand areas of consensus and discrepancy in order to promote learning and engagement.
- Prioritizing goals
- Researching best practices and evidence-based instructional and systemic programs and efforts
- Developing an action plan
- Reflecting on Stage Three work

Stage Four: Implementing the action plan

- Coordinating evidence-based pedagogic and systemic efforts designed to (a) promote students' social, emotional and civic as well as intellectual competencies; and (b) improve the school climate by working toward a safe, caring, participatory and responsive school community.
- Instituting and monitoring instructional and/or school-wide efforts with fidelity, with an ongoing attempt to learn from successes and challenges.
- Working to further own social, emotional and civic learning on the part of the adults who teach and learn with students.
- Reflecting on Stage Four work.
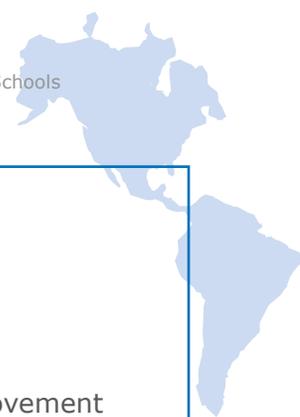
Stage Five: Reevaluation and Development of the Next Phase

- Reevaluating the school's strengths and challenges:
- Discovering what has changed and how.
- Discovering what has most helped and hindered further the school climate improvement process.
- Revising plans to improve the school climate.
- Reflecting on Stage Five work.

each of the five stages of the school climate improvement process (Cohen & Pickeral, 2009).

Here we will focus on three of the five tasks that shape this first stage: (i) building support and fostering collaborative "buy in" or a shared vision for the school climate improvement goals and process; (ii) forming a representative school climate improvement leadership team and establishing ground rules collaboratively; and, (iii) establishing a "no fault" framework and promoting a culture of trust. (For a more detailed description and examples of this process please see Cohen, Shapiro, & Fisher, 2006; Cohen, Pickeral, & McCloskey, 2008 and Cohen & Wren, in press.)

Developing a shared vision about what kind of school community students, parents/guardians and school personnel want is a foundational step for any and all school reform. It is also a foundation for democratically informed communities: What kind of place do we want to live in? How do we want to be treated and to treat others? What norms, rules and laws seem right, fair and just? Cohen and Pickeral (2009) have developed a *School Climate Implementation Road Map: Promoting Democratically Informed School Communities and the Continuous Process of School Climate Improvement* that includes a series of tools

(e.g. experiential learning activities, rubrics) and guidelines to support school communities addressing this and all of the other tasks and challenges noted in Table 2.

When students, parents/guardians and school personnel struggle with questions like "what is an ideal school?," "what is our vision/hope for what our school community will be and support?" and/or "what are the essential skills, knowledge and dispositions that we want students "to know" and "to be" when they graduate from 12th grade?," we are supporting students and adults listening to themselves, while being critical and reflective thinkers and learners. In addition, people need to consider what it means to be responsible and socially just (e.g. do we really have a responsibility to educate all of the children in our community regardless of their strengths and needs?), and involved with service to others (e.g. do we really care that students learn about the importance of serving others and if so, what kind of "living examples" can we be as educators as well as considering how we can make service a vital part of learning and teaching?). In an overlapping way, we are supporting students, school personnel, and parents/guardians as they consider how to understand and integrate the various visions and goals that emerge.

Forming a representative school climate improvement leadership team and establishing ground rules collaboratively are processes that support the development of democratically informed skills and dispositions in a number of ways. Forming a leadership team that truly reflects the whole school community is "democracy in action," and by definition "taps" reflective, empathic, collaborative, communicative and flexible problem solving skills. And, it potentially underscores the notion that it truly does take the "whole village" to raise healthy children (or the disposition noted in Table 1 that we need to appreciate that we are social creatures and need others to survive and thrive). In an overlapping manner, when we develop social norms together we are necessarily working and learning together in ways that build on empathic, reflective, communicative and problem solving skills.

Establishing a "no fault" framework and promoting a culture of trust is a daunting task. Most schools are colored by distrust and a culture of blame (Comer, 2005). As noted above, trusting and collaborative problem-solving partnerships between adults provide an essential foundation for school reform in general and school climate improvement efforts in particular. There is a range of psychological as well as inter-group factors that complicate this. Psychologically, for example, it is "easier" to automatically "blame" the other rather than reflectively considering, "What part have I played in this?" And, teacher union-administration relations are, to some extent, inherently adversarial. However, when educators, parents and students struggle to understand how they can work together in more collaborative and helpful problem solving ways, they are practicing all of the skills and considering (more or less) the dispositions noted in Table 1.

Evaluation. Stage Two of the school climate process entails assessing what all members of the school community believe are their strengths and weaknesses in four major areas: safety (e.g. how safe do we feel socially and emotionally as well as physically? What are the nature of norms and rules and how are they "lived" or not?), relationships (e.g. to what extent do we really understand and respect differences? To what extent are we supportive of one another? To what extent do students feel "connected" or a vital part of the community?), teaching and learning (e.g. to what extent are educators being intentionally and successful social, emotional, ethical and civic teachers? What are the nature of people's expectations about others with regard to learning?), and the institutional environment (e.g. does this school environment feel comfortable and adequate?). Depending on how these findings are used (see Stage three below), this can be a form of voting. Ideally, students come to appreciate that their 'voice' matters.

Understanding Evaluation Findings, Engagement and Action Planning. Stage Three of the school climate improvement process entails five major steps: (i) understanding the school climate findings; (ii) digging more deeply into the findings to understand areas of consensus and discrepancy in order to promote learning and engagement; (iii) prioritizing goals; (iv) researching best practices and evidence-based instructional and systemic programs and efforts; and, (v) developing an action plan. To the extent that the Principal has formed and works with a representative leadership team, each of these steps requires that people utilize and practice virtually all of the skills and dispositions outlined in Table 1.

One of the most common findings that we have discovered in our work with thousands of schools in the USA is that students report social bullying to be a much bigger

problem than the adults have appreciated. We recommend that school leaders recognize that students know something they do not. This provides rich opportunities for students to conduct participatory action research to find out why students think that bully-victim-passive bystander behavior is such a common and typically "accepted" behavior. We always support school leaders working with students to support their identifying what they believe are significant school climate problems and then developing "change projects" to address these needs. These student projects have ranged from working to have healthy foods served in the cafeteria, to putting doors on the bathroom stalls, to leading 'breaking the bully-victim-passive bystander cycle' (Eyman & Cohen, 2009. In any case, we suggest that the process of students being involved with understanding school climate findings, considering what needs and problems are most important for them to consider addressing and developing plans to do so is a democratically informed process that recognizes and provides opportunities to practice the skills and dispositions outlined in Table 1.

Conclusion

Democracy requires appropriate institutional structures, such as regular elections, freedom of speech, and independent courts. It also requires citizens who have appropriate knowledge, skills, and dispositions. It is possible to teach those attributes in schools, and the important inputs include not only formal curricula but also school climates.

It is clear that the social fabric of our schools is a critical indicator of our commitment to democratic life – ensuring that what we teach, how we teach, and how we treat each other are based in democratic principles. Democracies depend on each generation preparing its members to be active, principled citizens. This requires schools to sustain a democratic culture and a deliberate focus on corresponding knowledge, skills and dispositions. When we do so, we actualize John Dewey's hope and goal that, "education, is a process of living and not a preparation for future living" (1897, page 77).

In this paper, we have suggested how K-12 schools can and need to focus on intentionally promoting the skills, knowledge and dispositions that provide the foundation for an engaged and effective citizenry in a democratic society. We have briefly reviewed the history of education and democracy in K-12 schools, and then suggested a model of social, emotional, ethical and intellectual skills and dispositions that we suggest provides the foundation for participation in a democracy. Finally, we proposed that measuring and working to improve school climate is the single most powerful K-12 educational strategy that supports schools' intentionally creating democratically informed communities that foster the skills, knowledge and dispositions that support students' healthy development and capacity to learn and become engaged and effective citizens.
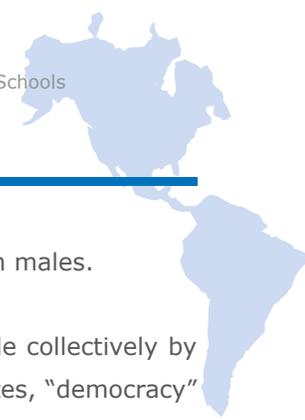
Endnotes

1   For many years the democratic notion "for the people" only applied to upper class, Caucasian males.

2   Democracy traditionally has meant rule by the people. Decisions affecting all would be made collectively by all, usually by means of direct majority votes. At the time of the founders of the United States, "democracy" had a bad reputation because the ancient Athenian popular assembly had sentenced Socrates to death for expressing unpopular opinions, had voted to kill all the people of Mytilene in a fit of pique, and had collapsed into tyranny. The parliamentary democracy of the English Revolution had turned quickly into one-man rule by Oliver Cromwell. And shortly after the US Constitution was ratified--but well before Tocqueville wrote--the French revolutionary democracy dissolved into terror, mass executions, and another one-man tyranny.

3   A republic, in contrast, was a system in which the "public's business" (a good translation of "res publica") would be transacted in public forums and institutions--not in the private chambers of a king or among oligarchs. The public's business would not be settled by the whole public on the basis of one person, one vote (or even one man, one vote). Instead, various classes or "estates" would negotiate the public's business in public, with the popular majority being represented but not dominant. The founders created a House of Representatives to represent the popular will, at least of propertied white men. But they made sure that senators would be selected by state legislatures and given long terms to insulate them against popular pressure; the president would be chosen by an electoral college with discretion to select the best candidate, federal judges and justices would be appointed (not elected) and given life terms, and a Bill of Rights would limit the powers of Congress. In the conception of Madison and Hamilton, popular opinion would be incorporated into government to prevent corruption by moneyed factions and to gain enough public buy-in to prevent revolts like Shea's Rebellion. But popular opinion would be greatly circumscribed to prevent majority tyranny.

4   De Tocqueville understood the issues we have noted in endnote #2. He was affected by the more vivid spectacle of the French Revolutionary terror in his mind as well. He thought that democracy, as traditionally conceived, would fail spectacularly. However, he found that the system in the United States was fairly democratic--more than the founders had intended--and it worked. He set out to explain how that could be. His explanation was complex but it involved changing the definition of "democracy" away from mere majority rule. Democracy worked in the United States because it was practiced simultaneously in small towns, nonprofit organizations, juries, state legislatures, and the national level, with each forum checking the others. Moreover, Americans had developed "habits of the heart" that protected against the disasters of unlimited majority rule. Among these habits was the tendency to solve problems at the smallest possible level and by means of voluntary agreements, instead of always expecting the government to step in. Voluntary associations such as clubs, newspapers, and churches helped to replicate these habits. De Tocqueville believed that aristocratic government was doomed even in Europe--whether one liked it or not--and therefore the unique American synthesis was worth study and emulation.

5   In the United States 4 to 18-years-olds are required to attend school from kindergarten to 12th grade. Although NCLB is filled with rhetoric about the importance of "character education" and "supportive learning environments", these aspects of school life are not measured, and hence, the do not "count".

The Foundation for Democracy: Promoting Social, Emotional, Ethical, Cognitive Skills and Dispositions in K-12 Schools

References

American Psychological Association. (2003). Presidential task force on prevention, promoting strength, resilience, and health in young people, *American Psychologist*, 58, (6-7): 425-490.

Beland, Kathy. (Series Ed.). (2003a). Eleven principles sourcebook: How to achieve quality education in K-12 schools. Washington: DC Character Education Partnership.

Beland, Kathy. (2003b). Providing a meaningful academic curriculum (principle VI). In K. Beland (Series Ed.), *Eleven principles sourcebook: How to achieve quality education in K-12 schools*. Washington: DC Character Education Partnership.

Berkowitz, Marvin W. & Bier, Melinda C. (2005). *What works in character education: A report for policy makers and opinion leaders. (Character Education Partnership*). Retrieved January 20, 2005, from http://www.character. org/atf/cf/{77B36AC3-5057-4795-8A8F9B2FCB86F3EB}/practitioners_518.pdf

Billig, Shelley, Root, Sue & Jesse, Dan. (2005, May). The impact of participation in service-learning on high school students' civic engagement (Working Paper No. 33). Medford/Somerville, MA: *The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement*. Retrieved September 15, 2009 from http://www.civicyouth. org/?p=85

Billig, Shelley H. (2000). Research on K-12 school-based service learning: The evidence builds. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 81: 658-664.

Brown, Arold. (1929). *The improvement of civics instruction in junior and senior high schools*. Ypsilanti, MI: Standard Printing Co.

Bryk, Anthony S. & Schneider, Barbara. (2002). *Trust in schools: A core resource for improvement*. New York: Russell Safe Foundation.

Bryk, Anthony S., Sebring, Penny B., Allensworth, Elaine, Luppescu, Stuart & Easton, John Q. (2010). *Organizing schools for improvement: Lessons from Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, Jonathan. (1999a, October. *On collaborative abilities, inabilities and disabilities: Psychoanalytic and educational considerations*. Paper presented at the Association for the Psychoanalysis of Culture Conference, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Cohen, Jonathan. (Ed). (1999b). *Educating minds and hearts: Social emotional learning and the passage into adolescence*. New York: Teachers College Press

Cohen, Jonathan. (2006). Social, emotional, ethical, and academic education: Creating a climate for learning, participation in democracy, and well-being. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76(2): 201-237.

Cohen, Jonathan & Pickeral, Terry. (2009). *The school climate implementation road map: Promoting democratically informed school communities and the continuous process of school climate improvement*. (1sr ed.). New York: National Center for School Climate. Cohen, Jonathan, McCabe, Elizabeth M., Michelli, Nicholas M. & Pickeral, Terry. (2009). School climate: Research, policy, teacher education and practice. Teachers College Record, 111 (1): 180-213. (Available on: http://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentId=15220)

Cohen, Jonathan, Pickeral, Terry, & McCloskey, Molly. (2008). The challenge of assessing school climate. [Online article]. *Educational Leadership*, 66 (4). Retrieved October, 2009 from, www.ascd.org/publications/educational_leadership/dec08/vol66/num04/toc.aspx)

Cohen, Jonathan, Shapiro, Laura, & Fisher, Melody. (2006). Finding the heart of your school: Using school climate data to create a climate for learning. *Principal Leadership*, 7 (4): 26-32.

Cohen, Jonathan & Wren, Cecile. (In press). Measuring and improving school climate: Actualizing the National Middle School Association's "This We Believe" principals. *Middle School Journal*.

Comer, James. (2005). *Leave no child behind*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Damon, William (2001). To not fade away: Restoring civic identity among the young. In Diana Ravitch & Joseph P. Viteritti (Eds.), Making good citizens: *Education and civil society* pp. 122-141. New Haven: Yale University Press.

de Tocqueville, Alexis. (1954). *Democracy in America* (Reeve, Henry, Francis Bowen & Phillips Bradley, trans.). New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1835)

Devine, John. & Cohen, Jonathan (2007). *Making our school safe: Strategies to protect children and promote learning*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Dewey, John. (1897). My pedagogic creed. *School Journal*, Vol. 54, January, pg 77-80

Dewey, John. (1916). *Democracy and education*. New York: Macmillan

Dewey, John. (1927). *The public and its problems*. New York: Henry Holt

Eccles, Jacquelynne and Gootman, Jennifer A. (Eds.). (2002). *Community programs to promote youth development, a report of the National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, Board on Children, Youth, and Families, Committee on Community-Level Programs for Youth*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press

Education Commission of the States. (2001). *Service-learning and character education: One plus one is more than two.* Denver, CO: Author.

Education Commission of the States. (2003). *Making the case for social and emotional learning* (Denver, CO: Author.

Elias, Maurice J. (2004). Strategies to infuse social and emotional learning into academics. In Joseph Zins, Roger W. Weissberg, Margaret C. Wang, & Hebert. Walberg (Eds.), *Building school success on social emotional learning: What does the research say?* (pp. 113-134). New York: Teachers College Press.

Eyman, William & Cohen, Jonathan. (2009). *Breaking the bully-victim-passive bystander cycle: Creating a climate for learning and responsibly*. New York: National School Climate Center.

Gibboney, Richard A. (2006). Centennial reflections: Intelligence by design: Thorndike versus Dewey. Phi *Delta Kappan*, 88 (2): 170-172.

Greenberg, Mark T., Weissberg, Roger P., O'Brien, Mary U., Zins, Joseph E., Fredericks, Linda., Resnik, Hank. & Elias, Maurice J. (2003). Enhancing school-based prevention and youth development through coordinated social, emotional, and academic learning. *American Psychologist*, 58(6/7): 466-474.

Jefferson, Thomas. (1903). Thomas Jefferson to William C. Jarvis. In Andrew A. Lipscomb & Albert E. Bergh (Eds.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (Vol. XX, vol. 15, p. 278) Washington, D.C.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1903 Publisher. (Original letter dated September 20, 1820).

Jennings, Kevin. (2009). *Federal education priorities and creating safe schools.* U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC (Nov. 12, 2009)

Kirlin, Mary. (2003, June). *The role of civic skills in fostering civic engagement* Working Paper No. 6). Medford/ Somerville, MA: The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning a Engagement. Retrieved June, 2003 from, http://www.civicyouth.org/?p=57

Lagermann, Ellen. C. (1989). The plural worlds of educational research. *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer: 185, XXIX, 185-214.

Lerner, Richard.M., Lerner, JacquelineJ.V., Phelps, Erin, & colleagues. (2008). *4-H study annual report 2008: The positive development of youth. Report of the findings from the first four years of the 4-H study of positive youth development*. Medford, MA: Institute for Applied Research in Youth Development

Levine, Peter. (2007). *The future of democracy: Developing the next generation of American citizens*. Lebannon, NH: University Press of New England/Tufts University Press.

Levinson, Bradley. A. (2007). Forming and implementing a new secondary civic education program in Mexico: Toward a democratic citizen. In Bradley Levinson & Doyle Stevick (Eds.), *Reimagining civic education: how diverse societies form democratic citizens*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lippman, W. (1925). *The phantom public*. New York: Transaction Publishers

Madison, J. (1982). The federalist #10. In G. Wills (Ed.), T*he federalist papers.* New York, Bantam. (Original work published 1788).

Niemi, Richard. G. & Smith, Julia. (2001). Enrollments in high school government classes: Are we short-changing both citizenship and political science training? PS: *Political Science and Politics*, 34 (2): pg 282

Northwest Ordinance, July 13, 1787; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M332, roll 9); Miscellaneous Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789; Records of the Continental and Confederation Congresses and the Constitutional Convention, 1774-1789, Record Group 360; National Archives. via http://www.ourdocuments.gov

Organization of American States (2001) *Inter-American democratic charter*. Washington, DC: Organization of American States.

Peters, Charles C. (1930) *Objectives and procedures in civic education*. New York: Longman, Green and Co.

Pianta, Robert C. (1999). *Enhancing relationships between children and teachers*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association

Putnam, Robert D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Shuster.

Putnam, Robert .D. (2001). Community-based social capital and educational performance. In D. Ravitch and J. P. Viteritti (Eds.), *Making good citizens*: Education and civil society (pp. 58-95). New Haven: Yale University Press

Ravitch, Diana. (1983). *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945-1980*. New York: Basic Books.

Reimers, Fernando (2007). Civic education when democracy is in flux: The impact of empirical research on policy and practice in Latin America. *Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 3 (2): 5-21.

Rose, Lowell. C. & Gallup, Alec. M. (2000). The 32nd Annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the Public's attitudes toward the public schools. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 82(1): 41-57.

Schultz, Lynn.H., Barr, Denis. J., & Selman, Robert. L. (2001) The value of a developmental approach to evaluating character development programs: An outcome study of facing history and ourselves. *Journal of Moral Education,* 30 (1): 3-27.

Shepherd, Margaret & Cohen, Jonathan. (2010). *Linking intentional social, emotional and ethical instruction with writing instruction*. Manuscript submitted for publication

Sherrod, Lonnie R., Flanagan, Constance and Youniss, James. (2002). Dimensions of citizenship and opportunities for youth development: *The what, why, when, where*, and *who* of citizenship development. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6 (4): 264 - 272

Tomlinson, Stephen. (1997). Edward Lee Thorndike and John Dewey on the science of education. *Oxford Review of Educatio*n, 23 (3): 365-383.

Torney-Purta, Judith & Vermeer, Susan. (2004). *Developing citizenship competencies from Kindergarten through grade 12: A background paper for policymakers and educators*. Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States.

Torney-Purta, Judith & Wilkenfeld, Britt S. (2009). *Paths to 21st century competencies through civic education classrooms: An analysis of survey results from ninth-graders*. Washington, DC: Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools and American Bar Association Division for Public Education. Retrieved September 2009 from http://www.civicyouth.org/?p=360.

Verba, Sidney, Schlozman, Kay L. & Brady, Henry E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Westheimer, Joel & Kahne, Joseph. (2004). Educating the 'good' citizen: Political choices and pedagogical goals. PS, 37 (2): 241-8.

Youniss, James, McLellan, Jeffrey.A. & Yates, Miranda. (1997). What we know about engendering civic identity. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40 (5): pg 620-631

Zins, Joseph, Weissberg, Roger.W., Wang, Margaret.C. & Walberg, Herbert. (Eds.). (2004). *Building school success on social emotional learning: What does the research say?* New York: Teachers College Press.