

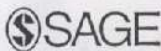
FULL CITATION

Berkowitz, M.W., Althof, W., & Jones, S. (2008). Educating for civic character. In J. Arthur, I. Davies, & C. Hahn (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy* (pp. 399-409). London: Sage.

The SAGE
Handbook of

Education for Citizenship and Democracy

Edited by
James Arthur
Ian Davies
and Carole Hahn

 SAGE

Los Angeles • London • New Delhi • Singapore

2008

31

Educating for Civic Character

Marvin W. Berkowitz, Wolfgang Althof, and Scott Jones

In this handbook, citizenship education is discussed from a variety of perspectives. The current chapter examines the relationship of character education and citizenship education and will focus on what we call educating for civic character. The widely read consensus paper 'The civic mission of the school', as well as many other documents (e.g. Patrick and Vontz, 2001), describe civic knowledge, skills (competencies), and dispositions (attitudes) as the three core dimensions of citizenship and hence as the focal targets of citizenship education. In Chapter 29 of this handbook, Ian Davies discusses issues related to the first of this triumvirate, namely civic knowledge and civic-political literacy. While an important topic, it will not be the focus here. Rather we will look mainly at the third component, civic dispositions, but will also touch upon civic skills as they relate to what we term *civic character*.

In this chapter, we will first offer some terminological clarification. Then we will give an introduction to the concept of character and the field of character education. We will not provide a parallel discussion of the concept of citizenship and the field of citizenship education, because this volume more than adequately addresses that in many chapters.

We have also done so elsewhere (Althof and Berkowitz, 2006). Following this, we will discuss some historical and more recent approaches to integrate moral character and democratic citizenship, and, in doing so, explore the potential of integrating elements from both domains in educating democratic and responsible citizens. Finally, we will address some contemporary challenges to the integration of character education and citizenship education.

We understand *dispositions* to be enduring tendencies to act in certain ways. As Flanagan et al. (2007) have argued, 'For democracy to work, society has to nurture certain key dispositions in the people' (p. 422). The concept has considerable overlap with concepts such as character, personality, traits, and virtues. A moral disposition is a sort of 'moral inertia.' It means a person has a tendency to continue to move in a certain trajectory of direction (e.g. to continue to be honest in most circumstances). Nevertheless, for a disposition to be fully effective, it requires the capacity to act in those ways; that is for a disposition to lead to consistent behaviour, one often requires certain behavioural competencies (that is the *skills* in the knowledge/skills/dispositions trilogy). Ideally it leads to a sense of trust in one's ability to act

according to one's moral dispositions (a sense of moral self-efficacy). It is worth noting the parallel to political efficacy (Bandura, 1997), that is, a sense of one's ability to influence the functioning of a government (Flanagan et al., 2007). It is also worth noting that the very concept of a stable personality or dispositions (character traits) is not without controversy (see, e.g. Doris, 2002).

Both character education and citizenship education are fields that are awash in alternative terminology, depending on disciplines and ideologies of authors. We will call the set of psychological characteristics that motivate and enable an individual to act as a moral or pro-social agent 'character', and the educational strategies designed to promote the development of such characteristics as 'character education.' We will call the effective, appropriate participation in the democratic public sphere 'citizenship', and will use the term 'civic' as the corresponding adjective for the noun 'citizenship.' Hence, 'civic character' refers to the part of character that has to do with democratic functioning (note that we have chosen to focus on democratic citizenship, but recognize that one can be a citizen in a non-democratic society as well; it is simply not our interest). We consider the terms *civic* and *citizenship* to be interchangeable in meaning.

Table 31.1 Eleven principles of effective character education (Character Education Partnership)

1.	Promotes core ethical values as the basis of good character.
2.	Defines 'character' comprehensively to include thinking, feeling, and behavior.
3.	Uses a comprehensive, intentional, proactive, and effective approach to character development.
4.	Creates a caring school community.
5.	Provides students with opportunities for moral action.
6.	Includes a meaningful and challenging academic curriculum that respects all learners, develops their character, and helps them to succeed.
7.	Strives to foster students' self-motivation.
8.	Engages the school staff as a learning and moral community that shares responsibility for character education and attempts to adhere to the same core values that guide the education of students.
9.	Fosters shared moral leadership and long-range support of the character education initiative.
10.	Engages families and community members as partners in the character-building effort.
11.	Evaluates the character of the school, the school staff's functioning as character educators, and the extent to which students manifest good character.

OVERVIEW OF CHARACTER AND CHARACTER EDUCATION

The field of character education, albeit under different names and ideologies, dates back at least to classic Greek times in Western society. There was a peak period for it under the name character education from the late nineteenth century until World War II in the US. It largely disappeared under that name however until the 1980s and its current resurgence began in the early 1990s. Regardless, the project of socializing youth in schools is millennia old. It has almost always been understood that the primary socialization of youth occurs in the family, but that schooling is a major contributor to this project which is necessary for societal survival, especially in a democracy. In fact, the founders of American democracy emphasized and elaborated upon this point repeatedly (Pangle and Pangle, 2000).

As noted above, character is the set of psychological characteristics that motivate and enable an individual to act as a moral or pro-social agent, or, as Berkowitz and Bier (2005a) have stated, 'the composite of those psychological characteristics that impact the child's capacity and tendency to be an effective moral agent; i.e., to be socially and personally responsible, ethical, and self-managed' (p. 1). Character education therefore is school-based attempts to foster the

development of that set of psychological characteristics, that is character. The Character Education Partnership (www.character.org) has identified *Eleven Principles of Effective Character Education* (Lickona et al., 2003); see Table 31.1. The principles collectively define character education as comprehensive school reform that is democratic, empowering, and based on intrinsic moral motivation.

Character education is a difficult field to define, largely because it is so broad that it includes a wide range of perspectives, theories, and methods. The Character Education Partnership has attempted to be a 'big tent' organization (and has largely succeeded in that goal); hence, it encompasses fairly didactic and even authoritarian examples on one end of the spectrum and highly egalitarian, progressive, and developmental examples on the other end. Some examples rely heavily on teaching *about* virtues and character, others on relatively behaviouristic shaping of behaviours and virtues, yet others on creating school and classroom climates of democratic empowerment, and so on. Clearly, if one takes the CEP *Eleven Principles* (Table 31.1) as the blueprint, some of these are more representative of what they define as effective character education. Ultimately, character education is that which effectively promotes the development of character in students. For this reason, Berkowitz and Bier (2005a) reviewed the existing research literature to ascertain what is empirically known about the impact of school-based interventions on student character development. In a review of 69 research studies of 33 character education programs, they concluded that character education positively impacts a wide range of student character outcomes, plus academic achievement (cf. Benninga et al., 2003). Furthermore, effective character education programs tended to share certain features. They incorporated various peer interactive strategies (e.g. class meetings, moral discussions, cooperative learning, peer mentoring). They included substantial professional development for the implementing educators. They

intentionally trained social-emotional competencies (e.g., anger management, peer conflict resolution). Parents and other community members were incorporated as audience, clients, and/or partners (cf. Berkowitz and Bier, 2005b). Character education was integrated into the academic curriculum. Effective programs employed approximately eight different strategies and the most effective programs employed nearly 11 different strategies.

Other research has demonstrated that effective character education depends upon the development of a safe, pro-social, caring school and classroom climate (Benninga et al., 2003; Berkowitz and Bier, 2005c; Solomon et al., 2001) and a related network of positive interpersonal relationships (Howes and Ritchie, 2002; Watson, 2003), including the adult culture of the school (Bryk and Schneider, 2002). Clearly, research suggests that character education is multifaceted, including didactic, social-learning, sociological, and constructivist methods. This should not be surprising given the complexity of human development in general and the multivariate nature of moral psychological development in particular (Berkowitz, 1997).

DEFINING CIVIC CHARACTER

We have argued for the centrality of civic character for democratic society (Althof and Berkowitz, 2006). As the Center for Civic Education has suggested in their National Standards for Civics and Government,

the goal of education in civics and government is informed, responsible participation in political life by competent citizens committed to the fundamental values and principles of American constitutional democracy. Their effective and responsible participation requires the acquisition of a body of knowledge and of intellectual and participatory skills. Effective and responsible participation also is furthered by development of certain dispositions or traits of character that enhance the individual's capacity to participate in

the political process and contribute to the healthy functioning of the political system and improvement of society (1994: 1).

But what exactly is civic character? What comprises the set of dispositions and skills necessary for functioning effectively and ethically in a democratic society? Under different but often overlapping terms, it is defined as follows. According to the National Council for the Social Studies (1997), *civic virtue* refers 'to what Alexis de Tocqueville called "habits of the heart," that is, a commitment to democratic principles and values that manifests itself in the everyday lives of citizens. A focus on knowledge and skills alone is insufficient for the task of civic education. Civic education must also foster civic character in citizens.' Oakes et al. (2000) report on schools that adopted a middle grades reform program known as *Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the 21st Century*. A major focus of the reform program was to entice educators and policy makers toward developing a positive *civic virtue*, which they defined as the development of 'policies and practices that characterize the public good as embodied in a citizenry that can come together across differences and solve common problems in a democratic sphere' (p. 569), but admittedly they had trouble reaching consensus on the 'common, public good.' In elaborating on a position paper, *Pathways to civic character*, jointly issued by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (<http://www.ascd.org>), in partnership with the First Amendment Center (<http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org>) and the Character Education Partnership (<http://www.character.org>), Boston (2005) describes *civic character* as 'responsible moral action that serves the common good' (p. 5) and suggests that any reform program that attempts to develop that end should be included under the umbrella term of civic character. He specifically identifies character education, civic (citizenship) education, service learning and social and emotional learning as programs that develop the civic

character of students by fostering 'the knowledge, skills, virtues and commitment necessary for engaged and responsible citizenship' (p. 31).

We therefore define civic character as the set of dispositions and skills that motivate and enable an individual to effectively and responsibly participate in the public sphere in order to serve the common good.

THE ROLE OF CHARACTER AND CIVIC EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

This still leaves open the question of how democratic forms of government interface with the character of their citizens. How critical is the nature of civic character? What is the role of government in its formation and sustenance? The role of government in educating citizens for democracy traces its development back to the first western democracy, Athens. However, Plato (1945) believed that the citizens were not capable and were too engrossed in their own personal obsessions with material greed, a sentiment echoed by Alexis de Tocqueville (1831/2001) and the American founders (Pangle and Pangle, 2000). In order to protect the citizens from themselves, the state should focus on the education of those who could overcome this obsession and rule through the reason and moral character these 'philosopher-kings' developed in the schools. Contrary to Plato's elitist solution, the founders of the American democracy believed in the power of education to counter such hedonistic tendencies, along with the checks and balances of the democratic political structure. This perspective was originally posited by Plato's most famous student. Unlike his mentor, Aristotle (1962; Krout, 2002) did not believe the average person to be incapable of developing the skills necessary to participate in the Athenian democracy. Instead, he believed people had a political nature that drove them to shared ownership in the state. Because of this, Aristotle believed the state had the

responsibility to educate people in public schools so that the citizenry would have the proper communitarian spirit, reason and habits necessary to act in a virtuous manner.

These two philosophies have dominated Western thought as it pertains to citizenship education. The impact of Plato is seen in the philosophies of Machiavelli (1513/1980; de Alvarez, 1999) and Hobbes (1651/1982). Machiavelli did not concern himself with the moral character of the state ruler nor its citizenry. Instead, whatever was necessary to strengthen the state was the correct course of action. Hobbes believed humanity to be naturally corrupt and, therefore, in need to be forced into actions that help strengthen the community. In such communities, education is only needed for those who will govern.

The philosophers of Enlightenment contrasted with these thoughts. Both Locke (2003) and Rousseau (1762/1968) developed the idea that human beings are good by nature. In the *Two Treatises of (Civil) Government* (1689; in Locke, 2003), Locke develops a theory of natural law and natural rights (life, liberty and property) that allows him to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate, tyrannical government. For Locke and for Rousseau, the citizen will only turn to corruption because the greater society threatens these natural rights. In order to protect themselves from government encroachment of their rights, citizens must participate in the society and in the various levels of government. Rousseau warns that once civic participation declines, the ability to defend against abuses of the natural rights by government declines as well. Once there is no participation, there is no just government. The leaders of the first experiment in liberal democracy believed that education was the key to guaranteeing the success of a society built around the principles of limited government (Pangle and Pangle, 2000). George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and many others claimed that if America was to survive, it needed to develop public schools that would teach students how to be

democratic citizens with proper dispositions and participatory skills. An enlightened citizenry is indispensable for the proper functioning of a republic. Self-government is not possible unless the citizens are educated sufficiently to enable them to exercise oversight; which, on the other hand, implies that suitable education can develop the potential in all citizens to be part of the 'aristocracy of virtue and talent' that Thomas Jefferson envisioned instead of an aristocracy of wealth leading the republic.

Alexis de Tocqueville (1831/2001) observed in the early part of the nineteenth century that American democracy had grown strong because of its citizens' intense participation in matters of the government. The ideas of educating for democratic citizenship and participation have remained strong in America. Dewey (1916/2004) emphasized the role of schools in developing citizens that have the proper democratic dispositions and participatory skills necessary to act for the common good (also see Boyte, 2003). Many contemporary authors claim that education in general and citizenship or democratic education in particular is an essentially moral enterprise (e.g. Blades and Richardson, 2006; Gutmann, 2000; Haydon, 1999; Kerr, 1997; Rowe, 1992). In *The Morality of Democratic Citizenship*, Butts (1988), for example, gives a noted listing of core values of democracy, many of which have a clear moral connotation, including justice, equality, truth, freedom, diversity, and human rights. These values are at the core of what Butts calls 'education for civic virtue' (2006: 14). Emphasizing the moral foundations of democratic societies, Bull (2006) states, 'Civic education is certainly a kind of moral education in that it promotes and supports a public morality, that is, the agreements about the principles governing citizens' relationships and obligations to one another' (p. 26).

In many Asian countries, the concepts of citizenship education and moral education are culturally intertwined (Lee et al., 2004). Individual character development – as

expressed in self-awareness, self-cultivation, and the ability to maintain harmonious relations, 'both in terms of relations with the universe, and relations with one another in society' (Lee, 2004, p. 280) – is strongly emphasized; however, the individual and the collectivity, are considered to be interdependent and mutually reinforcing. The resulting understanding of citizenship education is less concerned with politics and more focused on issues of morality, or, as Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) state, 'Asian citizenship education is characterized more by conceptions of moral virtues and personal values than by civic and public values' (p. 294). In a recent account of trends in curricular development in Asia and the Pacific, W.O. Lee (2006) summarizes, 'the general picture I can draw is a common emphasis on culture, a common understanding that civics and moral education is a twin relationship, [and] a common expectation of the development of social responsibility to be supported by healthy and positive values' (p. 13).

Certainly, basic concepts of character and citizenship differ by culture. However, a strong focus on the moral dimension of citizenship, and, hence, a strong relation of civic and moral character, is clearly not specific to a certain region. Comparative analyses of teacher perceptions regarding the priorities in citizenship education show that a strong emphasis on the social and moral qualities of citizenship is very common throughout the nations studied (for example, Davies et al., 2004; Lee and Fouts, 2005). This concurs with a trend in the US to combine or even integrate character and citizenship education in curricular frameworks, mission statements and educational practice (Althof and Berkowitz, 2006).

As will be detailed below, we are not arguing for a reduction of one to the other. When citizenship only is 'seen in terms of being a good person' (Davies et al., 2004: 371) and narrowed down to responsible behaviour in the immediate personal domain, it becomes depoliticised; the resulting practice of

citizenship education 'might not help us to achieve more critical and political notions of society' (Davies et al., 2004: 373; also see Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). The fact that education for global citizenship (e.g., Blades and Richardson, 2006; Osler and Vincent, 2002) apparently is not advocated strongly by the average teacher does not prove its irrelevance in times of economic and cultural globalisation. Lee (2005) gives a speculative yet convincing explanation of teachers' priorities:

The teachers are the ones who are facing their students every day. They have to deal with behavioural problems. They have to cultivate a sense of responsibility and moral concepts to develop good citizens among students. That is, caring about the social, moral and duty dimensions of good citizens is, as a matter of fact, the day-to-day concerns and the here-and-now job of the teachers' (p. 255).

However, there can be no doubt that any liberal democracy calls for citizens who are civically minded and skilled as well as morally responsible. Colby et al. (2003) emphasize

that many core democratic principles, including tolerance and respect, impartiality, and concern for both the rights of the individual and the welfare of the group, are grounded in moral principles. (...) The problems that confront civically engaged citizens always include strong moral themes. (...) No issue involving these themes can be adequately resolved without a consideration of moral questions and values. A person can become civically and politically active without good judgment and a strong moral compass, but it is hardly wise to promote that kind of involvement (p. 15).

Civic responsibility calls for moral responsibility. Morality lies at the heart of civic character, and education for civic character necessarily has to address issues of morality (e.g., Youniss and Yates, 1999). Democracy relies on certain procedural rules and political institutions but it cannot flourish if its citizens do not hold moral and civic values, and manifest certain personal virtues – that is, display democratic or civic character. Both moral or character education and citizenship education are central to the development of the civic character of citizens that is foundational to a democracy.

A SYNTHESIS

Clearly, the concepts of moral and civic character overlap significantly. Much of what we call civic character is the same as much of what we more generically call character. Lickona and Davidson (2005) suggested that character education should focus on both, the moral psychology of individuals (moral character) and the characteristics of their nature that support effective performance, in moral endeavours as well as in other forms of achievement, such as academics and politics (performance character). The Character Education Partnership (www.character.org), the national character education professional organization, has recently redefined character to include both aspects, having in the past focused much more heavily on the moral side of character.

When one defines character as purely moral characteristics, then it is clear that civic character only partially overlaps with moral character, for civic character necessarily includes competencies and propensities toward democratic forms of communication, persistence in advocacy and seeking quality relevant information for making civic decisions, etc. However, when one broadens the definition of character to include both moral and performance character, then most (if not all) of civic characters can be subsumed under the more generic concept of character.

When one moves from the definition of character to the school-based formation of character (character education), again the overlap is substantial but not absolute. We have strongly argued for the necessity of character (and character education) for a democratic society (Althof and Berkowitz, 2006; Berkowitz, 2000). This is essentially the argument for schools to be involved in the civic part of character that is necessary for the optimal functioning of a democratic political system and broader society. If a democratic society is to thrive, its citizens must both be virtuous and have the civic character that motivates and enables them to engage in the democratic process. The

methods and pedagogy of character education and civic education again overlap, by necessity, as their outcome goals (civic character, moral and performance character) overlap so strongly. In one of the more ambitious forms of character education, Kohlberg (Power et al., 1989) relied heavily on civic processes as he created democratic high schools in the second half of the twentieth century, in this case with the goal of promoting individual moral development along with a just school community.

Acquiring virtues such as personal and social responsibility, tolerance, or respect necessitates interpersonal experience and reflection. Traits of fairness, honesty, courage, and integrity do not develop in a social solitude. Civic skills such as public speaking, problem solving, and consensus building require practice. Schools can provide manifold opportunities of practice by not only providing instruction but also creating a school climate of care and recognition, by involving students in meaningful discussions and by encouraging student participation in community-building activities, including school governance. There are clear differences however. In both character and citizenship, the tripartite concepts of behaviour/cognition/affect are acknowledged. We have been focusing on the affective and behavioural aspects in this discussion. Certainly, in the classroom, all three components must be addressed. A core part of the cognitive side is knowledge. Knowledge necessary for citizenship is not isomorphic with the knowledge base for morality. For example, democratic citizenship requires education in civics, including facts about the form and functioning of the government. These topics are not central to moral formation (although teaching history, law, and government may provide opportunities to explore a multiplicity of issues of morality in public life, particularly at the higher grades).

Overall, education and development are quite robust. That which counts as good education (e.g., Marzano, 2003) overlaps with what counts as effective character education

(Beland, 2003; Berkowitz and Bier, 2005a) and effective civic education (e.g. Flanagan et al., 2007). Teacher-student relationships and school climate are at the heart of academic, moral, and civic education. Nonetheless, style and emphasis may make a large difference across these three interrelated goals of education. For example, Flanagan et al. report that civic commitments and a belief in a just society were greater if teachers were seen as fair to and respectful of students. Democratically run classrooms tend to promote the motivation to engage in public life and a belief in the efficacy of doing so. Such a democratic, challenging, and caring environment tends to be at the heart of both character and civic education, just as it is at the heart of parenting for moral character (Berkowitz and Grych, 1998). But not all effective education has to follow the same formula. Academic achievement can occur in more hierarchical classrooms as long as teachers use effective instructional strategies, manage behaviour effectively, and design effective curricula (Marzano, 2003). In other words, democratic empowerment of students may be more central to character and civic education than to academic achievement; however, research shows that effective character education also promotes academic achievement (Benninga et al., 2003; Berkowitz and Bier, 2005). Clearly, more work is needed to understand the complex relationships between school characteristics that promote the development of character, citizenship, and academic success.

CHALLENGES TO THE INTEGRATION OF CHARACTER AND CIVIC EDUCATION

At the Center for Character and Citizenship in St. Louis, we see a large overlap and potential synergy between character education and citizenship education. However, we have also encountered much resistance when one of the two camps attempts to penetrate

the other. One source of such friction is simply territoriality. Experts are often protective of their circumscribed domains of expertise. Consequently, they become overly wedded to terminology and labels. It is more important, however, to remember that the child is not segmented along academic lines. It is in everyone's interest to put Humpty Dumpty back together again after the parochial academics have disassembled him. A child's morality is highly integrated with the child's civic character. To ignore this is to ignore human nature. After all, it is a whole person standing in the voting booth or honestly filing her taxes, not just the civic or moral part of the person.

A second source of friction between character and civic education is prejudice and stereotyping. Character education has a negative connotation to many outside its sphere of influence. Interestingly it is somewhat of a projective test as those on the more liberal progressive side perceive it threateningly as a tool of conservative, often religious, indoctrination while those on the conservative traditionalist side often see it as a form of liberal secular humanism. In fact, character education is very hard to pin down as it is such a 'big tent' field that it includes both of those extremes and many more perspectives and approaches that fall between them. This is in fact a persistent problem in generating acceptance of character education from those outside the field. Character education has grown to such a degree that it includes a startling range of perspectives, ideologies, and methods. We hope it is clear that we take a decidedly progressive and developmental perspective on the promotion of moral character in schools. It is this perspective that resonates so strongly with civic education as we have demonstrated. Some, however, reject the relevance of character education because they focus on more authoritarian and indoctrinative strands, and at times strands that are largely 'straw men' and do not actually exist or are so rare as to be largely irrelevant to academic discourse. In fact, this has become a common theme in the critiques of character

education. Many distinguished scholars have criticized character education by focusing on the narrow traditionalist side of character education (e.g. Kohn, 1993; Noddings, 2002; Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). We do not consider this form of discourse very helpful as it reifies the skewed notion of character education as solely or largely a behavioural, indoctrinative, and authoritarian enterprise and it makes the integration of related fields such as character and citizenship education more difficult to accomplish.

A third source of friction comes from differences due to the academic discipline of the proponent. For instance, much of civic education is informed by political scientists and historians. Frequently they emphasize civic knowledge as the core of civic education. Psychologists however tend to emphasize civic skills and dispositions. Given that many character educators are psychologists and few are historians or political scientists, this divide is not uncommon. Of course, as noted above, it requires all three components (political knowledge, intellectual and participatory skills, and civic dispositions) to form the goals of a complete civic education.

What is needed is a more interdisciplinary and integrative perspective on what needs to be developed in children for them to become effective, pro-social, participatory citizens of a democracy and what schools can most effectively do to realize that. Integrating character education and civic education is one step toward such a comprehensive and effective approach.

REFERENCES

- Athof, W., and Berkowitz, M.W. (2006). Moral education and character education: Their relationship and their roles in citizenship education. *Journal of Moral Education*, 35 (4): 495-518.
- Alvarez, L.P.S., de (1999) *The Machiavellian enterprise: A commentary on the Prince*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Aristotle (1962) *The Politics*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books.
- Bandura, A. (1997) *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control*. New York: Freeman.
- Beland, K. (2003) *Eleven Principles Sourcebook: How to Achieve Quality Character Education in K-12 Schools*. Washington, DC: Character Education Partnership.
- Benninga, J.S., Berkowitz, M.W., Kuehn, P., and Smith, K. (2003) The relationship of character education implementation and academic achievement in elementary schools. *Journal of Research in Character Education*, 1 (1): 19-32.
- Berkowitz, M.W. (1997). The complete moral person: Anatomy and formation. In J.M. Dubois (ed.), *Moral Issues in Psychology: Personalist Contributions to Selected Problems*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. pp.11-41.
- Berkowitz, M.W. (2000) Civics and moral education. In B. Moon, S. Brown and M. Ben-Peretz (eds.), *Routledge International Companion to Education*. New York: Routledge. pp. 897-909.
- Berkowitz, M.W., and Bier, M.C. (2005a) *What Works in Character Education*. Washington DC: Character Education Partnership.
- Berkowitz, M.W., and Bier, M.C. (2005b). Character education: Parents as partners. *Educational Leadership*, 63 (1): 64-69.
- Berkowitz, M.W. and Bier, M.C. (2005c). The interpersonal roots of character education. In D.K. Lapsley and F.C. Power (eds.), *Character Psychology and Character Education*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. pp. 268-285.
- Berkowitz, M.W., and Grych, J. (1998) Fostering goodness: Teaching parents to facilitate children's moral development. *Journal of Moral Education*, 27 (3): 371-391.
- Blades, D.W. and Richardson, G.H. (2006) Restarting the interrupted discourse of the public good: Global citizenship education as moral imperative, In G.H. Richardson and D.W. Blades (eds) *Troubling the Canon of Citizenship Education*. New York: Peter Lang. pp. 115-123.
- Boston, B.O. (2005) *Restoring the Balance Between Academics and Civic Engagement*. Washington DC: American Youth Policy Forum.

- Bryk, A.S. and Schneider, B. (2002). *Trust in Schools: A Core Resource for Improvement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bull, B.L. (2006) Can civic and moral education be distinguished? In D. Warren and J.J. Patrick (eds) *Civic and Moral Learning in America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 21–31.
- Boyte, H.C. (2003) A different kind of politics. John Dewey and the meaning of citizenship in the 21st century. *The Good Society*, 12 (2): 1–15.
- Butts, R.F. (1988) *The Morality of Democratic Citizenship: Goals for Civic Education in the Republic's Third Century*. Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education.
- Butts, R.F. (2006) The politics of civic and moral education. In D. Warren and J.J. Patrick (eds) *Civic and Moral Learning in America*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 7–19.
- Center for Civic Education (1994) *National Standards for Civics and Government*. Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education (2nd ed. 2003).
- Colby, A., Ehrlich, T., Beaumont, E. and Stephens, J. (2003) *Educating Citizens. Preparing America's Undergraduates for Lives of Moral and Civic Responsibility*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Davies, I., Fülöp, M., Hutchings, M., Ross, A., and Berkics, M. (2004) Citizenship and enterprise: issues from an investigation of teachers' perceptions in England and Hungary. *Comparative Education*, 40 (3): 363–384.
- Dewey, J. (1916/2004) *Democracy and Education*. New York: Kensington Publishing.
- Doris, J.M. (2002) *Lack of character: Personality and Moral Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Flanagan, C.A., Cumsille, P., Gill, S., and Gally, L.S. (2007) School and community climates and civic commitments: Patterns for ethnic minority and majority students. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 99 (2): 421–431.
- Gutmann, A. (2000) Why should schools care about civic education? In: L.M. McDonnell, P.M. Timpane and R. Benjamin (eds) *Rediscovering the Democratic Purposes of Education*. Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas. pp. 73–90.
- Haydon, G. (1999) The moral agenda of citizenship education. *The School Field*, 10 (3/4): 47–54.
- Hobbes, T. (1651/1982) *Leviathan*. Edited with notes by C.B. MacPherson, New York: Penguin Classics.
- Howes, C., and Ritchie, S. (2002) *A Matter of Trust: Connecting Teachers and Learners in the Early Childhood Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Kerr, D. (1997) *Toward a Democratic Rhetoric of Schooling*. In J.I. Goodlad and T.J. McMannon (eds), *The Public Purpose of Education and Schooling*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass pp. 73–83.
- Kennedy, K.J., and Fairbrother, G.P. (2004) Asian perspectives on citizenship education in review: Postcolonial constructions or precolonial values? In W.O. Lee, D.L. Grossman, K.J. Kennedy and G.P. Fairbrother (eds), *Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific. Concepts and Issues*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre. pp. 289–301.
- Kohn, A. (1993) *Punished by Rewards: The Trouble with Gold Stars, Incentive Plans, A's, Praise and Other Bribes*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Krout, R. (2002) *Aristotle: Political Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, W.O. (2004) Concepts and Issues of Asian Citizenship: Spirituality, Harmony and Individuality. In W.O. Lee, D.L. Grossman, K.J. Kennedy & G.P. Fairbrother (eds), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific. Concepts and issues*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre. pp. 277–288.
- Lee, W.O. (2005) Cross-national comparisons and conclusions: Teachers' perceptions towards social citizenship. In W.O. Lee and J.T. Fouts (eds.), *Education for Social Citizenship. Perceptions of Teachers in the USA, Australia, England, Russia and China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. pp. 249–262.
- Lee, W.O. (2006) *Tensions and contentions in the development of citizenship curriculum in Asian countries*. Paper presented at the CITIZED International Conference, Oriel College, Oxford, 25–27 July 2006.
- Lee, W.O., Grossman, D.L., Kennedy, K.J., and Fairbrother, G.P., (eds) (2004) *Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific. Concepts and issues*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre.
- Lee, W.O., and Fouts, J.T. (eds) (2005) *Education for Social Citizenship. Perceptions of Teachers in the USA, Australia, England, Russia and China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Lickona, T. and Davidson, M. (2005) *Smart and Good High Schools: Integrating Excellence and Ethics for Success in School, Work, and Beyond. Cortland, N.Y.: Center for the 4th and 5th Rs (Respect & Responsibility)*, and Washington DC: Character Education Partnership.
- Lickona, T., Schaps, E., and Lewis, C. (2003) *Eleven Principles of Effective Character Education*. Washington, DC: Character Education Partnership.
- Locke, J. (2003) *Political Writings*. Edited by D. Wootton. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett.
- Machiavelli, N. (1513/1980) *The Prince*. Translated with notes by L.P. de Alvarez. Irving, TX: University of Dallas Press.
- Marzano, R.J. (2003). *What Works in Schools: Translating Research into Action*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD).
- National Council for the Social Studies (1997). *Fostering Civic Virtue: Character Education and the Social Studies*. Silver Spring, MD: NCSS. Accessed on 15 May 2007 at <http://www.socialstudies.org/positions/character/>.
- Noddings, N. (2002) *Educating Moral People: A Caring Alternative to Character Education*. New York, New York: NY: Teachers College Press.
- Oakes, J., K.H. Quartz, S. Ryan, and M. Lipton (2000) Becoming good American schools: the struggle for civic virtue in education reform [Carnegie Council report]. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 81 (8): 568–75.
- Osler, A. and Vincent, K. (2002) *Citizenship and the Challenge of Global Education*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK, and Sterling, VA: Trentham Books.
- Pangle, L.S. and Pangle, T.L. (2000). What the American founders have to teach us about schooling for democratic citizenship. In L.M. McDonnell, P.M. Timpane, and R. Benjamin (eds.) *Rediscovering the Democratic Purposes of Education*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas. pp. 21–46.
- Patrick, J.J. and Vontz, T.S. (2001) Components of education for democratic citizenship in the preparation of social studies teachers. In J.J. Patrick and R.S. Leming (eds), *Civic Learning in Teacher Education. Vol. 1: Principles and Practices of Democracy in the Education of Social Studies Teachers*. Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies. pp. 39–63.
- Plato (1945) *The Republic*. Translated with notes by F.M. Cornford. (1945) New York: Oxford University Press.
- Power, F.C., Higgins, A., and Kohlberg, L. (1989) *Lawrence Kohlberg's Approach to Moral Education*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Rousseau, J.J. (1762/1968) *The Social Contract*. Translated and introduced by M. Cranston. New York: Penguin Classics.
- Rowe, D. (1992) The citizen as a moral agent: The development of a continuous and progressive citizenship curriculum. *Curriculum*, 1(3): 178–187.
- Solomon, D., Watson, M.S. and Battistich, V.A. (2001) Teaching and Schooling Effects on Moral/Prosocial Development. In V. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (4th ed., pp. 566–603). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Tocqueville A., de (1831/2001). *Democracy in America*. Edited and abridged by R.D. Heffner. New York: Signet Classics.
- Watson, M. (2003) *Learning to Trust*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Westheimer, J. and Kahne, J. (2004) What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41 (2): 237–269.
- Youniss, J. and Yates, M. (1999) Youth service and moral-civic identity: A case for everyday morality. *Educational Psychology Review*, 11 (4): 361–376.