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Jaap Schuitema Talking about values

Talking about Values

A dialogic approach to citizenship education
as an integral part of history classes

Jaap Schuitema



UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM
Graduate School of Teaching and Learning



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Universiteit van Amsterdam
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Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research

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Talking about Values

A dialogic approach to citizenship education
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Jacobus Adrianus Schuitema

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VOORWOORD

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Jaap

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Citizenship education, nowadays, receives a great deal of attention. Especially school is increasingly seen as a place where young people can learn to be citizens. Schools are, therefore, expected to pay explicit attention to citizenship. In several countries, including the Netherlands, citizenship education has been introduced as a mandatory part of the national curriculum. Giving shape to citizenship education is a difficult task, considering the many different views on what the goal of citizenship education should be and how it should be implemented in the curriculum. This thesis aims to provide insight in how citizenship education can be realized in secondary education.

Not only is there an increased interest for citizenship education, the concept of citizenship is used in a broader sense than in former days. Citizenship today implies more than a legal status in a country or participation in political activities, such as voting. It refers to a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes that citizens require to participate in society and to contribute to the common good (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Haste, 2004). Citizenship education in this perspective necessarily entails the social and moral development of students (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Haste, 2004; Carr, 2006; Davies, Gorard & McQuinn, 2005; Veugelers, 2007).

Besides citizenship education there are many other terms used to refer to education that aims to stimulate the social and moral development of students: e.g. moral education, value education, democratic education and character education. Sometimes different terms are used for almost the same approach, but in some cases different terms do pertain to different perspectives (Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001). On the one hand, the focus is on fostering a specific set of values such as trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, honesty, justice and fairness (Lickona, 1999). On the other hand, a more developmental perspective on moral education based on the work of Kohlberg (Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989) or Gilligan (1982) accentuate the stimulation of skills and attitudes that enable students to make their own moral decisions. In this thesis we primarily make use of this developmental approach to moral education.

1. LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A democratic and plural society needs critical citizens who can form their opinion about matters concerning justice and the public interest. It is important that citizens are able to make well-considered choices on moral and social issues and take responsibility for their choices (Ten Dam & Volman, 2004). Therefore, citizenship education will have to be directed at the attitudes and skills that enable students to reflect upon their moral considerations, and take responsibility for their choices (Veugelers, 2000). An important aim of citizenship education, and the focus of this thesis, is the enhancement of the capacity of students to develop personal points of view with regard to value-related matters and to justify their opinions to others. We thereby focus particularly on two aspects that we consider essential to citizenship education.

First, it is important for students to be able to reflect upon the moral values that are at stake and take them into account when justifying their viewpoints to others. Moral values are general ideas, judgements or ideals pertaining to how people ought to behave towards each other (Rokeach, 1973; Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). Moral values are different from social conventions and norms because moral values transcend the specific social context and have a more general and abstract meaning (Oser, 1996a; Turiel, 1983). Moral values are important because they are the criteria or standards upon which moral evaluations and guidelines for moral behaviour are based (Rokeach, 1973; Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). It is, therefore, essential that students understand what moral values are and recognize the values that are involved in certain moral issues.

The second aspect we consider to be important is strongly related to the first. To participate in a plural and democratic society, students have to deal with different perspectives. It is important that students understand that there are multiple perspectives on moral and social issues and that their own view is only one of many possible perspectives (Banks, 2004). Students need to be able to reflect upon multiple perspectives and take them into account while developing their own point of view.

2. CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION THROUGH HISTORY TEACHING

Citizenship education can be realized in secondary education in various ways. Many aspects of school life play a part in the social and moral development of students. Most research in this field concerns the everyday interactions and regulations at school. The importance of school culture for the moral development of students, for instance, received a great deal of attention (Power et al., 1989). Another focus concerns the relationship between teachers and students and the moral implication of teachers' behaviour (Hansen, 2001; Oser, 1994). Considerably less research has been focused on the curriculum. Relatively little is known about the effectiveness of the various teaching methods for enhancing moral and social development of students (Solomon et al., 2001).

Usually, the moral and social dimension of education is separated from the teaching of domain specific knowledge and skills. As a consequence, citizenship education is often regarded as a distinct curriculum subject and taught in, for in-

stance, civic education classes or through extra-curricular activities such as service learning (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). We think, however, that the social and moral development of students is inherent to the teaching of domain specific knowledge and skills in regular subjects. Ultimately, students should be able to use domain specific knowledge and skills to judge and act independently and participate actively in the society. It is, therefore, important that students learn to reflect on values within the subject matter and the way they make sense of moral values (see also Sadler & Zeidler, 2005; Yore, Bisanz & Hand, 2003).

Subjects such as history, biology, geography but also languages contain many value related issues and moral dilemmas. Citizenship education can be integrated within these subjects by paying systematic attention to moral values within the subject matter. History, in particular, is a subject with opportunities for citizenship education. To understand historical events, it is important to consider the moral values of that time and to explore different perspectives of people in the past. Moreover, the process of making meaning of the past is influenced by your own moral and social framework. Students also have a moral opinion about historic events (Barton & Levstik, 2004). These value-laden constructions of the past make history an interesting subject to learn how to think about values and to investigate different perspectives. Bringing student perspectives into the history class, gives new openings for students to reflect on their own moral values and to learn to justify their opinion to others.

Integrating citizenship education into the history class is not a new idea. In the Netherlands, for instance, a few years ago the Commission for Historical and Social Education (De Rooij, 2004) presented a curriculum for a new subject that was meant to combine social studies and history education. Citizenship education should have been a central aim of that new subject. That new subject, however, was not implemented, nor did that proposal lead to a wide debate about citizenship education through history teaching in the Netherlands. There has, however, been a lively international debate about the subject (Brett, 2005; Wilson, 2001). In addition, there are several international publications, usually in professional journals, that propose teaching strategies and instructional designs aimed at the integration of citizen education in the subject history (see e.g. the special issue of *Teaching History* in 2002 about citizenship education). Empirical research on the effectiveness of such proposals is, however, scarce.

In this thesis, we aim to gain insight into how citizenship education can be integrated in the subject history. We, thereby, focus on the curriculum. This means we concentrate on the teaching methods and instructional designs to give shape to citizenship education in history classes.

3. A DIALOGIC APPROACH TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Stimulating dialogue in the classroom is assumed to be an effective method for the development of the competences citizens need to participate in society. Literature on social and moral development of students usually emphasize the importance of dialogue. A great deal of research based on the work of Kohlberg (e.g. Blatt & Kohl-

berg, 1975), for instance, focused on the effects of moral dilemma discussions on the moral development of students. Several studies conducted on this issue in the seventies and eighties demonstrated a small positive effect (Solomon, et al., 2001). Moreover, sharing their opinion and judgements with others should help students to become aware of their own values and to reflect on them (Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). When students engage in dialogue they are encouraged to reason and consider the perspectives of others. In this way, the dialogue is assumed to stimulate the development of critical thinking as a crucial aspect of citizenship education (Ten Dam & Volman, 2004). In addition, it is argued that citizenship in a democratic society requires the ability to communicate with different social groups who have different points of view. Dialogue in the classroom is assumed to provide opportunities to develop communication skills (e.g. Parker, 1997a; Preskill, 1997) and to stimulate attitudes, such as tolerance, respect, 'open-mindedness' and autonomy (Grant, 1996; Saye, 1998).

There are different ways to promote dialogue in the classroom. A common approach is to foster classroom discussion guided by the teacher. By guiding the discussion, teachers can stimulate students to evaluate options and guide them to a deeper understanding of ideas and to a thoughtful conclusion (e.g. Parker & Hess, 2001; Saye, 1998). Another approach is to stimulate dialogue between students themselves. When they work in small groups, more students are able to participate in the dialogue than when the whole class is involved. Also, in small groups the students have more responsibility for the progress of the dialogue. They have to guide the dialogue themselves, and solve possible conflicts. The claim that dialogue will enhance learning is, however, often too easily made. In order to realize dialogue in the classroom, explicit attention must be paid to the skills and attitudes students require to engage in dialogue.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this thesis we investigate the effects of a dialogic approach to citizenship education integrated in the history class on the ability of students to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their points of view. Within this context, we focus on how dialogue can be most effectively stimulated in the classroom. We, therefore, investigate the effect of the amount of group work on student's ability to justify their opinions.

The first two research questions in this thesis are:

- 1) *Does dialogic citizenship education as a integral part of history classes enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?*
- 2) *Does the amount of group work in dialogic citizenship education contribute to enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?*

To investigate these questions we designed two curriculum units for citizenship education in the history class. Stimulating dialogue in the classroom is a central element in both units. But while in one curriculum unit, the dialogue takes place mainly in small groups of students, in the other, a competing one, the dialogue generally takes place in a whole classroom discussion under the guidance of the teacher. We examine the effect of both curriculum units on students' ability to take into account moral values and multiple perspectives in the justification of their opinions. Subsequently, we take a closer look on the role of the quality of the dialogue between students in citizenship education. The research questions are:

- 3) *Does dialogic citizenship education as an integral part of history classes enhance the quality of dialogue between students?*
- 4) *How does the quality of the dialogue relate to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?*

Figure 1 presents an overview of the research project. The numbers in the figure correspond to the four research questions.

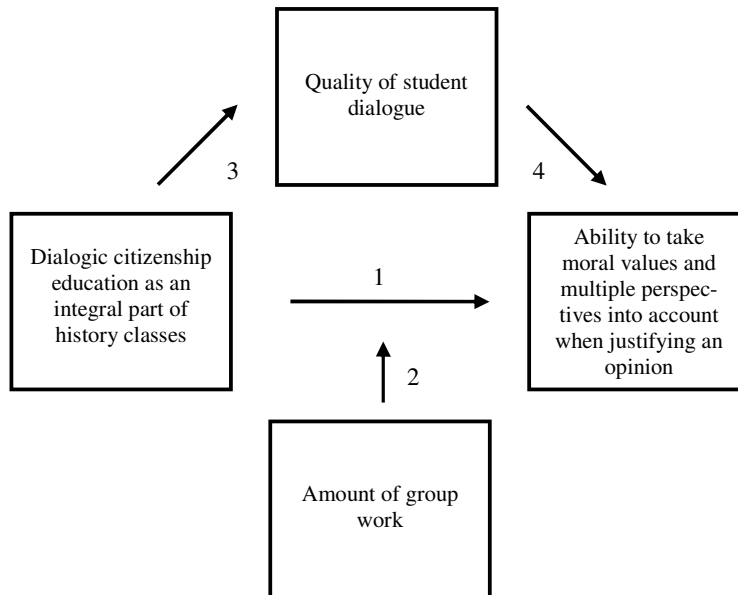


Figure 1. Overview of the research project.

We assume that the quality of student dialogue is important for enhancing students' ability to justify their personal opinion. We expect that students who are engaged in dialogues with a higher quality will be better able to justify their opinions. Therefore, in the instructional designs for dialogic citizenship education, specific attention is paid to the skills and attitudes students need to engage in dialogue.

5. ORGANIZATION OF THIS THESIS

In chapter 2 we present a review of the literature on teaching strategies for enhancing the social and moral development of students in secondary education. We examine the goals and proposed teaching strategies for curriculum oriented moral education, and we discuss empirical studies to the effects of teaching strategies for moral education.

In chapter 3, we first examine the debate concerning the integration of citizenship education within history teaching. To investigate the effect of the amount of group work, we develop two curriculum units that differ in the amount of group work. In this chapter, we discuss the development of the unit in which students work mainly in small groups. The second unit, not described in this chapter, was derived from the first by reconstructing a large part of the group work assignments into assignments that are appropriate for whole classroom teaching.

In chapter 4, the first two research questions are investigated in a quasi-experimental study. The effects of the curriculum units on the ability of students to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account are investigated and compared with a control group of students who followed regular history lessons.

Research question 3 and 4 were investigated in chapter 5. We discuss the characteristic that we assume to be essential for a dialogue that facilitates learning. We investigated the effect of dialogic citizenship education on these characteristics and the relationship between the quality of the dialogues and students' ability to reflect on moral values and multiple perspectives.

Finally, in chapter 6, we present a summary of the results of the studies, followed by a discussion of the main results. We conclude this thesis with suggestions for educational practice.

Chapter 2

TEACHING STRATEGIES FOR MORAL EDUCATION: A REVIEW¹

This chapter presents the results of a literature review of studies on teaching strategies for moral education in secondary schools (1995-2003). The majority of the studies focus on the 'what' and 'why', i.e. the objectives, of curriculum-oriented moral education. Attention to the instructional formats for enhancing the prosocial and moral development of students (the 'how') is relatively sparse. Most studies on teaching strategies for moral education recommend a problem-based approach to instruction, whereby students work in small groups. This approach gives room for dialogue and interaction between students, which is considered to be crucial for their moral and prosocial development. Other studies discuss more specific teaching methods, such as drama and service learning. We conclude that the theoretical discourses on moral education are not reflected in a solid empirical research domain on the practice of curriculum-oriented moral education and its effects on students' learning outcomes. Finally, we recommend that future research on curriculum-oriented moral education includes the subject areas encompassing moral issues and the social differences between students.

1. INTRODUCTION

The last decade has witnessed a continuing decline in formerly coherent value systems and an increasing individualization in modern Western society. The autonomous development of one's own value orientations and the ability to reflect on values are now more important (cf. Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). Moreover, the tendency towards globalization has broadened the cultural spectrum in which many people live and society has become more diverse. This raises the question, 'How can schools prepare students to participate in the social and cultural practices of society and to make their own choices?'

¹ Schuitema, J. A., ten Dam, G., & Veugelers, W. (in press). Teaching strategies for moral education: A review. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*.

Many aspects of school life are constitutive elements of moral education². The school culture and the teacher as a moral person, for instance, are extremely significant in students' moral development. Kohlberg's Just Community approach to moral education (Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989) has been very influential on research into the moral climate in schools. This approach focuses on how schools can be transformed into democratic, moral communities and on the effects of the moral atmosphere on students' moral development (see also Oser, 1996b). Besides school culture, teachers as moral exemplars and the interaction between teachers and students have a significant influence on students (Hansen, 2001; Oser, 1994; Pring, 2001). Hansen makes a distinction between moral education and education as a moral endeavour. He suggests that although many moral implications of teaching are unintentional, teaching as an endeavour is inherently moral. In contrast, moral education refers to the deliberate teaching of particular values, attitudes and dispositions to stimulate the prosocial and moral development of students.

In this study we focus on curriculum-oriented approaches to moral education with the deliberate aim of enhancing students' prosocial and moral development. Looking at the curriculum means that we concentrate on teaching strategies and instructional designs at the classroom level and on the learning activities of students. This line of approach has received less attention than the school culture and the teacher as moral exemplar in relation to the moral development of students. A review in the Handbook of Research on Curriculum conducted by Sockett (1992) revealed only a few studies that focus on teaching strategies. Empirical research into the effectiveness of the proposed teaching strategies appeared to be almost non-existent. A more recent study reviewing the literature on the prosocial and moral development of students up to the mid-1990s only changes this picture slightly. Solomon, Watson and Battistich (2001) discuss a number of school-based projects or curricula that focus mainly on primary education. They mention a few empirical studies regarding these projects. These often concern small-scale studies on, for instance, students' experiences. Most of the literature reviewed by Solomon and his colleagues, however, is prescriptive in nature and formulates guidelines for moral education based on theoretical analyses of the moral task of education.

Starting from the observation that there has clearly been a renewed interest in the prosocial and moral development of students since the mid 1990s, it is conceivable that considerably more curriculum-oriented empirical studies have been carried out during recent years. We have therefore conducted a review of the literature published from 1995 to 2003. Our review study on curriculum-oriented moral education was guided by the following question: *What teaching strategies are appropriate for enhancing the social and moral development of students in secondary education?* We first give a brief description of the literature search we made and then present

² Many different terms are used to describe the research domain of moral education, including character education, citizenship education and value education. Sometimes different terms are used for almost the same approach but in some cases different terms do pertain to different perspectives of moral education (cf. Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001). We use the term moral education as a general term to refer to all education that aims to stimulate the prosocial and moral development of students.

the results of that search. After discussing the various goals of moral education, we give an overview of the proposed teaching strategies. In our view the issue of 'diversity' must be taken into account in a multicultural and pluralistic society. This is especially important in education and hence we will pay special attention to social differences between students. Finally, we address the empirical studies on the effects of the proposed teaching strategies on the learning experiences and learning results of students. In the discussion section we present a summary of our findings and formulate two issues for a research agenda on curriculum-oriented moral education.

2. METHOD

In our literature search of studies from 1995 to 2003, we identified studies on teaching strategies for enhancing the prosocial and moral development of students. Reference databases (ERIC and the ISI Web of Science) were searched for potentially relevant studies published since 1995. The literature search was conducted using two groups of descriptors (including synonyms and related terms). The first group of descriptors was: *moral, values, ethical, citizenship and democratic*. We combined these descriptors with curriculum-related terms such as: *secondary education, instruction, curriculum, teaching, intervention and learning*. We limited ourselves to studies that were published in peer-reviewed/refereed journals (SSCI). The abstracts of the articles were checked to ascertain whether they actually focus on curriculum-oriented moral education. As a result articles that focus mainly on the school culture and school climate or articles dealing with moral development in general, without specifying objectives or strategies for education, were excluded from the review study. In addition to the search, we checked the abstracts of several journals for relevant material (e.g. Journal of Moral Education, Journal for Curriculum Studies) as well as the references in journal articles published since 1995 ('snowball method'). The final outcome was a total of 76 studies on which we conducted our review study. Given our method of selection, we believe these publications give a valuable overview of the studies published on teaching strategies for moral education in the international literature in the period 1995-2003.

A large part of the literature appeared to be theoretical in nature rather than empirical and, moreover, theoretically and methodologically diverse. A quantitative meta-analysis was therefore not possible, so we analysed the studies in a mainly narrative way. In the description of the empirical studies we restricted ourselves to an indication of the designs used and the statistically significant or qualitative results.

3. OBJECTIVES OF MORAL EDUCATION

We encountered quite a number of articles that only give general guidelines for structuring the teaching-learning process and focus primarily on what moral education should be aimed at. Therefore, we will first present the objectives of curriculum-oriented moral education and the learning outcomes intended in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Focusing on how various authors legitimate moral education, two aspects can be distinguished. First, the personal development and welfare of students is considered to be important. Education must endeavour to guide students towards adulthood and stimulate their identity development. Second, the importance of moral education is emphasized from the perspective of society. By enhancing the prosocial and moral development of students, moral education contributes to the quality of society. Both sides of the moral task of education are closely linked, even though an analytical differentiation can be made.

In the tradition of the cognitive developmental work of Kohlberg (Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975; Kohlberg, 1971), it is argued that moral education should be aimed at the moral development of the individual and at his or her ability to deal autonomously with moral dilemmas and ethical issues. Studies in this tradition focus especially on cognitive skills, such as critical thinking, moral decision making and moral reasoning (e.g. Barden, Frase & Kovac, 1997; DeVries, 1997; Murray, 1999). Lopez and Lopez (1998) in particular have emphasized the importance of the cognitive element of moral development.

Whereas Kohlberg's theory is based on the ability to apply the moral principles of justice to moral dilemmas, Gilligan (1982) developed a theory of moral reasoning based on relationships and care. In line with her 'care orientation' to moral understanding, many authors focus on the affective and relational aspects of moral development (Basourakos, 1999; Fallona, 2000; Noddings, 1995). According to them moral dilemmas should be placed in a context and the importance of emotional factors in moral decision making should be fully acknowledged. Examples of such emotional factors are empathizing with others, and caring and compassion for others (Ruiz & Vallejos, 1999; Verducci, 2000). More specifically, Bouchard (2002) proposes a narrative perspective on moral development based on the cultural historical approach of Tappan (1998). Tappan argues that an individual cannot reason and judge without being aware of his or her social relationships. The aim of moral development is therefore not moral autonomy but moral authority of individuals in their relations with others.

Under the heading of character education the moral-development tradition is primarily criticized for focusing too much on skills and thereby neglecting the moral content (Doyle, 1997; Lickona, 1999; Ryan, 1996). The argument here is that students need to develop certain qualities, behaviours and dispositions (cf. Sockett, 1992). By teaching a specific set of values, such as trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, honesty, justice and fairness, moral relativism can be avoided (Berreth & Berman, 1997; Doyle, 1997; Fenstermacher, 2001; Lickona, 1996). In particular the 'direct approach' of character education (see Solomon et al., 2001) is aimed at students' internalization of those values inherent in the tradition and culture of society. Some authors in this tradition do acknowledge the importance of skills such as empathic skills (Estes & Vásquez-Levy, 2001) or critical thinking skills (Elkind & Sweet, 1997). This does not alter the fact, however, that 'being critical', for example, should still result in previously defined outcomes such as obedience and conformity (Kohn, 1997).

Generally speaking, the perspective of society is most strongly articulated in ‘citizenship education’ or ‘democratic education’. Both terms have increasingly been used in the past decade. The main focus here is to enhance engagement with democratic society and active participation in that society. Engagement and participation, however, can take different forms. They vary from ‘voting’ or ‘willingness to volunteer’ to ‘confidence in the ability to make a difference in the social environment’ or ‘willingness to protest against injustice’ (cf. Haste, 2004; Torney-Purta, 2004). Various authors in this field do indeed advocate a broad education embracing cognitive, social and moral-learning objectives to prepare students to participate in society in different forms. Students need to acquire skills as well as knowledge, attitudes and values.

Examples of skills mentioned in the literature on curriculum-oriented moral education include critical-thinking skills, problem-solving skills, perspective taking and decision-making skills (e.g. Battistoni, 1997; Beane, 2002; Clark, Croddy, Hayes & Philips, 1997). In addition, students need to develop communication skills such as writing skills, deliberation skills and listening skills (e.g. Davies & Evans, 2002; Parker, 1997a). Finally, some authors emphasize ‘reflection’ as a basic skill for critical citizenship (e.g. Ten Dam & Volman, 2003). With regard to knowledge, students need to gain insight into the way a democratic society functions (e.g. Hicks, 2001; Hirsch, 2001; Kerr, 1999). More specifically, Print (1996) and Beane (2002) advocate knowledge about the government, the constitution and civil rights. Most proponents of citizenship education also stress the development of attitudes and values, such as responsibility and community involvement (e.g. Cogan & Morris, 2001; Davies, Fulop, Hutchings, Ross & Vari-Szilagy, 2001; Veugelers & De Kat, 2003), tolerance and respect for others and appreciating differences (Grant, 1996; Print, 1996). In addition, students need to become autonomous and open-minded citizens and to develop a critical attitude (Saye, 1998; Veugelers & De Kat, 2003; Wardeker, 2001). Last but not least, education should foster a positive attitude towards participation in a democratic society (Battistoni, 1997; Clark et al., 1997; Davies & Evans, 2002)

Some authors focus on the multicultural dimension of society. They argue that the main goal of moral education is to achieve equality between different groups and to prevent social exclusion. Ranson (2000) asserts that in a post-modern heterogeneous society, people need a ‘voice’ in order to be included and that education should therefore teach students communication skills. Other authors emphasize that doing justice to diversity in society means that the history and views of different social groups should be incorporated into the curriculum (e.g. Banks et al., 2001; Kumashiro, 2000; Lawrence, 1997). Finally, the task of education in preventing racism or oppression of social groups in general is stressed (Carrington & Short, 1997; Kumashiro, 2000; Santas, 2000). Besides critical-thinking skills and knowledge about oppression mechanisms, these authors indicate the importance of fostering attitudes such as tolerance, respect for others and a desire to get to know and to understand others.

Relatively little research in this domain, however, deals with diversity. Parker (2001) observes a gap between citizenship education and multicultural education. He argues that in the field of citizenship education, diversity is regarded as a threat

to unity, while the issue of diversity is relegated to the field of multicultural-education. In our view, a more differentiated concept of citizenship education should be used. Learning how to handle ambiguity and to value diversity are the central objectives of this concept (cf. Haste, 2004)

Ultimately all the approaches to moral education described above aim to prepare students for participation in society. The main differences, however, concern the specific learning outcomes aspired to, for example, a specific set of values versus critical thinking and social autonomy. Underlying these differences are different perspectives, often implicit, on modern society: what are the main characteristics of society and what kind of citizenship do we want?

4. CURRICULA FOR MORAL EDUCATION

The studies about teaching strategies we came across in the review vary from instructional elements for moral education to proposals for complete instructional designs, and detailed descriptions of teaching strategies or characteristics of learning environments. In this section we firstly present an overview of the various instructional elements which recur in the literature. We then discuss the studies which focus more specifically on certain teaching methods, namely classroom discussion, drama and literature, and service learning.

In most studies on teaching strategies for curriculum-oriented moral education we found the following elements: problem-based learning, working in groups, discussions, and using subject topics incorporating moral issues, dilemmas and values. Frequently, a *problem-based* instructional design is chosen. What has been learned must be meaningful in the context of students' personal objectives and they must be able to connect the learning content with their prior knowledge. In order to make learning more meaningful to students, several authors (e.g. Beane, 2002; Clark et al., 1997; Saye, 1998) recommend co-operative learning and stimulating students to direct their own learning process. Frequently, students can choose between a number of subjects to work on or they are allowed to put forward their own questions and concerns (e.g. Beane, 2002). Some studies propose teaching strategies in which students are encouraged to investigate the subject by themselves, including collecting information (e.g. Saye, 1998). Students can apply their own knowledge and interests to the subject in such an inquiry-oriented approach. When students actively develop knowledge, attitudes and behaviours, rather than receiving them passively, the effect is more lasting according to Tredway (1995).

A problem-based approach in which students can make their own choices about the curriculum is also assumed to contribute to an open and democratic classroom climate. Many authors stress the importance of involving students in the decision-making process (Berreth & Berman, 1997; Boostrom, 1998; Oser, 1996b; Ryan, 1996). According to Battistoni (1997), democracy can only be taught in a democratic environment. In addition, authors stress the importance of a classroom climate in which students are encouraged to participate actively and express their opinions (Covell & Howe, 2001; Torney-Purta, 2002). Covell & Howe (2001) argue that a change in attitude is most likely when students are able to explore options and val-

ues in an egalitarian and open manner. Therefore teachers must use an egalitarian teaching style with opportunities for debate, exercises in self-selected small groups and some self-direction in activities. Moreover, such a classroom climate will enhance students' self-confidence and self-esteem. Here we see the influence of the 'Just Community' approach which emphasizes the importance of involving students in the decision-making process (see Althof, 2003; Oser, 1996b; Power et al., 1989). Oser argues that discussions about moral issues must be linked to moral action if they are to foster responsibility in students. Joint decision making by teachers and students is the most concrete way of doing this.

In many of the proposed curricula, students have to *work in small groups*. The main argument in favour of co-operative learning is that it stimulates students' critical-thinking skills and enhances perspective taking. While working together, students have to think about social issues in an active way and must consider other students' opinions (Tredway, 1995). Murray's study (1999) is an example of this. He discusses a curriculum on ethical dilemmas in biology in which groups of four students choose an issue and work together on a presentation. Two members of the group have to consider a stance in favour of the issue and the two others a stance against it. Furthermore, it is assumed that working in groups benefits the interaction between students and helps them to practise communication skills, to resolve differences of opinion, and to tolerate disagreement (e.g. Hicks, 2001; McQuaide, Leinhardt & Stainton, 1999).

Although group work figures prominently in studies regarding the prosocial and moral development of students, few authors actually pay attention to 'learning to work together'. In their case-study project on social competence, Ten Dam & Volman (2003) describe a few projects in which teachers explicitly attempt to enhance the quality of group work in the first stage of secondary education. Guided assignments put students in situations in which they have to work together. Afterwards, explicit attention is paid to reflection on the group process and the quality of the collaborative work done. Bergmann Drewe (2000) argues that physical education in particular provides opportunities for students to learn to co-operate with each other in an appropriate way. As moral rules need to be applied in sport, physical education represents a real-life situation in which students can practise moral behaviour.

Some authors propose enhancing teamwork by using multimedia technology. In a project about social issues from 1960s, Saye (1998) asks students to use a computer database to find information for their presentation. McQuaide et al. (1999) discuss a computer simulation programme in which students can put themselves in the shoes of a bank's vice-president. This change of perspective confronts them with ethical decisions such as how to deal with an embezzler.

Another instructional element that is frequently mentioned in studies on moral education is *classroom discussion or discussions in small groups*. Most authors consider dialogue and interaction to be essential for enhancing the prosocial and moral development of students. The argumentation for this, however, differs. Kohlberg's work has inspired many studies focusing on discussions about moral dilemmas. His early work concentrated on such discussions in the classroom (Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975). The need to solve conflicts and to consider the perspectives of others is assumed to stimulate cognitive moral growth. Murray (1999) and Barden et al. (1997),

for instance, focus on discussions on ethical dilemmas in science to stimulate critical-thinking skills and moral reasoning. For most authors, however, the importance of dialogue and interaction goes beyond the teaching of cognitive skills. It is particularly argued that citizenship in a democratic society requires being able to communicate with different social groups with different points of view. Discussing moral issues in the classroom provides an excellent opportunity to practise communication skills (e.g. Parker, 1997a; Preskill, 1997). Moreover, it stimulates the development of attitudes such as tolerance, respect, 'open-mindedness' and autonomy (Grant, 1996; Saye, 1998). From a cultural historical point of view, moral development is inherently social. Students not only have to learn how to reason about morality, but morality itself is considered to be a cultural practice in which students must learn how to participate (Tappan, 1998). Although classroom discussion is considered to be an essential element in curriculum-oriented moral education, relatively few studies elaborate on the question of how to engage students in discussion. With a few exceptions (see below), they go no further than the claim that 'discussion' makes a difference.

In our review study we encountered a recurrent plea for using *subject topics* with a moral dimension. One example is the study by Schultz, Barr and Selman (2001) regarding the Facing History and Ourselves programme. Readings, films, and literature about history play a central role in this programme. It particularly highlights the Holocaust. This is considered to be an important topic that can prompt questions on attitudes such as prejudice, moral choices, respect and tolerance (see also Brown & Davies, 1998; Carrington & Short, 1997). Saye (1998) also argues that using historical topics, especially themes from the 1960s such as Vietnam, the civil-rights movement or the counterculture, can help students to develop critical-thinking skills and stimulate them to consider social issues from different perspectives.

Other authors propose using issues and problems that students actually encounter or will encounter as citizens in a democratic society (Beane, 2002; Clark et al., 1997; Davies, Gray & Stephens, 1998; Hicks, 2001). According to them, issues such as environmental pollution and distribution of wealth help students to gain knowledge and understanding about the world around them and about a democratic way of life. These insights are crucial for thinking critically and developing attitudes such as a sense of community and responsibility for society. Covell & Howe (2001) use the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as subject matter for moral education. In their opinion, the best way to develop a more supportive attitude towards the rights of others and to foster respect for children from minority groups is to teach children about their own rights with regard to 'basic needs', 'equality', 'juvenile justice', 'sexuality' and 'education'. Students learn about these rights through analysing popular songs, for instance, or case studies on runaways and street children.

Besides social studies (e.g. history), other subject areas are considered to be significant to moral education. Firstly, ethical issues related to science are examined. Murray (1999) proposes topics such as human cloning, growth hormones in the bio-industry, and birth control. Others suggest more general themes such as laboratory safety, working with others, reporting results in an ethical way and scientist's gender. Researchers argue that while discussing these topics and writing about them,

students develop critical-thinking skills and ethical decision-making skills (e.g. Barden, et al., 1997; Nichols, 1995). Secondly, we came across language teaching as a relevant subject domain for moral education. The accent here lies primarily on stimulating the personal development of students. Fairbanks (1998), for example, describes projects in which students are asked to write about issues in their own lives (e.g. divorce or a parent's alcohol abuse). Finally, Ryan (1996), includes literature in his curriculum to counter 'the influence of cultural narcissism' in our society. According to him, moral education often puts too much emphasis on the autonomy of individuals and by doing so is in danger of promoting egocentrism. Thinking about and discussing narcissistic characters in American literature-- 'How could these characters have behaved differently?' --can help students to understand narcissism and to relate it to antisocial behaviour. Ryan aims primarily at the development of values such as courtesy, trustworthiness and responsibility.

4.1 Classroom discussion

Although the importance of classroom discussion seems to be almost self-evident in studies on curriculum-oriented moral education, only a few authors elaborate on the specific teaching strategies it requires. Most suggested formats for discussion take the form of a dialogue. Grant (1996) characterizes a dialogue being aimed at the critical evaluation of different opinions in order to reach consensus, while a debate focuses primarily on persuading an audience (cf Preskill, 1997). According to her, a dialogue facilitates the development of critical thinking and independency of mind in particular, as well as attitudes such as tolerance, respect and responsibility.

Most proposals centred on classroom discussion that we encountered in the review study make use of the Socratic method derived from Plato. The teacher leads the students through a series of questions to a 'conclusion', which may be predetermined. It is a relatively teacher-centred method and calls on the skills and beliefs of teachers. Several variations, however, can be found in the literature under the heading Socratic method. We discuss a few exemplary studies below.

In line with the 'direct approach' within character education, the Socratic method is used to reach a moral conclusion predetermined by the teacher. Elkind and Sweet (1997), for example, argue that students' responses to the teacher's questions are either right or wrong (in the words of the authors: 'bad'). In the case of a 'bad answer' the teacher must continue asking questions until the student realizes that he or she is wrong. According to Elkind and Sweet this method helps students to make 'good' choices and teaches them to think critically. This definition of critical thinking, however, can be disputed. It is plausible that they will quickly understand what the 'right' and 'wrong' answers are, without learning to form, evaluate and discuss their own opinions.

Saye (1998) and Tredway (1995) suggest an alternative approach. Their 'indirect approach' focuses on fostering skills and attitudes without committing oneself to a specific conclusion. By asking questions teachers can stimulate students to evaluate options and guide them to a deeper understanding of ideas and to a thoughtful conclusion. Tredway argues that in this way students not only learn to think critically

and independently, but also develop more respectful, tactful and kinder attitudes and behaviour.

4.2 Drama and literature

The main argument for using literature and drama is that they provide a stimulating context for students in which they can think and reason about moral dilemmas. From the perspective of character education Estes and Vásquez-Levy (2001) recommend the use of literature because it confronts students with moral values and ethical issues. Doyle (1997) argues that this can help to avoid moral relativism. He argues that ‘solving’ moral dilemmas is not a matter of presenting the right arguments but of placing values in a historical and cultural context. Students can learn the values of their cultural inheritance through literature. Doyle in particular suggests reading the ancients (e.g. *The Odyssey* and *The Bible*) and what he calls ‘the great documents of citizenship’ (e.g. *Magna Carta* and the *Bill of Rights*)

We have already seen that Kohlberg’s developmental approach has been criticized for focusing too much on the cognitive aspects of moral development (e.g. Noddings, 1992). In line with this critique, drama has been put forward because of its potential to involve individuals emotionally (Basourakos, 1999; Winston, 1999). Students can identify with the moral agents in the story and internalize the emotional content of complex, ‘real-life’, moral dilemmas. The capacity of dramatic narratives to heighten the moral experience is assumed to be much stronger than that of written narratives (Winston, 1999). Pre-performance and post-performance discussions are considered necessary to stimulate students to reflect on the moral dilemmas the characters encounter. Basourakos (1999) suggests guiding questions such as ‘What are the circumstances that determine each moral conflict in this play?’ or ‘What other options could have been available for the moral agents to resolve their moral conflicts?’

Other authors argue that students will be even more able to empathize with the characters in the play if they act in it themselves (Bouchard, 2002; Day, 2002). Moreover, by acting as a moral agent within a specific context, students are able to develop moral authority and skills for empathic caring (Verducci, 2000). In the Forum theatre workshop (Day, 2002), for example, the aim was to increase students’ empathy with refugees and homeless people and to encourage them to become moral agents in their own lives. In the tradition of the Forum theatre, students could not only influence the script of the play but also perform in it themselves.

From a cultural historical point of view, Bourchard (2002) argues that a moral issue that has emerged from a learning experience with drama must be re-introduced in a personal dialogue with the teacher. By doing so, students must assert their authority and take responsibility for what they think and feel.

4.3 Service learning

In our review we came across several studies on citizenship education involving community service learning (e.g. Battistoni, 1997; Billig, 2000; Butin, 2003; Clark

et al., 1997; Leming, 2001; Riedel, 2002). Service learning is a method which enables students to learn by actively participating in society. In line with Dewey's pedagogical discourse, Battistoni (1997) argues that the best way to learn something is by doing it. There are, however, different views on the objectives and basic principles of service learning (Butin, 2003). The objectives aspired to vary from stimulating political engagement (e.g. Riedel, 2002), critical thinking, and the encouragement of altruism and caring (e.g. Billig, 2000) to fostering respect for social differences (e.g. Weah, Simmons & Hall, 2000). Moreover, service learning includes a variety of activities ranging from working in a car wash for charity, tutoring peers, to helping in a soup kitchen or nursing home (see McLellan & Youniss, 2003).

An important debate is on whether community service is valuable in itself or should be explicitly linked to the school curriculum. Many authors argue that it must be integrated into classroom practices (see Niemi, Hepburn & Chapman, 2000). In this approach the term 'service learning' is used to refer to community service that is linked to the academic curriculum. Structural time for reflection on the service experience is, in particular, considered to be a key element in service learning (Billig, 2000; McLellan & Youniss, 2003). Clark et al. (1997) argue that students need to develop knowledge about the issues involved. In the service-learning programme proposed by these authors, students should learn to identify problems in their own community and explore the various strategies for dealing with these problems. By doing so, they will develop problem-solving and communication skills. To achieve these learning outcomes, the programme proposed by Clark et al., includes guided discussions, simulations and role playing, interview assignments with local residents and presentations by students.

4.4 Social group differences

The multicultural dimension of contemporary society is reiterated again and again in the studies reviewed. Most authors argue that one of the objectives of moral education is to teach students how to cope with cultural diversity. However, teaching strategies that take social differences between students in the classroom into account are sparse. It is striking that most of the studies depict students as a more or less homogeneous group in terms of values, prior knowledge, learning strategies, and so on. As a consequence, little attention has been paid to the differential learning outcomes of a specific moral-education curriculum.

One of the few studies in which the educational implications of students' different social and cultural backgrounds are explored is by Banks and his colleagues (2001). They argue that teachers require knowledge about the cultural backgrounds of their students to be able to teach in a culturally responsive way. In addition, the authors assert that teachers should use multiple methods to teach and to assess complex cognitive and social skills. Different teaching methods probably attract different groups of students. Narvaez (2001), however, points out that differential learning outcomes are also related to the content. Students of different ages might not understand the moral content of a story in the same way. Ten Dam and Volman (2003) elaborate on the different educational goals set for different social groups. In their

case study they show that developing a reflexive and changeable identity and being able to participate in society as a critical citizen are characteristic of the projects investigated in the higher levels of secondary education. For students in the lower, more vocationally oriented levels of education, however, the emphasis is on learning how to behave in an appropriate manner. Ten Dam and Volman conclude that projects aimed at the prosocial and moral development of students are in danger of reproducing social inequality because relatively large numbers of students in the lower stream of secondary education are from a disadvantaged background (low SES, ethnic minorities).

5. EFFECTIVE TEACHING STRATEGIES FOR MORAL EDUCATION

We found relatively little empirical research on the effectiveness of teaching strategies for moral education. The empirical studies we did find vary from interview studies and case studies (e.g. Bouchard, 2002; Carrington & Short; 1997, Davies et al., 1998; Hahn, 1999; Ten Dam & Volman, 2003; Williams, Yanchar, Jensen & Lewis, 2003) to studies using a quasi-experimental (pre-test post-test control group) design (e.g. Covell & Howe, 2001; Lopez & Lopez; 1998, McQuaide et al., 1999; Narvaez, 2001; Riedel, 2002; Schultz et al., 2001). This variety leads some authors to conclude that the quality of the empirical-research domain of moral education is questionable (e.g. Solomon et al., 2001; Wade & Saxe, 1996; Wilson, 2000). Furthermore, the outcomes vary according to the perspective---often implicit---on the objectives of moral education, which makes it difficult to compare different studies. For example, McLellan & Youniss (2003) state that there is little evidence that community service is effective. Research on the effects of community service has produced mixed results (see Leming, 2001; Niemi et al., 2000; Seitsinger, 2005; Yates & Youniss, 1999). A possible reason is the variety of programmes 'service learning' encompasses (see also Riedel, 2002). In this section we first discuss three examples of studies using retrospective analyses. We then move on to discuss a number of exemplary experimental studies.

In a study on Holocaust education, Carrington and Short (1997) investigated the learning experiences of students who had studied the Holocaust ($n=43$, age 14-16) from six schools in Southeast England. Half of them belonged to an ethnic minority group, with 17 having a Southern Asian background. The authors did not elaborate on the specific features of the instructional design used. In their opinion studying the Holocaust promotes citizenship by its very nature. Students said that the lessons had increased their awareness of racism. When they were asked to elaborate on the concepts of 'stereotyping' and 'scapegoating', however, they did not show a deep understanding of these concepts. According to the authors, insight into these mechanisms is important in order to curb racism.

Day (2002) investigated the effects of a Forum theatre workshop aimed at increasing students' empathy with refugees and homeless people and encouraging them to become autonomous moral agents. Three ethnically diverse schools in London participated in the workshop. The data were obtained by descriptive observations and semi-structured interviews with students ($n=20$, age 11-15), before and

immediately after the workshop and again two months later. The data were analysed qualitatively. The results show that students' perceptions of refugees and homeless people had changed. Moreover, the workshop evoked enthusiasm for action. After two months, however, the initial enthusiasm had been replaced by frustration, mainly because students had no idea how to take further action. Day concludes that the workshop did enable students to identify emotionally with refugees and homeless people. Explicit reflection and guidance from teachers, however, is needed to be able to cope with and respond to moral issues in real life situations.

Williams et al. (2003) retrospectively analysed the effects of a moral-education programme (Unified Studies) over a period of 20 years. Students who had participated in the programme (when they were 15-16 years old) were interviewed ($n=106$) and/or filled in a questionnaire ($n=204$). The authors relate Unified Studies to value development because of the emphasis on working in small groups, co-operative learning and 'real-life experiences', both in and outside the classroom. Students participating in the programme met every other day for the whole day. They therefore had time to examine a wide variety of topics (e.g. environmental, ecology, scientific writing and practising listening techniques) and to reflect on their experiences of one-day field trips and classroom sessions. The students perceived the programme as contributing to a respectful attitude towards others and to a responsible attitude towards themselves and their environment.

Schultz et al. (2001) reported on one of the few examples of experimental research on the relationship between a specific, theoretically substantiated teaching method and the development of skills and attitudes. A quasi-experimental study with a pre-test post-test design ($n=346$ 22 classes, age 14, 62% Caucasian students, 38% students from ethnic-minority groups) was conducted to examine a ten-week or semester programme called Facing History and Ourselves (FHAO). The programme is based on constructivist and community-oriented programmes such as the Just Community approach (Power et al., 1989). The overall goal of the programme, to foster human and responsible citizenship, was particularized in teaching students specific skills (critical-thinking skills and perspective taking). Explicit attention was paid to intergroup relationships and social-justice issues. The results showed that FHAO students scored significantly higher on interpersonal development³ in general. There were no significant differences, however, with regard to perspective taking which the authors consider to be one of the main goals of the programme. FHAO students did show a decrease in the level of racism⁴ compared to students in the control

³ *The GSID Relationship Questionnaire was used to assess children's level (0-3) of interpersonal development in five scales: perspective taking, interpersonal understanding, hypothetical negotiation, real-life negotiation and personal meaning. An overall relationship maturity scale is computed by averaging the 5 scales ($\alpha = 0.75$). It comprises 24 multiple-choice questions. The children are asked to evaluate each answer and choose the best one.*

⁴ *The authors used the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986, as cited in Schultz et al., 2001). This scale consists of 12 items which subjects rate on a 5-point scale and measures racial attitudes ($\alpha = 0.79-0.86$).*

group. Finally, the results did not reveal any differences between the experimental and control group in relation to moral development⁵.

The study of Schultz et al. (2001) showed some differential effects of the FHAO programme on the learning outcomes of different groups of students. Girls scored significantly higher on interpersonal development, civic attitudes and participation than boys, whereas the latter reported more aggressive behaviour and racist attitudes. With regard to ethnic identity⁶, the FHAO programme did not have a different effect on minority students in comparison to non-minority students. Some non-significant tendencies were identified, however, such as a general increase in awareness of ethnic identity in students in the control group.

Another example of empirical research with a quasi-experimental design is Covell and Hove's study (2001) on the learning outcomes of their children's-rights curriculum (see also the section on curricula for moral education) ($n=180$, age 13-14 10 schools). The results showed that students following the children's-rights curriculum scored significantly higher on self-esteem⁷ than students in the control group. Furthermore, students in the programme showed significantly more support for human rights⁸. In addition, Covell and Hove interviewed all the students about the frequency of teasing and bullying in the classroom and about their understanding of human rights. Students in the experimental classes appeared to have a better understanding of human rights. Finally, they examined the possible differential effects of the curriculum. In general, boys scored significantly higher on self-esteem than girls, whereas girls scored higher on peer support and support for adults' rights.

Lopez and Lopez (1998) combine a cognitive approach to moral development (Kohlberg) with an accent on problem-solving skills and metacognitive skills. In the experimental programme consisting of exercises selected from the PIAAR training programme (Gargallo, 1993), educational techniques were used such as forcing students ($n=61$, age 13-15) to take a minimum amount of time to do the exercises and teaching students self-instruction by internal speech. The results show a significant increase in the moral development⁹ of the students in the experimental condition.

⁵ *The Defining Issues Test (Rest, 1979) was designed to measure Kohlberg's moral development stages. Subjects read 4 moral dilemmas followed by 12 statements. These statements correspond with the different developmental stages, and subjects have to rate the statements on a five-point scale and rank them.*

⁶ *To measure ethnic identity the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney 1989, 1992, as cited in Schulz et al., 2001) was used. This scale consists of 14 items and measures three aspects of ethnic identity: positive ethnic attitudes; ethnic identity achievement; and ethnic behaviour or practices ($\alpha = 0.70-0.90$)*

⁷ *The authors used The Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965, as cited in, Covell & Howe, 2001) to measure how adolescents feel about themselves. It consists of 10 statements, each of which is accompanied by a nine-point scale.*

⁸ *The Rights Values Survey (Covell & Howe, 1996, as cited in, Covell & Howe, 2001) was used, which consists of two scales. The first scale (15 items) measures support for the adults' rights and the second scale (15 items) measures support for children's rights. Each item is a statement followed by a five-point scale.*

⁹ *The Defining Issues Test was used, see note 4.*

McQuaide et al. (1999) investigated the effects of a computer simulation programme on ethical reasoning. Students worked in pairs and were asked to make moral decisions ($n = 26$, age 17-18). Those using the program became less self-protective and less self-interested and more willing to take responsibility, which McQuaide et al. consider to be indications of 'better' reasoning. The authors, however, did not report whether these results were significant.

Riedel (2002) conducted a study ($n = 294$, age 17-18) that compares different types of service-learning programmes. He investigated the impact of three service-learning programmes on students' feelings of civic obligation. Two of the programmes were integrated into a social-studies course, a third service-learning programme formed part of civic and religious instruction. Based on observations and interviews with teachers, Riedel concluded that the first two service-learning programmes focus on students' self-development. The last programme fits in with the tradition of 'participatory citizenship' because of its focus on local civic involvement and political participation. A fourth school was used as a control group. Pre-tests and post-tests were conducted to assess students' feelings of civic obligation, which Riedel considers an important component of political engagement. The results show that only the participatory programme fostered a sense of civic obligation in students. Riedel concludes that programmes must frame service in a wide political context and offer opportunities for public action if they are to stimulate political engagement.

6. DISCUSSION

In this chapter we have reviewed studies on teaching strategies for enhancing the prosocial and moral development of students in the period 1995-2003. We focused on curriculum-oriented moral education in secondary schools. The results of our review study show that around half of the studies in this field are restricted to the objectives of curriculum-oriented education. In one way or another, all these studies aim to prepare students for participation in society. Some studies accentuate the importance of stimulating skills like critical thinking, moral decision making and moral reasoning. A number of these also emphasize the affective and relational aspects of moral development. Other studies focus in particular on a specific set of values, such as trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, honesty, justice and fairness, as the main goal of moral education. Only 39 of the 76 studies we reviewed discuss specific proposals for teaching strategies for moral education. A problem-based approach to instruction, co-operative learning and dialogic learning (discussion) are the most commonly suggested teaching strategies. Underlying these strategies is the assumption that learning must be made meaningful to students. Moreover, students should be able to direct their own learning process and be actively involved in knowledge building. More specifically, we encountered teaching methods involving the use of drama and literature, and service learning. Although one of the objectives of moral education frequently mentioned in the literature is to teach students how to deal with cultural diversity, studies that take social differences between students into account are scarce.

As in the earlier reviews by Sockett (1992) and Solomon et al. (2001), we found a relatively small number of empirical studies (15 out of 76) on curriculum-oriented moral education. Most of the studies we encountered did not evaluate the effectiveness of moral-education curricula, neither in terms of students' learning experiences nor in terms of their learning results. It is not possible to draw unequivocal conclusions from the studies owing to their incomparability. The studies not only aspire to various objectives of moral education (ranging from perspective taking or critical thinking to self-esteem or anti-racism), the instructional designs they suggest are often very general and lack a solid theoretical foundation from an educational psychological point of view.

All in all, we conclude that a solid research domain on curriculum-oriented moral education is still lacking, despite the growing attention to the prosocial and moral development of students. This is not only due to the relatively small number of empirical studies. From an instructional point of view, we think that some of the central issues of curriculum-oriented moral education have not been sufficiently elaborated conceptually. For this reason the results of the studies are difficult to interpret. We give three examples concerning the objectives of curriculum-oriented education. Firstly, several authors refer to critical-thinking skills as one of the learning outcomes intended, without considering such a goal in more detail. The complexity of the concept of critical thinking is generally neglected. Critical thinking can be regarded not only as a higher-order cognitive skill but also as a competence for critical participation in modern society. Depending on how critical thinking is approached, different teaching strategies and ways of measuring the learning outcomes are used (Ten Dam & Volman, 2004). The same holds true for 'responsibility' as a goal of a moral-education curriculum. Most authors argue that students must become responsible citizens. Haste (2004), however, points out that responsibility is by no means an unproblematic concept and can have different meanings that are implicitly conflicting. It can mean, for example, duty and obligation (i.e. conformity to social expectations) or, on the other hand, acting on your own moral judgement (e.g. in the case of injustice). Finally, we have seen that although value development features prominently in most studies, none of them explain how values can be taught in education (see Veugelers, 2000, 2001).

The same criticism can be made with regard to the proposed instructional formats. Many studies consider collaborative learning and dialogic learning to be effective teaching methods. These studies do not, however, elaborate on the conditions in which students can work together effectively and participate in meaningful interactions (e.g. Van der Linden, Erkens, Schmidt & Renshaw, 2000). With one or two exceptions, attention is not paid to either the specific skills and attitudes students need for collaboration and discussion or to the teaching strategies these require. Another instructional element that is frequently proposed is a problem-based approach to learning in which students can direct their own learning process. Again, such an instructional format demands specific qualities from students. Explicating and discussing the teaching strategies aimed at enhancing students' ability to reflect on their own learning process, i.e. metacognitive knowledge and self-regulatory skills, however, appear to be 'a stranger' in the domain of curriculum-oriented moral education.

If we want curriculum-oriented moral education to develop into a fully fledged research domain, researchers must take the instructional dimension of moral education into account.

We conclude this chapter by formulating two specific issues for a future research agenda on curriculum-oriented moral education. Firstly, from the perspective of social constructivist approaches to learning (see Salomon & Perkins, 1998; Cobb & Bowles, 1999), it can be argued that values must be discussed in the framework of a specific subject area and that enhancing students' critical-thinking skills should be taught in the context of meaningful, rich, domain-specific subject matter (cf. Brown, 1997; Nucci, 2001). Until now, however, moral education has predominantly been included in the extra-curricular domain. Most studies make use of special projects like drama or subject topics that are not part of the regular curriculum (e.g. the Holocaust, Vietnam etc.). Increasing students' content knowledge, for example their understanding of historical phenomena, is not an explicit objective, which could result in the gap between 'neutral' subject knowledge and values widening. We are strongly in favour of developing instructional designs for curriculum-oriented moral education in which fostering the prosocial and moral development of students goes hand in hand with subject matter in a specific learning domain. The focus should be on knowledge that makes sense to students in relation to their own position in the world and helps them to become a member of a community of practice (cf. Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998). Education that fosters students' identity development and teaches them how to participate in society in a moral way, with the help of domain-specific knowledge and skills, is moral education in the true sense of the word.

Secondly, future research should pay more attention to social differences between students. Although studies on moral education increasingly mention the multicultural nature of society, this focus needs to be integrated into the design of the teaching-learning process in the classroom. Reflection on the social positions that influence the way students develop their relationship with moral issues is a prerequisite for meaningful learning (cf. Litowitz, 1993; Ten Dam et al., 2004). All learning content refers to social identities (structured by race, gender and class) and has particular cultural meanings. Moral education is no exception. Identity building is implicit in the acquisition of knowledge and skills and hence social differences are by definition present in the way students develop their relationship with moral education. At the same time, social differences not only have an effect on attitudes towards school and school subjects, but also on attitudes towards the moral practices we want schools to prepare students for. How do the knowledge, skills and identities that students are supposed to acquire in moral-education programmes correlate or conflict with the identities they have already developed and reflect their social positions?

Above all, our review shows that moral education is not limited to school culture and the moral role of the teacher. Many authors argue that curriculum-oriented goals and teaching-learning processes are just as important in moral education. Given the many social and political arguments for reinforcing the moral and civil task of education, more research into specific classroom practices is necessary.

Chapter 3

MAKING HISTORY VALUABLE: AN INSTRUCTIONAL DESIGN FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE HISTORY CLASS¹

The principal aim of this chapter is to explore the possibilities to integrate citizenship education into secondary history classes. First, we examine the debate on history teaching and the different perspectives on citizenship education. We will go on to formulate objectives and teaching strategies for citizenship education and present a curriculum unit for citizenship education in the history class. We argue that citizenship education should focus on the development of skills as well as moral values and that students need to develop their own perspective regarding moral issues and make their own moral judgements. In the lessons series we present students are encouraged to participate actively in the learning process and express their opinions. By working in small groups students are stimulated to engage in dialogue with each other and discuss moral issues that arise from the subject matter.

1. INTRODUCTION

Human acting influences history and human thinking gives meaning to history. Moral values have a central role in this process of meaning-making. People, however, differ in the meanings they attach to historical events. In learning about history, students reconstruct the historical narratives again and consequently their personal values influence their interpretation of historical events. These value-laden constructions and reconstructions of the past make history an interesting subject for learning to think about values and for developing skills for moral and social development.

Under the heading of citizenship, educational scholars have argued for such a broad understanding of education. The argument is that schools should prepare students for participation in our society. This asks for education that focuses not only

¹ Schuitema, J. A., van Riessen, M., Veugelers, W., & ten Dam, G. (submitted). Making history valuable: Citizenship education through history teaching.

on the development of domain specific knowledge and skills but also on the social and moral development of students.

Several European countries have recently put citizenship education on their political agenda. In the UK, citizenship education was introduced as part of the national curriculum in the 1990s. French education introduced 'éducation civique'. In the Netherlands, in 2005 the Dutch parliament adopted the 'Active Citizenship and Social Integration' bill which obliges schools to integrate citizenship education in the curriculum. Fostering citizenship should be part of regular subjects (languages, history, biology etc.) (cf. Onderwijsraad, 2003).

History, in particular, is considered to be a subject with promising opportunities for stimulating the moral development of students (see e.g. Arthur, Davies, Wrenn, Haydn & Kerr, 2001; Phillips, 2002; Brett, 2005). In this chapter, we focus on the integration of citizenship education into the history class. We present a curriculum unit for secondary education which we developed in cooperation with history teachers. Before doing so, we examine the debate on history teaching and the different perspectives on citizenship education.

2. TEACHING HISTORY AND MORAL GOALS

To understand the thoughts and feelings of the people in the past we need to take account of the moral values of that time. Empathy with the moral values helps us understand the choices made by people in the past and is therefore an indispensable 'instrument' for any serious learning about the past. So what is relevant therefore is not the question of *whether* history teaching should deal with value orientation – it can't fail to do so – but the question is really about *how* it should be done and with what objective.

There has, for some time, been heated debate about whether history should deliberately and actively contribute towards citizenship by summoning up values that are considered of vital importance for a western society (cf. Wilson, 2001). Many historians and history teachers are concerned that the discipline of history might be used to serve a particular moral and social agenda (Brett, 2005). When history is used as an extension of citizenship education it would harm the intrinsic objectives and identity of the discipline of history: history is to explain what, how and why things happened (Lee & Ashby, 2001). As a consequence, historians should be concerned with the experiences, thoughts and actions of people of the past and not with people of the present (Elton, 1991).

Some historians, however, have questioned whether in fact we are in a position to fully understand the motives of people in the past. VanSledright (2001), for example, argues that any attempt to make sense of the past is influenced by our own 'positionality'. No meaning-making process or understanding is possible without our sociocultural framework. He suggests replacing the concept of empathy by the more realistic concept of contextualization, not as an objective by itself but in order to 'learn much more about who we are, about our historical positionalities, and about the way we wield them' (p 66).

Barton and Levstik (2004) even go a step further. They argue that history as a school subject has different demands and purposes than history as an academic discipline. Although empathy or contextualisation are important tools, it should not be the end-point of history education in schools. In their view, the overarching goal of education is to prepare students for participation in democratic life. This means participation in deliberation about the common good and issues of justice. Barton and Levstik advocate a focus in the curriculum on issues such as human rights, justice or the common good. Rather than posing contextualizing questions such as 'Why did Truman decide to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki?' they would prefer students to think about questions such as 'How could the greatest number of lives have been saved?' As a reaction to the concerns of historians and teachers who see history debased in this way to become an auxiliary science to citizenship education, Barton argues that we all make moral judgements about the past. It is a very real feature of our society. Statues are erected to people we revere and who represent our own values, and we set certain days aside for remembrance or mourning. Students also have a moral opinion about things that happened in the past. Instead of ignoring these opinions, history teachers should set about working to teach students how to substantiate their opinions and to defend those judgments in the context of a pluralistic society. 'This is ultimately the test of history education: Does it help students make judgments in the present? Otherwise, there's no point in bothering with it.' (Barton, 2004, p. 9).

Other scholars, Phillips (2002) and Wrenn (1999) for example, adopt a middle course in this discussion. They are of the opinion that history and citizenship education can go hand in hand. Radical changes to the curriculum are not necessary. The skills taught in the history classroom show major similarities with key elements in the literature on citizenship education. Wrenn (1999) argues that citizenship education should not only be seen as an integral element of history education. It can be used to improve history teaching as well. Phillips (2002) focuses in particular on the pedagogic-didactic choices that history teachers make. It can, for example, be a conscious choice to stimulate students during the lesson 'to think independently; to present substantiated arguments; to communicate effectively; to co-operate and learn from each other; to be curious; to interrogate evidence; to appreciate more than one point of view and a range of different interpretations' (Phillips, 2002, p.145).

As Brett (2005) argues, these objectives are shared fully by citizenship educators as well as most history teachers. However, we can't assume that these kinds of objectives in matters of citizenship will simply be implemented in the history class. In order to be able to work on citizenship education, teachers mainly need specific lesson material. As a rule, teachers support curriculum changes not on the basis of arguments for or against citizenship elements in the history programme. They would welcome good material. In this chapter we do not confine ourselves to guidelines for moral education, but also give a concrete example of citizenship education through history teaching.

3. OBJECTIVES OF MORAL EDUCATION

When one decides that history can make a contribution towards citizenship education among students, the question that arises immediately is: what do we want the students to learn?

In the literature we find various approaches to moral education. These differ in the extent to which they focus on fostering specific values or on stimulating independent and critical thinking (see Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001). The 'indirect approach' stands in the tradition of Kohlberg's theory of moral development in which the importance of acquiring skills for moral decision making and moral reasoning is accentuated. The focus of the 'direct approach' on teaching a specific set of values - such as trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, honesty, justice and fairness - represents a less reflective and developmental view on moral education.

In the past few decades a renewed interest in the concept of citizenship education has emerged (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). In order to prepare students to participate in society, citizenship education should include both the development of skills and the stimulation of certain attitudes and values. Moreover, students should gain insight into the society they live in (knowledge). Students need skills to develop their own perspective on society - what do they find worth striving for? - and to make their own choices. Further, they need reasoning skills and communication skills for reflection and dialogue on moral values. Last but not least, critical thinking skills are needed to enable them to make their own moral judgements. Citizenship education, however, cannot be equated with a set of skills. By doing so it is in danger of stimulating relativism. The goals strived for should also include social integration and social cohesion. Fostering moral values, such as concern for others and justice, is therefore just as important as stimulating skills. Students need to take responsibility for their actions. This includes being sensitive to multiple perspectives on one issue and being able and willing to examine them. To summarize, citizenship education that favours moral development can be characterized by three interrelated objectives.

Autonomy

A modern democracy needs autonomous but involved citizens. Being autonomous means that citizens have the competences to make well-considered choices and take responsibility for their choices (Ten Dam and Volman, 2004). Students should therefore be stimulated to formulate their own opinions and learn how to substantiate these opinions to others.

Moral values

Social cohesion in society depends on shared moral values such as concern for others and justice. Taking responsibility for one's own choices means that students can be called to account for their moral choices (Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). It is therefore important to gain a deeper understanding of moral values and to develop the competences to reflect upon these values.

Multiperspectivity

Considering the plural character of today's western society, it is crucial for citizens to be able and willing to cope with 'diversity' (Banks, 2004). Students should therefore learn to recognize and understand different perspectives on societal issues and the conflicting moral values embedded in these perspectives. This also involves recognizing the subjectivity of one's own opinions. Students should be able to defend their personal viewpoints in the context of a plural and democratic society.

4. TEACHING STRATEGIES FOR MORAL EDUCATION

Arguing that – history - education can contribute to citizenship does not yet provide an answer to the question of 'How should this be done?' What are the components of a curriculum for moral education?

The key word in our approach is 'meaningful learning'. Students are motivated to actively participate in their learning if they feel that it has something to do with themselves or their lives. In other words, they themselves must consider that what they are learning is relevant. From a socio-cultural perspective on learning, the cultural context is also relevant in the learning process and learning must be seen as learning to participate in an existing discursive cultural or social practice. Moral development cannot therefore be attained by learning a set of principles, just as you cannot learn a language only by studying grammar (Tappan, 1998). Neither is it possible to simply transmit moral values. Moral development of students means first and foremost learning to participate in moral (discursive) practices. Learning to participate implies that you start to see yourself as part of those social and cultural practices, as someone who can and may participate in them (Lave & Wenger, 1995). It also means that in that role you take on ever more responsibility for your own actions (including the use of knowledge and skills). The learning process thus implies a change in personal identity, in the way one positions oneself towards others and towards oneself (cf. Ten Dam, Volman & Wardekker, 2004). A curriculum unit for moral education must therefore be set up in such a way that the knowledge and skills are, and become, meaningful to students in relation to their own position in the world and helps them to become a member of a community of practice.

To encourage meaningful learning processes as outlined above in the history class, we formulated four guiding principles. We systematically developed these principles into a curriculum unit for teaching history in secondary education, consisting of 13 lessons. Before presenting examples of our lessons, we briefly present the four guiding principles.

Involving student's perspective: active participation

For learning to be personally meaningful it is important that a link is continuously made with present and future situations, in which students are supposed to use the knowledge and skills they learn. Students should be encouraged to participate actively in the teaching-learning process and express their opinions so they can articulate their own values and perspectives on the subject matter.

Dialogue

One way to involve students in the subject matter and to stimulate participation is to foster dialogue in the class. Encouraging dialogue in the classroom helps students to become aware of their own values and perspectives in relation to the subject matter and to those of others. When students have to discuss moral dilemmas, they learn how to solve conflicts and to consider the perspectives of others. Moreover, they develop the skills needed to justify their personal opinions towards others. Further, it is assumed that dialogue stimulates the development of attitudes such as tolerance, respect, 'open-mindedness' and autonomy (see Schuitema, Ten Dam & Veugelers, in press).

Working in small groups

As we argued above, the quality of the learning processes is partly dependent on the room created for students' active participation in the classroom. Working in small groups is an effective way to encourage dialogue among students. It also stimulates students to feel involved in the learning content. Students in small groups are stimulated to interact with each other in an active way. They have to make decisions together regarding the strategy, the planning, the division of work etc.

Reflection on the learning process

If students are aware of what and how they learn, learning can become more meaningful to them. In the context of citizenship education, reflection does not only involve someone's own cognitive functioning, but also one's own affective processes. For example: the ability to recognize the influence of group norms on one's own process of moral development, and the competence to regulate such interactions.

5. THE CURRICULUM UNIT

In this section we discuss the way these guidelines can help to achieve the objectives of citizenship education in the history class that favours moral development.

We describe the curriculum unit that we have developed together with teachers to introduce citizenship education in the history lesson. The teaching material supplements an existing history textbook and is intended for students in the 8th grade. This series of 13 lessons deals with the history of the United States of America from the first settlers to the early nineteenth century. This is a regular subject for students in the Netherlands in the 8th grade of secondary education. The material covers in detail the origins of the US, the situation of the Native Americans and immigration to the US. Slavery and the Civil War are also covered briefly. The last two lessons make a link between these subjects and the current debate in the Netherlands about the multicultural society.

Working in small groups

By working in groups, which is essential in our curriculum unit, students are stimulated to engage in dialogue with each other. Because of the design of the assign-

ments, students are all dependent on one another, which renders working together a necessity. The assignments themselves are distributed over a number of lessons and students must draw up plans together and make decisions about how the work is to be allocated. Instructions are given at the beginning of each assignment on how the students can best approach the assignment, and with suggestions for working together.

The role of the teacher

When students work together in groups, dialogue takes place mainly among the students themselves. The main role for the teacher is that of a supervisor who focuses mainly on the collaborative process. But dialogue also takes place during class discussions. The teacher then has more influence on the content of the dialogues and can steer the students' thinking process and encourage more in-depth discussion. For example, the teacher can ask the students questions, and present the class with as many different perspectives as possible. In addition, the teacher encourages the students to listen to each other and to respond to each other. And, by continuing to ask questions, the teacher challenges the students to come up with a well-considered opinion and to substantiate it with arguments.

The concept of values: identifying and articulating moral values

Attention is systematically given to moral values throughout the curriculum unit. The concept of moral values is introduced in the first few lessons and there are a number of assignments to practice working with this concept. What is a moral value? How can moral values be recognized in the subject matter? What are personal values?

Moral values tend to be abstract concepts for students in the 8th grade. We used the following description: 'opinions, wishes or ideals about how people should behave with and towards each other'. In order to practice working with the concept of values, students work on a task that involves using cards. They are given a set of 18 cards, and each card bears a statement that conveys either a fact or an opinion. The students first have to separate the opinions from the facts. They then learn to make a distinction between an opinion that expresses a moral value and an opinion where this is not the case. For example, compare: 'Everyone in the Netherlands should have the same rights and duties' (a statement based on a moral value) with 'History is one of the most difficult school subjects' (a statement without a moral value).

The concept of values returns when students have to recognize and identify values that are covered in the material. The Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are excellent documents in which values play a significant role. Students read the text of the Declaration of Independence and some passages from the Constitution. They then fill in the table shown in Figure 1. In order to make the values more tangible for the students, an example of a statement is given in the first column on the basis of a value in the second column. Students must then state whether or not this value is to be found in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. This gives students an idea of the kind of values the first Americans considered to be important.

Are these values to be found in the American constitution?			
statement on the basis of a value	Value	Yes	No
1 Laws and rights apply without exception to every American.	Justice		
2 No religion is more important than any other religion.	Pluriformity		
3 The government should ensure that everyone is happy.	Social involvement		
4 The population elects the government and may also dissolve it again.	Democracy		
5 Every accused person is entitled to an honest trial.	Justice		
6 Every citizen is free and cannot be harassed by the government.	Freedom		
7 Every American should look after his fellow citizens.	Social involvement		
8 Every American has the right to carry a weapon and to use it to defend himself.	Freedom		
9 It is important that rich Americans pay taxes for the poor.	Social involvement		

Figure 1. Identifying moral values in the American constitution.

Empathizing with different perspectives

Most history teachers consider that being able to empathize with the perspectives of people in the past and how these people saw their world is an important objective of history teaching. One main aim in our curriculum unit is also to involve the student's own perspective.

In history education different perspectives are often investigated through the use of different (primary) sources (Rouet, Britt, Mason & Perfetti, 1996). Primary sources present events from a certain perspective. Confronting students with sources that present different perspectives on certain events, makes it clear exactly how the perspective determines perception. What's more, sources can give certain events a very personal slant and this gets students even more involved in the subject. In those lessons in the unit that were about Native Americans, we worked with dyads sets of sources. One set presented perspectives of the Native Americans, and the other set put forward those of the settlers. Students worked in groups of 4. Each group is split up into dyads, and each of these couples work with one of the two sets. The couples then question the other couple about the sources they have studied and they have to answer a number of questions: 'How did the group in question regard the other group?', 'How did they live and what were their values?', 'What did the other group

mean to them?' The students then work on a number of statements. One example of a statement is:

Many settlers came to America as refugees in search of a better and more secure future. You can't blame them for mainly thinking about their own future. Isn't that what everyone does?

Students are asked to think about what a Native American and an American would have thought about such a statement. And what do the students think themselves? In the subsequent discussion, the teacher emphasizes the fact that there are in fact many different perspectives. The students' own perspective is one of those: being that of someone who looks at history from our own present-day context.

The subsequent lessons, which look at immigration to the US, go a step further. The sources that set out the perspectives of the immigrants and those of Americans born in the US, are now all mixed together. We expect that the students themselves are now able to discriminate between the sources. Each of the four members of the groups has different sources at their disposal, which means exchanging information is essential.

Dialogue: exchange, co-construction and validating.

In the unit we paid explicit attention to the skills and attitudes students need to engage in discussions with each other. We considered the following cumulative skills and attitudes to be important for an effective dialogue aimed at citizenship education (see Frijters, Ten Dam & Rijlaarsdam, in press; Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003).

- *Exchanging*: being willing and able to express your own opinions and share these with others.
- *Co-constructing*: being willing and able to form your own opinions in a dialogue, utilizing the input of others, and contribute to the opinions of others.
- *Validating*: being willing and able to validate your own opinion and the opinion of others from the perspective of moral values.

All these skills and attitudes are necessary for a productive dialogue. However, there is a certain structure to the curriculum unit. From the outset, students are encouraged to share their opinions with others. And gradually the elements of co-construction and validating are added.

Together come up with as many arguments as possible for and against the statement. Examine the issue through the eyes of 'new' immigrants, and also through the eyes of immigrants who already lived in America. Give your collective opinion about the statement. Make a brief note in the columns below of which facts you use as arguments for that opinion.

STATEMENT:	
The Nation Origins Act from 1924 was a good solution for the problems surrounding immigration in the US.	
arguments for the statement	arguments against the statement
Our collective standpoint about the statement:	
Our standpoint is based mainly on the following facts :	
Our standpoint also stems from our values , i.e.:	
We definitely do not agree / do not really agree about the following:	
This is (we think) because:	
Do this next task on your own. Go back to your own (provisional) opinion on worksheet 9. Has this opinion changed? Why do you think this is?	

Figure 2. Group dialogue assignment.

In the part about immigration to the US, students have, as already said, studied sources that present different perspectives. Having read these sources, the students then form an opinion based on the statement:

The Nation Origins Act from 1924 was a good solution for the problems surrounding immigration in the US.

The assignment that follows is presented in Figure 2. Each student first forms their own opinion about the statement and they write it down. Working in groups of four, the students then put together the arguments for and against the statement. We're not yet looking at the students trying to convince one another. The main point of this exercise is to work together whereby the students write down as many arguments as possible (exchange). Once this has been done, the students are then asked to arrive at a collective standpoint. And this is now when certain considerations must be made, and what is important here is to contribute to the opinion of others and to use the comments of others in the formation of one's own opinion (co-construction). When the students have come up with a collective standpoint, they specify the facts and values they are based on (validating) and also state those areas they could not agree on. Finally the students go back to the opinion they wrote down in the first place and say whether they have changed this opinion as a result of the discussion with the others, or whether their own opinion has now become even stronger.

Reflection

Students are given assignments throughout the entire curriculum unit in which they reflect on the learning content and on the learning process. This happens, for example, during a class discussion following the exercise outlined above where they exchange different perspectives. The teacher asks the students to think about the question of how come the different parties (Native Americans and settlers) can have a different view of events. The teacher comes back here to the concept of values. The teacher also asks the students whether immersing themselves in one of the perspectives was a good way to think about this period in history. What is the advantage of this? We have attempted in this way to help the students get a better grasp of what they are learning ('What have I learned') and to have them reflect on their own learning process.

Later on in the unit the students start to reflect more independently on the learning content and on their own learning process. An example of how this is done is shown in Figure 3. This is an assignment that students are given when working in their groups of 4 after they have completed the 'Nation of Origins Act' assignment (see Figure 2).

<p>Discuss the questions below:</p> <p>You don't have to arrive at an answer together. What's important is to compare your own experiences.</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When working in groups, did you manage to exchange information? A lot of different sources were available. What went well in the exchange of information and what went less well? What do you think is the reason for this? 2. You all discussed the statement. What do you think is the 'secret' of a good discussion? How do you recognize a good discussion? 3. Did you succeed in the group in arriving at a collective standpoint? What made it easy to work together on this. What made it difficult? And if there are more differences of opinion than points of agreement, does this mean that the discussion was a good one or that the discussion was for nothing? 4. Do you now think differently about 'immigration' than you did at first? If not, why not? If yes: what is the main reason for this? 5. If you were to work in this way again: what could or should be done differently to make it (even) more successful? Are there any things you can do yourself?

Figure 3. Reflection assignment.

Bridging past and present

It is important to make bridges with the students' perception of their own daily life. For example, our curriculum unit makes a link between the subject matter and the present-day multicultural society of the Netherlands. The idea is that students see that the discussion they are having about episodes in history is now also relevant to their own social environment. Of course, the current situation in the Netherlands is totally different, but the same ideas do return and the same values are involved. Students read an article that presents a particular view of contemporary multicultural society. It is a fairly conservative view of how in the Netherlands we should handle immigrants. Students then go and look themselves for sources on the internet. The teaching material provides a link to a Dutch newspaper that has written a lot about this particular question, but the students are free to look for sources wherever they want. This task concludes with an assignment similar to the one in Figure 2, where students are again requested to come up with a collective standpoint on a particular statement.

6. CONCLUSION

We have shown in this chapter how citizenship education can be a part of history lessons. The assignments we described are easy to adapt to other historical subjects.

The teaching material was tried out by two secondary school teachers in four 8th grade classes. Interviews with teachers and students and observations of the lessons indicate that working in groups does require more effort from both the students and the teacher, all of whom needed time to get used to a new way of working. Working with different sets of primary sources also requires more teacher preparation. The additional effort required did, in fact, have its advantages according to the teachers, who found it both useful and enjoyable to be involved in history teaching in this way. And as far as the students were concerned, the subject matter really came to life when they were asked to give their own opinions. Emotions actually ran quite high when the fate of the Native Americans was discussed. It did appear difficult for them to recognize just how restricted in time and place their own opinions are, and how their own values affect these opinions. In the dialogues, the students were quick to take a certain stance and it turned out to be hard to maintain a critical view of one's own opinion and the opinions of others. This particular way of working demands a lot of the students, but they were very involved nonetheless. We are currently conducting an extensive assessment with a large number of classes in order to get a better idea of the learning effects of the material we have developed which focuses on the integration of citizenship education in the history class.

Chapter 4

TWO INSTRUCTIONAL DESIGNS FOR DIALOGIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: AN EFFECT STUDY¹

The study presented in this chapter investigated the effectiveness of dialogic citizenship education in history classes. Two curriculum units were developed and implemented in the 8th grade of pre-university education. Both curriculum units aim to stimulate students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints. The two curriculum units differed in the balance between group work and whole-classroom teaching. The effects of both units were assessed. The ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account was assessed by means of short essays that students wrote about a moral issue. The results show a positive effect of group work. Students who worked relatively more often in small groups referred more to values and different perspectives in comparison to students who participated more often in whole-classroom teaching.

1. INTRODUCTION

A renewed interest in citizenship education has emerged in the last two decades. The moral dimensions of civic participation and schools' role in preparing students for participation in society have in particular increasingly been emphasized. In contemporary discourses on citizenship education, citizenship implies more than an activity in the political sphere. It refers to a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes for participation in the practices of society and engagement in public efforts to promote the common good (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). The moral and social development of students is therefore considered essential to citizenship education (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Carr, 2006; Haste, 2004; Veugelers, 2007).

Despite this renewed interest in citizenship education and the moral and social development of students, relatively little is known about the effectiveness of the various teaching methods aimed at the social and moral development of students (Schuitema, Ten Dam & Veugelers, in press; Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001).

¹ Schuitema, J. A., Veugelers, W., Rijlaarsdam, G., & ten Dam, G. (submitted). Two instructional designs for dialogic citizenship education: An effect study.

A possible reason for this is the distinction that is often made between care for the moral and social development of students on the one hand, and teaching domain-specific knowledge and skills on the other. Most attention to the normative aspect of teaching currently concerns the daily interactions and rules and regulations at school or special activities in school. Citizenship education is usually realized in civic-education classes or in extracurricular projects such as community service (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Schuitema et al., in press). Our position, however, is that acquiring domain-specific knowledge and skills cannot be separated from moral development. The knowledge and skills acquired should enable students to judge and act independently with regard to moral issues, so that they can play an active role in society. This implies that students should learn to reflect on values represented in the subject matter, on their personal relationship to these values, and on the social relevance of the subjects, which are by definition value-related (see also Yore, Bisanz & Hand, 2003; Sadler & Zeidler, 2005). This makes citizenship education an inextricable part of the various school subjects.

History is one of the disciplines where a lively discussion is currently in progress on the relation between history education and citizenship education (Wrenn, 1999; Phillips, 2002; Barton & Levstik, 2004). Every society feels the need to pronounce moral judgements on what took place in the past (Barton & Levstik, 2004). This applies to students as well; they usually have opinions on historical topics too. A discipline such as history could utilize these moral judgements by making students aware of their own values, and teaching them to substantiate their judgements. History education, therefore, provides good opportunities for citizenship education. However, research mainly carried out in the 1980s shows that there is generally little room in history classes for input from students and for learning activities that stimulate problem solving and critical thinking (Wilson, 2001).

The study presented in this chapter was aimed at acquiring insight into which instructional design is the most effective for citizenship education in history lessons. Before outlining the methodology of the study, we will first discuss what the aim of citizenship education should be and what the literature tells us about effective teaching methods.

1.1 Learning objectives of citizenship education

The aim of citizenship education is to prepare students for participation in society. Constituent elements of present-day western society are democracy and pluriformity (Banks, 2004; Parker, 1997b). According to Gutmann and Thompson (2004) a democratic society is characterized by continuous debate about moral values such as justice and the public interest. Participation in society means that citizens may contribute to this debate; it means thinking and talking about issues concerning justice and the public interest (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Haste, 2004; Parker, 1997b). Citizenship education cannot, therefore, be limited to teaching knowledge about how democratic society functions, nor should it be limited to transferring certain standards and values. Citizenship education must be directed at the attitudes and skills that students need to reflect on moral considerations and be able to justify them

(Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). An important aim of citizenship education, therefore, is the enhancement of students' competences to develop personal viewpoints on value-related matters and to justify their opinions to others. The fact that democracy is about plurality and difference also makes demands on citizenship education. It is essential that students understand that there are multiple perspectives on moral and social issues and that their own view is only one of many possible perspectives (Banks, 2004).

What does this mean for educational practice? How can history lessons contribute to citizenship education? First of all, students need to be able to reflect on the moral values that are at stake and take them into account when justifying their viewpoints to others (Veugelers, 2000). Secondly, students need to take into account and reflect on multiple perspectives while developing their own point of view (Oser, 1986). Obviously, students should also be able to apply these skills outside the context in which they were acquired; they should be able to transfer their skills to new issues.

1.2 Teaching methods aimed at the moral and social development of students

Solomon et al. (2001) make a distinction between *direct* and *indirect* approaches to moral education. Direct approaches aim to transfer values. The teacher defines the values, explicitly propagates them, and encourages their application through a system of reward and punishment. The teacher may function as an example and role model (Doyle, 1997; Elkind & Sweet, 1997). Indirect approaches involve the implementation of dialogues (Grant, 1996; Noddings, 1995; Parker, 1997a; Tappan, 1998). Dialogues supposedly help students to develop the skills and attitudes citizens need to participate in society, such as critical-thinking skills for solving moral dilemmas (Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975; Frijters, Ten Dam & Rijlaarsdam, in press; Ten Dam & Volman, 2004), communicative skills (Parker, 1997a), and attitudes like tolerance and respect for the opinions of other people (Grant, 1996; Saye, 1998). Often a problem-based instructional design is recommended in which students work independently and control their own learning processes to a certain extent (Beane, 2002; Schultz, Barr & Selman, 2001), and in which collaborative efforts are needed (Covell & Howe, 2001; Murray, 1999; Saye, 1998). Proponents of indirect approaches to moral education usually emphasize the importance of classroom climate and school culture. Students need to have sufficient confidence to express their opinions and feel free to do so, even if their opinions differ from those of other students and teachers. It is, therefore, essential that teachers and students treat each other with respect (Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989), and that students are encouraged to give their opinion in the classroom (Covell & Howe, 2001).

After an extensive analysis of research on moral and social education, Solomon et al. (2001) concluded that there is more evidence for the effectiveness of the social and moral development of students through the indirect teaching methods than through the direct methods. More specifically, there are indications that indirect approaches, where students work in small groups and engage in dialogue with each other, have a positive effect on attitudes regarding the universal rights of man

(Covell & Howe, 2001), result in less racist attitudes (Schultz et al., 2001), and make students think beyond their own personal interest (McQuaide, Leinhardt & Stainton, 1999).

Research on the effectiveness of teaching methods for the moral and social development of students is scarce. Moreover, its quality leaves much to be desired (Schuitema et al., in press; Solomon et al., 2001). Many of the proposed instructional designs have not been sufficiently elaborated. Hardly any attention at all has been paid to the attitudes and skills that are necessary for learning through dialogue (see e.g. Van der Linden & Renshaw, 2004). Moreover, the quality of the research designs is often weak: pre-tests or a control group are often absent. Solomon et al. (2001) further conclude that studies, which do include a control group, often compare a complete programme with the absence of such a programme. This makes it difficult to determine the effectiveness of the separate elements of the programme in question and the most effective combination of elements.

1.3 Instructional design for dialogic citizenship education

In line with the indirect approach to moral education, we expected that stimulating dialogue in the classroom would be an effective teaching method to enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account. A dialogue engages students in the learning process, stimulates participation, makes them aware of their values, and confronts them with other people's views.

To realize the desired results, a dialogue between students must satisfy a number of requirements. A dialogue that facilitates learning should be aimed at reaching agreement or understanding the other person (see, e.g., Grant, 1996; Parker, 1997a). Participants should be open to each other's views, develop their own views further, and cope with the different perspectives in a constructive way. Research shows that a dialogue aimed at generating ideas communally has a positive effect on students' reasoning capacities and their ability to reflect on values (Berkowitz & Gibbs, 1983; Frijters et al., in press; Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). We cannot assume, however, that students already have the skills and attitudes needed for dialogue that facilitates learning. Therefore, an instructional strategy for citizenship education in which dialogue is a central element - we will refer to this as dialogic citizenship education - should also support the development of these skills and attitudes. We consider the following skills and attitudes important for effective dialogue (Frijters et al., in press):

- *Exchanging*: being willing and able to express your own opinions and share these with others.
- *Co-constructing*: being willing and able to form your own opinions in a dialogue, utilizing the input of others, and contribute to the opinions of others.
- *Validating*: being willing and able to validate your own opinion and the opinion of others from the perspective of moral values.

1.4 Group work versus whole-class instruction

There are various ways of implementing dialogue in the classroom. A method often used to stimulate interaction is for students to work in small groups (Beane, 2002; Covell & Howe, 2001; Frijters et al., in press). When working in small groups, more students are able to participate in the dialogue than when the whole class is involved. In small groups the students also have more responsibility for the progress of the dialogue. They have to guide the dialogue themselves and solve possible conflicts. Whole-classroom discussion is also recommended (Tredway, 1995; Saye, 1998). Teachers guide the dialogue in whole-classroom discussion by asking questions. They can stimulate students to think about their opinions, and guide them towards a more profound, carefully reasoned opinion than in a dialogue without teacher guidance (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003).

1.5 Research questions

The study presented in this chapter investigated the effect of dialogic citizenship education on students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints. In this context we investigated the effect of the amount of group work. This study was on citizenship education as an integral part of history classes, so we were also interested in the effect of citizenship education on historical reasoning. The research focused on three questions:

- 1) Does dialogic citizenship education as an integral part of history classes enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?
- 2) Does the amount of group work in dialogic citizenship education contribute to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?
- 3) Is the integration of dialogic citizenship education into history classes to the detriment of students' ability to reason historically?

2. METHODS

2.1 Instructional materials

In co-operation with a history teacher educator we designed two curriculum units of thirteen 45-minute lessons for students in the 8th grade of pre-university education. We tested both units in a pilot study. Two experienced teachers, with two classes each, participated in the pilot study. We observed the lessons and the teachers gave feedback after each lesson. The students were also interviewed. These data led to further refinements in the two curriculum units. (For a more detailed description of the two curriculum units, see Schuitema, Van Riessen, Veugelers & Ten Dam, submitted.) The teaching materials supplemented an existing history textbook that is widely used in the Netherlands. These extra materials consisted of a teachers' man-

ual and workbooks for the students. The main topic was the history of the United States of America from the first colonists until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Central issues were the founding of the USA, the position of the Native Americans, immigration to the USA, slavery and the Civil War.

Recognizing and understanding moral values

Both curriculum units paid systematic attention to moral values, which are defined as 'opinions, wishes or ideals on how people should behave towards each other'. Students learned to recognize and identify the moral values found in the learning materials. They studied, for instance, the text of the American Declaration of Independence from 1776 and parts of the 1788 Constitution, and were asked to indicate what values were incorporated in these texts. They also investigated what values they themselves and their fellow students considered to be important.

Investigating multiple perspectives

In both curriculum units students investigated multiple perspectives on moral issues. They were provided with several source materials reflecting different perspectives on a historical event or situation and also worked on assignments requiring them to empathize with a particular perspective. Some of the students studied, for example, source materials reflecting the perspectives of the Native Americans, while others studied sources reflecting the settlers' perspectives. They then discussed a number of statements and were asked to consider the views of a Native American and of a settler on these statements.

Instructions for dialogue

The curriculum units paid systematic attention to the skills and attitudes that students need to participate in a dialogue - exchanging, co-constructing and validating. From the very first lesson, they were encouraged to exchange opinions with other students, for example, by doing exercises in which they wrote down each other's opinions without the need for immediate agreement. Gradually we added activities aimed at co-construction and validation. When the students were co-constructing, they had to try to reach agreement and state which points they agreed and disagreed on. Then they had to determine the important values that had been involved in forming their opinions (validating).

Differences between the two curriculum units

The dialogue took place in small groups of students without a teacher in one curriculum unit. In the other unit, the dialogue generally occurred in a whole-classroom discussion under the teacher's guidance. The teachers' manual prescribed the time to be spent on each type of activity. In the unit aimed at group work, 65% of the available time was intended for working in small groups of 3-5 students or in pairs, and 15 % of the time was intended for classroom discussion. Twenty per cent of the time was intended for group work and 40% for classroom discussion in the other unit. The teachers in the group-work unit were instructed to give as little help as possible with the subject content and explicitly to guide the process of collaboration. Teachers were instructed to help the group as a whole when students asked for assistance.

In the classroom-discussion unit, the teachers had been instructed to guide the discussions by asking questions. They were also asked to ensure that as many students as possible participated in the dialogue (exchanging), interacted with each other (co-constructing) and underpinned their opinions (validating).

2.2 Design and procedure

We implemented a quasi-experimental research design, which compared two experimental conditions and a control condition. In the first experimental condition the teachers used the learning materials that emphasized working in small groups. (This condition is referred to below as the group-work condition). The teachers in the second experimental condition used the learning materials that emphasized whole-class discussion (the whole-class condition). In the control condition, teachers used the same history textbook as the teachers in the experimental conditions in a minimum of ten lessons (average 10.6).

We asked history teachers in schools in urban areas of the Netherlands to participate in the research project. Nine teachers from eight schools (fourteen classes in total) were willing to work with the additional teaching materials. The teachers were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions. Five teachers from three schools (five classes) participated in the control condition.

Table 1. Number of classes per condition per school track

	High-track	Mid-track	Low-track	Total
Group-work	0	2	6	8
Whole-class	2	3	1	6
Control	2	2	1	5
Total	4	7	8	19

All the students were from the 8th grade of pre-university education (age 13-14). In the strongly streamed educational system in the Netherlands, the pre-university track caters for the cognitively more advanced students. It is usually divided into three sub-tracks, which we will refer to as the high-track, the mid-track and the low-track of pre-university education.² Students are selected for these tracks on the basis of their previous performance at primary and secondary school. Table 1 shows the dis-

² The high-track and the mid-track of pre-university education in the Dutch educational system are called *Gymnasium* and *Atheneum*. These two tracks are similar except that the high-track includes Latin and Greek. The low-track of pre-university education is a transition class. At the end of grade 8 some of the students in this track continue following pre-university education (the mid-track) and others transfer to general secondary education. The three tracks have the same history curriculum.

tribution of the classes from the three school tracks over the three conditions. There is no high-track in the group-work condition.

A total of 482 students participated in the research project. Of these students 49% was female, with a random distribution over the conditions ($\chi^2 = 0.876$, $df = 2$, $p = .65$). Fifteen per cent of the students considered their ethnic identity to be non-Dutch or mixed, with a random distribution over the conditions ($\chi^2 = 4.95$, $df = 2$, $p = .08$). The criterion adopted for the social economic status (SES) was the highest level of education of the parents. Twenty-one per cent of the students had a low SES (highest level of education was pre-vocational secondary education). Seven per cent had an average SES (senior secondary vocational education) and 72% had a high SES (higher education). These were distributed randomly over the conditions ($\chi^2 = 5.263$, $df = 4$, $p = .26$).

A 45-minute session of pre-tests was held in all the conditions before the first of the thirteen lessons. Post-tests were held after the lessons. The students wrote an essay, in which they had to give their opinions on a statement. The class was randomly divided into two parts. One half of the students were given a topic directly linked to the teaching material, the other half a new topic that had not been discussed in the curriculum unit (transfer assignment, see section 2.3 'measurements'). Seven per cent of the students did not participate in the pre-tests; these students were randomly spread over the conditions ($\chi^2 = 0.163$, $df = 2$, $p = .92$). Nine per cent did not participate in the post-measurements. This drop-out ratio was not evenly spread over the conditions ($\chi^2 = 10.258$, $df = 2$, $p = .01$). In the group-work condition more students did not participate in the post-tests (14%) than in the whole-class condition (7%) and the control condition (4%). Table 2 shows an overview of the number of students that participated in the pre-tests and post-tests.

Table 2. Number of students participating in the pre-tests and post-tests per condition

	Pre-tests	Post-tests	
		Subject-matter related	Transfer
Group-work	214	85	112
Whole-class	131	57	73
Control	108	45	65
Total	453	187	250

Teacher training

All the teachers in the experimental conditions received training in advance. The training consisted of an explanation of how to work with the teachers' manual and condition-specific instructions on the role of the teacher.

Implementation

To check the implementation of the curriculum units, teachers kept a daily log. They recorded per activity whether the activity had been carried out as prescribed in the teachers' manual, and how much time had been spent on it. We used this data to calculate the percentage of time that the students spent working in small groups and on whole-class dialogue. In the group-work condition the average percentage of group work was 59 (varying from 55 to 64), and in the whole-class condition 24 (varying from 19 to 31) ($t = 11.471, p < .001$). Then the percentages of time spent on classroom discussion were compared in both conditions. In the group-work condition, the teachers indicated that they had spent an average of 15% (varying from 11 to 18%) of the time on classroom discussion. In the whole-class condition this was 31% (29 to 34%) ($t = 9.492, p < .001$). We also checked how many of the activities in the curriculum unit were carried out as prescribed in the teachers' manual. In the whole-class condition these percentages varied from 77 to 90%, with an average of 79%. In the group-work condition the percentages were slightly higher. The average was 87%, varying from 77 to 92%. A *t*-test did not show significant differences between the two conditions. On the basis of these results, we concluded that the curriculum units had been implemented accurately and that the two conditions differed markedly in the amount of group work and whole-class discussions.

2.3 Measurements

Dependent variables: essay assignments

The effect of the two curriculum units on the students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account was investigated with the help of two different essay assignments. Both assignments consisted of a short introduction on a moral dilemma and a statement. In the first assignment (subject-matter related), the students had to consider the interests of the Native Americans as opposed to the interests of the immigrants from Europe and other continents to America. The statement was: 'To protect the way of life of the Native Americans, the American government should have controlled the arrival of new immigrants much sooner'. During the lessons the students had access to in-depth information on this issue and were able to use this information for the essay. The second essay assignment was intended to ascertain whether the students were able to apply what they had learned to a new subject. This essay assignment (transfer assignment) was therefore about a topic that had not been discussed in the lessons. The statement was: 'School uniforms back in the classroom!' The idea was to introduce school uniforms in the classroom to avoid students being bullied about the way they dress. Students in every class were randomly assigned one of the two essays assignments. The students were given ten minutes to discuss the statement in groups of four. Then they wrote down their opin-

ions on the statement individually. They were told beforehand that the score for the assignment would not be on the opinion itself but for their justification of it. A team of independent raters assessed the students' essays on *moral values and multiple perspectives*. The subject-matter related essays were also assessed for historical reasoning.

For the first aspect, *moral values*, the essay score was based on the number of arguments which referred to moral values, including the extent to which the students explicitly referred to a moral value; the more clearly a student referred to a general value transcending the specific context, the higher the score. An essay on school uniforms in which a student states, for example, that everyone should be able to make a personal decision about what to wear scored higher than an essay in which a student says that he wants to be able to choose for himself. An essay linking choosing your own clothes to freedom of expression scored even higher.

The aspect of *multiple perspectives* concerns the extent to which students discuss various perspectives in their essays. Attention was paid in the scoring not only to the number of perspectives but also to the degree of elaboration on the perspectives. The number of arguments and sub-arguments for each perspective was checked. Arguments for and against the statement often corresponded to two perspectives, but not always. When a student indicated, for example, that the drawback of a school uniform for him was that he would not be able to show off his new clothes, and that the advantage would be not to have to decide what to wear in the morning, these two viewpoints are really from the same perspective.

The aspect *historical reasoning* was assessed on the extent to which students took the context of the period in question into account (see e.g. Lee & Ashby, 2001). Did students in the subject-matter related essays apply the historical knowledge they had learned in the curriculum unit? Were students aware of the historicity of values? Did they use their historical knowledge in their argumentation and conclusions?

Each essay was scored separately for each aspect as a whole, using a method derived from the *comparison method* (Blok, 1986). The raters used *anchors*. These are model essays which the raters compared the other essays with. We chose (per aspect) three model essays: a weak, an average and a good essay. The three anchors had fixed scores - 50, 100 and 150 respectively. We then asked the raters to compare each essay with the anchors and score them on a scale ranging from 0 to 200. When a rater judged an essay to be better, for instance, than the average model essay, but not up to the standard of the good model essay, then this essay would score between 100 and 150 points.

To estimate the reliability of the essay scores we worked with the 'snake method' (Van den Bergh & Eiting, 1989). The essays were randomly divided into as many samples as there were raters. Each rater scored two samples. Rater 1 scored sample 1 and 2, rater 2 scored sample 2 and 3, and so on. The last rater scored the essays in the first and last sample. In this way, each essay was assessed by two raters, making it possible to estimate the reliability of each rater based on all the other raters. Different teams of raters were formed for each aspect to prevent one aspect influencing another. The teams comprised five raters for values and multiple perspectives and three raters, who were historians, for historical reasoning. The raters followed two to three-hour training sessions, which explained the particular aspect

and related criteria. The reliabilities of the essay assessments were estimated using a LISREL model (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2002). The scores for the essays were calculated by taking the average of the two raters who had assessed the essay. The reliability of the average scores varied from 0.76 to 0.93 (see appendix A), indicating that the ratings were sufficiently reliable.

Control variables

Several pre-tests were conducted for those variables which were expected to correlate with the post-test. These pre-tests can be used for identifying possible relevant differences between conditions at the start of the curriculum unit.

- *Reasoning skills.* It can be expected that reasoning skills play an important part in the ability to formulate an opinion. To estimate the level of students' reasoning skills, three relevant scales (21 items) of the Cross-Curricular Skills Test were used (Meijer, Elshout-Mohr & Van Hout-Wolters, 2001): forming opinions, notions and beliefs and distinguishing facts and opinions. Cronbach's alpha over the three scales was .63.
- *Academic aptitude.* The scores from the Primary Education Final Test were collected from the schools. This is a standard test in the Netherlands, which children take in grade 6, the last year of primary education.
- *Attitudes towards dialogue.* Dialogue is an important educational strategy in both curriculum units. Students' attitudes towards dialogic learning at the start of the curriculum unit may influence the dependent variables. We used the 'Attitudes to dialogic learning scale' (Frijters et al., in press) to estimate students' attitudes on the exchange, co-construction and validation of opinions. ($\alpha = .82$)
- *Concern for others.* Forming an opinion while considering other people's opinions may be influenced by the extent of the commitment to and concern for other people. To measure the differences in social commitment we used a scale of the Child Development Project (Concern for Others Scale) (Solomon et al., 2001). ($\alpha = .73$).
- *School culture.* The way in which teachers and students behave towards each other in school may also influence students' opinion forming. School culture was estimated with the 'School Culture Scale' (Higgins-D'Allesandro & Sadh, 1997) ($\alpha = .80$).
- *Classroom climate.* A final aspect that may influence students' opinions is the climate in the classroom when social and political matters are discussed. We used the IEA Measure of classroom climate for discussion (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001). This scale measures whether students are encouraged to express their opinions in the classroom and feel free to do so ($\alpha = .69$).

2.4 Analyses

Students worked on the essay assignments in small groups. They first discussed the statements in their groups and exchanged arguments. We analysed the essay scores with the aid of multi-level regression analysis (MLwiN 2,02: Rasbash, Browne,

Cameron & Charlton, 2005) because of the hierarchically nested structure of the data. Models with three levels were compared (student, group, and class). The assessment of the essays resulted in five different scores: *values*, *multiple perspectives*, and *historical reasoning* in the subject-matter related assignment, and *values and multiple perspectives* in the transfer assignment. The effect of the condition was investigated in a multivariate, multi-level analysis with these five scores as dependent variables. The variances for the different dependent variables were taken together

As the average scores for the essays differed for each of the three tracks of pre-university education, and these tracks were unevenly distributed over the conditions, we investigated the effect of the condition within the three school tracks. In the first model the condition was included with the school track. To control for individual differences in gender, SES, and ethnic identity, these student characteristics were added in a step-by-step procedure in which only significant variables were included in the model (model 2). For model 3 we checked in the same way whether the control variables could contribute to improving the model and again only significant variables were included.

Each variable was first added to the model with separate regression weights for each dependent variable. We then checked whether these regression weights differed significantly for each dependent variable. When they did not differ significantly, we can assume that the effect of the variable concerned is the same for every dependent variable. In that case, to keep the model as efficient as possible, the regression weights were replaced by one regression weight for all the dependent variables together.

3. RESULTS

In this section we present the results of the multi-level analyses: to what extent does dialogic citizenship education enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints, and to what extent is this process influenced by the amount of group work? The ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account was operationalized as students' references to moral values in the essays and the discussion of multiple perspectives in the essays. Another research question answered in this section is to what extent citizenship education in history classes affects students' ability to reason from a historical point of view. Table 3 presents the essay scores. In model 1 only the regression weights for condition and school track have been included. The average score of low-track students in the control condition is the intercept, and the group-work and whole-class conditions are indicated as deviations. The average score on the aspect of *values* in the subject-matter related assignment is estimated as 54.2 for low-track students. For this assignment the low-track students in the group-work condition had higher scores for referring to values than the low-track students in the control condition. (The difference is 23.4 points.) The students in the whole-class condition referred less to values in their essays than the students in the control condition (- 9.8), but this difference is not significant. The difference between the group-work

Table 3. Results of the multi-level analyses of the essay assignments

			Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
			Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Mean	SE
Subject-matter related								
Values	low-track	control	54.2	(10.9)	52.5	(10.7)	52.3	(10.6)
		group-work ¹	23.4	(11.6)	23.7	(11.2)	24.2	(11.1)
		whole-class ¹	-9.8	(12.5)	-9.5	(12.1)	-9.0	(11.9)
		gender (girl) ²			3.8	(4.7)	3.7	(4.6)
		dialogue				7.6	(5.2)	
Multiple perspectives	low-track	control	56.4	(11.0)	50.9	(10.9)	50.7	(10.8)
		group-work ¹	25.6	(11.9)	26.1	(11.5)	26.8	(11.3)
		whole-class ¹	-14.3	(12.7)	-13.9	(12.3)	-13.4	(12.1)
		gender (girl) ²			11.3	(5.0)	11.2	(5.0)
		dialogue				10.6	(5.6)	
Historical reasoning	low-track	control	61.9	(10.9)	62.1	(10.7)	62.2	(10.6)
		group-work ¹	6.2	(11.6)	6.4	(11.2)	6.3	(11.1)
		whole-class ¹	-25.1	(12.5)	-24.9	(12.1)	-24.4	(11.9)
		gender (girl) ²			-0.1	(4.7)	-0.2	(4.7)
		dialogue				-1.0	(5.2)	
Transfer								
Values	low-track	control	70.9	(10.9)	66.5	(10.7)	67.1	(10.5)
		group-work ¹	15.6	(11.6)	15.3	(11.2)	16.2	(11.0)
		whole-class ¹	2.8	(12.5)	2.2	(12.1)	2.0	(11.9)
		gender (girl) ²			10.2	(4.6)	8.6	(4.6)
		dialogue				14.2	(5.8)	
Multiple perspectives	low-track	control	58.2	(10.6)	51.2	(10.3)	51.2	(10.2)
		group-work ¹	40.1	(11.2)	39.5	(10.8)	39.3	(10.6)
		whole-class ¹	6.9	(12.1)	5.8	(11.6)	6.3	(11.5)
		gender (girl) ²			16.2	(4.0)	11.2	(4.0)
		dialogue				-0.53	(4.9)	
mid-track ³			25.8	(8.4)	24.7	(8.1)	24.7	(8.0)
high-track control ³			21.35	(14.5)	22.1	(13.9)	22.0	(13.7)
high-track whole-class ³			68.6	(14.1)	68.7	(13.6)	67.2	(13.4)
Variance								
level 3 (class)			165.6	(69.1)	150.0	(63.6)	143.7	(61.8)
level 2 (group)			143.5	(42.3)	139.8	(41.1)	144.4	(41.4)
level 1 (student)								
subject-matter related		values	665.4	(79.6)	663.9	(79.3)	655.2	(78.4)
		multiple p.	817.5	(96.1)	800.1	(94.1)	784.4	(92.4)
transfer		hist. reasoning	663.5	(79.5)	662.4	(79.3)	656.7	(78.7)
		values	1068.1	(107.2)	1045.1	(104.7)	1017.9	(102.2)
		multiple p.	768.2	(79.4)	720.5	(74.6)	717.4	(74.3)
Fit								
improvement			9494.0		9471.3		9459.2	
difference in degrees of freedom			59.6		22.7		12.1	
p-value			13		5		5	
			p < .001		p < .001		p = .034	

Bold type is significant ($p < 0.05$)

¹ Difference with control group

² Difference between boys (= 0) and girls (= 1)

³ Difference with low-track

condition and the whole-class condition can be calculated with the data from the table. It is 33.2 and is significant ($\chi^2 = 9.2$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$).

Table 3 also shows that the low-track students in the group-work condition took more perspectives into account than the low-track students in the control condition. The students in the group-work condition had significantly higher scores for *multiple perspectives*, both on the subject-matter related assignment and on the transfer assignment. The low-track students in the group-work condition scored also higher than those in the whole-class condition. The difference in multiple perspectives in the subject-matter related assignment is 39.88 ($\chi^2 = 12.79$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). The difference in multiple perspectives in the transfer assignment is 35.13 ($\chi^2 = 8.78$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$). The average scores for values in the transfer assignment do not differ significantly between the three conditions.

Concerning historical reasoning, Table 3 shows that the low-track students in the group-work condition performed as well as the low-track students in the control condition. The students in the whole-class condition, however, scored significantly lower than the students in the control condition (- 25.1). The difference between the group-work condition and the whole-class condition must also be calculated separately here. The difference is 31.3 and is significant. ($\chi^2 = 8.20$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$).

The effect of the school track did not appear to differ over the various dependent variables. We therefore included one regression weight for all the dependent variables for the different school tracks. For the mid-track, only a main effect was significant and included in the model, which makes the picture for mid-track students the same as for low-track students. All of the averages for mid-track students in the model are 25.8 points higher than for low-track students. Since there were no high-track students in the group-work condition we do not have a main effect for these students. The effect for the high-track has, therefore, been split into two, and separate regression weights have been added for the students in the whole-class condition and the control group. In Table 3 we see that high-track students in the whole-class condition scored significantly higher on all the dependent variables (68.6) than the low-track students in the same condition. In the control condition, however, high-track students did not score higher than the low-track students. In the second model, gender was added. The regression weights for gender differed significantly per dependent variable and could not be taken together. Ethnic identity and SES did not appear to be significant and were removed from the model. Table 3 shows that girls scored significantly higher for multiple perspectives in both essay assignments. Girls also referred more often to values than boys in the transfer assignment. The effects of condition and school track remained the same.

In model 3 the pre-test on attitudes towards dialogic learning was added. Here too the regression weights for the various dependent variables could not be taken together. The remaining control variables did not appear to be significant. The effect of attitudes towards dialogic learning only appeared to be significant to the aspect of values in the transfer assignment. After the addition of this control variable the significant effect of gender disappeared in the transfer assignment. Adding this variable did not change the remaining effects.

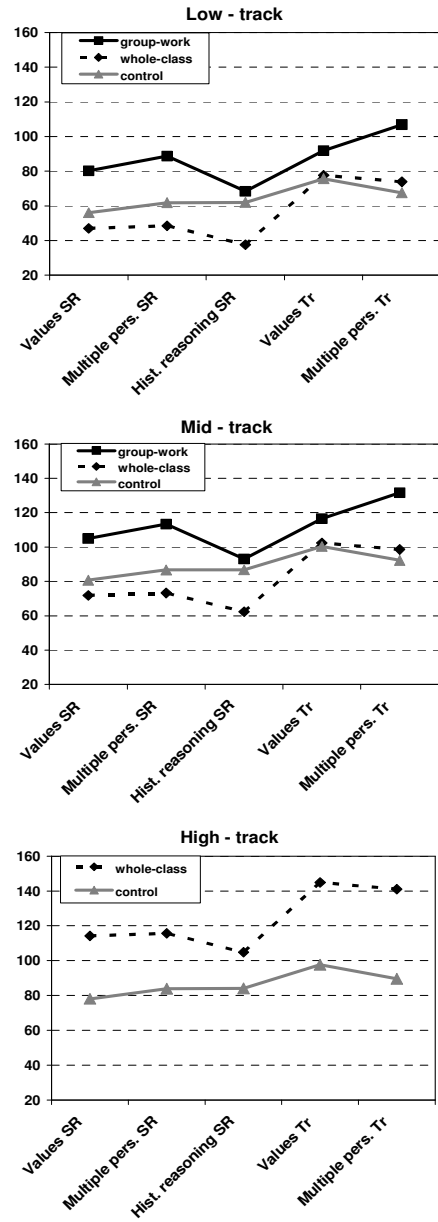


Figure 1. Estimated averages of the essay scores for girls in the low, mid, and high track of pre-university education.

Figure 1 shows the averages for the different conditions of the five dependent variables per school track as estimated in model 3. It only shows the mean scores for the girls. The pattern is the same for boys, but then both scores for the aspect of multiple perspectives are 11.2 lower. The figure shows that the pattern for low-track students is the same as for mid-track students, but the scores for mid-track students are higher. The students in the group-work condition scored higher than the students in the whole-class condition and in the control condition for all the variables. However, only those differences in the aspect of values in the subject-matter related assignment and in the aspect of multiple perspectives in both the subject-matter related assignment and the transfer assignment were significant. The students in the whole-class condition scored the same as the students in the control condition, except for historical reasoning; the students in the whole-class condition had lower scores for this.

For the high-track students we see a different pattern. As mentioned before, there was no group-work condition for high-track students. The average scores of the high-track students in the whole-class condition on all the dependent variables are higher than those of the high-track students in the control condition. Even the smallest difference between these two groups on historical reasoning is significant ($\chi^2 = 5.15$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.023$).

4. DISCUSSION

In this study we investigated the effect of dialogic citizenship education as an integral part of history classes on students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints. We also investigated in particular the effect of the amount of group work. We designed two curriculum units aimed at stimulating students to form an opinion, taking into account conflicting values and different perspectives. The units differed in the balance between group work and classroom discussion. The results firstly show that it is worthwhile to pay systematic attention to moral values and multiple perspectives in school subjects. History education offers good opportunities for modelling citizenship education. The effectiveness of the two different instructional approaches to citizenship education, however, differs. Students who do relatively a lot of work in small groups refer to values in their essays more often and more explicitly, and are better able to validate the different perspectives, in comparison to students who have done more work in whole-class situations.

The effect of dialogic citizenship education differs between the three tracks of pre-university education. In the low-track and mid-track classes the amount of group work plays an important role in enhancing students' ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account. The low-track and mid-track students in the whole-class condition did not have higher scores than those in the control condition. In contrast, the students in the group-work condition had higher scores than the students in the two other conditions for a number of aspects. These students scored higher for taking multiple perspectives into account. This applies to both the subject-matter related assignment and the transfer assignment. These results show that when

students work in small groups relatively often they are more able to include different perspectives when justifying their opinions than students who work in small groups less often. For the aspect of *values* a distinction must be made for the low-track and mid-track students between the subject-matter related assignment and the transfer assignment. It was only in the subject-matter related assignment that the students in the group-work condition scored higher on values than the students in the control and whole-class conditions.

Regarding high-track students, it appears that students in the whole-class condition had higher scores for all the aspects of the essays rated than students in the control condition. Since there were no high-track students in the group-work condition we can only make a hypothetical prediction of the effect of group work on these students. As the students in the group-work condition scored considerably higher on a number of aspects, we can assume that a lot of group work would not be disadvantageous for these students.

The question whether integration of citizenship education into history classes is to the detriment of students' ability to reason historically cannot be answered in a general sense. This depends on the teaching method used. The scores for historical reasoning of the students in the low-track and mid-track classes who did relatively a lot of work in small groups appeared to be as high as the scores of the students from the control condition. However, the students in the whole-class condition had lower scores for historical reasoning than the students from the group-work condition and the control condition.

The effects of dialogic citizenship education on the ability of the low-track and mid-track students to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account were only evident in the group-work condition. This may be partly due to the form of the essay assignment. Before writing down their individual opinions, the students had ten minutes to discuss the statement in groups of four. The students in the group-work condition were more used to working in small groups than the students in the whole-class condition. Hence the results may at least be partly due to the experience gained by learning to work together in groups in the curriculum units rather than to the specific teaching methods which paid attention to the skills and attitudes students need to formulate arguments. We therefore recommend that future research pays attention to the influence of the quality of the group dialogues on students' ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account.

The fact that there was no effect on values in the transfer assignment for students in the low-track and mid-track classes is a result that we often see in educational research, but is nonetheless disappointing. The students who had worked relatively often in small groups referred more often to values, when they had been taught the topic in question in the lessons and were familiar with it. When they were confronted with new subject matter, however, they did not make more references to moral values than students in the control group who had not participated in citizenship-education lessons. Many students were not able to decontextualize a dilemma, such as wearing a school uniform, from the specific context of their own everyday environment and to consider it in a broader social context. In other words, their ability to refer to values when forming an opinion remains directly linked to the subject that has been taught. No transfer occurred. We therefore recommend that future re-

search pays explicit attention to integrating transfer-inducing qualities of instructional-learning processes into a group-work-oriented approach to dialogic citizenship education. (See e.g. Elshout-Mohr, Van Hout-Wolters & Broekkamp, 1999; Volman & Ten Dam, 2000.)

Another explanation for the non-transfer of the ability to refer to values is a matter of moral sensitivity (Tirri & Pehkonen, 2002). Did the students realize that the transfer assignment concerned a moral dilemma? Whereas the curriculum units paid attention to values through exercises which explicitly stated that the aim of the assignment was to recognize moral values, this was not clear in the instructions for the final-essay assignments. The express purpose of the assignment was that students would refer to moral values even in subjects that were new to them. For many students, this may have been a bridge too far.

Chapter 5

THE QUALITY OF STUDENT DIALOGUE IN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION¹

This study investigates the effect of an instructional design for dialogic citizenship education on the quality of student dialogues and the relationship between the quality of student dialogue and students' ability to justify their viewpoints on a moral issue. A curriculum unit for dialogic citizenship education was developed and implemented in the 8th grade of secondary education. In the final lesson students discussed a moral issue and then wrote an essay on it. The results show that students who made more value-related utterances during the discussion, also referred more often in their individually written essays to values and more explicitly. This study indicates that the content of students' dialogue is important for their ability to substantiate their opinion on moral issues with value-laden argumentation. Approaches to citizenship education in which dialogue is a central element should pay specific attention to the validation as well as the *invalidation* of ideas in student dialogue.

1. INTRODUCTION

There has been an increasing emphasis in the past few decades on the social dimension of education. Schools must educate students to become participating citizens of society. Participation in a democratic and plural society means that citizens must be able to form their own opinions about matters concerning justice and the public interest. They need to be able to take their own moral decisions and be accountable for those decisions. Therefore, an important aim of citizenship education is to enhance the capacity of students to develop personal viewpoints with regard to value-related matters and to justify their opinions to others (Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). The fact that democracy is about plurality implies that students need to understand that there are multiple perspectives on moral and social issues and that their own view is only one of many possible perspectives (Banks, 2004). This study focuses on two aspects we consider essential for this approach to citizenship education. Firstly, students need to be able to reflect on the moral values that are at stake and take them into account when justifying their viewpoints to others. Moral values are different from

¹ Schuitema, J. A., van Boxtel, C. A. M., Veugelers, W., & ten Dam, G. (submitted). The quality of student dialogue in citizenship education.

social conventions and norms in that moral values transcend the specific context, and have a more general and abstract significance. Secondly, while developing their own point of view, students need reflect upon multiple perspectives and to take them into account.

According to the literature, stimulating dialogue in the classroom seems to be an effective teaching method to enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account. In most moral education approaches, dialogue is considered to be an essential element (Schuitema, Ten Dam & Veugelers, in press; Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001). A great deal of research based on the work of Kohlberg (Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975), for instance, focused on the effects of moral dilemma discussions on the moral development of students (e.g., Berkowitz & Gibbs, 1983). The importance of dialogue in the classroom is also emphasized from the perspective of citizenship education (Schuitema et al., in press). When students engage in dialogue they are encouraged to consider the perspectives of others and to reason and explain themselves to others. In this way, dialogue is assumed to stimulate the development of critical thinking as a crucial aspect of the competences citizens require to participate in society (Ten Dam & Volman, 2004). In addition, it is argued that citizenship in a democratic society necessitates being able to communicate with different social groups that have different points of view. Dialogue in the classroom is seen as an excellent opportunity to practise communication skills (e.g. Parker, 1997a; Preskill, 1997). Furthermore, it supposedly stimulates the development of attitudes such as tolerance, respect, 'open-mindedness' and autonomy (Grant, 1996; Saye, 1998).

There are different ways to promote dialogue in the classroom. A widespread approach is to have the students work in small groups and to stimulate dialogue between students. An advantage of this approach above, for example classroom discussion, is that more students can actively participate in the dialogue. Hence, many studies concerning teaching methods for citizenship education advocate instructional designs in which students have to work together in small groups and are stimulated to engage in dialogue with each other (see Schuitema et al., in press). However, only a few of these studies elaborate on the qualities of student dialogue that are needed to achieve the various goals that are set for citizenship education. Most studies go no further than claiming 'dialogue makes a difference'. It is questionable, however, if all kinds of interaction will create productive learning opportunities. The quality of the dialogue is assumed to determine the quality of the learning process. Student dialogue should meet specific characteristics in order to facilitate learning (Kumpulainen & Kaartinen, 2003; Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003).

In our view, an instructional strategy for citizenship education in which dialogue is a central element (we refer to this as dialogic citizenship education), should also support the development of the skills and attitudes students need for a dialogue that facilitates learning. Before focusing on the instruction that is needed to elicit and support such a dialogue, we discuss dialogue characteristics that may contribute to citizenship education.

1.1 Dialogue quality

What are the characteristics of student dialogue we consider to be important for taking into account and reflecting on moral values and multiple perspectives while developing a personal point of view?

Firstly, it is argued that all participants should be involved in the interaction and actively exchange opinions and ideas (Mercer, Wegerif & Dawes, 1999). Moreover, Kumpulainen and Kaartinen (2003) suggest that contributions to the dialogue should be equally distributed among the participants, something they consider to be an important feature of collaborative processes in dialogue. This in contrast with unequal participation which indicates an imbalance in social status and power.

A second feature of dialogue that is assumed to facilitate learning is processes of co-construction of ideas and joint meaning making (Kumpulainen & Kaartinen, 2003; Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). Students co-construct meanings and ideas when they reflect and elaborate on the contributions of others (Van Boxtel, 2004). Berkowitz and Gibbs (1983) analysed thirty dialogues of students (mean age 20.7) discussing a moral dilemma in dyads. They found that statements that 'transform or operate on' the reasoning of their partners were more frequent in dialogues of students whose moral reasoning ability improved. In the case of citizenship education, co-construction can imply that students form their own opinions by using the input of others and also contribute towards the opinions of others.

Thirdly, in order to achieve processes of co-construction, it is essential that there is some degree of mutual understanding (Baker, HansenJoiner & Traum, 1999). Participants need to 'check' new information in order to maintain common ground (Erkens, Jaspers, Prangma & Kanselaar, 2006). Checking behaviour includes verifying questions, and all types of confirming, accepting or denying responses. Damon and Killen (1982) coded the dialogues of 69 first, second and third grade students. The ability of students with a relatively low initial level to reason about issues of justice and fairness improved most when they displayed both transformative statements and statements of direct agreement or repetition. In addition, Erkens et al. (2006) found that checking behaviour in the interaction of students had a positive effect on the overall argumentation in a collaboratively written text.

Finally, the different ideas and views students contribute to the dialogue should be supported with arguments (Chinn, O'Donnell & Jinks, 2000). The reasoning must be made explicit in the talk (Mercer, Wegerif & Dawes, 1999). Erkens et al. (2006) found that students who participated in groups that displayed more argumentative statements in their interaction wrote essays with better overall argumentation. In the context of citizenship education, it is emphasized that students should take moral values into account in argumentation (Veugelers, 2000). Ideas and views that students bring into the dialogue should be appraised and validated from the perspective of moral values. Hence, the moral values that are at stake must be made explicit in the dialogue.

In sum, the characteristics of student dialogue that we assume to be important for citizenship education are: equal participation, elaboration on the contributions of others, checking behaviour, and the explication of moral values.

1.2 Instructional strategies for dialogic citizenship education

Achieving a dialogue that meets the characteristics discussed above requires specific skills and attitudes. Several studies have shown that instructional strategies with an explicit focus on the skills and attitude students need for a productive dialogue have a positive effect on students' reasoning skills (e.g. Mercer et al., 1999). Considerable less research has investigated the effects of such instructional strategies in the field of citizenship education (Schuitema et al., in press).

A previous study (Schuitema, Veugelers, Rijlaarsdam & Ten Dam, submitted) investigated the effects of an instructional strategy for dialogic citizenship education on students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints. We designed a curriculum unit for history education in which we integrated dialogic citizenship education. The aim of the unit was to improve students' ability to support their points of view on moral issues related to the learning content. Students worked together in small groups. During the unit, we focused on the following skills and attitudes for dialogue which are derived from Frijters, Ten Dam and Rijlaarsdam (in press).

- *Exchanging*: being able and willing to express opinions and share them with others.
- *Co-constructing*: being able and willing to form your own opinions in a dialogue, utilizing the input of others and contributing to the opinions of others.
- *Validating*: being able and willing to validate your opinion and the opinion of others from the perspective of moral values.

We compared the learning outcomes of the students who participated in the curriculum unit with students in a control group who followed the same history course without an explicit focus on moral values and dialogue. We investigated the effect of the curriculum unit on the ability to reflect on moral values and various different perspectives in an essay, prior to which students discussed a statement about a moral issue. After this discussion they wrote a short individual essay about this statement. Analyses of these essays revealed that students who participated in the curriculum for dialogic citizenship education tended, more often, to take multiple perspectives into account (Schuitema et al., submitted). Similarly, Frijters et al. (in press) found a positive effect of a dialogic instructional design for value loaded critical thinking on students' ability to reflect on moral values.

However, our previous study and that of Frijters et al. (in press) leaves several questions unanswered. To what extent did the student dialogues display the characteristics we assume to be important for citizenship education? What was the contribution of the quality of student dialogue to the learning effects found in the studies? To answer these questions, in the present study we investigate the effects of dialogic citizenship education on the quality of the dialogues, and the relationship between the quality of the dialogues and students' ability to reflect on moral values and multiple perspectives. The questions that this study aims to answer are:

- 1) *Does dialogic citizenship education as an integral part of history classes enhance the quality of dialogue between students?*
- 2) *How does the quality of the dialogue relate to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?*

We expected that students who participated in the unit for dialogic citizenship education would be better able to conduct a dialogue characterised by 'equal participation', 'transformative statements', 'checking behaviour' and 'explicating moral values'. Furthermore, we expected students who participated in a group with a dialogue in which these characteristics scored high, would be better able to reflect on moral values and multiple perspectives when supporting their own opinion in their essay.

2. METHOD

2.1 Instructional materials for dialogic citizenship education

Together with a history teacher trainer, we designed a curriculum unit for dialogic citizenship education in the history class (see Schuitema, Van Riessen, Veugelers & Ten Dam, submitted). The lessons were tested, evaluated and adjusted during a pilot study. The unit included thirteen, 45 minute lessons for students in the 8th grade of pre-university education. The teaching materials supplemented an existing history textbook that is widely used in the Netherlands. The extra materials, which consisted of a teacher's manual and student workbooks, covered the history of the United States of America from the first settlers to the early nineteenth century. The curriculum unit discussed the founding of the USA, the position of the Native Americans, immigration to the USA, slavery and the Civil War. We used dialogue as a potentially adequate instructional strategy aimed at enhancing the ability of students to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account. In the next section we discuss how moral values, multiple perspectives and the instruction for dialogue were incorporated in the curriculum unit.

Recognizing and understanding moral values

Systematic attention was paid throughout the curriculum unit to moral values, described to the students as "opinions, wishes or ideals on how people should live together". Students learned to recognize and identify moral values covered in the learning materials. They studied, for instance, the text of the 1776 American Declaration of Independence, and parts of the 1788 Constitution, and had to indicate which values these texts incorporated. They also investigated the values they themselves and their fellow students considered to be important.

Investigating multiple perspectives

Another important focus of the instructional materials was multiple perspectives on moral issues and values. The students were provided with several sources reflecting

different perspectives on a historical event or situation. They also worked on tasks in which they were required to empathize with the perspectives of particular groups. One group of students studied, for instance, sources that reflected the perspectives of the Native Americans, while other students studied sources that reflected the settlers' perspectives. The students subsequently took part in a discussion about a number of statements. They were asked to consider the view of a Native American and of a settler.

Instructions for dialogue

The students were prompted to engage in dialogue with each other during the lessons. Students worked in small groups and discussed statements concerning moral issues. The teacher's manual prescribed the time to be spent on each type of activity. 65% of the available time was for working in small groups (3-5 students, or dyads), and 15% of the time was for whole-class dialogue. The teachers were instructed to guide the collaboration process and to give as little help as possible with the subject content.

Explicit attention was given in the curriculum unit to the skills and attitudes students need to engage in dialogue with each other (exchanging, co-constructing and validating). From the outset, students were encouraged to share their opinions with others, by, for example, writing down each other's opinions without the need for immediate agreement. Activities aiming at co-construction and validating were gradually added. Processes of co-construction were stimulated through assignments in which students had to write down a collective point of view. They had to arrive at an agreement or, where there was disagreement, they had to write down what it was they disagreed about and why. To stimulate students to validate their opinions and those of others, they had to determine the moral values that had been involved in the forming of their collective point of view.

2.2 Design and procedure

The study was set up as a quasi-experimental design, with an experimental condition and a control condition. In the experimental condition the teachers worked with the teaching material for dialogic citizenship education (13 lessons). In the control condition the teachers worked in ten to thirteen lessons on the same content using the same history textbook as the teachers in the experimental condition, but without the additional teacher and student materials for citizenship education.

One lesson was used to conduct the post test. Students worked on an assignment that included a short introduction to a moral dilemma, and a statement. The statement was: "School uniforms back in the classroom!" It was suggested that school uniforms be introduced in the classroom to avoid students being bullied for the way they dress. The students were given ten minutes to discuss the statement in self-selected groups of four. The students then all wrote an individual short essay in which they expounded their personal opinion about the statement.

We randomly selected 25 groups from the groups that participated in the study and recorded the dialogues of these selected groups. The previous study (Schuitema

et al., submitted) focused on the whole group, whereas the present study focuses on the selection of students whose dialogues were taped. We compared the essay scores of the selected students with the essay scores of the students who had not been selected to investigate whether the students that were selected for this study were a representative sample from the previous study. It appeared that in the experimental condition the selected students had significantly higher essay scores than students who were not selected. The control group showed no differences between selected and non-selected students. We conclude that the selection of students for this study was not representative of the students in the previous study which must be taken into account when interpreting the results of the present study.

The selection included 103 students in 25 groups from 8 classes at 6 different schools. 61 students in 15 groups from 4 classes participated in the experimental condition. 42 students in 10 groups from 4 classes participated in the control condition. 50% of the students were female. Eleven percent of the students considered their ethnic identity to be non-Dutch (e.g. Moroccan, Turkish or Suriname).

All students were from the 8th grade of pre-university education (age 13-14). In the highly streamed educational system in the Netherlands, the pre-university track caters for the cognitively more advanced students. Pre-university education in the Dutch educational system is usually divided into three tracks, which we refer to here as the high-track, the mid-track and the low-track.² Students are selected for these tracks on the basis of their previous performance in primary education.

The experimental condition included one mid-track class and three low-track classes, and the control condition included two high-track classes and two mid-track classes. There were no high-track classes in the experimental condition and no low-track classes in the control condition. We discuss the implications of this unequal distribution of school-tracks for the analyses in the analysis section.

2.3 Analysis of the essays

Individual essays were used to assess students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their opinions. We scored the essays on the use of moral values and multiple perspectives.

The score on *moral values* was based on the number of arguments that referred to moral values and on the extent to which the students explicitly referred to a moral value: the more explicit a student refers to a general value that transcends the specific context, the higher the score. An essay on school uniforms in which a student indicates, for instance, that everyone should be able to decide for themselves what to wear, scores higher than an essay in which a student states that she wants to be able

² The high-track and the mid-track of pre-university education in the Dutch educational system are termed *Gymnasium* and *Atheneum*. These two tracks are similar except that the high-track includes Latin and Greek. The low-track of pre-university education is a transition class. At the end of the 8th grade some students in this track will continue to follow pre-university education (the mid-track), and other students will change over to general secondary education.

to choose for herself. Even higher scores are given to an essay in which a student links choosing your own clothing with freedom of speech.

The multiple perspectives aspect concerns the extent to which students discuss varying perspectives in their essays. Attention was paid in the scoring not only to the number of perspectives, but also to the degree of elaboration on the perspectives. The number of (sub)arguments for each perspective was checked. Arguments for and against the statement often corresponded to two perspectives, but this was not always the case. When a student indicates that, for her, the drawback of a school uniform is that she would not be able to show off her new clothes, and that the advantage is that she would not have to decide what to wear in the morning, these two viewpoints are really from the same perspective.

Independently working raters scored each essay separately for each aspect as a whole, according to a method derived from the comparison method (Blok, 1986). The raters used anchors. These are model essays with which the raters compare the other essays. We chose (per aspect) three typical and representative model essays of a good, an average and a weak essay. The three anchors have fixed scores, 50, 100, and 150 respectively. We then asked the raters to assign a score of between 0 and 200 to each essay, compared with the anchors. When a rater judges an essay to be, for instance, better than the average model essay, but not as good as the good model essay, then this essay will receive a score of between 100 and 150 points. Each essay was scored by two raters. The essay scores were calculated by taking the average of the two raters who had assessed the essay in question. Rater reliabilities were estimated using LISREL (van der Bergh & Eiting, 1989). The estimated reliabilities varied between 0.76 to 0.93 (see Schuitema et al., submitted).

2.4 Coding of the dialogues

The taped dialogues were transcribed and coded in three phases. In the first phase we focused on the type of communicative act used. In phases two and three we coded the content of what is being communicated. We focused on utterances in which a moral value is expressed and on the number of themes that was discussed. We used the turn shifts of the speakers to mark off the unit of coding. An utterance was defined by the speech of a single speaker without interruption from other speakers.

Communicative acts

The communicative act coding indicates the communicative function of an utterance. Table 1 shows the codes we used and the descriptions. The main aim in this first phase was to identify utterances that indicate processes of co-construction. It is important for the process of co-construction that students contribute to the content of the task by bringing in their viewpoints and that students react to each other. We

Table 1. Codes, descriptions and examples of communicative acts

Code	Description	Examples
Informative	New contribution (opinion, argument, information) without reacting to former speakers.	- I think everyone has their own individual style of clothing, and you shouldn't always wear the same, that's very boring.
Transformative	Utterance that transforms or operates on a contribution from other speakers, such as an elaboration, an example, a counterargument, or a conclusion.	- I think that with school uniforms you can't see the differences between people and I don't like that, you want to be original. - <i>Yes, then you don't have a personality</i> - and you can't see if your parents are rich or poor. - <i>but we don't have that in the Netherlands, that's more in other countries like emhh..</i>
Checking	Responses to informative or transformative utterances without bringing in new information, including direct confirmations or denials, and verifying questions.	- No, but you can still wear your own clothes in the weekend and on holiday. - <i>Yes, exactly</i> - Why don't you want a school uniform?
Regulative content	Regulative utterances to direct the content of the dialogue.	- Ok, is this the only argument for or do we need more?
Regulative process	Regulative utterances to direct the process of the dialogue (e.g. time management).	- Ok, we have to get a move on
Regulative writing essay	Students talk about writing the essays (e.g. writing strategies).	- Do you have to write that down too?
Off task:		- This man must be from the Precambrian
No score	Unclear statements and half sentences	- Lets have a look, what....

therefore distinguish utterances that are a contribution to the content of the task from utterances with the aim of regulating the dialogue. Contributions to the content of task can be made by bringing in a new viewpoint or argument (informative), by transforming or operating on the contributions of others (transformative), or by checking new information. We consider these three communicative acts as indicators for processes of co-construction. The remaining codes in Table 1 refer to utterances aimed at the regulation of the content or process of the dialogue or utterances related to the writing process. Interrater reliability of the coding was determined by comparing the ratings of two independent raters for two dialogues (294 utterances). Analyses showed the communicative act coding to be reliable with a Cohen's Kappa of .73 and an interrater agreement percentage of 77%.

Value-related utterances

To assess the quality of the dialogue content we made a distinction between value-related utterances and utterances in which no moral value was expressed. The coding in this second phase involved only those utterances that were coded as informative or transformative in the first phase. Students usually did not explicitly express moral values. However, we consider an utterance to be value related if we can reasonably assume that an appeal is being made to a general value which transcends the specific context. For instance, when a student states: "there are differences in religions and people should be able to express their religion by wearing a headscarves" she is appealing to a general notion that differences between people must be respected. Table 2 gives more examples of value-related utterances. Three dialogues (171 utterances) were double coded. The coding of value-related utterances appeared to be reliable (Cohen's Kappa = .75; interrater agreement = 93%).

Value-related themes

The quality of the dialogue is not only determined by the number of references to moral values but also by the variety of value-related themes. In the third and last phase we therefore coded the dialogues according to the different value-related themes. Table 2 presents an overview of the themes that students discuss in the dialogues. Reliability analyses revealed a Cohen's Kappa of .93 and an interrater agreement of 94%. Based on the theme coding we calculated, for each group, the total number of different themes that were discussed.

Asymmetry of participation

To assess the extent to which students participated equally in the dialogues we calculated the level of participation asymmetry. We first calculated the number of informative and transformative utterances made by each participant as a percentage of the total made by the whole group. Subsequently, we calculated for each member how much this percentage deviates from the ideal situation of perfect participation symmetry. For example, in a group of four, participation is perfectly symmetrical if each member makes 25 percent of the total number of informative and transformative utterances. The final score for participation asymmetry is determined by calculating the group mean of the deviance scores.

Table 2. Value- related themes: description and examples of value-related utterances per theme

Theme description	Examples
<p><i>Freedom</i> Expressing the right to choose your own clothes. This includes claiming that clothes are an expression of someone's personality which implies a link with freedom of speech.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - You can't be the person you want to be anymore - No, in this country you have the right to have your own opinion.
<p><i>Diversity</i> The appreciation of and respect for differences between people. There is a certain similarity with the theme of 'freedom'. An utterance is coded as diversity if the accent is on differences between people.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - You've also got different religions and there are people who wear headscarves and then they can't anymore - but that means that these people should conform to the school uniform and Goths for instance, they like to wear black, wide clothes. We should consider that.
<p><i>Bullying</i> Utterances that express concern (involvement) about the problem of bullying.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - But maybe it is good for kids who are bullied.
<p><i>Equality</i> Saying that school uniforms can increase equality between students, without elaborating on the problem of bullying. This is frequently about differences between rich and poor students.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Then what you don't have is people who compete to look the best and who can spend the most money on clothes. - Yes, then everyone will be treated the same.
<p><i>Racist clothing</i> The uniform can prevent students from wearing clothes with racist prints or brands that are associated with racism, such as Lonsdale.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People can't wear racist clothes anymore. - and then the other one's wearing Lonsdale and then they start to fight.
<p><i>Inequality between schools</i> School uniforms make it obvious to others which school a student attends. It can bring about stigmatizing.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Then it will be like: "heh, look, someone from [name of a school]. what a losers".
<p><i>Other</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Yes but then I think teachers should also wear uniforms otherwise we have to and they don't and that's...

2.5 *Statistical analyses*

The first research question concerns the effect of the instruction for dialogic citizenship education on the quality of the dialogues. There are six variables that represent the quality of the dialogues, including three types of communicative act that we consider to be important indications of co-construction processes: informative utterances, transformative utterances, and checking utterances. The other three variables are: value-related utterances, number of value-related themes and the level of participation asymmetry. We first focus on the three communicative acts.

To code the dialogues, the utterances were used as the unit of analysis. For each group there is a number of observations equal to the number of utterances made by that group. Therefore the data have a hierarchical structure with utterances nested within groups. Multivariate multilevel analyses were performed (MLwiN 2.02: Rasbash, Browne, Cameron & Charlton, 2005) with the three communicative acts as dependent variables with two levels: utterances and group. In this model the communicative acts are binary variables, indicating for each utterance whether or not (1 or 0) that particular utterance is informative, transformative, checking behaviour, or none of those. In addition, a logit transformation was performed (for a more detailed description of this model see: Van den Bergh & Rijlaarsdam, 1996). There were significant differences between the three pre-university education tracks. We therefore analysed the effect of condition within the different tracks. Two dummies were included for the experimental condition (mid-track and low-track) and two for the control condition (high-track and mid-track). Note that there were no high-track groups in the experimental condition and no low-track groups in the control condition. A second multilevel analysis was performed with two levels (utterances and group) to analyse the effect of the instruction for citizenship education on the proportion of value-related utterances. The scores for the number of themes and participation asymmetry were calculated for the whole dialogue. Two single level regression analyses were performed with number of themes and asymmetry of participation respectively as dependent variables.

The second research question concerns the relationship between the quality of the dialogues and the individual ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account measured by the essay assignments. The essay scoring produced a score for moral values and a score for multiple perspectives for each student. A multivariate multilevel analysis was performed with the two essay scores for moral values and multiple perspectives as dependent variables. The essay scores were measured at the student level and students were nested in groups. Therefore, we performed multilevel models with two levels: student and group. Because there were significant differences between the different school tracks and the two conditions on the essay scores, we estimated the effect of the quality of dialogue within school track and condition. Two models were fitted and compared. The first model included four dummy variables for school track and condition. In the second model, the six variables representing the quality for dialogue were added to the model via a stepwise procedure.

3. RESULTS

Before we discuss the results of the statistical analyses, we first take a closer look at the dialogues. The dialogues lasted an average of 12.3 minutes ($sd = 1.7$) and the average number of utterances per group was 122 ($sd = 32.14$). Table 3 presents an overview of the results of the communicative act coding.

Table 3. Communicative acts: mean, percentage of total number of utterances, and standard deviation (N= 25)

	Mean	%	SD
Informative	17.56	14.3	3.94
Transformative	32.00	26.1	12.52
Checking	25.16	20.6	11.85
Regulative content	2.92	2.4	4.44
Regulative process	8.16	6.7	5.67
Regulative writing essay	15.00	12.3	12.71
Off-task	17.24	14.0	16.40
No score	4.24	3.5	3.82
Total	122.28	99.9	32.14

About sixty percent of the utterances (informative, transformative and checking) were directly related to the topic of school uniforms. The ratio between informative utterances on the one hand and transformative and checking utterances on the other suggest that an informative utterance was followed, on average, by one or two transformative utterances and one or two checking utterances. A comparison of the standard deviations shows that the number of informative utterances varied less between groups than transformative and checking utterances. Thus, the groups differed most on the extent to which students elaborated on new contributions. Students used about 21 percent of the utterances for regulation, the greater majority of which focused on the writing of the essays.

Table 4 shows the value-related themes and the average number of value-related utterances each group made about that particular theme. The total number of value-related utterances per dialogue was an average of 7.96. The table also shows that the most frequently discussed themes were 'freedom', 'bullying', 'equality' and to a lesser extent 'diversity'.

Table 4. Value-related utterances per theme: mean, percentage of the total number of value-related utterances, and the standard deviation (N=25).

	Mean	%	SD
Freedom	2.60	32.6	2.18
Diversity	0.92	11.5	1.26
Bullying	1.84	23.1	1.77
Equality	1.72	21.6	1.95
Racism	0.24	3.0	0.72
Inequality between schools	0.28	3.5	0.74
Other	0.36	4.5	0.53
Total	7.96	99.8	4.63

Below we present two examples of dialogues to give a further insight into how a dialogue can be described in terms of the characteristics we consider important for citizenship education. We selected a group with many value-related utterances and a group with a moderate number of value-related utterances. The first example (Table 5) concerns parts of a dialogue in a group of four girls with many value-related utterances (18).

Table 5. Example of a dialogue with many value-related utterances (group 11: experimental condition mid-track students)

Line	Student	Transcriptions	Communicative acts	Theme
1	girl 1:	You have your own style of clothing, you can't change that straightaway. (giggling)	informative	bullying
		No, but look, I think on the other hand it is useful, a uniform, because there's less bullying, there aren't as many differences between students		
2	girl 2:	It is useful against bullying (while writing)	regulative	
3	girl 3:	You can decide for yourself how you dress	informative	freedom
4	girl 1:	exactly, then it feels like you have a say in what.. in how you look	transformative	freedom
5	girl 2:	how you are..	checking	

6	girl 3:	but some people might not want to have a say in what they wear, they think it's ok	transformative	freedom
7	girl 2:	yes, yes, and on the other hand it's useful against bullying, but again it's also	transformative	
8	girl 4:	You should be able to decide for yourself what you wear	transformative	freedom
9	girl 1:	That's a value! You should be able to decide for yourself what you wear	transformative	freedom
25	girl 4:	I think it's good to have rules about having too much body on show, but I still think you should decide for yourself what you wear.	transformative	freedom
26	girl 1:	then they can also tell girls to have pony tails and boys to have a parting in their hair.	transformative	
27	girl 3	Yes, your own.. you must be able to disagree with that.	transformative	freedom
28	girl 1:	What you want to wear,...no how do you say it, you should.	no score	
29	girl 4:	Do what you want to do, wear what you want to wear and look the way you want to.	transformative	freedom
53	girl 1:	But if caps aren't allowed, then you get that whole business about wearing headscarves	informative	diversity
54	girl 4:	Yes	checking	
55	girl 3:	Yes, then you get that, those headscarves	checking	
56	girl 2:	Because in principle they're allowed to wear headscarves because they are religious	transformative	diversity
57	girl 3:	Exactly, and they are let into our country and they're allowed to do what they want, except for certain things, but those headscarves are just part of their religion and if that's so precious to them, I think they can keep wearing them.	transformative	diversity
58	girl 1:	Yes they are let into this country, but with the idea that they can have their own religion and their own...	transformative	diversity

As this dialogue shows, there are many indications for processes of co-construction. The girls elaborated on the contribution of others and finish off each others' sentences. They know when they are on the right track and they collaboratively elaborate on the important themes. Moreover, they recognize moral values in the dialogue: "that's a value! you should decide for yourself what you want to wear" (line

9). Due to this collaborative elaboration they have relatively many transformative utterances. The level of asymmetry is reasonably small, although girl 2 made fewer contributions than the others.

The second example is rather different from the first dialogue. This group of four boys made considerably fewer value-related utterances (5) in their dialogue. Table 6 presents one of the few parts of the dialogue in which value-related utterances do occur. Compared with the first dialogue, the transcript shows fewer indications of processes of co-construction. The boys ramble from one subject to another and do not elaborate on important contributions. Boy 1 tries to take the dialogue to a higher level by bringing in some interesting points: “..the Netherlands is a free country, you have the right to your own opinion and that means you can wear your own style of clothing” (line 22). This, however, is not picked up by the other students. An interesting contribution is usually followed by a joke and the dialogue continues with a different theme. This results in fewer transformative utterances than we saw in the dialogue between the four girls. The boys discuss fewer value-related themes than the girls and show less elaboration on these values. The level of asymmetry and the number of checking utterances is comparable with those of the girls.

The differences we observed in the dialogues of the two groups seemed to be related to the essay scores of the students in both groups. All of the four girls had very high essay scores on both moral values and multiple perspectives. We see a different pattern for the boys. One boy had high scores on both aspects of the essays, while the scores of the other three boys varied from moderate to very low.

Table 6. Example of a dialogue with a moderate number of value-related utterances (group 92: control condition, mid-track students)

Line	Student	Transcriptions	Communicative acts	Theme
16	boy 2:	Martin, do you have an opinion, yet?	checking	
17	boy 4:	oh yes, everyone looks the same	informative	
18	boy 2:	Yes but that's not the same, you can do your hair differently and wear sunglasses and you can be too fat or too tall	transformative	
19	boy 3:	Yes, but then you're not allowed to wear sunglasses	transformative	
20	boy 4:	Yes, but I don't get....	checking	
21	boy 2:	would, would, wouldn't there be a hair-style.. that you should have a parting in your hair..	transformative	
22	boy 1:	Yes, but let them get on with that in England, because the Netherlands is a free country, you have the right to your own opinion and that means you can wear your what you want	transformative	freedom

23	boy 3:	good argument from Neil (with a funny voice)	checking	
24	boy 2:	And now another story of Donald Duck (laughter)	off task	
25	boy 1:	No but isn't it true, if you want to live in a free country, aren't you free to express yourself in the clothes you want to?	informative	freedom
26	boy 3:	Yes, I think you are.	checking	
27	boy 4:	yes	checking	
28	boy 1:	In any case, you'll always will find out, even if you're in the classroom, who's got money and who hasn't.	informative	equality
29	boy 2:	That's exciting, it's going round and round, it's recording..	off task	
30	boy 3:	But uuh... do you think it's OK?	checking	
31	boy 1:	Yes, why do you think that, why would it be that...? no, why would it be right?	checking	
32	boy 2:	Because, those children wouldn't be bullied anymore about their clothing. { ... } sure, but they don't have problems with their clothes anymore.	transformative	Bullying
33	boy 3:	or if they have red hair	transformative	
34	boy 4:	I wouldn't like it, I'd like to wear my own clothes.	informative	
35	boy 3:	Yep, you just got new clothes, and then you have to go and wear this school stuff..	transformative	
36	boy 1:	I mean, your clothes, that's your opinion, isn't it.	informative	Freedom
37	boy 2:	And then another story of Donald Duck	off task	

3.1 Effect of the curriculum unit on the quality of the dialogues

In this section we present the results of the multilevel analysis in order to answer the question whether dialogic citizenship education in the history class enhances the quality of dialogue between students. The logit transformation makes it difficult to interpret the results of the multilevel analyses on informative, transformative, checking and value-related utterances (see appendix B for the results). To facilitate the interpretation of the estimations of the multilevel analyses, the results of these variables are calculated back to proportions. Table 7 shows the mean proportions of informative, transformative, checking and value-related utterances for the conditions and school tracks as they were estimated by the multilevel analyses. In addition, Table 7 presents the estimated mean scores and standard deviations for balance of exchange and the number of themes.

Contrast analyses were used to test for significant differences between means (see Goldstein, 2003). There are substantial differences between school tracks for

informative and transformative utterances. The mid-track students in the experimental condition scored significantly higher than the low-track students on informative statements ($\chi^2 = 6.8$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$). Similarly, the high-track students in the control condition made more informative utterances ($\chi^2 = 4.49$, $df = 1$, $p = .034$). Comparison between conditions is only possible for the mid-track students. Contrast analyses revealed that the mid-track students in the experimental conditions made proportionally more informative utterances ($\chi^2 = 4.46$, $df = 1$, $p < .035$). There appeared to be no significant differences between conditions and school track in transformative utterances and checking utterances.

Table 7. Estimated means on variables indicating the quality of the dialogues ($N=25$)

Condition		Infor- mative	Trans- for- mative	Check- ing behav- iour	Value- related utter- ances	Number of themes		Asymmetry of participa- tion	
		mean prop.	mean prop.	mean prop.	mean prop.	mean	SD	mean	SD
Experimental	mid-track	0.19	0.30	0.21	0.13	4.5	1.1	8.5	3.5
	low-track	0.13	0.22	0.18	0.05	3.0	1.0	6.9	2.3
Control	high-track	0.19	0.35	0.23	0.07	2.8	1.6	7.6	3.8
	mid-track	0.13	0.24	0.23	0.05	2.5	0.5	7.25	2.1

For value-related utterances and the number of value-related themes we found a significant effect of condition for mid-track students. Mid-track students in the experimental condition made more references to moral values ($\chi^2 = 8.27$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$) and discussed a wider variety of themes ($\chi^2 = 10.67$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$) than mid-track students in the control condition. Moreover, the mid-track students scored higher than the high-track students in the control condition on value-related utterances ($\chi^2 = 4.4$, $df = 1$, $p = .036$) and they reached the same level of performance as the high-track students on the number of themes ($\chi^2 = 3.83$, $df = 1$, $p = .05$). Further differences between school tracks were only observed in the experimental condition. Mid-track students made proportionally more value-related utterances than low-track students in the same condition ($\chi^2 = 12.92$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). In the control condition the school tracks did not differ significantly ($\chi^2 = 8.27$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$). Finally, we found no differences between conditions or school tracks in the level of asymmetry of participation.

3.2 Relationship between the dialogues and the essays

Our next focus concerns the relationship between the quality of the dialogues and the use of moral values and multiple perspectives in the individual essays. We per-

formed a multilevel analysis, with the essay scores on values and multiple perspectives as dependent variables (see Table 8). The dummy variables for condition and school track were added in model 1. We used a cell means model (Searle, 1987) which implies that the means for conditions and school tracks are estimated directly.

Table 8. Results of the multilevel analyses on the essay scores (N= 91)

			Model 1		Model 2	
			Mean	SE	Mean	SE
Fixed						
values in essays						
experimental	mid-track		139.1	10.5	95.5	14.3
condition	low-track		88.5	7.0	99.0	6.3
control	high-track		91.9	8.7	87.7	7.1
condition	mid-track		93.2	10.1	107.7	8.7
dialogues	value related utterances ¹				678.2	182.7
multiple perspectives in essays						
experimental	mid-track		147.0	8.2	149.1	14.25
condition	low-track		104.7	5.5	104.3	6.2
control	high-track		89.9	7.0	90.1	7.0
condition	mid-track		90.4	7.9	89.7	8.8
dialogues	value related utterances ¹				-32.0	181.0
Random						
level 2 group	values		225.3	135.7	62.8	89.1
	multiple perspectives		124.9	85.1	124.7	85.1
level 1 students	values		845.7	145.6	840.6	144.2
	multiple perspectives		585.7	100.8	586.6	100.8
Fit						
			1720.17		1705.31	
improvement difference in degrees of freedom					14,86	
p-value					2	
					p < .001	

¹ This variable is centred around the mean.

To construct the second model we added the variables that represent the quality of the dialogue: informative, transformative, checking and value-related utterances, the number of themes and the asymmetry of participation. Only value-related utterances proved to be significant. Other variables were removed from the model. Value-related utterances appeared to be significant only for the essay score on values. Students in groups that made proportionally more value-related utterances also discussed more values and more explicitly in their individual essays.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this study we focused on the quality of student dialogue in citizenship education. Does instruction for dialogic citizenship education improve the quality of the dialogue between students? How does the quality of the dialogue relate to students' individual ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account?

The students who participated in the lessons for citizenship education made more informative utterances, which indicates that these students exchanged more information. In addition, the students who followed the lessons for citizenship education made more value-related utterances and discussed a wider variety of moral related themes. However, the selection of students in the experimental condition had significantly higher essay scores on values and multiple perspectives than students from the experimental condition who were not selected for this study. We did not find differences between selected and non-selected students in the control condition. This indicates that we selected the 'better' students from the experimental condition. We cannot therefore conclude that the differences we found between the two conditions on informative utterances and value-related utterances were the effect of the citizenship education lessons. It is possible that these differences were the result of the selection of students.

There were no indications that dialogic citizenship education enhances the processes of co-construction in student dialogue. Even though we selected the better students from the experimental condition, the students in the experimental condition did not make more transformative utterances or checking utterances than students in the control condition. In addition, instruction for dialogic citizenship education did not affect the asymmetry level of participation.

The results partly confirmed our expectations concerning the second research question. The quality of the content of the dialogues was related to students' ability to take moral values into account when justifying their viewpoints. Students who participated in groups that made more value-related utterances in their dialogue, also referred more often to values and in a more explicit manner in their individual essays. The results indicate that students 'used' the dialogue with others to write their essays. The quality of the content of the dialogue may therefore be important for student's ability to take into account moral values to substantiate an opinion. We have to be cautious, however, with conclusions about causality based on correlational research. An alternative explanation for the relationship between the content of the dialogues and the essays is that students who are able to express moral values can do this both verbally in a dialogue with others and in writing in an individual

essay. Other characteristics of the dialogues apart from value-related utterances did not appear to be related to the ability of students to take moral values into account. Furthermore, none of the characteristics of students' dialogues that we examined in this study were related to students' ability to take multiple perspectives into account in their individual essays.

The results concerning the processes of co-construction during the dialogues were not as we expected. The students who participated in the lessons for dialogic citizenship education did not make more transformative and checking utterances which we consider to be indicators of co-constructive processes. Moreover, there were no differences between the school tracks on these variables. There was, however, considerable variance between groups on transformative and checking utterances. These results indicate that there are other factors that determine the extent to which a group engages in processes of co-construction. These factors do not appear to be related to the academic level of the students and difficult to influence with a curriculum unit. An interesting question for further research is what factors cause these differences in processes of co-construction. The student motivation, for instance, might be an important factor. The will to collaborate might be difficult to influence and may depend more on the attitudes of the students towards, for example, the assignment, or on the composition of groups (Van der Linden, Erkens, Schmidt & Renshaw, 2000).

The topic of the assignment may also have had an influence. The students in our study usually agreed that they did not want a school uniform. Some of the students might have used the dialogue more as a brainstorming session rather than as a discussion in which they formed and changed their opinion. It is possible that a topic that evokes more debate between students would lead to different results. Furthermore, the assignment topic was new to the students and had not been discussed in the lessons. Students had practiced engaging in processes of co-construction on historical topics during the lessons. It is possible that they were unable to apply what they had learned to a new topic. Transfer of learning is difficult to achieve and educational research shows that in many cases transfer of learning does not occur. Future research should therefore focus on teaching methods for dialogic citizenship education that stimulate the transfer of learning to new subjects (see e.g. Perkins & Salomon, 1996).

Another unexpected finding was that processes of co-construction in the dialogues was not related to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account. The extent to which students elaborated on the contributed arguments did not seem to matter, only the exchange of value-related arguments was positively related to the individual performance on the essay assignment. Apparently it was enough to repeat what had been said in the dialogue to receive a higher score for moral values on the essay. This might have encouraged some of the students to use the dialogue as a brainstorming session, since they did not think it was necessary to elaborate on the various arguments. This is consistent with the finding that most regulative communication and on average 12 percent of the dialogues focused on the writing of the essays (Table 3). This indicates that at least some of the groups were very much focused on how to write the essay and might have put the dialogue primarily in the service of this focus. Nevertheless, it is possible that processes of co-

construction in the dialogues led to a deeper understanding of the moral dilemma and the related values and perspectives without resulting in higher essay scores.

We believe that it is important to analyse student dialogues in detail, as described in this study, to gain an understanding of how student dialogue can improve students' ability to form and substantiate their opinions. This study indicates that the content of students' dialogue is important for students' ability to substantiate their opinion on moral issues with value laden argumentation. An instructional design for citizenship education in which dialogue is a central element, should therefore aim to enhance the quality of the content of students' dialogues. Attention should be paid, in particular, to the validation as well as the invalidation of ideas and views from the perspective of moral values. More research is needed in the near future into how to enhance the processes of co-construction in students' dialogues. In our study we primarily focused on stimulating processes of co-construction through assignments in which students had to write down a collective point of view. Further research is required into the extent to which stimulating disagreement between students gives a stimulus to the opinion forming of students.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In this thesis, we aimed to provide insight on how citizenship education can be integrated in history classes. An important aim of citizenship education is to enhance student's ability to form and justify their personal opinions using moral values and multiple perspectives. We focused on the curriculum and investigated the effectiveness of a dialogic approach to citizenship education as a integral part of history classes. In this section, we present an overview and a discussion of the main findings of this research project. Before discussing the results of the empirical study, we give an overview of the results of the review study. We conclude this chapter with suggestions for educational practice.

1. RESULTS OF THE REVIEW STUDY

In chapter 2, we presented the results of the review study on teaching strategies for curriculum-oriented moral education. We have reviewed studies on teaching strategies for enhancing the prosocial and moral development of students in the period 1995-2003. We focused on curriculum-oriented moral education in secondary schools. In this chapter we used the term 'moral education' to refer to all education aimed at enhancing the moral and social development of students. We discussed, successively, the objectives for moral education, proposed teaching strategies for moral education, and research to the effects of teaching strategies for moral education.

All the approaches to moral education aim to prepare students for participation in society. Some studies we encountered focus on stimulating skills, such as critical thinking, moral decision making, and moral reasoning. Other studies advocate a specific set of values, such as trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, honesty, justice, and fairness, as the main goal of moral education.

Most studies propose a problem-based instructional design, where collaborative efforts are needed and where students work relatively independently and control their own learning processes. Dialogue takes a central place in many proposals. It is

supposed that through dialogues students develop skills and attitudes for citizenship, such as critical thinking skills, moral reasoning skills, communicative skills, and such attitudes as tolerance and respect for the opinions of other people.

Empirical research on curriculum-oriented moral education appeared to be scarce. Most of the studies we encountered did not evaluate the effectiveness of moral-education curricula, neither in terms of students' learning experiences, nor in terms of their learning results. Furthermore, the empirical studies we found aspire to various objectives of moral education, and the instructional designs they suggest are often very general. This makes it difficult to draw unequivocal conclusions from the studies on the effectiveness of moral education.

We concluded that, despite growing attention to moral education and citizenship education, a solid research domain on curriculum-oriented moral education is still missing. This is not only due to the relatively small number of empirical studies. From an instructional point of view, we think that some of the central issues of curriculum-oriented moral education and most proposed instructional designs have not been sufficiently elaborated. Many studies that advocate dialogic learning, for example, do not elaborate on the conditions in which students can effectively work together and participate in meaningful interactions (Van der Linden, Erkens, Schmidt & Renshaw, 2000). With a few exceptions, attention is not paid to either the specific skills and attitudes students need for collaboration and discussion, or to the required teaching strategies.

2. RESULTS OF THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

The empirical study included two sub-studies. The first sub-study investigated the effect of a dialogic approach to citizenship education on the ability of students to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints. Within this context we investigated the effect of the amount of group work. We designed two curriculum units for citizenship education in the history class. Stimulating dialogue in the classroom was a central element in the instruction of both units. In one curriculum unit, the dialogue took place mainly in small groups of students (discussed in chapter 3), in the other, a competing one, the dialogue generally took place in a whole classroom discussion under the guidance of the teacher. In chapter 4, the first two central research questions were investigated.

- 1) *Does dialogic citizenship education as a integral part of history classes enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?*
- 2) *Does the amount of group work in dialogic citizenship education contribute to enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?*

The effects of both curriculum units for dialogic citizenship education were estimated using a quasi-experimental design with two experimental conditions and one

control condition. In the first experimental condition students participated in the curriculum unit focussing on group work (group work condition), in the second experimental condition students worked with the unit focussing on whole class teaching (whole class condition), and in the control condition, students followed regular history lessons. The ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account was investigated through an assignment in which student had to form an opinion about a moral issue. The assignments included two phases. First, students discussed the moral issue in groups of four. In the second phase, students individually wrote a short essay in which they substantiated their personal opinion. Half of the students worked on a topic that was related to the subject matter (subject related assignment), the other half of the students worked on a new topic (transfer assignment). To estimate the ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account, the essays were assessed. Each essay received a score for the use of moral values and a score for multiple perspectives.

In the second sub-study, described in chapter 5, we took a closer look at the role of student dialogue in citizenship education. The assumption was that to facilitate learning, student dialogue should meet specific characteristics (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). Characteristics of student dialogue that we assumed to be important for citizenship education are equal participation, processes of co-construction, and explicating moral values. The central questions in this chapter were:

- 3) *Does dialogic citizenship education as an integral part of history classes enhance the quality of dialogue between students?*
- 4) *How does the quality of the dialogue relate to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?*

We taped and analysed the dialogues of a selection of students who worked with the transfer assignment. We randomly selected classes from the group work condition and the control condition. To investigate if the selection of students from which the dialogues were taped, was a representative sample for all the students in the study, we compared the essays scores of the selected students with the essays scores of the student who were not selected. It appeared that in the group work condition, the selected students had significantly higher essay scores on values and multiple perspectives than students who were not selected. In the control group there were no differences between selected and non-selected students. We concluded that the selection of students for this sub-study was not representative for the remaining students, which must be taken into account in the interpretation of the results of this study.

Figure 1 presents an overview of the research project. The numbers in the figure correspond to the four research questions and the relationships that we investigated. Using this overview we will summarize the results of the empirical studies.

The participating students in the studies were students from three different tracks of pre-university education (gymnasium, atheneum & havo/vwo brugklas). The results showed that there were significant differences between the three school tracks. The high-track students (gymnasium) had higher essay scores than the mid-track

students (atheneum) and the mid-track students had higher essays scores than the low-track students (havo/vwo). Moreover, the classes from the different school tracks were unevenly distributed over the conditions. In the discussion of the results we, therefore, distinguish between school tracks.

During the post-test students worked on one of the two assignments: the subject related assignment or the transfer assignment. The relationships 1 and 2 in figure 1 were investigated for both assignments. We analysed the dialogues of a selection of students that worked on the transfer assignment. Consequently, relationship 3 and 4 are investigated for the transfer assignment only. First, we summarize the results considering the subject related assignment, and we go on to discuss the results of the transfer assignment.

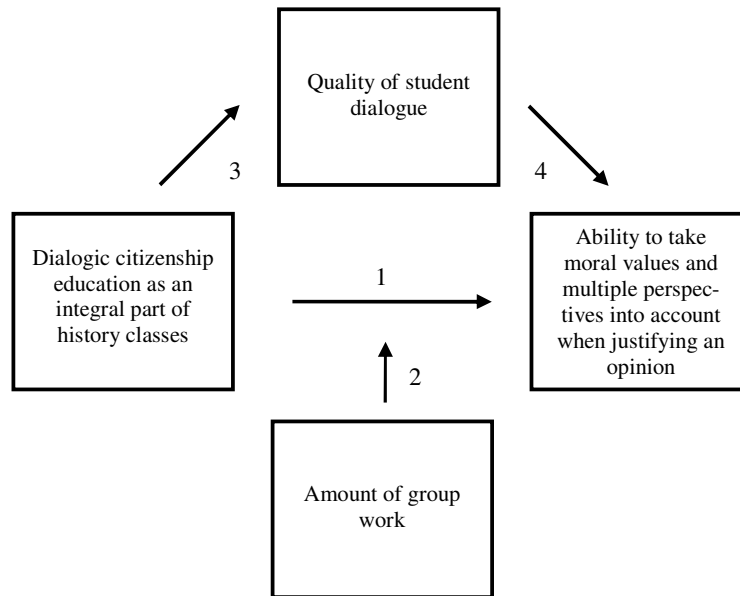


Figure 1. Overview of the research project.

Subject related assignment

Concerning the subject related assignment, the results indicate that for the students in all of the three school tracks a dialogic approach to citizenship education improved students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their opinions (relationship 1). For the students in the mid-track and the low-track of pre-university education, (atheneum & havo/vwo) the amount of group work in dialogic citizenship education is important. The mid-track and low-track students in the group work condition had higher essay scores on *moral values* and *multiple perspectives* than the students in the control group. Students in the whole class condition did not score higher on values and multiple perspectives than

students in the control condition. These results suggest that for the mid-track and low-track students dialogic citizenship education affects students' ability to justify an opinion only when students relatively often work in small groups.

For the high-track students (gymnasium) the result showed an effect from dialogic citizenship education also with a relatively little amount of group work. The high-track students in the whole class condition scored higher on values and multiple perspectives than the high-track students in the control condition. Because there were no high-track students in the group work condition, we could not investigate the effect of the amount of group work with the high-track students.

Transfer assignment

Considering students' ability to take into account *multiple perspectives*, the results on the transfer assignments are similar to the results of the subject related assignment (relationship 1). Our study shows that dialogic citizenship education improved the ability to take multiple perspectives into account for students in all three tracks of pre-university education. Again, the amount of group work appeared to be important for the low-track and mid-track students (relationship 2). The students on these school tracks scored higher on multiple perspectives in the group work condition than students in the whole class condition and the control condition. No differences were found on the multiple perspective scores between the whole class condition and the control condition for the low-track and mid-track students. On the other hand, the high-track students in the whole class condition did score higher than the high-track students in the control condition. As we already mentioned, we could not investigate the effect of the amount of group work for the high-track students.

In contrast with the subject related assignment, we did not find an effect of dialogic citizenship education on the essay scores in the transfer assignment on *moral values* for the low-track and mid-track students. The students in the group work condition as well as in the whole class condition did not have higher scores on values than the students in the control group. We did find an effect on moral values, however, for the high-track students. The high-track students in the whole class condition scored higher on values than the students in the control condition.

To investigate the quality of the dialogues, we analysed the dialogues of the selected students from the group work condition and control condition. From the three school-tracks only the mid-track students were represented in both conditions, and we, therefore, investigated the effect of the condition on the quality of the dialogues for the mid-track students only (relationship 3). The results showed that students who participated in the lessons for dialogic citizenship education exchanged more information, talked more often about moral values and discussed a greater variety of moral related themes. However, due to the fact that the selection of students was not representative for all the students in the first sub-study, it is difficult to attribute the differences between the conditions to an effect of dialogic citizenship education. In addition, the results indicated that dialogic citizenship education did not affect processes of co-construction.

Finally, the quality of the content of the dialogues appeared to be related to students' ability to take values into account in when justifying their viewpoints (relationship

4). Students who worked during the transfer assignment in groups that gave more attention to moral values in the dialogues also discussed more values and in a more explicit manner in their individually written essays. Other characteristics of student's dialogue appeared to be not related to students' ability to take moral values into account. Furthermore, none of the dialogue characteristics we investigated was related to students' ability to take multiple perspectives into account.

3. DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that a dialogic approach to citizenship education as an integral part of history classes helps students to form a more profound opinion about moral issues in the subject matter. Attention for moral values and multiple perspectives using dialogic teaching methods enhances students' abilities to become aware of the moral values and different perspectives that are embedded in the subject matter and to use this to form and justify their viewpoints. In addition, group work seems to be a more effective method to enhance students' abilities to form and justify an opinion than whole class teaching. Students' active participation in the dialogues and responsibility for the process of dialogue seems to be crucial. As we argued in chapter 4, when students work in small groups they can participate more actively in the dialogue than in classroom discussions. Nonetheless, we also expected an effect of the whole-class condition. In the whole-class condition, there was as much attention to moral values and multiple perspectives as in the group-work condition. Moreover, the guidance a teacher can give during classroom discussions on moral issues is also assumed to have an important influence on students' reasoning (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). So even if group-work appears to be more effective, we still would expect a positive effect from the whole-class condition compared to the control condition. In spite of this, the results show that, for the students in the low-track and mid-track, attention for values and multiple perspectives did not improve students' ability to justify their opinion when the dialogue generally involved the whole class.

Regarding the high-track students, however, we did find an effect from the whole-class condition compared with the control condition. The high-track students in the whole class condition scored higher than those in the control condition, on all aspects of the essays in the subject matter related assignment as well as in the transfer assignment. There are various possible explanations for this result. First, it is possible that because of their higher cognitive level, the specific teaching methods used might be less important to these students. Attention to moral values and multiple perspectives might be enough for these students to improve their ability to justify an opinion. Second, students with a higher cognitive level might be more able to make constructive contributions to the dialogue during a classroom discussion as a result of which classroom discussions in the high-track are of a higher quality than discussions in the other school tracks. Further, it is possible that high-track students might have had more practice in classroom discussion than other students. Finally, classroom discussions might be more effective in high-track classes because of more general differences in attitudes and classroom climate. High-track students may be

more eager to learn than students in the other tracks. It would be interesting for future research to investigate how exactly differences between the school tracks regarding students' cognitive abilities, attitudes and skills affect the effectiveness of classroom discussions on moral issues.

Transfer of learning

The results show that the lessons for dialogic citizenship education not only improved students' abilities to use multiple perspectives when justifying their viewpoints regarding a historical topic discussed in the lessons. Students were also able to apply what they had learned to a new topic that was not discussed in the lessons. Regarding the ability to take moral values, however, most of the students that participated in the lessons for citizenship education (low-track and mid-track) were not able to apply this to a new topic. This indicates that transfer of learning on this point did not occur. This is disappointing because in the end we want students to be able to form a more profound opinion on moral issues that they will encounter in the future. The curriculum units in this study were developed to enhance students' abilities to justify their opinions with attention for stimulating transfer of learning. For instance, bridges were made to students' own daily life to make the learning content more meaningful, which is considered to be important for the promotion of transfer (Mayer, 2002). In addition, during the lessons attention was paid to reflection on the learning content and the learning process, which is also presumed to stimulate transfer of learning (Perkins & Salomon, 1996). Notwithstanding these endeavours, transfer of learning is difficult to realize. There are different views on what kind of teaching strategies are effective (see e.g. Kneppers, 2007). In the field of moral education and citizenship education, empirical research to teaching methods that focus on transfer is practically non-existent. Further research is necessary to teaching methods that stimulate transfer of learning with respect to the ability to take moral values into account when justifying an opinion. More systematic attention is possibly needed to the skills and knowledge that students need to decontextualize a moral dilemma and to consider it in a broader social context. To be able to do this, students might need to acquire a better understanding of what moral values are (cf. the high road to transfer, Perkins & Salomon, 1996). In addition to this, the development of moral sensitivity should be stimulated (Tirri & Pehkonen, 2002). Students must develop the sensitivity to recognize a certain issue as a moral dilemma. Possibly, not all students have considered the issue of introducing a uniform in schools as a moral dilemma in which moral values are at stake.

Student dialogue

In the study, the effectiveness of student dialogues in small groups seems to be dependent on the quality of the content of the dialogues. Although we have to be careful with causal interpretations, as it appears, students used the value related statements that were made in the dialogues to justify their own opinion. Due to the non-representative selection of students, it is difficult to say if the lessons for dialogic citizenship education have contributed to the quality of the dialogues. It seems more plausible to conclude that there was no relationship between condition and value-related utterances in the dialogues (relation 3), because there was also no relation-

ship between condition and values in the essays (relation 2). This failure of effect of the lessons for dialogic citizenship education on the use of values in the dialogues can also be explained as a failure of transfer. Students were used to discuss historical problems in the lessons and were possibly not able to apply what they had learned to a new subject. However, we did not investigate the quality of the dialogues of the groups that worked with the subject matter related assignment and, therefore, we can not say if the lessons had an effect on students' use of values with a historical topic.

The results further indicate that the lessons for dialogic citizenship education did not enhance processes of co-construction in the student dialogue. Moreover, processes of co-construction appeared not to be related to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying an opinion. What the role of processes and co-construction is in the forming of opinions during a dialogue remains an interesting question for further research. While coding the dialogues, for example, we did not make a distinction between transformative utterances that elaborate on the contribution of others and transformative utterance that challenge the input of other participants. It is possible that for the ability to form an opinion it is particularly important that students are critical and investigate counterarguments during the dialogue (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). It is questionable, however, if such a distinction in transformative utterances would have led to different results. As we have argued in chapter 5, students usually agreed with each other. Explorative analyses show that students contributed not many counterarguments. The topic of the essay assignment may be of influence here. However, this result might also be more general. Research has shown that students are usually not inclined to approach other students' arguments in a critical manner (Amelvoort, 2006). Felton and Kuhn (2001) found that students of the same age (7th & 8th grade) as the students in this study were more focussed on the exposition of their own opinion and arguments and hardly got to challenge the arguments of other students. The authors argue that to express and substantiate your own opinion and at the same time challenge and criticize the opinion of others might be a cognitive overload to these students. In addition to this, social factors may be important to student dialogue (Kreijns, Kirschner & Jochems, 2003). In this study, we focused mostly on the cognitive processes during the dialogues. The students may have perceived the dialogues mainly as social interaction. Perhaps it is not socially desirable in this age group to disagree with each other.

How can students be stimulated to take a more critical attitude towards their own opinions and those of others? In the lessons for dialogic citizenship education co-construction was stimulated by having students formulate a collective standpoint. It is possible that this approach did not motivate students enough to criticize each others opinions. During the pilot-study of the curriculum units it appeared that the dialogues between students were not as critical as expected. Students usually agreed with each other and when they disagreed, students seldom tried to convince each other by challenging the argumentation of their opponent with counterarguments. As a response to these observations we added assignments in which students of the same group had to empathize with different perspectives and defend to each other a point of view associated with that particular perspective. In some cases this approach resulted in a lively and more critical dialogue between students. The results

show, however, that this approach did not affect the way students engaged in dialogue with each other at the end of the curriculum unit, during the essay assignment.

In this study, we have focussed on the use of values and multiple perspectives when justifying an opinion. To stimulate a more critical dialogue between students, it is advisable to combine attention for values and multiple perspectives with assignments aimed at the development of argumentation skills (e.g. Kuhn & Udell, 2003; Amelsoort, 2006)).

The role of the teacher

This thesis focussed on the curriculum and aimed to acquire more insight in effective teaching methods to enhance students' ability to justify an opinion. The role of the teachers is for the most part left out of the consideration. This does not alter the fact that the role of the teacher is important and his or her behaviour has (moral) implications on the education of students (see e.g. Hansen, 2001). The way teachers approach moral issues in the subject matter is influenced by their task perceptions as a teacher and their own moral values (Maas, Klaassen & Denessen, 2007). How, for example, do teachers deal with comments of students that conflict with their own values? With their response to students' opinions, teachers give intended and unintended signals to the students which can influence them. Hanson (2002), for instance, shows in her thesis that teachers differ in their approach to a curriculum unit for multicultural education. She argues that teachers' task perceptions and their perspectives on diversity had an effect on the way teachers worked with the teaching materials.

In this study the personal views and professionalism of teachers are also important. Especially, in the whole-class condition in which classroom discussion under guidance of the teacher was a central element. Teachers can choose to what extent they guide the discussion to a conclusion let by their own beliefs. The teachers' manual included instructions on how to guide classroom discussions, but it, nevertheless, left room for interpretation. It is neither possible, nor desirable to minimize the role of the teacher (Goodson & Numan, 2002; Gravemeijer & Cobb, 2006). The teachers' manual prescribed, for example, that teachers might give their own opinion, but with reservations and, as much as possible, as an equal conversation partner. When and how teachers give their opinion remains, however, a personal choice that teachers make guided by their personal beliefs, their professionalism and dependent on the situation. Besides, as we have argued, teachers also give unintended signals to students which can have educational and moral implications. A relevant question for further research, therefore, considers the interaction between the teachers' personal views and considerations and the way they work with the teaching material for citizenship education.

Measuring moral values and multiple perspectives

Students' ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints was assessed by means of short essays that students wrote about a moral issue. We were particularly interested if students developed the skills and attitudes that would enable them to refer to moral values and multiple perspectives of their own accord. The development of a personal opinion on moral issues in-

volves not only the ability to make moral judgements but also the motivation to make a moral judgement (moral motivation) and the ability to recognize a certain issue as a moral dilemma (moral sensitivity) (Tirri & Pehkonen, 2002). In our view, an open response assignment is more apt to measure these abilities than a closed response method in which students can choose between a number of arguments (e.g. DIT: Rest, 1979).

A drawback of an essay assignment is that it is difficult to distinguish the ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account from the cognitive skills necessary to produce a written text (see e.g. McCutchen, 2006). The raters in our study were instructed to ignore the overall quality of the text, the specific choice of words and grammar mistakes as much as possible while judging the essays. We did not control, however, for writing skills and it is still reasonable to assume writing skills have a substantial influence on the score. In future research these factors should be taken into account in the assessment of the essays.

Another point of interest is the assessment of the essays. The essays were scored separately for each aspect as a whole. The advantage of holistic scores is that the score of each essay can be determined by comparison with a standard essay (see chapter 4), which has proven to be a reliable method (Blok, 1986). As a consequence of working with holistic scores some information, however, is lost. For moral values the essay score was based on the number of arguments which referred to moral values, as well as the extent to which the students explicitly referred to a moral value. To determine the score for multiple perspectives, attention was paid to the number of perspectives, but also to the degree of elaboration on the perspectives. In the holistic score these different criteria's can no longer be distinguished. Scoring these elements separately might shed a different light on the way student use values and multiple perspectives in their essays and, possibly, lead to different results. Nevertheless, quantitative methods to measure the ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account still have certain limitations. Qualitative methods are necessary to provide more insight in how student use moral values and perspectives to justify their opinion and how students make sense of moral values (see Kelchermans & Simons, 2007).

Another question for further research is the extent to which the results can be generalised to other moral issues that student will encounter in the future. The topics of the assignments concerned a hypothetical dilemma presented to the students in a specific educational setting. More research is necessary to investigate how students respond to moral issues they encounter in their daily lives and in other curriculum subjects.

4. EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

Citizenship education is a mandatory part of the curriculum in the Netherlands today. The 'Active Citizenship and Social Integration' bill, adopted by the Dutch parliament in 2005, obliges schools to give shape to citizenship education (Ministerie van OCW, 2006). This necessarily includes the moral and social development of students. Attention to the moral and social development of students is usually real-

ized in special lessons on specific topics such as the holocaust or the multicultural society. In this thesis we have argued that citizenship should also be integrated in the regular subjects in a way that is not to the detriment of the subject matter. We focused specifically on history education. There has been a lively international debate on whether and how history education could contribute to citizenship education (Brett, 2005; Wilson, 2001). To realize the integration of citizenship education in the history class, there is a need for insight into effective teaching methods. Most studies in educational science are restricted to theoretical discourses on the objectives for citizenship education and give only general guidelines for educational practice. Literature in professional journals does provide descriptions of instructional designs, a theoretical framework is, however, usually missing. Moreover, empirical research to the effects of proposed teaching method appears to be scarce. The study presented in this thesis contributes to educational research by investigating the effects of concrete teaching methods for citizenship education on students' ability to justify their opinions on moral issues. Although we have to be cautious with translating results from empirical research directly into educational practice, we can make some suggestions for education based on the results of the study.

The study shows that involving the opinions of students on moral issues in the subject matter and with that paying attention to moral values and multiple perspectives can be a worthwhile supplement to history education. As we stated in chapter 3, there is generally little room in history classes for students to bring in and discuss their own points of view (Wilson, 2001). By making students' own moral values and their moral judgements on issues in the subject matter more central in the history class, history education can contribute to citizenship education.

Educational research shows that there is usually not much room for dialogue in the classroom (Parker, 2006). This study confirms the assumption that stimulating dialogue between students is an effective way to involve students' perspectives in the classroom and improve their ability to justify an opinion. We recommend to implement more group work assignments which are structured in a way that improves the quality of student dialogue. It is important to pay specific and systematic attention to the skills and attitudes students need to interact. To enhance students' ability to justify an opinion on moral issues, they should be stimulated to express moral values during the dialogue.

This thesis has focussed on the integration of citizenship particularly in history education. In addition, the effect of lessons for citizenship education was investigated over a relatively short period of time (13 lessons). To increase the effects found in this study and enhance transfer of learning, we recommend to integrate citizenship education in more subjects and spread out throughout the year. This study indicates that attention to moral values and multiple perspectives does not have to be at the detriment of knowledge of the subject matter. Even more, when citizenship is integrated in the curriculum and students' perspectives are more systematically involved, it might make the subject matter more meaningful to students and possibly help them to foster a deeper understanding of the subject. By implementing citizenship education as an integral part of the curriculum, it can make a valuable contribution to the education of students.

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APPENDIX A

The reliabilities of the raters were estimated with LISREL models, as described by Van den Bergh and Eiting (1986). All models appeared to fit well ($\chi^2 / df < 1,76; p > ,12$). The estimated reliabilities varied between 0.51 and 1.05. Two people rated each sample and the final score was determined by calculating the average of these two scores. The Spearman-Brown formula for test length was used to calculate the reliability of these average scores on the basis of the two reliabilities of the raters of the sample in question

Reliabilities per sample

Sample	Subject-matter related			Transfer	
	Values	Multiple P.	Hist. reas.	Values	Multiple P.
Sample 1	.87	.92	.76	.83	.82
Sample 2	.88	.84	.86	.93	.87
Sample 3	.83	.90	.78	.86	.78
Sample 4	.80	.87		.88	.85
Sample 5	.85	.91		.89	.90

APPENDIX B

Results of the multilevel analyses on informative and transformative utterances and checking behaviour

Fixed			Mean	SE		
	Informative	experimental condition	mid-track	-1.43	0.17	
			low-track	-1.94	0.10	
		control condition	high-track	-1.45	0.13	
			mid-track	-1.94	0.18	
		Transformative	experimental condition	mid-track	-0.83	0.22
				low-track	-1.24	0.13
	control condition		high-track	-0.63	0.175	
			mid-track	-1.14	0.22	
	Checking behaviour		experimental condition	mid-track	-1.31	0.20
				low-track	-1.55	0.12
		control condition	high-track	-1.21	0.16	
			mid-track	-1.22	0.19	
Random	level 2 group	informative	0.050	0.032		
		transformative	0.143	0.053		
		checking behaviour	0.097	0.042		

Results of the multilevel analyses on value related utterances

Fixed		experimental condition	mid-track	-1.90	0.24
			low-track	-2.94	0.17
		control condition	high-track	-2.57	0.21
			mid-track	-2.97	0.29
Random	level 2 group		0.142	0.079	

SUMMARY

School is increasingly seen as a place where young people can learn to be citizens. Schools are expected to pay explicit attention to citizenship. In several countries, including the Netherlands, citizenship education has been introduced as a mandatory part of the national curriculum. Giving shape to citizenship education is a difficult task, considering the many different views on what the goal should be of citizenship education and how it should be implemented in the curriculum. This thesis is aimed to provide insight in how citizenship education can be realized in secondary education.

Not only is there an increased interest for citizenship education, the concept of citizenship is used in a broader sense than in former days. Citizenship today refers to a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes that citizens require to participate in society and to contribute to the common good (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). Citizenship education in this perspective necessarily entails the social and moral development of students (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Haste, 2004; Veugelers, 2007).

An important aim of citizenship education, and the focus of this thesis, is the enhancement of the capacity of students to develop personal points of view with regard to value-related matters and to justify their opinions to others. We focus particularly on two aspects that we consider essential to citizenship education. First, it is important for students to be able to reflect upon the moral values that are at stake and take them into account when justifying their viewpoints to others (Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). Moral values are general beliefs, judgements or ideals pertaining to how people ought to behave towards each other. Moral values are important because they are the criteria or standards upon which moral evaluations and guidelines for moral behaviour are based. The second aspect we consider to be important is strongly related to the first. To participate in a plural and democratic society students need to understand that there are multiple perspectives on moral and social issues and that their own view is only one of many possible perspectives (Banks, 2004). It is therefore important that they learn to reflect upon multiple perspectives and take them into account while developing their own point of view.

Citizenship education is often regarded as a distinct curriculum subject and taught in, for instance, civic education classes or through extra-curricular activities. We think, however, that the social and moral development of students is inherent to the teaching of domain specific knowledge and skills in regular subjects (see also Sadler & Zeidler, 2005). Ultimately, the knowledge and skills acquired should enable students to judge and act independently. Citizenship education can be integrated within the subjects by paying systematic attention to moral values within the subject matter. History, in particular, is a subject with opportunities for citizenship education (Barton & Levstik, 2004). However, empirical research on the effectiveness of teaching strategies for citizenship education as a integral part of history classes is

scarce. The general aim of this thesis is to gain insight into effective teaching methods for integrating citizenship education in history classes.

Stimulating dialogue in the classroom is assumed to be an effective method for the development of the skills and attitudes citizens need to participate in society (Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001). There are various ways of implementing dialogue in the classroom. A common approach is to foster classroom discussions guided by the teacher. By asking questions, teachers can stimulate students to think about their opinions, and guide them towards a more profound, carefully reasoned opinion than in a dialogue without teacher guidance (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). Another method often used to stimulate interaction is for students to work in small groups (Covell & Howe, 2001). When working in small groups, more students are able to participate in the dialogue than when the whole class is involved. In order to realize dialogue in the classroom, explicit attention must be paid to the skills and attitudes students require to engage in dialogue.

In the study reported in this thesis we investigated the effects of a dialogic approach to citizenship education as a integral part of history lessons on the ability of students to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints. Within this context, we focused on how dialogue can be most effectively stimulated in the classroom. We, therefore, investigated the effect of the amount of group work in dialogic citizenship education on student's ability to justify their opinions. Subsequently, we took a closer look on the quality of the dialogue between students. We investigated the effect of dialogic approach to citizenship education on the quality of student dialogue and the relationship between the quality of student dialogue and students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account.

1. REVIEW STUDY

Chapter 2 presents the results of a review study on teaching strategies for moral education in secondary schools. We used the term moral education in this chapter as a general term to refer to all education with the deliberate aim of stimulating the social and moral development of students. We concentrated on teaching strategies and instructional designs at the classroom level and on the learning activities of students guided by the following question:

What teaching strategies are appropriate for enhancing the social and moral development of students in secondary education?

The results of our review study show that most of the studies in the field of moral education are restricted to a discussion of the objectives. In one way or another, all approaches to moral education aim to prepare students for participation in society. Some studies accentuate the importance of stimulating skills for critical thinking, moral decision making and moral reasoning. A number of these studies also emphasize the affective and relational aspects of moral development. Other studies focus

on a specific set of values, such as respect, responsibility, honesty and justice, as the main goal of moral education.

A problem-based approach to instruction and co-operative learning are the most commonly suggested teaching strategies to achieve the goals set for moral education. Underlying these strategies is the assumption that learning must be made meaningful to students. Stimulating dialogue in the classroom is often a central element in these proposals.

Compared to the amount of studies on the importance and the objectives of moral education not many studies give concrete teaching strategies to achieve these objectives. We particularly think that most proposed instructional designs have not been sufficiently elaborated and substantiated. With a few exceptions, attention is not paid to either the specific skills and attitudes students need for collaboration and discussion, or to the required teaching strategies (Van der Linden, Erkens, Schmidt & Renshaw, 2000). In addition, empirical research to the effectiveness of proposed teaching strategies is sparse.

2. TWO CURRICULUM UNITS FOR DIALOGIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

To investigate the effect of the amount of group work, we developed two curriculum units that differ in the amount of group work. We developed teaching material that supplements an existing history textbook (MeMo) and is intended for students of the 8th grade. The series of 13 lessons deals with the history of the United States of America from the first settlers to the early nineteenth century.

In the curriculum units systematic attention was paid to moral values. Students learned to recognize and identify the moral values found in the learning materials. They studied, for instance, the text of the American Declaration of Independence from 1776 and parts of the 1788 Constitution. In addition, students investigated multiple perspectives on moral issues in the subject matter. They were, for example, provided with several source materials reflecting different perspectives on a historical event.

The curriculum unit paid systematic attention to the skills and attitudes that students need to participate in a dialogue:

- *Exchanging*: being willing and able to express your own opinions and share these with others.
- *Co-constructing*: being willing and able to form your own opinions in a dialogue, utilizing the input of others, and contribute to the opinions of others.
- *Validating*: being willing and able to validate your own opinion and the opinion of others from the perspective of moral values.

Chapter 3 describes the curriculum unit in which students work mainly in small groups. From the very first lesson, students were encouraged to exchange opinions with other students, for example, by doing exercises in which they wrote down each other's opinions without the need for immediate agreement. Gradually we added activities aimed at co-construction and validation. When the students were co-

constructing, they had to try to reach agreement and state which points they agreed and disagreed on. Then they had to determine the important values that had been involved in forming their opinions (validating). The teachers in the group-work unit were instructed to give as little help as possible with the subject content and explicitly to guide the process of collaboration.

The second unit was derived from the first by reconstructing a large part of the group work assignments into assignments that are appropriate for whole classroom teaching. In this curriculum unit, the teachers had been instructed to guide the classroom discussions by asking questions. They were also asked to ensure that as many students as possible participated in the dialogue (exchanging), interacted with each other (co-constructing) and underpinned their opinions (validating).

3. EMPIRICAL STUDY

3.1 *Sub-study 1*

The empirical study included two sub-studies. The first sub-study, presented in chapter 4, investigated the effect of the two curriculum units for dialogic citizenship education on the ability of students to take into account moral values and multiple perspectives in the justification of their viewpoints. Two research questions are investigated in sub-study 1.

Does dialogic citizenship education as an integral part of history classes enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?

Does the amount of group work in dialogic citizenship education contribute to enhance students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?

The effects of both curriculum units for dialogic citizenship education were estimated using a quasi-experimental design with two experimental conditions and one control condition. In the first experimental condition students participated in the curriculum unit focussing on group work (group work condition), in the second experimental condition students worked with the unit focusing on whole class teaching (whole class condition). In the control condition, students followed regular history lessons without specific attention to dialogue, moral values and multiple perspectives. The teachers in the control condition taught the same topics and used the same history textbook as the teachers in the experimental conditions, but without the extra learning materials that we developed. The participating students in the studies were students from three different tracks of pre-university education (gymnasium, atheneum & havo/vwo brugklas) to which we will refer as the low-track, the mid-track and the high-track. There were no high-track students participating in the group-work condition.

The ability to take values and multiple perspectives into account was investigated through an assignment in which students had to form an opinion about a moral issue. During ten minutes students discussed the moral issue in groups of four. Subsequently, students individually wrote a short essay in which they substantiated their personal opinion. Half of the students worked on a topic that was related to the subject matter (subject related assignment), the other half of the students worked on a new topic (transfer assignment). Each essay received a score for the use of moral values and a score for multiple perspectives.

First of all, the results show that it is worthwhile to pay systematic attention to moral values and multiple perspectives in history education. The effectiveness of the two different instructional approaches to citizenship education, however, differs. Students who do relatively a lot of work in small groups refer to values in their essays more often and more explicitly, and are better able to validate the different perspectives, in comparison with students who have done more work in whole-class situations. In addition, the effect of dialogic citizenship education appears to differ between the three tracks of pre-university education. Regarding high-track students, it appears that students in the whole-class condition had higher scores for all the aspects of the essays rated than students in the control condition. In the low-track and mid-track classes the amount of group work plays an important role in enhancing students' ability to justify their viewpoints. The students in the group-work condition scored higher for taking *multiple perspectives* into account than the students in the two other conditions. This applies to both the subject-matter related assignment and the transfer assignment. In contrast, the low-track and mid-track students in the whole-class condition did not have higher scores than those in the control condition. These results show that when students work in small groups relatively often they are more able to include different perspectives when justifying their opinions than students who work in small groups less often.

For the aspect of *values* a distinction must be made for the low-track and mid-track students between the subject-matter related assignment and the transfer assignment. It was only in the subject-matter related assignment that the students in the group-work condition scored higher on values than the students in the control and whole-class conditions. Students' ability to refer to values when forming an opinion remains directly linked to the subject that has been taught. No transfer occurred. A possible explanation for the non-transfer of the ability to refer to values is a matter of moral sensitivity (Tirri & Pehkonen, 2002). Did the students realize that the transfer assignment concerned a moral dilemma?

3.2 Sub-study 2

In the second sub-study, described in chapter 5, we took a closer look at the quality of student dialogue in citizenship education. The assumption was that to facilitate learning, student dialogue should meet specific characteristics. Characteristics of student dialogue that we assumed to be important for citizenship education are equal participation, processes of co-construction, and explicating moral values. We investigated the dialogues that students engaged in during the essay assignments, from a

selection of the students in sub-study 1. The central questions in the second sub-study were:

Does dialogic citizenship education as an integral part of history classes enhance the quality of dialogue between students?

How does the quality of the dialogue relate to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying their viewpoints?

We randomly selected classes from the group work condition and the control condition. In those classes, we taped the dialogues of students who worked with the transfer assignment. To investigate if the selection of students from which the dialogues were taped, was a representative sample for all the students in the study, we compared the essays scores of the selected students with the essays scores of the student who were not selected. It appeared that in the group work condition, the selected students had significantly higher essay scores on values and multiple perspectives than students who were not selected. In the control group there were no differences between selected and not selected students. We concluded that the selection of students for sub-study 2 was not representative for the remaining students, which must be taken into account in the interpretation of the results of this study.

The taped dialogues were coded. First, we focused on the type of communicative act used to identify processes of co-construction. Subsequently, we coded the content of what is being communicated. We focused on utterances in which a moral value is expressed and on the number of moral related themes that was discussed. From the three school-tracks only the mid-track students were represented in both conditions, and we, therefore, investigated the effect of the condition on the quality of the dialogues for the mid-track students only.

The results show that students who participated in the lessons for dialogic citizenship education exchanged more information, talked more often about moral values and discussed a greater variety of moral related themes than students who did not participate in the lessons for dialogic citizenship education. However, due to the fact that the selection of students was not representative for all the students in the first sub-study, it is difficult to attribute the differences between the conditions to an effect of dialogic citizenship education.

The quality of the content of the dialogues appears to be related to students' ability to take values into account in the justification of their viewpoints. Students who worked during the transfer assignment in groups that gave more attention to moral values in the dialogues also discussed more values and in a more explicit manner in their individually written essays.

Other characteristics of student's dialogue appeared to be not related to students' ability to take moral values into account. Furthermore, none of the dialogue characteristics we investigated was related to students' ability to take multiple perspectives into account.

This study indicates that the content of students' dialogue is important for students' ability to substantiate their opinion on moral issues with value laden argumentation. An instructional design for citizenship education in which dialogue is a

central element, should therefore aim to enhance the quality of the content of students' dialogues.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In the last chapter, we present an overview and a discussion of the main findings of this research project and give suggestions for future research. We concluded this chapter with implications for educational practice.

The results of this study indicate that a dialogic approach to citizenship education as an integral part of history classes helps students to form a more profound opinion about moral issues in the subject matter. Attention for moral values and multiple perspectives using dialogic teaching methods enhances students' abilities to become aware of the moral values and different perspectives that are embedded in the subject matter and use this to form and justify their viewpoints. In addition, working in small groups proved to be a productive teaching method for a dialogic approach to citizenship education. This study further indicates that the content of students' dialogue is important for students' ability to substantiate their opinion on moral issues using values. In the final chapter we discuss three unexpected results.

Firstly, the low-track and mid-track students in the whole-class condition did not score higher than students in the control condition. Regarding the high-track students, however, we did find an effect from the whole-classroom condition compared to the control condition. The high-track students in the whole-class condition scored higher on all aspects of the essays in the subject matter related assignment as well as in the transfer assignment than students in the control condition. There are various possible explanations for this result. For example, it is possible that students with a higher cognitive level are more able to make constructive contributions to the dialogue during a classroom discussion as a result of which classroom discussions in the high-track are of a higher quality than discussions in other school tracks. It would be interesting for future research to investigate how exactly differences between the school, tracks in students' cognitive abilities, attitudes and skills affect the effectiveness of classroom discussions on moral issues.

Secondly, most of the students that participated in the lessons for citizenship education (low-track and mid-track) were not able to apply the ability to take moral values into account to a new topic. This indicates that transfer of learning did not occur on this point. Further research is necessary into teaching methods that stimulate transfer of learning with respect to the ability to take moral values into account when justifying an opinion. More systematic attention is possibly needed to the skills and knowledge that students need to decontextualize a moral dilemma and to consider it in a broader social context. In addition to this, the development of moral sensitivity should be stimulated (Tirri & Pehkonen, 2002).

Thirdly, the lessons for dialogic citizenship education did not enhance processes of co-construction in the student dialogue. Moreover, processes of co-construction appeared not to be related to students' ability to take moral values and multiple perspectives into account when justifying an opinion. What the role of processes and co-construction is in the forming of opinions during a dialogue remains an interest-

ing question for further research. It is possible that for the ability to form an opinion it is particularly important that students are critical and investigate counterarguments during the dialogue (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). Explorative analyses of the data in our study show that students contributed not many counterarguments. Research has shown that students are usually not inclined to approach other students' arguments in a critical manner (Kuhn & Udell, 2003). To stimulate a more critical dialogue between students, it is advisable for future research to pay more attention to the way values and perspectives are embedded in the argumentation of students and to assignments aimed at argumentation skills (e.g. Amelsvoort, 2006; Kuhn & Udell, 2003).

We conclude this thesis with suggestions for educational practice based on the results of the study. The study confirms the assumption that stimulating dialogue between students is an effective way to involve students' perspective in the classroom and improve students' ability to justify an opinion. We recommend to implement more group work assignments which are structured in a way that improves the quality of student dialogue. It is important to pay specific and systematic attention to the skills and attitudes students need to interact. In addition, the study shows that involving the opinions of students on moral issues in the subject matter and with that, paying attention to moral values and multiple perspectives can be a useful supplement to history education. By making students' own moral values and their moral judgements on issues in the subject matter more central in the history class, history education can make a worthwhile contribution to citizenship education.

SAMENVATTING

De school wordt steeds vaker gezien als een plek waar jongeren zich kunnen ontwikkelen tot burgers. Het onderwijs zou expliciet aandacht moeten besteden aan burgerschapsvorming. In verschillende landen, waaronder Nederland is burgerschapsvorming als verplicht onderdeel in het curriculum opgenomen. Scholen staan daarmee voor de taak om vorm te geven aan burgerschapsvorming in het curriculum. Dit is een moeilijke taak gezien de vele verschillende opvattingen over wat het doel zou moeten zijn van burgerschapsvorming en hoe het in de school vorm zou moeten krijgen. In dit proefschrift proberen we meer inzicht te geven in de manier waarop burgerschapsvorming gerealiseerd kan worden in het voortgezet onderwijs.

Er is niet alleen steeds meer aandacht voor burgerschapsvorming, de betekenis van het begrip burgerschap is ook breder geworden. Burgerschap wordt thans gezien als een combinatie van verschillende vaardigheden, attitudes en kennis die een burger nodig heeft om deel te kunnen nemen aan de samenleving en bij te dragen aan het algemeen belang (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006). De morele en sociale vorming van leerlingen is in dit perspectief een belangrijk onderdeel van burgerschapsvorming (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Haste, 2004; Veugelers, 2007).

Een belangrijk doel van burgerschapsvorming is de ontwikkeling van de vaardigheden en attitudes die leerlingen nodig hebben om hun eigen morele afwegingen te maken en daarover verantwoording af te leggen aan anderen. In dit proefschrift richten we ons op twee aspecten die bij dit doel van burgerschapsvorming belangrijk zijn. Ten eerste is het belangrijk dat leerlingen leren bij de vorming van hun mening rekening te houden met morele waarden (Veugelers & Vedder, 2003). Morele waarden zijn algemene opvattingen, oordelen of idealen die betrekking hebben op hoe mensen met elkaar om zouden moeten gaan. Morele waarden zijn belangrijk omdat het de criteria zijn waarop morele evaluaties en richtlijnen voor moreel gedrag gebaseerd zijn. Het tweede aspect is nauw verbonden met het eerste. Om deel te kunnen nemen aan een pluriforme en democratische samenleving moeten leerlingen leren dat er meerdere perspectieven zijn op morele en sociale zaken en dat hun mening één van de vele mogelijk perspectieven is (Banks, 2004). Het is daarom belangrijk dat leerlingen leren te reflecteren op verschillende perspectieven en bij de verantwoording van hun mening rekenschap geven van multiperspectiviteit.

Aandacht voor burgerschapsvorming in het voortgezet onderwijs krijgt vaak vorm in een apart vak of als extra activiteiten buiten het gewone curriculum om. Wij denken echter dat het ontwikkelen van vaardigheden en attitudes voor burgerschap niet los staat van het onderwijzen van domeinspecifieke leerinhouden zoals dat binnen de afzonderlijke vakken gebeurt (zie ook Sadler & Zeidler, 2005). Uiteindelijk gaat het erom dat leerlingen deze vakspecifieke kennis gebruiken om zelfstandig te kunnen handelen en oordelen. Burgerschapsvorming zou geïntegreerd kunnen worden in het vakonderwijs door aandacht te besteden aan de waarden die naar voren komen uit de leerstof. Het geschiedenisonderwijs, in het bijzonder, biedt hiervoor

goede mogelijkheden (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Onderzoek naar didactische ontwerpen voor burgerschapsvorming geïntegreerd in het geschiedenisonderwijs, is echter zeldzaam. Dit proefschrift is er op gericht zicht te krijgen op effectieve didactische werkvormen voor de integratie van burgerschapsvorming binnen het vak geschiedenis.

Het stimuleren van dialoog in de klas wordt verondersteld een effectieve manier te zijn om vaardigheden en attitudes te bevorderen die burgers nodig hebben om te kunnen participeren in de samenleving (Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001). Er zijn verschillende manieren waarop dialoog in de klas vorm kan krijgen. Een mogelijke manier is een klassikale discussie onder leiding van de docent. Deze zou door het stellen van vragen leerlingen kunnen laten nadenken over hun mening en hen tot een diepere, beter doordachte mening brengen dan wanneer zij zonder leiding van de docent discussiëren (Rojas-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). Daarnaast is het werken in kleine groepjes een veel gebruikte methode om interactie tussen leerlingen te stimuleren (Covell & Howe 2001). In groepjes kunnen meer leerlingen actief aan de dialoog deelnemen dan in klassikaal verband. Om een dialoog in de klas te realiseren moet er ook expliciet aandacht zijn voor de vaardigheden en attitudes die nodig zijn voor het voeren van een dialoog.

Dit proefschrift doet verslag van een onderzoek naar het effect van een dialogische benadering van burgerschapsvorming als integraal onderdeel van de geschiedenisles op het vermogen van leerlingen om bij de onderbouwing van hun mening rekening te houden met morele waarden en multiperspectiviteit. Om tevens de vraag naar de meest effectieve manier om dialoog vorm te geven in de klas te kunnen beantwoorden, is het effect van de hoeveelheid groepswork op de meningsvorming van leerlingen onderzocht. Vervolgens zoomen we in op de kwaliteit van de dialogen die leerlingen met elkaar voeren. Het effect van dialogische burgerschapsvorming op de kwaliteit van de dialoog tussen leerlingen is onderzocht, evenals de relatie tussen de kwaliteit van de dialoog en het vermogen van leerlingen om bij de onderbouwing van hun mening rekening te houden met morele waarden en multiperspectiviteit.

1. REVIEWSTUDIE

In hoofdstuk 2 worden de resultaten gepresenteerd van de reviewstudie naar didactische strategieën voor waardevorming in het voortgezet onderwijs. We gebruiken in dit hoofdstuk de term waardevormend onderwijs (moral education) om te verwijzen naar al het onderwijs dat expliciet gericht is op de bevordering van de morele en sociale ontwikkeling van leerlingen. Het literatuuronderzoek focust op leren en instructie in de klas. De volgende vraag wordt in dit hoofdstuk beantwoord:

Welke didactische strategieën zijn geschikt om de sociale en morele ontwikkeling van leerlingen te bevorderen in het voortgezet onderwijs?

Het blijkt dat veel studies gericht op waardevormend onderwijs vaak beperkt blijven tot het beschrijven van doelen. Uiteindelijk is het doel van al de besproken benaderingen van waardevormend onderwijs om leerlingen voor te bereiden op deelname

aan de samenleving. In een aantal studies wordt het belang benadrukt van vaardigheden voor kritisch denken, moreel redeneren en het maken van morele keuzes. Sommige benadrukken daarbij ook de affectieve en relationele aspecten van morele ontwikkeling. Andere studies richten zich voornamelijk op een set vaststaande waarden die essentieel worden geacht voor waardevormend onderwijs, zoals respect, verantwoordelijkheid, eerlijkheid en gerechtigheid.

Om de gestelde doelen te bereiken wordt over het algemeen een probleemgestuurde aanpak en samenwerkend leren voorgesteld. De achterliggende gedachte bij deze strategieën is dat het leren betekenisvol voor leerlingen moet zijn. Daarbij neemt het op gang brengen van een dialoog een belangrijke plaats in.

Vergeleken met de hoeveelheid literatuur die de noodzaak en het doel van waardevormend onderwijs beschrijft, zijn er relatief weinig concrete voorstellen te vinden voor didactische strategieën. Met name ontbreekt een uitwerking en onderbouwing van mogelijke didactische strategieën. Zo wordt er weinig aandacht besteed aan de vaardigheden en attitudes die leerlingen nodig hebben om samen te werken en in dialoog te gaan en aan de specifieke instructie die hiervoor nodig is (zie Van der Linden, Erkens, Schmidt & Renshaw, 2000). Ten slotte is empirisch onderzoek naar de effectiviteit van didactische strategieën schaars.

2. LESSENSERIES VOOR DIALOGISCH BURGERSCHAPSVORMING

Om het effect van de hoeveelheid groepswork in dialogisch burgerschapsvorming te onderzoeken, werden twee lessenseries ontworpen die verschillen in de hoeveelheid groepswork. Het ontwikkelde lesmateriaal bestaat uit aanvullend materiaal bij een bestaande geschiedenismethode (MeMo) en is bedoeld voor leerlingen in de tweede klas van het voortgezet onderwijs. In de lessenseries werd in dertien lessen de geschiedenis van de Verenigde Staten van Amerika behandeld van de eerste kolonisten tot aan het begin van de negentiende eeuw.

Door de hele lessenseries heen werd systematisch aandacht besteed aan morele waarden. Leerlingen leerden waarden te herkennen in de leerstof. Leerlingen bestudeerden bijvoorbeeld de tekst van de Amerikaanse onafhankelijkheidsverklaring uit 1776 en stukken uit de grondwet van 1788. Daarnaast onderzochten leerlingen verschillende perspectieven op morele kwesties in de leerstof. Leerlingen werkten bijvoorbeeld met (primaire) bronnen, die verschillende perspectieven op bepaalde gebeurtenissen weergeven. In de lessenseries werd aandacht besteed aan de volgende vaardigheden en attitudes die leerlingen nodig hebben om in dialoog te gaan:

- **Uitwisselen:** het kunnen en willen uitwisselen van persoonlijke meningen met anderen;
- **Co-construeren:** het kunnen en willen vormen van een eigen mening in dialoog door gebruik te maken van de meningen van anderen en het kunnen en willen bijdragen aan de meningsvorming van anderen;
- **Legitimeren:** de eigen mening en die van anderen kunnen en willen legitimeren vanuit het perspectief van morele waarden.

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt de lessenserie besproken, waarin leerlingen voornamelijk in kleine groepjes werkten. De leerlingen werden vanaf de eerste lessen gestimuleerd hun mening uit te wisselen met anderen, bijvoorbeeld via oefeningen waar zij elkaars mening op moesten schrijven zonder dat er direct overeenstemming hoefde te zijn. Gaandeweg kwamen daar activiteiten bij gericht op co-construeren en legitimeren. Bij opdrachten gericht op co-constructie kwamen leerlingen zo mogelijk tot een gezamenlijk standpunt en gaven zij aan waarover ze het eens waren geworden en waarover niet. Vervolgens stelden zij vast wat belangrijke waarden waren die een rol speelden bij het bepalen van hun standpunt (legitimeren). Docenten die werkten met de op groepswerkgerichte lessenserie werden geïnstrueerd om zo weinig mogelijk inhoudelijke hulp te geven en voornamelijk het proces van samenwerking te ondersteunen.

De tweede lessenserie is van de op groepswerkgerichte lessenserie afgeleid door een groot deel van de groepswerkopdrachten om te vormen tot klassikale opdrachten. De docenten die werkten met deze op klassikaal onderwijs gerichte lessenserie, werden geïnstrueerd om klassengesprekken te leiden via het stellen van vragen. Daarbij werd hen gevraagd om leerlingen zoveel mogelijk te stimuleren deel te nemen aan de dialoog (uitwisselen), op elkaar te reageren (co-construeren) en hun mening te onderbouwen (legitimeren).

3. EMPIRISCH ONDERZOEK

3.1 Deelstudie 1

Het onderzoek bestond uit twee deelstudies. In de eerste deelstudie, beschreven in hoofdstuk 4, wordt het effect onderzocht van de beide lessenseries voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming op het vermogen van leerlingen hun mening te onderbouwen met gebruik van waarden en verschillende perspectieven. Hierbij stonden de volgende vragen centraal:

Levert aandacht voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming geïntegreerd in het geschiedenisonderwijs een bijdrage aan het vermogen van leerlingen om bij de onderbouwing van hun mening gebruik te maken van morele waarden en multiperspectiviteit?

Draagt de hoeveelheid groepswerk bij dialogisch burgerschapsvorming geïntegreerd in het geschiedenisonderwijs bij aan het effect op het vermogen van leerlingen om bij de onderbouwing van hun mening gebruik te maken van morele waarden en multiperspectiviteit?

Het effect van beide lessenseries voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming werd onderzocht door middel van een quasi-experimenteel onderzoek, waarin twee experimentele condities en een controle conditie met elkaar werden vergeleken. In de eerste experimentele conditie werkten docenten met het op groepswerk gerichte lesmateriaal (groepswerk conditie), in de tweede experimentele conditie werkten docenten

met het op klassikaal onderwijs gerichte lesmateriaal (klassikale conditie). In de controleconditie volgden de leerlingen regulier geschiedenisonderwijs zonder specifieke aandacht voor dialoog, waarden en multiperspectiviteit. In de controle conditie werd dezelfde leerstof behandeld en gewerkt met dezelfde geschiedenis methode als in de experimentele condities, maar zonder het door ons ontwikkelde aanvullend lesmateriaal. De leerlingen zaten in het tweede leerjaar van het vwo. De deelnemende klassen waren gecombineerde havo/vwo-klassen (verlengde brugklas), atheneumklassen en gymnasiumklassen. Er waren geen gymnasiumklassen in de groeps-*werkconditie*.

Het vermogen van leerlingen om rekening te houden met morele waarden en multiperspectiviteit werd onderzocht via een essayopdracht, waarin leerlingen een mening moesten vormen over een morele kwestie. Leerlingen kregen tien minuten de tijd om in groepjes van vier de stelling te bespreken. Daarna schreven zij individueel een kort essay waarin zij hun mening over de stelling moesten onderbouwen. De ene helft van de leerlingen werkte met een onderwerp dat in de lessenserie was behandeld (leerstofgebonden opdracht). De andere helft van de leerlingen werkte met een onderwerp dat nieuw voor hen was (transferopdracht). Elk essay kreeg een score voor waarden en een score voor multiperspectiviteit.

De resultaten laten allereerst zien dat het loont om systematisch aandacht te besteden aan meningsvorming in het geschiedenisonderwijs. De effectiviteit van de twee verschillende didactische benaderingen van waardevormend onderwijs verschilt echter. Leerlingen die relatief veel in kleine groepjes werken, refereerden in hun essays vaker en explicieter aan waarden en zijn beter in staat zich rekenschap te geven van verschillende perspectieven, dan leerlingen die meer klassikaal hebben gewerkt. De resultaten laten daarnaast zien dat het effect van dialogische waardevormend onderwijs verschilt tussen de schooltypes, havo/vwo-brugklas, atheneum en gymnasium. Wat het gymnasium betreft, blijkt dat de leerlingen in de klassikale conditie het op alle gemeten aspecten van de essays beter doen dan leerlingen in de controle conditie. Bij de havo/vwo-brugklassen en het atheneum zien we dat de hoeveelheid groepswork een belangrijke rol speelt bij het bevorderen van het vermogen een mening te onderbouwen. De leerlingen in de groepsworkconditie scoorden hoger op *multiperspectiviteit* dan de leerlingen in beide andere condities. Dit gold zowel voor de leerstofgebonden opdracht als voor de transferopdracht. Tussen de klassikale conditie en de controle conditie, daarentegen, vonden we geen verschillen bij de havo/vwo- en atheneumleerlingen. Deze resultaten wijzen erop dat wanneer leerlingen relatief veel in kleine groepjes werken, zij beter in staat zijn verschillende perspectieven te betrekken bij de verantwoording van hun mening, dan leerlingen die minder vaak in groepjes werkten.

Wat het aspect *waarden* betreft, moet er voor de leerlingen in de havo/vwo- en atheneumklassen een onderscheid gemaakt worden tussen de leerstofgebonden opdracht en de transferopdracht. Alleen bij de leerstofgebonden opdracht scoorden de leerlingen in de groepsworkconditie hoger dan de leerlingen in de controle en klassikale conditie. Hun vermogen om in de onderbouwing van hun mening aan waarden te refereren, blijft gebonden aan het onderwezen leerdomein. Er heeft geen transfer plaatsgevonden. Een mogelijke verklaring voor het uitblijven van transfer van het vermogen om aan waarden te refereren, heeft te maken met morele sensitiviteit (Tir-

ri & Pehkonen, 2002). Hebben leerlingen ingezien dat het in de transferopdracht om een moreel dilemma handelde?

3.2 Deelstudie 2

In deelstudie 2, beschreven in hoofdstuk 5, wordt dieper ingegaan op de rol van de kwaliteit van de dialoog tussen leerlingen bij burgerschapsvorming. De veronderstelling was dat een dialoog tussen leerlingen aan een aantal kenmerken moet voldoen om leren te bevorderen. De kenmerken waarvan we aannamen dat ze belangrijk zijn voor burgerschapsvorming zijn gelijke participatie van alle deelnemers, processen van co-constructie en het expliciteren van morele waarden. Bij een selectie van de leerlingen uit deelstudie 1 hebben we de dialoog die zij tijdens de essayopdrachten voerden nader onderzocht om de volgende vragen te beantwoorden.

Bevordert dialogisch burgerschapsvorming geïntegreerd in het geschiedenisonderwijs de kwaliteit van de dialoog tussen leerlingen?

Wat is de relatie tussen de kwaliteit van de dialoog en het vermogen van leerlingen om bij de onderbouwing van hun mening gebruik te maken van morele waarden en multiperspectiviteit?

Er werd een aantal klassen aselekt geselecteerd uit de groepswerkconditie en de controleconditie. In die klassen werden de dialogen van leerlingen die met de transferopdracht werkten opgenomen. Om te bepalen of de leerlingen waarvan de dialoog was opgenomen een representatieve steekproef vormden van de totale groep deelnemende leerlingen, werden de essayscores van geselecteerde leerlingen vergeleken met leerlingen die niet geselecteerd waren. Het bleek dat in de groepswerkconditie de geselecteerde leerlingen significant hogere essayscores hadden dan leerlingen die niet geselecteerd waren. In de controlegroep vonden we geen verschillen tussen geselecteerde en niet-geselecteerde leerlingen. Hieruit concluderen we dat de selectie leerlingen in deelstudie 2 niet representatief was voor de hele groep. We houden hier bij de interpretatie van de resultaten rekening mee.

De dialogen die de leerlingen hebben gevoerd tijdens de essayopdrachten werden gecodeerd. Als eerste werd er gekeken naar de communicatieve functie van uitspraken van leerlingen om processen van co-constructie te identificeren. Daarnaast werd de inhoud van de dialogen gecodeerd. Hierbij werd gekeken naar het aantal waardegeladen uitspraken en naar het aantal verschillende thema's waarbij waarden aan de orde kwamen. Van de drie schooltypes was alleen het atheneum vertegenwoordigd in beide condities. Het effect van conditie op de kwaliteit van de dialoog werd daarom alleen onderzocht bij atheneumleerlingen.

Uit de resultaten blijkt dat de groepjes leerlingen die de lessen voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming hadden gevolgd tijdens de dialoog meer informatie uitwisselde, meer waardegeladen uitspraken deden en meer verschillende waardegeladen thema's bespraken, dan leerlingen die geen lessen voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming hadden gevolgd. Deze verschillen tussen condities kunnen echter niet zonder meer

toegeschreven worden aan een effect van de lessen voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming, aangezien de selectie leerlingen niet representatief was voor de hele groep.

Verder bleek er een relatie te zijn tussen de kwaliteit van de inhoud van de dialogen en het vermogen van leerlingen om bij de onderbouwing van hun mening gebruik te maken van morele waarden. Leerlingen in groepjes die vaker waardegeladen uitspraken deden tijdens de dialoog, refereerden ook vaker aan waarden in de individueel geschreven essays.

4. CONCLUSIES EN DISCUSSIE

In het laatste hoofdstuk wordt een overzicht gegeven van de resultaten, gevolgd door een discussie en aanbevelingen voor toekomstig onderzoek. Het hoofdstuk wordt afgesloten met suggesties voor de onderwijspraktijk.

De resultaten laten zien dat een dialogische benadering van burgerschapsvorming als integraal onderdeel van het geschiedenisonderwijs leerlingen helpt een beter doordachte mening te vormen over morele kwesties in de leerstof. Aandacht voor waarden en multiperspectiviteit met behulp van dialogische werkvormen bevordert het vermogen van leerlingen om bij het onderbouwen van hun mening gebruik te maken van morele waarden en multiperspectiviteit. Daarbij bleek dat groepswork een effectieve methode is voor een dialogische benadering van burgerschapsvorming. Het onderzoek laat verder zien dat de inhoud van de dialogen die leerlingen met elkaar voeren belangrijk is voor het vermogen om een mening over morele kwesties te onderbouwen met behulp van waarden. In het slothoofdstuk wordt een aantal onverwachte resultaten besproken.

Ten eerste, bleek dat havo/vwo- en atheneumleerlingen in de klassikale conditie niet hoger scoorden dan leerlingen in de controle conditie. Bij gymnasiumleerlingen vonden we wel een effect van de klassikale conditie in vergelijking met de controle conditie. De gymnasiumleerlingen in de klassikale conditie scoorden, zowel bij de leerstofgebonden opdracht als bij de transferopdracht, hoger op alle aspecten waarop de essays waren beoordeeld, dan de gymnasiumleerlingen in de controlegroep. Er kunnen verschillende verklaringen hiervoor worden gegeven. Het is, bijvoorbeeld, mogelijk dat leerlingen met een hoger cognitief vermogen beter in staat zijn om constructieve bijdragen te leveren aan een klassikale dialoog. Hierdoor zou de klassikale dialoog in de gymnasiumklassen van een betere kwaliteit geweest kunnen zijn dan de klassikale dialoog in de havo/vwo- en atheneumklassen. Een interessante vraag voor toekomstig onderzoek is hoe de verschillen in cognitieve vaardigheden en attitudes tussen leerlingen van de verschillende schooltypes de effectiviteit van klassikale discussies over morele kwesties beïnvloedt.

Ten tweede, was een groot aantal van de leerlingen (havo/vwo en atheneum) die deelnam aan de lessen voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming niet beter in staat om waarden te gebruiken bij de onderbouwing van hun mening over een nieuw onderwerp dan leerlingen in de controle conditie. Dit duidt erop dat transfer op dit punt niet heeft plaatsvonden. Meer onderzoek is nodig naar didactische strategieën om transfer van leren te stimuleren als het gaat om het reflecteren op waarden. Mogelijk is er meer aandacht nodig voor de vaardigheden en kennis die leerlingen nodig heb-

ben om een moreel dilemma uit de specifieke context te halen en te beschouwen vanuit een bredere sociale context. Daarnaast zou ook de ontwikkeling van morele sensitiviteit meer gestimuleerd moeten worden (Tirri & Pehkonen, 2002).

Ten derde, bleek dat processen van co-constructie niet werden bevorderd door de lessen voor dialogisch burgerschapsvorming. Bovendien bleek dat er geen relatie was tussen processen van co-constructie en het vermogen van leerlingen om hun mening te onderbouwen. De rol van processen van co-constructie tijdens een dialoog tussen leerlingen bij de vorming van hun mening blijft een interessante vraag voor verder onderzoek. Mogelijk is het voor meningsvorming vooral belangrijk dat leerlingen tijdens een dialoog kritisch zijn en tegenargumenten onderzoeken (Roja-Drummond & Mercer, 2003). Exploratieve analyse van de data laat zien dat leerlingen weinig tegenargumenten inbrachten gedurende de dialoog. Dit komt overeen met eerder onderzoek waaruit blijkt dat leerlingen over het algemeen niet geneigd zijn de argumenten van medeleerlingen kritisch te benaderen (bijv. Kuhn & Udell, 2003). Om een meer kritische dialoog tussen leerlingen te stimuleren zou er meer aandacht besteed moeten worden aan de manier waarop waarden en perspectieven in de onderbouwing naar voren worden gebracht en aan opdrachten gericht op argumentatievaardigheden (zie bijv. Amelsoort, 2006; Kuhn & Udell, 2003).

Het hoofdstuk wordt afgesloten met suggesties voor de onderwijspraktijk. Het onderzoek bevestigt de veronderstelling dat het stimuleren van dialoog tussen leerlingen een effectieve manier is om het vermogen van leerlingen een mening te onderbouwen te bevorderen. Leerlingen zouden vaker in groepjes moeten werken aan opdrachten die zo gestructureerd zijn dat de kwaliteit van de dialoog tussen leerlingen bevorderd wordt. Het is belangrijk om daarbij specifiek aandacht te besteden aan de vaardigheden en attitudes die leerlingen nodig hebben om met elkaar in dialoog te gaan. Het onderzoek laat voorts zien dat het betrekken van de mening van leerlingen over morele kwesties en daarbij aandacht besteden aan waarden en multiperspectiviteit, een zinvolle toevoeging kan zijn aan het geschiedenisonderwijs. Door de waarden en morele oordelen van leerlingen zelf meer centraal te stellen in de les kan het geschiedenisonderwijs een waardevolle bijdrage leveren aan burgerschapsvorming.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Eerder verschenen proefschriften in deze reeks zijn:

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