A Multi-Study Approach to Examining the Transformative Potential of Teaching Social Justice to High School Students

by

Marinda Kathryn Harrell-Levy

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Auburn, Alabama
August 4, 2012

Approved by
Jennifer Kerpelman, Chair, Professor of Human Development and Family Studies
Kristen Bub, Assistant Professor of Human Development and Family Studies
Stephen Erath, Associate Professor of Human Development and Family Studies
Daniel Henry, Assistant Professor of Educational Foundations, Leadership and Technology

Abstract

These three papers test existing educational and identity development theory regarding the phenomenon of transformative pedagogy and its effectiveness, in order to determine the predictive ability of a class on morals and ethics with transformative goals during eleventh or twelfth grade Social Justice towards transformed individuals later in life. This is done using a mixed methods approach: Quantitatively, correlations between pedagogical methods and moral identity development are examined through structural equation modeling using data from a diverse group of students from parochial schools in the Northeast. Qualitatively, an in-depth look at the phenomenon of Social Justice is taken by capturing the lived experiences of former students of just one school. Qualitative results reveal that social justice teachers influence the development of their students in a real and lasting way, including aspects of alumni's civic, personal, and moral identity development. This is done utilizing several transformative methods, including critical self-reflection, consciousness raising, integrating aspects of emotional and spiritual development, and more. Quantitative results, which resulted from date collected from 362 former" social justice" students from seven different schools, revealed that students who had more transformative class experiences (higher critical self-reflection, more charismatic forms of instruction, and relatable course content and methods associated with the transformative style) were significantly higher on moral identity development than students who did not. Overall, results from the three studies suggest that classes with transformative goals can be quite influential on the long-term identity development of adolescents, and points to the salience of certain parts of the class in influencing such outcomes.

Acknowledgements

"The emphasis now is to create an education devoted to freedom. An education that enlarges and amplifies the horizon of critical understanding of the people."
Paulo Freire, *We Make the Road by Walking*

"The world will not be saved by 6s or 7s."
Robert Hoderny

"We shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time."
T. S. Eliot

This dissertation is dedicated to the possibility within *all* people to do *all* things; as well as to all those people who recognized that possibility in me, including my advisor, Dr. Jennifer Kerpelman. With regard to Dr. Kerpelman, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to her for the exceptional guidance, training, caring, and patience she provided me for the last six years. I am extremely grateful for the gifts she gave me, including exposure to rigorous research methodology, project management experience, and a thorough introduction to Cooperative Extension. Dr. Kerpelman's personal commitment to excellence, selflessness and enthusiasm were recurring subjects of conversation among her advisees, and she will continue to inspire and inform my professional identity development as I move forward in my work. Beyond that, however, her open door policy and her consideration for my family's growing needs as time passed made my graduate school experience manageable and provided me with a work atmosphere conducive for a healthy work-family balance. I truly believe my advisor is the best that HDFS, and perhaps Auburn, offers.

Although Dr. Kerpelman had the strongest hand in my graduate schooling, many others contributed along the way. Therefore, I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, whose helpful and thorough feedback throughout this process was made even more exceptional by the sheer quantity of material I continued to give them. They, along with many other HDFS faculty, were always willing to help and to give their best suggestions. This holds true for many at Auburn, including wonderful and handy administrative assistants, my many teachers, those who gave me pointed (and even clairvoyant) career guidance, and the other writers of my recommendations. Although I

would love to acknowledge all of these special people here, especially because of their unique influences on my professional development and the wonderful career options I was blessed to choose among, I will share instead that my overall graduate school experience was amazing, in large part, because of them. I am extremely proud to be able to shout "War Eagle!"

Much of what I decided to pursue in graduate school was shaped by earlier experiences. With regard to my commitment to exploring the facets of transformative pedagogy and social justice, I'd like to acknowledge my eleventh grade social justice teacher, Katie Murphy. Not only was her work with her students motivation for my studies, but I must also acknowledge her for her guidance and support of my academic and spiritual life during a profoundly transformational period of my life—adolescence. Katie Murphy's personal ethic for social justice and related life philosophy profoundly reshaped my views of reality, and teaching; and her work on behalf of inner city kids continues to deepen my understanding of the importance of my teaching, research and programming goals. I am equally grateful to the mentoring experiences that continued post-high school and for the ways our friendship has helped to foster my personal and spiritual development. Although in recent years we have rarely seen eye-to-eye, she always manages to introduce me to her perennial wisdom and a new view of reality at times when I most need it. There are other school-related mentors and advisors from high school days, and before, who also played a large part in the scholar I eventually became. I am humbled by and grateful for all of you.

With regard to my family and friends, the list of people who molded, protected and uplifted me is simply too long for proper acknowledgement here. So I will note in brief a small chunk of the village that helped contribute toward this degree, including my parents, the cheerleaders on the sidelines of my childhood and emerging adulthood, and the funders of my education, Rodney and Donna Harrell; my patient husband, Richard Levy, M.S.; my brother and most constructive critic, Rodney B. Harrell, PhD; all my sisters, including my best friends Serena Hayes, Esq., and Melanie Barr, Esq.; my daughter and personal inspiration, Donna Levy; gracious in-laws that housed me during conferences, prayed for and with me and always made me feel at home; Cassandra, PhD, Kyhesha, and Kevin for giving my daughter and me an "in-town" place to stay during a very nomadic period of life; and my high school students (including, especially, Leeandrea Walker). Regarding my students, in particular, the lives of the young adults with whom I crossed paths became my business. The experience with my students was so life-changing that my very decision to go pursue a PhD in Human Development and Family Studies was based on them and all their challenges and triumphs. They, along with the multitude of family and friends who supported me along the way, made this dissertation possible.

Finally, anyone who has seen what the process toward this degree has required knows the degree of

personal sacrifice and effort that was entangled in it. Whether I was submitting work from hospital rooms, commuting 770 miles, or working at a desk with an infant on my lap, it was always worth it. Therefore, this dissertation is an expression of my passion for education, human development, empowerment and the creation of a better world. Specifically, this product is my commitment to promoting these values for as long as I am afforded the opportunity to do so. Many others helped cultivate this passion along the way (e.g. Marinda Gaskins and Kathryn Harrell (my grandmothers and the two educators that helped to rear me), Aunt Ness, Nyah and Uncle Willie (who cared for Donna during trips to MD), Aunt Joan (whose exceptional and unfailing care of Mommy Kay eased my mind and allowed me to focus on my work), Rosine and Dorothy (who provided humor, friendship and inspiration), Francesca Adler-Bader (who helped me grow as a professional in many ways), Arthur Avery (who was a patient and sagacious consultant during the job negotiation process), Joyce, Mrs. Barr, and Mrs. Soodoo (my other mothers), my mother (my best friend who, in taking care of ailing members of our family, has shown awesome fortitude and grace the last few years), Aunt Cynthia (just because she may be one of the best people I ever meet), other close friends, grandfathers, aunts and uncles, former teachers, in-laws and so many more); this dissertation is dedicated to all of them. My only disappointment is that all of them could not be named here.

"Have you learned the final lesson? Have you learned yet to read between the lines?
Have you learned the final lesson? How to live and how to die?

You have the final lesson. Take it wherever you should go.
You have learned the final lesson. Share it with everyone you know."

Arrie Horton & Monique Barr

Table of Contents

Abstract…… ii

Acknowledgements……..... iii

List of Tables…….. ix

List of Figures……. x

List of Abbreviations…….. xi

Introduction……..... 01

Background and Explanation of Study Topic……..…….. 03

Paper 1: "Minds Were Forced Wide Open": Exploring the Phenomenon of High School Transformative Social Justice…….....06

Abstract…….. 06

Introduction……... 07

Methods……..... 15

Results…… 19

Discussion…….. 37

References…….. 43

Paper 2: Habits of Exemplary High School Transformative Teachers, as Perceived by Students Transformed by a Social Justice Course …… 48

Abstract…….. 48

Introduction…… 49

Methods……..... 52

Results……. 55

Discussion……66

References……71

Paper 3: The Relationship between Perceived Transformative Class Experiences and Subsequent Moral Identity Development ……..... 76

Introduction…… 77

Methods……..... 83

Results…… 88

Discussion……93

References……99

General Discussion…….. 111

Appendices…….. 116

Appendix 1: Literature Review……..... 117

Introduction……..... 117

Teaching Pedagogy ……. 123

Theoretical Background……..... 125

Empirical Research…… 129

Service Learning…… 135

Catholic School Culture……..... 137

Obstacles to a Transformative Education…… 139

Transformative Critical Pedagogy under a Critical Lens……... 141

Identity Theory……..... 146

Transformative Learning Theory……. 152

References…….. 154

Appendix 2: Study 1 Data Reduction Table for Study 1…….. 164

Appendix 3: Coding Guide for Study 2…….. 166

Appendix 4: Codebook for Study 3 Survey……. 170

Appendix 5: Expanded Power Analysis…….. 193

Appendix 6: Expanded Qualitative Methodology…… 195

Introduction……..... 195

Credibility and Trustworthiness……. 196

Pilot Study……..... ……... 196

Sampling Method……..……... 197

Participants……..……... 197

Context: Class, School and Teachers…….. 197

Summary……..... 200

Interview Protocol…….. 200

Interview Protocol Questions……. 201

Interviews…….. 202

Evidence of Craftsmanship…… 202

Data Analysis……. 203

Epistemological Distance……... 206

Verification of Findings…… 208

Appendix 7: My Process to and through the Studies……..... 212

List of Tables

Study 1 Table 1. Participant Demographic Information……47

Study 2 Table 1. Data Sources…….. 74

Study 2 Table 2. Alumni Interview Participant Demographic Information……75

Study 3 Table 1. Means, Standard Deviation, and correlations between predictors and outcomes…….106

Study 3 Table 2. Correlations between controls/moderators and outcome measures……107

Study 3 Table 3. Measurement Model (standardized results in parenthesis)……. 107

Appendix 1 Table 1. Review of High Schools with Social Justice Courses ……....119

Appendix 1 Table 2. Social Justice High School Curriculum Examples……..…….....121

Appendix 1 Table 3. The Influences on Mezirow's Early Transformative Learning Theory and its Related Facets (from Kitchenham, 2008; p.109)…… 153

Appendix 1 Table 4. Mezirow's Ten Phases of Transformative Learning……..... 154

Appendix 1 Table 5. Cranton (2002) Guide for Structuring a Learning Environment……... 155

Appendix5 Table 1. Essential Learning Outcomes……198

Appendix 5 Table 2. Curriculum Units……. ……... 199

Appendix 5 Table 3. Initial Code List (generated for Study 1)……... 204

List of Figures

Study 3 Figure 1. Fitted Path Model for moral identity development regressed on critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, and service learning (standardized estimated correlations in parentheses) (*N*=362……... 108

Study 3 Figure 2. Fitted Path Model for perceptions of personal transformation mediating the relationship between critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, and service learning on moral identity development (standardized estimated correlations in parentheses) (*N*=362)……..…..…… 108

List of Abbreviations

SJ	Social Justice
TSJ	Transformative Social Justice
TCP	Transformative-Critical Pedagogy
MID	Moral Identity Development

General Introduction

These three papers examine existing educational and human development theory regarding the phenomenon of transformative pedagogy and its effectiveness. The primary aim is to understand the influence of a Social Justice class emphasizing morals and ethics on eleventh or twelfth grade students. This is accomplished using a mixed methods approach: Quantitatively, associations among pedagogical methods, perceived transformation, and moral identity development are examined through structural equation modeling using data from a diverse group of students from parochial schools in the Northeast. Qualitatively, an in-depth look at the phenomenon of Social Justice is taken by capturing the lived experiences of former students of just one school. The studies incorporate a consideration of identity, as the class is intended to foster critical (self) reflection and empowerment in students, thus affecting students' moral and civic identities.

Current literature on the relation between teaching pedagogy and identity formation is scant. Studies on transformative pedagogy have been largely exploratory, with a limited emphasis on context and far reaching outcomes (for review, see Dirkx, 1998). Moreover, a great deal of the research has been done on adult learners, with limited focus on adolescence. Finally, much of this research has been conducted by college professors assessing their own students (Generett & Hicks, 2004; King, 2004; McBrien, 2008). While some, though little, of extant educational research has focused on factors that contribute to engagement in schools, including teacher and school factors (Skinner, Furrer, Marchand, & Kindermann, 2008; Wentzel, 1997; 1998), few studies have looked at how processes in schools affect students after the course has concluded.

Transformative pedagogy, which is one style of teaching that is expected to influence students' sense of self immediately and long term, has received some attention in the literature in the past decade.

> Transformation, as we define it, like democratic learning, is an ideal that might never be fully realized but nevertheless requires steady exercise of its principles if there is any hope of it becoming reality. Just as one would be suspicious of hiring a professional musician who is paralyzed by stage fright, we are concerned when teachers feel unable to respond to conditions that ultimately oppress them and their students (Generett & Hicks, 2004, p.195).

According to Generett and Hicks (2004), transformative teaching "requires the ability to envision the world as it might be otherwise" (p. 195). Theory suggests that this style of teaching could be particularly influential on the development of students (e.g. moral development, civic identity, critical thinking, and so forth). However, despite this growing field, little has been done to examine the lived experience of students from their perspective. Therefore, the

overarching goal of the first two (qualitative) studies is to discern the essence of the lived experience of a mandatory Social Justice class by students who have taken the class from transformative teachers, and the overarching goal of the third (quantitative) study is to examine the relationship between the Social Justice class and indicators of transformation. More specifically, Study 3 seeks to examine the commonalities/distinctions across individuals who have taken a Social Justice class, regardless of the style of instruction used, with a particular focus on aspects of moral identity development.

The following studies target former students of a class about social justice and ethics (hereafter referred to as Social Justice class) and focus on their perceptions as well as how they integrate experiences in the class with their present day lives. In high school, Social Justice class is offered at a crucial point in adolescents' identity development. According to Erikson (1968) adolescents are expected to develop a more pointed interest in their future occupation, politics, and personal values. Erikson (1959) was a leading scholar in the area of identity development, and he contended that identity formation is a lifelong process that becomes particularly salient during adolescence and continues to be important into and through adulthood. The salience of an adolescent's identity is expected to deepen as that adolescent matures into adulthood and experiences clarity about the person he or she is (Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, Beyers, & Vansteenkiste, 2005). Over time, as an adolescent processes the information he/she gathers from significant adults, like teachers, or significant experiences, like influential classes, a clearer identity will form that will be emergent during adolescence and into adulthood. For this reason, the transformative Social Justice class appears to be in line with students' developmental needs. After students leave high school and move into adulthood, much of their identity development is expected to occur in the domain of relationships as adolescents learn to situate themselves inside of a larger global context (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman, 2010). During adolescence, identity development does also occur in the relationship domain, but exploration in this domain becomes more pronounced as individuals make the transition into adult roles, as the roles of friendships, romantic partners, co-workers and other interpersonal connections become more prominent (Arnett, 2004).

Theory suggests (Mezirow, 1978) that students who take a Social Justice class, and a transformative version in particular, are expected to experience growth in their critical reflection, moral development and civic identity. Social Justice class is expected to have the potential to transform adolescents' lives. However, to truly assess whether transformation has occurred, it is important to capture data from students who can reflect back on their experiences years after having taken the class, given that many of the goals of the class are supposed to touch students' lives after the course has concluded.

Background and Explanation of Study Topic

Teaching Pedagogy

Newer models for teaching have been merged from a variety of disciplines (e.g., sociology of education, philosophy, human development, developmental psychology), including models for constructivist, holistic and learner-centered forms of teaching. Critical, feminist theorists like Nel Noddings (1984) and bell hooks (1994) offer perspectives on the importance of fostering caring relationships in classrooms, and how perceptions of gender and inequality around gender affect the quality of education. Other critical theorists like Michele Foucault (1980), Henry Giroux (1985), Paulo Freire (1970), and Cornel West (1999) offer further insights into the presence of values in education, and how unacknowledged values can be used to subvert critical thinking, or conscientization[1], in students. Together, these feminists and critical theorists contribute an important discourse on the role of power, hegemony, and oppression in education.

Developmental psychologists like Carol Gilligan (1993) and Jean Piaget (1977) and identity theorists like Erik Erikson (1966) contribute important developmental perspectives that help denote different educational goals by age. Philosophers like John Dewey (1938), Jurgen Habernas (1984) and Thomas Kuhn (1962) write about the nature of knowledge, which contributes to our understanding of how to alter perspectives and help students change their frame of reference. Additionally, John Dewey (1938) contributes information related to creating a purposeful learning environment. Those who write about motivation, like Maslow (1943), or student engagement, like Kathryn Wentzel (1996), contribute notions related to the most effective ways to motivate students. Wentzel, a more modern researcher on these issues, also focuses on teacher-student interactions, which contributes to our understanding of the important elements of the teacher-student relationship. Last, culturally-sensitive or culturally relevant theorists like Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) contribute to our understanding of the importance of content and offers insights as to how to be more inclusive of marginalized students. Moreover, Ladson-Billings is critical in helping bring pedagogy to the forefront of the conversation on improving education, thereby making pedagogy a central area of investigation in modern research. This list of theorists that have contributed to modern thinking about teaching pedagogy is by no means exhaustive but serves as a brief introduction to the variety of influences on teaching pedagogy. Collectively, these diverse theorists offer a perspective on the varied and complex influences on the science and art of teaching, and highlight significant contributions of scholars within and outside the field of education.

[1] According to Freire (1970), conscientization is a term that means critical consciousness.

According to Giroux (1988), a transformative education begins with the teacher who has a legitimate passion for becoming a transformed intellectual, steadfast in his dedication to the scholarship of daily life. That transformed teacher recognizes the need to constantly develop himself, his ideas and his understanding of the world, and invigorates his/her students with the language of critique. Instead of rote memorization, students and teachers learn to understand, and when necessary, dismantle, hegemonic structures. The educational practices of teachers of this approach reflect these beliefs (e.g. a democratically organized classroom albeit one with a strong leader in the teacher, iterative discussion, collaborative interaction among students, experiential learning exercises, exposure to the consequences of social injustice, co-construction of knowledge between teacher and student, and so forth). Ultimately, the goal of a critical, transformative education is to transform students so that they can one day transform their worlds. This includes disrupting and/or adding to students' frames of reference, in terms of how they make meaning of themselves (e.g. their identity) and make meaning of the world. Opportunities for transformation often can be experienced in a Social Justice class.

Social Justice

Social Justice examines themes such as human dignity, the value of life, the formation of conscience, current social problems, and crises faced by individuals and society. Students are encouraged to reflect critically, and then challenged to act responsibly in their communities and society. Social Justice, particularly in the religious school setting, could be considered a discourse of faith and hope (Stewart, 2008). Such a discourse is intended to recreate students as agents of change, allaying the immobilizing effect of fatalism, and challenging student perceptions that their only option when confronting social problems is adaptation to the world (Rossatto, 2005). Fatalism in schools can manifest in many ways. Among them is the tendency to think of education as limiting and unhelpful, and to think of the problems that exist outside of school as naturally recurring realities without remedy. Current literature suggests a relationship between fatalism and school disengagement, such that through fatalistic attitudes, students learn to be passive and disengaged in schools. Thus, attenuating the fatalism of students is crucial to their development. Doing so could result in students being "more actively and willingly engaged in the educational process and thus hav[ing] incentives for using time effectively" (Rossatto, 2005, p.32), a result which could spill over to other areas of development, such as aspects of identity and beliefs about self and the world. To address this fatalism, Social Justice incorporates the practice of cooperation and solidarity, which Rossatto contends gives strength to the discourse of faith and hope.

Gaps and Questions Guiding the Present Set of Studies

Freire (1970) contends that the purpose of education is to examine the external and internal factors that weigh on students historically. This includes an awareness of the issues within their families, communities, and the world at large. Thus, implemented correctly, Transformative Social Justice (TSJ) should enable students to "transform their reality and liberate themselves from hopeless conditions" (Rossatto, 2005, p. 128). According to the expectations associated with this epistemological stance, such changes are entirely possible but develop over a period of time.

However, given the somewhat lofty goals of TSJ, there is still more to know about its actual effectiveness. Extant research has been primarily conducted with adult subjects, using adult learning theory, despite the prevalent use of this approach on adolescents, especially in Catholic schools. Additionally, many studies have been conducted by researchers using their own students as subjects (Generett & Hicks, 2004; King, 2004; McBrien, 2008). There is a great deal more to learn about the elements of TSJ, particularly from the student viewpoint and using a long term perspective. The three studies in this dissertation address the gaps in the literature in the following ways. Study 1, "*Minds Were Forced Wide Open": Exploring the Phenomenon of High School Transformative Social Justice*, is a preliminary investigation into the ways the class continues to influence students after its ending. It relies on interview data from thirteen former students of the transformative social justice class at St. Mark's, an urban parochial school. Study 2, *Habits of Exemplary Transformative Teachers, as Perceived by Students Transformed by a Social Justice Course* expands on Study 1 by increasing the sample to 20 students and recoding data in order to use the lived experience of students to conceptualize the transformative teaching method as implemented by three former TSJ teachers at St. Mark's High School. Study 3, *The Relationship between Perceived Transformative Class Experiences and Subsequent Moral Identity Development*, is a quantitative study that assesses, one, what aspects of the class were associated with moral identity years later, and two, the role of SES in moderating those relationships. Together, all three studies are intended to determine whether there is sufficient empirical support for the efficacy of transformative classes that seek gains in lifelong learning (e.g. civic identity development, moral identity development, and other forms of transformation).

Study One

"Minds Were Forced Wide Open": Exploring the Phenomenon of High School Transformative Social Justice

Missing from the discussion of transformative pedagogy are the processes and outcomes of this approach when implemented at the adolescent level. Similarly, missing from the discussion of adolescent identity development is the role of transformative teachers as identity agents. The present study uses semi-structured interviews to examine the relationship between teaching practices and adolescent development by examining the lived experiences of 13 former students of a mandatory, high school transformative social justice class (TSJ). Findings suggest that teachers of the students in the present study influence the development of the student in a real and lasting way, including aspects of alumni's civic, personal, and moral identity development. Moreover, results regarding moral identity also link well with the concept of "identity disruption" found in Identity Control Theory (ICT; Kerpelman et al., 1997), suggesting that uncomfortable identity disruptive experiences that adolescents experience through the class help them challenge their perceptions of self . Ultimately, the present study expands understanding on transformative pedagogy for social justice in adolescence, and, particularly, its relationship with identity development.

The present study takes a novel approach to the relationship between teaching practices and adolescent development by examining the lived experiences of former students of a transformative social justice class (TSJ). Identity development research suggests that students who develop a clear and coherent sense of identity are likely to experience greater well-being later in life (Cote, 1996), and that when a sense of purpose is interwoven with a student's developing identity, the long term effects of identity-rich experiences will be even larger (Burrow & Hill, 2011). In a TSJ class, one form of identity that is likely to be affected is moral identity, an anticipated consequence of students' exposure to examples of moral behaviors and individuals (Aquino, McFerran, & Laven, 2011; Blasi, 1984). However, although there is research addressing associations between sense of purpose and identity development (e.g. Cote, 1996; Damon, 2008; Hill, Burrow, O'Dell & Thornton, 2010; Burrow & Hill, 2011), no study to date has provided an example of how teachers and classes can contribute to this sense of purpose and identity. The present study adds to this area of research by pointing to the possibility that secondary school classes which combine transformative practices, processes and goals can influence the development of the student in a real and lasting way, such that alumni of the class, even those many years removed, maintain that the course continues to affect aspects of their identity development—thus demonstrating that when *minds are forced wide open*, the lives of students are changed permanently.

Transformative Social Justice (TSJ)

Teaching students to transform the world is a deliberate, fundamental element of Freirean pedagogy (Freire, 1970), which is a liberatory pedagogy that focuses on the relationship between teacher, student, and society; and transformative (and critical) pedagogues build on the theories of Paulo Freire. TSJ traits include, but are not limited to, the transformation of the students as well as the teacher, emphasis on community, emphasis on critical thinking development, and the goal for students to become social agents in their schools and communities (Generett & Hicks, 2004, p. 187). Theory into transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991) suggests that transformative teaching, when compared to other teaching styles, could be uniquely impactful on the development of students (e.g. moral development, civic identity, critical thinking, and so forth). However, despite this growing field, little has been done to examine the lived experiences of former students from their perspective.

Many different teaching styles exist. Stanberry and Azria-Evans (2001) distinguished three main pedagogical positions of transmission, transaction, and transformation. The transmission style involves transmitting a set of beliefs and facts to the students. It is beneficial in that teachers can impart information quickly and is a style of teaching that is easy to implement and evaluate; it is limited in that it relies heavily on rote memorization, which limits application in real life or other learning contexts, and discourages critical assessment. The transaction style is similar to the transmission

approach in that the teacher is the sole authority in the classroom, but is different in that problem-solving techniques are incorporated. The benefit is that active participation and community within the class is encouraged and, thus, students are more proactive in their education and learn to apply their knowledge in other places and other contexts. The limitation is that, although critical thinking is encouraged, there is no emphasis on the mutual learning of students and their educator.

The transformative style highlights mutual learning (Donnell, 2007), the relationships between teachers and students, and critical analysis of the subject that is rooted in student experiences. Students are encouraged to be agents of change as opposed to passive consumers of information. The goals of the class are generally a reflection of the pedagogical style of the teacher. In addition to the pedagogical positions noted above, teaching pedagogy is often divided into three general camps: teacher-centered, student-centered, and shared centeredness between teacher and student (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Transformative pedagogy, as practiced in the United States, could be considered a merging of student centered and teacher centered education, a hybrid which considers the knowledge and experience of both students and teachers as key to class content.

Limitations and benefits of the transformative approach at the secondary school level are unclear, as research on transformative learning has emphasized the transformation of adult learners. However, three potential benefits of this approach are the support that teachers provide students, the caring relationships developed that can be used to push students toward a more transformative educational experience, and complex learning; all three of which can influence identity formation. This caring interaction in combination with the flow of identity-rich information is consistent with Identity Control Theory ([ICT]; Kerpelman, Pittman, & Lamke, 1997), which stipulates that such processes contribute to identity development over time. Essentially, in the transformative class context, dynamic identity processes takes place in the form of interactions between members of a class which leads to the construction of identity. These benefits associated with this approach are supported by extant research on effective teaching practices. Research has documented the relationship between perceived teacher support/teacher caring, and social and academic outcomes, like higher math/English scores, better grades and more interest and responsibility in school (e.g. Hughes, 2008; O'Conner and McCartney, 2007; Wentzel, 1997; 1998). O'Conner and McCartney (2007) demonstrate that this effect, albeit at younger ages than high school, can be potent enough to partially compensate for other deficiencies, like attributes that would place students at-risk. However, there is presently no agreed upon conception of the most effective teaching practices, as the answer provided will vary according to how research defines effective.

Social Justice, which is the title of the transformative course chosen for the present study, examines themes such as human dignity, the formation of conscience, and current social problems (Stewart, 2008). Such topics link to identity formation as students of the TSJ class learn to form responses about themselves and the world around them as they encounter challenges and new information (Harrell-Levy and Kerpelman, 2010). Students are encouraged to reflect critically, and then challenged to act responsibly in their communities and society. Through cooperative discourse of modern social issues and the varying implications of one's actions on those issues and those issues on society at large, students are imbued with an appreciation of the complexity of societal norms. This discourse is not cynical but optimistic, as students are taught to consider that their contributions to class, to their community, and to the world "allow us [all] to invent new pedagogical possibilities" (Rossatto, 2005; p.21).

Many Social Justice courses include a service learning component, often defined as an approach to teaching and learning that actively engages students in community service which is directly connected to academic course content and well integrated with the subject matter of the class. Service-learning engages students in the needs of their communities and helps students formulate new ideas about themselves, service, and their contributions to their community (Jacoby, 1996). Outcomes associated with service learning are expected to fall in two categories, cognitive (e.g. critical thinking) and affective (e.g. change in personal values) (Gelmon, et al., 2001). A positive service learning experience is expected to include personal reflection, critical thinking, personal growth, opportunities to demonstrate that growth, and frequent self-assessments (Burns, 1998).

Below, there is a brief introduction to the adolescent developmental context, and then a discussion on previous research on Social Justice (and service learning, which, in the case of the class chosen for the present study, is a key component of TSJ) and transformative pedagogy. Additionally, connections are drawn between transformative pedagogy and adolescent identity development.

Adolescent Identity Development in the Classroom Context

During high school, adolescents learn to answer the question "who am I." Although all high school adolescents, even the most well-adjusted, are expected to experience some role identity diffusion, during this period logical-abstract rationality becomes more refined and mature time perspective is developed (Erikson, 1977; Piaget, 1970). Thus, most high school adolescents are able to critically reflect on issues presented in class in a way that can have lasting implications for their development. To utilize this critical thinking for the purpose of identity development, adolescents need to acquire additional information and be guided through abstract concepts with conceptually oriented dialogue (Erikson; Piaget). Moreover, as adolescents seek to resolve this identity diffusion, it is important that they experiment

with more constructive roles (as opposed to delinquent or negative ones), seek leadership through inspirational others, and begin to develop a set of ideals that will likely be socially desirable and consistent with their cultural context (Erikson; Reimer & Wade-Stein, 2004). These developmental demands point to the potential impact good teaching can make in a student's life (Reimer & Wade-Stein), as well as the potential devastating effects of ineffective or poor quality teaching.

The significance of what TSJ teachers do is particularly evident through the lens of identity control theory (ICT; Kerpelman, Pittman & Lamke, 1997, which is a microprocess perspective on identity development and contends that identity development over time is a byproduct of the day-to-day interactions between adolescents and significant others. According to identity control theory (Kerpelman et al., 1997)), adolescents construct and reconstruct who they are within a process-oriented context for learning which leads to the formation of identity. ICT considers identity standards (one's self-definitions), self- perceptions (how one thinks one is being or being seen by others), and the comparison of self-perceptions and identity standards as basic components of the intrapersonal dimension of the identity microprocess. The social behaviors that are demonstrated when an interaction is taking place and the feedback that is provided by the social partner to the identity constructing individual are the elements of the interpersonal dimension (Kerpelman et al). According to ICT, it is expected that when contact with another person is common and material, that identity change is likely. In high school, teachers have regular contact with students. By way of this contact, teachers construct an environment that conveys values as well as feedback on how well students meet those values. Such feedback, both intentional and unintentional, helps shape adolescent identity (Harrell-Levy and Kerpelman, 2010). Such feedback, when negative or contrary to an adolescent's identity standards, could lead to "identity disruption." When this happens, the adolescent experiences a sense of "discomfort" that must be addressed either by finding ways to reject the feedback or to incorporate it in a way that revises the identity standards. This is why forms of identity, like moral identity, could be a consequence of a TSJ class. Moral identity, in particular, could contribute to a student's susceptibility to the moral lessons learned in class, but could also be a consequence of such a class, particularly for adolescent learners.

Empirical Research on Social Justice and Transformative Learning

Studies on transformative pedagogy have been largely exploratory, with a limited emphasis on context and even more limited consideration of the long term outcomes of students who have been taught under this approach. Moreover, a great deal of the research has been done on adult learners, omitting any focus on adolescence and young adulthood. Finally, much of this research has been conducted by college professors assessing their own students. Very few studies have looked at how processes in schools affect students after the course has concluded.

Transformative Pedagogy

Qualitative studies have been conducted about different aspects of transformative pedagogy. For example, Kolb's (1984) work suggests that bringing the lived experience of students into the classroom is made richer when the teacher is able to introduce meaningful content that causes them to reflect on and challenge their own assumptions. The research of Nagda et al. (2003) expounds on this point, noting that a transformative pedagogy for Social Justice would likely include such teaching tools as discussions, journals, activities, simulations, case studies and videos; and that, when these tools are "coupled with knowledge content—lectures, readings and other conceptual input—students can develop a more abstract understanding of social life, and that understanding can be tested outside the classroom and in new situations" (p.169).

Studies of older students have found similar results. McBrien (2008) examined transformative learning through her college students' field experiences that included 12 hours of teaching refugees or immigrants and found that students brought unrealistic expectations, were surprised by the motivation of the students, appreciated the relationship of the field work to course content, and expressed the desire to continue volunteering (p. 276). In addition, students perceived they had a transformative experience because of the joyful and painful connections they forged. Although the results are promising, the benefits to students that were identified were immediate, and there was no indication as to whether the impact found would be sustained over time.

Generett and Hicks (2004) conducted a qualitative study with the goal of learning whether teachers in a teacher education program took an anti-oppressive stance in their work. Specifically, they sought to explore whether their students were "able to reframe their classroom practice and school environment – in a holistic matter – so as to meet the needs of their student learners" (p.191). Inspired by the writings of critical theorist Cornel West (1997), they take Cornel West's formulation of "audacious hope" to be a challenge to teachers to "take action when there is little evidence that doing so will produce a positive outcome, (p.192)" which, Generett and Hicks believe is a stance that produces "the best possibility for transforming the experience of teaching and learning in schools" (p.192). Overall, results revealed that the curriculum was good at helping students perceive the merits and possibilities of a transformative approach, but unsuccessful at preparing them to sustain their own transformation over an extended period of time, particularly when confronted with acts of oppression in their schools. This result suggests that though transformative classes are positive, the impact over time may be limited.

Aforementioned extant literature has described some of the benefits of the transformative approach, including benefits to the development of students. However, what we can learn from these studies is limited in that the bulk of

extant research into the transformative method have been conducted by professors reviewing the benefits of the class for their own students, have focused on adult learners, and have failed to take a long term perspective. The last two concerns in particular create significant gaps in the literature, as adolescence is a particularly ripe time period for the cognitive challenges of a transformative class, particularly because a higher level of thinking emerges rapidly throughout adolescence. When teacher-student contact is consistent and enriching, the likelihood that those interactions will include influential feedback about adolescents' identity is strengthened. Thus, it is particularly important to examine the impact on adolescents who take transformative classes, as adolescents encounter these issues at a time in their lives when they are able to critically engage, are forming attitudes and perspectives that will likely stay with them for the rest of their lives, and have few competing responsibilities and demands on their time which frees them intellectually to explore these issues. In other words, the impact of TSJ class on high school students is potentially greater than what would be expected for adult learners.

Social Justice, Service Learning, and Identity Development

Extant research has indicated a relationship between the classroom context and adolescent identity exploration (e.g. (Hall & Brassard, 2008; Tabak & Baumgartner, 2004; Thomas, 2007), suggesting that differing perspectives challenge students to think differently about themselves in relationship to the issues discussed in class. ICT speaks to this when it refers to daily disruptions that lead to changes in identity (Kerpelman et al., 2007). In a transformative social justice class that includes a service learning component, identity gets informed in many ways. Critical discourse about the service experience, as well as participating in the service experience itself, for instance, could become comfortable for adolescent learners at one point in time, but, subsequently, disruptive at another point in time. This disruption is beneficial in that it provides adolescents with an opportunity to more carefully consider and potentially reconstruct their sense of who they are.

Although no studies to date have examined the relationship between transformative teaching and adolescent identity formation, Berman, Kennerley, and Kennerley (2008) conducted an identity intervention program at the university level. They applied transformative pedagogy to undergraduate students, with identity as the outcome variable. Self-report measures revealed an increase in identity exploration and a decrease in identity distress over the course of the semester, thus indicating that a transformative approach to teaching can affect identity outcomes.

At the high school level, there have been some indirect efforts to examine the relationship between aspects of identity and transformative practices. James Youniss and Amanda Yates have come together in several studies focusing on Catholic high school students to document the theoretical and empirical relationship between courses like Social

Justice that include a service-learning component and positive citizenship from adolescence to adulthood (e.g. Youniss & Yates, 1997; Yates & Youniss, 1999; also see Youniss, Bales, & Christmas-Best, 2002). While they were not focused on the transformative approach utilized by the teacher (their work was on a service learning class) they do hint at aspects of the class that would be considered transformative. Through such research and other such studies, researchers have been able to conclude that "engaging youth in civic activities is the most effective way to promote civic identity formation and subsequent identity formation in adulthood" (Zaff, Malanchuk & Eccles, 2008). Such results are consistent with Transformative learning Theory (TLT; Mezirow, 1991). According to Mezirow, changes in attitude and behavior occur through field experience (i.e. service learning), critical reflection, and critical discourse.

Catholic schools, generally, bring a service-learning model of education vis-à-vis the development of Social Justice (Stewart, 2008). Social Justice is offered in many catholic high schools but is not in all catholic high schools, is not always mandatory in the schools in which it is offered, and it varies in the credits allotted to it. Youniss and Yates (1997) conducted a series of studies on a sample of parochial high school adolescents, in order to examine the relationship between a service learning Social Justice course and subsequent social responsibility and civic identity. Data were collected from students during the time they took the course, or immediately after, and was collected from questionnaires (completed at the beginning of the school year and at the end of the school year), discussion groups (held after students had completed quarterly visits to a soup kitchen, which was part of the service learning requirement of the course), student essays submitted as part of the course, and participant observation in the classroom and at one of the service-learning sites. Additionally, data also were collected from alumni years after the conclusion of the course, via an essay question that was mailed to participants and returned by mail.

Results demonstrated convincingly the clear and immediate impact of the course on adolescent civic, moral and social identity. Youniss and Yates attribute this effect primarily to the service learning portion of the class; however, interpretation of these results is limited in that there was not a focused consideration on the role of teaching style or teacher characteristics. Data collected from alumni also reflected a positive relationship between perceptions of the class and influence on present-day lives. Youniss and Yates reported seven themes that resulted from their analysis of the essays, the first three of which are listed here: 1) students awakened to problems in society, 2) the course and its service component brought them exposure to people different from themselves, and 3) the course conveyed responsibility to help the less fortunate.

The results from Youniss and Yates are compelling and convincing. However, there are some limitations to the data received from the essay response questions sent to alumni. Kvale (2008) contends that quality qualitative products

necessitate extended time in the milieu of the individuals in the study. One perspective is that qualitative researchers are intended to be the instruments of research. Essay format, while a viable qualitative option, does have limitations because it does not allow for follow-up questions or interaction between the researcher and co-researchers (participants) that could enrich interpretations of data. Thus, a mail format essay question could be considered an "extended answer survey question" as opposed to qualitative research. Chat interviews or computer assisted interviewing would be preferred, for instance, because they are more synchronous in time. Although the researcher and co-researchers are not in the same place together, there is a bodily presence that allows access to nonlinguistic gesture and is synchronous, in real time. Four specific concerns regarding the mail format essay questions devised for Youniss and Yates (1997) are that 1) participants were sent a question that was devised by the teacher of the course and, therefore, may have felt compelled to respond positively, 2) there was a time delay that allowed participants to construct an answer even if one was not immediately evident, 3) the essay question was worded as if an impact was expected and, thus, respondents were not freely associating but instead, were likely thinking along the line of thought that was suggested by the question, and 4) the question does attempt to assess the general impact of the course but fails to make a distinction between the potential sources of that impact (it appears, at times, that the service learning portion of the class as the most impactful part of the course is a foregone conclusion).

Ultimately, however, the work of Youniss and Yates (1997) is particularly important and illuminating to the present study, as it underscores the perceived immediate impact of Social Justice class (and its accompanying service learning experiences) on students' perspectives while still in high school. In a TSJ class, service learning can be particularly impactful because the entire course is dedicated to the exploration of these social issues. What is left to learn, then, is whether a similar impact can be ascertained after a period of time; and, if so, what aspects of the course contribute to it.

Summary and goals of the current study. Social Justice content and transformative-critical pedagogy may come together to create a galvanizing learning experience and, subsequently, contribute meaningfully to identity development. When Social Justice is taught with a transformative approach, the dialogic pedagogy that is described by Freire and other critical pedagogues is bolstered by rich historical, sociological and psychological content. The obstacles to the class that exist (e.g. a cultural preference for transmissional pedagogies, deterrents within the school like low resources or large classrooms sizes, the large demands placed on transformative teachers, and so forth) are daunting, but also offer a compelling reason to examine exemplary uses of the transformative approach. Thus, the present study utilizes alumni's thoughtful recollections of the class experience to explore the lived experience of TSJ in an urban,

parochial school. The data are rich and immense; emergent themes for the present study were reduced to recurring experience that relate to the research interest of what the class meant to students, sources of impact, and forms of the class's perceived impact on present-day life. TSJ's association with identity development generally, and with moral identity development more specifically is also examined.

Method

The present study used semi-structured interviews to examine students' beliefs about the merit of the TSJ course, as well as any links that former students of the class can make between the class and their present day lives. Phenomenological methodology was utilized, such that a select group of former students detailed their experience of the phenomena in their own words. Given the lack of literature in this area, the phenomenological approach is intended to contribute to the generation of new theory, as opposed to testing existing theory.

Participants.

Thirteen former students of a mandatory, junior year Social justice class were interviewed (see Table 1). Creswell (1998) prescribed a wide range of participants in qualitative studies (1 to 325), adding that smaller sample sizes are more manageable. For a phenomenological study, Creswell recommends that approximately10 participants would be appropriate. St. Mark's High School is a primarily Black parochial school situated in an urban setting; however, eight of the thirteen participants self-identify as urban students, and ten of the thirteen identify as black. The other three are of mixed race. Participants spanned different class years: 1995(1), 1997 (2), 1998 (2), 2000 (3), 2006 (2), 2007 (2), and 2009 (1) (See Table 1). All were graduates of St. Mark's and former students of two layperson teachers (nonordained members of the Catholic Church) who were chosen because of their transformative pedagogical style (as corroborated by interviews with former colleagues). The teachers were chosen because of the media and empirical attention given to the two teachers of the students included in this study. Mr. James was a white male and former Vietnam veteran who created and first taught the course, and died unexpectedly in 1996; and Ms. Kellogg is a white female who was trained in his pedagogical style, worked alongside Mr. James, fully implemented his curriculum, and spearheaded the course after Mr. James' passing. Both teachers had extensive experience working in service positions in non-profit settings. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of participants.

[Insert Table one about here]

Procedure

Purposeful, convenience sampling was used, as former students of the class were recruited through intermediaries and a social networking site, *Facebook*, which yielded a large pool of potential participants, exceeding 400.

Based on information provided on *Facebook* (high school and graduation information), students were approached through email to request their participation in the study. Students were selected because they represented a range of years, and were students of the two transformative teachers identified prior to completing interviews. Although generalizeability is not a goal in the present study, as a naturalistic paradigm is employed, participants are not expected to differ from those who did not volunteer or could not be contacted. Sixteen students were approached. Of that 16, only one declined to participate but noted that the experience of the class was a positive one. The decision not to include the other two was based either on logistical reasons or saturation was reached without them.

The data were collected from thirteen in-depth interviews (one with each participant) using a semistructured interview format, which took approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. Eight interviews were conducted online, via *skype* or *gmail* video chat, and the other five were conducted in-person. Interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were made available to participants upon request. The interview protocol was designed by the author and the instrument was pilot tested with 2 students that have taken Social Justice but were not included in the present study.

Atlas.ti, the qualitative software analysis program that can help code transcripts, was used for coding. The unit of analysis for coding was a complete thought. Consistent with phenomenological methods (Creswell, 1998), findings are presented at three levels of specificity, including descriptive analysis, thematic analysis, and interpretive analysis of underlying models. Descriptive analysis summarizes the range of responses (see Results), thematic analysis summarizes emergent themes (see Results), and interpretative analysis provides an interpretation of the results (see Discussion).

Materials

An interview protocol was developed, however use of the protocol did not preclude further questions being asked. Discussion includes questions from the following main sections:

(1) *Perceptions of Class Content*: This section probed the participants' recall and perceptions of class content (including curricula, structure, and specific lessons)

(2) *Perceptions of Teacher*: This section probed the participants' past and present perceptions of the teacher (including their regard for the teacher)

(3) *Perceptions of Teaching Style:* This section probed the participants' perceptions of the teaching style (including demeanor, types of materials used, forms of instruction, energy level and other relevant observations)

(4) *Personal Information*: This section probed the participants' personal history (including biographical

information, relationship with the class, educational background, personal knowledge of the teacher, and so forth).

(5) *Perception of Social Justice's Impact on Participants' Lives*: This section probed the participants' perceptions of the class's impact on their present-day lives (including whether they discuss Social Justice content or issues, if they still recall class content, and whether any aspects of the class are consciously infused into their present-day lives). Identity development (including, in particular, moral identity development) and civic development emerged as early themes, and questions related to these domains were posed consistently throughout data collection.

Coding

Consistent with the phenomenological approach, the research data (comprised of recordings and the transcriptions) were approached with complete openness to emergent themes and their meanings. At the initial stage of coding, coding was completed for each completed thought (e.g. a word, a sentence, a paragraph). For example, "[Mr. James] was very passionate," was coded "teacher is passionate" in order to capture the intended meaning of the speaker. If the participant was in the process of making a larger point, then the entire quotation was retained, even if it was a paragraph long. For this reason, several quotations received multiple codes. This process generated 170 codes. These codes were subsumed into eleven broader codes. For instance, codes titled "teacher is passionate" and "teacher is philosophical" were subsumed into a category called "teacher characteristics." Although this reduction from 170 to 11 appears large, several of the original codes were descriptors of the class experience or teacher, and subsuming them was straightforward. For instance, "teacher is passionate" was one of 14 codes that described the teacher and, thus, was easily subsumed into "teacher characteristics."

Bracketing and phenomenological reduction involved listening to the recordings, reading and re-reading transcripts while suspending personal experiences and judgments, and then extracting significant statements or phrases, which were those statements relevant to the phenomenon. Several of the original 170 codes related to themes that fell beyond the scope of this investigation and were subsequently excluded. The majority of codes excluded from the present analysis related to participants' personal biographies, questions asked by the researcher, and participants' more detailed descriptions of the teaching methods. Each statement extracted for the present study related to the study of TSJ and held equal value in the material analysis. The categories for the present study were reduced to recurring experience that relate to the research interest of transformative pedagogy, it's relationship with Social Justice, and the class's perceived impact on present-day life. The overall categories (which include the eleven codes retained) were: what the class meant

to students, sources of impact, and forms of impact. We present this data as a phenomenological study that will help generate a theory of the lived experience of transformative pedagogy and how alumni integrate the products of the course into their lives after their tenure in the course has concluded.

Credibility and Trustworthiness

A pilot study was conducted with 2 participants. After the pilot study, the same two participants participated in member checking. At every stage of the process, there was peer conferencing, during which the lead researcher shared developing work with informed others. Inter-rater reliability was used to check coding during the pilot stage. (Specifically, two former students of Social Justice, neither of which were included in the present study and neither of which were students of teachers in the present study, were briefed on the goals of the study and asked to code the same two transcripts that the lead researcher coded during the pilot stage of the study. Comparisons were made to determine at what points researchers agreed and differed.)

To corroborate results, an interview with one of the teachers of the students in the current study and curriculum materials that spanned several years of the course were consulted (including a binder/text from 1993, 1999, 2004, and 2005, a complementary text on Catholic Social Teaching, and a unit outline for the 2006 school year). Also reviewed were several published articles about the class and its teachers, a written tribute for the teacher that was authored by former students at the end of a school year which includes quotations pertaining to their immediate perception of impact, and an unstructured interview conducted with a former principal of the school and colleague of both Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James Finally, professional videographers recorded a "60th birthday celebration" organized to honor the memory of Mr. James and introduce the audience to an upcoming film about his impact on the school, which was attended by several of Mr. James' former students and colleagues. These materials were used to provide context on the class, the teachers, and the school, as well as to investigate possible inconsistencies between participant accounts and information gleaned from these other sources. No inconsistencies were found.

Additional steps were taken to ensure that participants' responses were not coerced: First, prior to the interview, participants were not informed about the pedagogical orientation of the researchers or the perceived pedagogical orientation of the teachers in the study. Instead they were notified simply that this was a study into the phenomenon of Social Justice, and their participation was requested because they were former students of the course. Second, efforts were made to solicit negative feedback about the course in addition to positive. Third, efforts were made to identify the negative case, a respondent whose experience of the course would differ from the other responses. *(Note.* Although several attempts were made, this person was not found.) Fourth and finally, the interviewer avoided use of the

word *transformation* until the very end of the interview, unless the respondent used the word or a close synonym prior to that point.

Positioning Myself in the Research

I have been both a student and teacher of Social Justice. More specifically, I have worked alongside one of the teachers included in this study as a colleague and student. My interest in this study is not to provide a systematic analysis of critical or transformative pedagogy, or to prove or disprove the merit of Freirean ideals; but, instead, to investigate an underresearched teaching style and class, and to capture the phenomenon from the perspective of students looking back on the experience. My epistemological stance may have affected question formation (e.g.. my knowledge of the curriculum helped me formulate questions that might prompt participant recall), data gathering (e.g., my position as former student of the class was used to put people at ease when soliciting interviews), and data analysis (e.g. many of the participants shared experiences that were similar to mine, which made it easier to extract meaning; conversely, because of this shared experience, when bracketing, I had to listen to recordings several times and take detailed notes on my presuppositions).

Initially I approached this study as both a consumer and a critic of this teaching approach and my exploration into TSJ began, in a way, as an effort to better understand my own identity construction in relationship to this class. I am a staunch advocate for students, particularly those considered at-risk, and I began with a belief that this course could be beneficial for students' long term development. Although this was my assumption, I caution that I was also critical of the class, both as its student and as its teacher, and this study served not to resolve the tension within, but to satisfy my own curiosity about the experiences of others. When interpreting the results, it became evident that the participants maintained that the TSJ experience was wholly positive, which, though similar to my experience, diverged from my expectations, as the stream of skepticism that has long been a part of my way of thinking about the class was not evident in the data. Thus, the process of bracketing was important, as it became my goal to capture the lived experience of the students with little interference from my own background and beliefs.

Results

Former students spoke a great deal on a variety of topics. There were three overall themes, each comprised of meaningful subthemes: what the class meant to students, three sources of impact, and five forms of impact. Exemplar quotes are provided for each theme.

Theme 1. What the Overall TSJ Experience Meant to Students

TSJ was paramount in the lives of students when it was taken, and it continues to be relevant today. Overall,

the impact of the overall TSJ experience, as perceived by the respondents in this study, is best seen in the way alumni still revisit the issues, values and memories years after the course's ending. This theme highlights some of these special memories and refers to students' reactions to an array of experiences, including teacher characteristics as well as class structure and content.

Several of the participants presented themselves as former lost, naive students. A lot of the students felt lost when in high school, but perceived that through TSJ, and the teacher's personal investment in them and in the class, in particular, they were found; both figuratively, as in the case of Flower (e.g. "She showed us through loving ourselves we can love others. It's hard to really describe how she moved us, in words") or, literally, as in the case with Romeo, who ran away from home and was later found by Mr. James. Almost all participants retained a memory in which the teacher said or did something to leave an indelible mark. Bird noted a special memory, during which Mr. James stopped him in a hallway. Romeo recalled several memories, including a personal moment shared with Mr. James in his car:

> Funny, I just told someone about this moment. I was outside one day after school. Kinda upset...he sees me and asks me what's wrong. We go in his car to talk and while we were talking, I'm hearing this song play over and over. Very sad song. I asked him what it was. He said it was Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata. And he says, "You know...doesn't surprise you like it...it's a sad song." And after he finishes giving me advice he popped the tape out and gave it to me to have.

Alumni not only recall memories of special moments with the teachers; they recall topics and lessons as well. In terms of course content, both Jenna and Lisa noted that they often use the information gleaned in the course to educate others. According to Lisa, "It was personally enlightening, I felt the information that she gave us were things that without that class, I would have never known. I always find myself educating others from the information I received from her." When asked if she still thinks about the class today, Lisa responded, "Yes, I do....I mean there are always 'better ways' to do things. I did not agree with everything Ms. Kellogg said, but I felt that the message the class gave, the purpose of the class was fulfilled." Bird, an elementary school administrator, noted that he uses lessons learned in the class at his current school. Survivor still discusses issues she was introduced to in the class and even "wish(es) [her class] could still get together and have meetings on the issues, or do things together in the community." Donna explained that the course continues to influence her interpretation of current social issues, and that she still uses her Social Justice binder (the main text for the course) to demonstrate her points, including bringing the text of the course into her workplace. She still revisits the material she read and discussed as a student over a decade ago, and is still challenged by

that material, and its lessons, today. One of the stories Donna conjured up represented one of the more sober points in her interview. She recalled before the interviewer a story that has continued to stick with her:

> The story that always stuck with me, as simple as it may be, was about Mr. James and the homeless guy who tossed soup on him. For me it was a reminder that I can't be arrogant or force an ideal on someone. I have to meet a person at his/her need/want, assuming it won't hurt him/her, before I can be of any assistance. The onion story essentially left me feeling or wanting to give my best blessing to another because I am blessed.

It is important to note how well students hold onto memories of the class, and specific life-changing moments in it. Columbia noted that, to this day, she still "revisits" certain class experiences, including her soup kitchen experience and "a bigger world of injustices that [she] didn't know about, such as poverty in different contexts, poverty of the spirit as well as financial poverty, [and] political injustice." Columbia also noted that she still maintains certain practices that were developed during the class, like "paying attention to non-mainstream news sources" and "participat[ing] in the growth of her community." During the course of the interview, Columbia was able to draw on memories from the class that she had not considered for some time, including a soup kitchen experience:

> I'm remembering now that I wrote about my experience of giving out bananas—how some people wanted yellow ones, others wanted spotted ones because those were the sweetest. That stuff is so human and it can't be made up. Those experiences helped me remember the humanity in everyone.

To begin to get a sense of whether these positive ruminations on TSJ from former students were simply byproducts of the tendency to think favorably of the past, seven of the thirteen participants were asked to compare TSJ to other powerful courses they have taken. Of the seven, four could not identify any courses that were as impactful or even nearly as impactful as Social Justice, and were thus unable to make a comparison. One example of this is provided by Jenna, who was able to identify another good class, but did not feel comfortable describing it as impactful:

> Even in college? I would have to say "no." [pause]. On a moral standpoint, I've taken a lot of very interesting classes. Like one of my favorite courses in college was a Third World History class and it basically laid out the dynamics as to why the third world even exists. That was a very interesting class. It was more informative than actually impactful on my life today, personally. It was great to know, to find out that knowledge, but in terms of my life and how it affects me, I would have to say Social Justice is the best class in terms of impact on my life.

Of the remaining three, two were able to make a comparison between Social Justice and another class, but contended that the impact that Social Justice provided was unique and stood alone (e.g. Columbia reported the following: "I have taken some great classes, but Social Justice was unique because I think it was my first 'face to face' experience with some

of these issues. I would have to say that this course was uniquely powerful and I can't draw clear comparison with another course.") The last of the seven, Queen, was able to recall another impactful course, a writing class, and concluded that this class, because it was fresher in her memory and related more to her current profession, was more impactful on her life today than TSJ. However, she did make an important distinction between forms of impact, noting that the writing class is more useful to her career, but the Social Justice class has been more impactful in terms of her "becoming a better person." See below:

> *Interviewer*: Can you think of another class, another powerful class you've had in your life, other than Social Justice?
>
> *Queen*: Hmm, [pause]. Yes, a writing class that I took at ----- when getting my master's. Uhm, a lot of people don't like to write, and so, this teacher was passionate about writing and I just remember learning a whole lot about writing workshops…and put that in my classroom. I just really, really liked that class. And I remember we read a book that they just made a movie out of *Precious*. So we read that book before a movie was even out…..I took that class a year and a half ago. Less than 2 years. At most 2 and a half.
>
> *Interviewer*: So it's safe to say it's fresher in your memory?
>
> *Queen*: For sure. I think we took Social Justice in eleventh grade, and a lot has happened since then, so [smile]…
>
> *Interviewer*: Are [the classes] similar in the impact they've had on your life?
>
> *Queen*: No, I don't think so. I use my writing class more because I need it for my career... I need to know how I can teach these children to become better writers. And about the writing process, and teach them, or, rather, influence them to love writing. It's more useful to what I'm doing. As far as being a better person as a whole, then Social Justice class would come into play….

Overall, respondents spoke a great deal about what TSJ meant and continues to mean to them, as indicated by the quotations in this section. In the following section, participants identify the aspects of the class that contributed to this impact in their lives.

Theme 2. Three Sources of Impact—

Prior to being asked, most alumni noted that they felt impacted by the class. When challenged to identify the more impactful parts of the course, answers varied. Andrea identified concepts like "service," "looking for another way to solve things" and "love for another," and out-of-class Social Justice related activities like "projects" and "walks." Flower noted that the "soup kitchen portion of the class impacted [her] the most because [she] was able to see the many

different faces of poverty" but then continued with the in-class portion of the class, contending that "[the soup kitchen experience] allowed [her] to give to the less fortunate and feel good about it inside and then the ability to write about [her] experience and share it with [her] class made it more profound!" Jenna stated confidently that the "teacher was the biggest impact, and explained further that "Yeah, you can go out and volunteer at the soup kitchen, but you have to understand *why* you are volunteering at the soup kitchen." She explained that the teacher was passionate and hands on with her point of view, which enriched what she learned from her service experience. A resounding sentiment from all the participants was that the teacher's methods made the class impactful, and a different teacher would likely have made for a disappointing TSJ class experience. Veneration of the methods employed by the teachers in the study was consistent. Henny states the case in the following way:

> "[Mr. James] was weird upon first meeting him. He was strange and confusing….He made you think of how little you actually thought about other people….You began to understand every act that he did was to teach you a lesson. He would scrape gum from under a desk, put it in his mouth and start to chew it. You would look on in disbelief, however from that point on he had your undivided attention. He made you want to go out and give away everything you have in your pocket or to volunteer anywhere you can to help the less fortunate. He wasn't strange, he was profound, he was inspiring, he was motivational!

All but one of the participants described in some detail the passion and creativity of the TSJ teachers. Thus, teacher factors were an important part of an impactful experience. Moreover, as can be seen in the aforementioned quotations from Jenna, Flower, Andrea, and others like it, it was evident from all the interviews that students perceived the service learning component of the class, teacher factors, class factors, and the taut relationship between the three to be sources of impact. Further analysis was conducted to ascertain how those factors act as sources of impact. Ultimately, analysis of text revealed three major subthemes related to alumni's perceptions of the sources of impact: intense critical thinking, discomfort, and emotional engagement.

Source 1: *Intense critical thinking*— Alumni remarked that the class was not facile by any means. Not only did four participants point to the demandingness of the teachers (in terms of expectation and workload), but an outstanding theme that was shared by every participant was the cognitive dissonance that was experienced as students were pushed to critically examine many issues. Columbia recalled that Mr. James would bring a variety of cultural and political references into his class (e.g. "'the evils of Nike' and its production methods" because many of the students were "fans of the company;" a classroom conversation about how [Mr. James] had not "eaten grapes in many years due to the plight of migrant workers;" and "challenging the fact that Coolio's song, *Gangsta's Paradise*, was original by playing Stevie

Wonder's "Past Time Paradise" in class) in order to push critical thinking. According to Columbia, the consequence of these innovative methods was that "students were challenged to speak up and think twice about many things." Lareese, a student of Mr. James, explained that "he just wanted us to see the other side." She contended that this effort on Mr. James' part was particularly successful because "we only know what we are exposed to, and he showed a side some of us would've never knew. [Students] could debate opinions and views...he would just give [students] his own...wanted [students] to see the other side before forming an opinion."

Donna, a former student of Ms. Kellogg, expressed the same sentiment: "By the end of class most were forced to challenge his or her thoughts, perceptions, or beliefs." Similarly, Survivor observed that Ms. Kellogg placed an emphasis on deconstructing social problems down to the level of the individual. According to Survivor, "[Ms. Kellogg] emphasized that everyone has a story to tell and that there is more than one angle to look at things." When describing Ms. Kellogg's teaching style, Poet echoes this sentiment about the importance of critical thinking, noting that after opening up discussion, the teacher "would then find something about the topic that no one had brought up, but one with such profundity to make everyone shut up and think." Jenna provides a detailed example as to how this critical thinking process manifests in the course:

> *Jenna*: I think in general, people have certain opinions and perspectives about homeless people. The class educated us on exactly what it's about, in terms of how many people are mentally ill and how sometimes it's not their fault. Like, that particular fate or the reason why they are in that situation is not their fault. For instance, [their fate may be] due to mental illness. And I think the average person who may not understand the relevance of mental illness and how a person who is living on the street under those conditions may not be there as a choice…and it's not because they are failures at life. I definitely think the class has helped us understand homelessness and basically to show a little more compassion to people in that situation.
>
> *Interviewer*: What happens in class if you disagree?
>
> *Jenna*: She would argue you down pretty much. She would definitely argue you down. And she would also help your critical thinking process. Meaning, if you were to say, "I think that if someone kills a family, I think that they should be on capital punishment," Ms. Kellogg would come back to you and say something like, "Well how do we teach members of society that killing is wrong when we are killing?" She would come back and say that. So that would help you think, 'Okay, so perhaps that person should not be on capital punishment just because they kill." She helps the process. So that even if you don't agree, she is still

stimulating the critical thinking process. And, you know, sometimes maybe the student may be right. But at least she gave you that opportunity to think objectively and think outside the box."

Source 2: *Discomfort*—According to alumni, the TSJ experience was not just illuminating, it was uncomfortable. This discomfort was a feature of the *in-class portion* (e.g. exploring touchy issues, open debate on a number of controversial topics, learning about the intimate experiences of peers, sharing intimate experiences with peers, emotionally charged guest talks about personal experience with hardship, challenging teaching style that could mean being bombarded with difficult questions from the teacher and/or peers, constant re-appraisal of personal values, and course material that is directly related to personal experience), the *out-of-class service-learning portion* (e.g. personal encounters with people who are different and, perhaps even, eerie), and the *cognitive dissonance* mentioned in a previous section that is amplified by the combination of both portions.

Donna captured the role of discomfort in the in-class portion of TSJ, and advocated also for its use in impacting students, believing that "A lot of people need to be disturbed or snatched out of their comfort zone." Donna's impressions were that, "By the end of class most were forced to challenge his or her thoughts, perceptions, or beliefs." Also discussing the impact of the in-class portion of the class, Poet observed the potential for such intimate, emotional, and competitive dialogue at making students uncomfortable, observing that "the potential for arguments to hit someone close to home or for someone's feelings to be hurt because someone didn't think before they spoke," but added that "the latter didn't happen all too often." Despite this risk, Poet surmised that discomfort was a useful teaching tool. This discomfort was a point also noted by Jenna, who also cautioned that a person who had just experienced an abortion might not be comfortable in the class because of the graphic and candid nature of the discussion and teaching tools. Overall, despite this level of discomfort, which was a prevailing theme in eleven of the thirteen interviews, participants understood its importance, and perceived that the emotional experiences that followed were particularly important for an impactful experience. Poet contended that the subject matter was not too heavy; "It wasn't some horror story of something in the distant future…. The part that brought it all to a head was that all of the things we talked about were current and visceral."

The contention that the emotion produced was a good attribute of the class was a point echoed by Lareese, who observed that the emotion of the class was a positive attribute because 'It showed that she was getting through, at least to me."

Source 3: *Emotional Engagement*— There appears to be a relationship between the discomfort experienced in TSJ class and the level of emotionality of its students. All but one of the participants expressed that the class was an

emotional experience. Poet mentioned two moments in the class that were emotional for her, and both followed moments of discomfort in the class. In one example, she expressed that one multimedia resource that the teacher used, a film about a man on death row, was particularly shocking and upsetting to her. In another, she noted a unit of the curriculum devoted to domestic violence, and an article from the *Washington Post* that students were assigned to read.

> *Poet*: I guess I felt some affinity with the cellmate, I can't remember his name. In any case I know I felt very strongly about the death penalty. I still don't believe it's right. I guess you could call it compassion. At the time I was frightfully empathetic. If I were to see someone crying, I would probably break down too.
>
> *Interviewer*: Okay. Were there other emotional moments in the class for you?
>
> *Poet*: Shocking for sure. The domestic violence one definitely threw me for a while. I remember reading this story that was in the *Washington Post* about a girl whose father killed her, and 911 wouldn't send help because she didn't know if he had a gun, which he did. Stories like that would make me feel very heavy. Just very upset with the general trajectory of the story and charged with the task of making it different.

Somewhat similar to Poet's empathetic responses to the stories shared in class, Andrea noted that the connection that she could make between other people's suffering and her own experiences with suffering deepened the impact of the course and led to many emotional experiences:

> The class was sometimes emotional because we were able to picture us or family members or friends in the shoes of others who was suffering or went through something very difficult. We were able to capture the meaning of the many different situations. Especially when we watched a documentary of families living poor and Mother Teresa in Calcutta…. A lot of tears were shed in the classroom [and] a lot of minds were forced wide open.

Like Andrea, Flower was also able to connect class content to personal experiences, and the class was particularly emotional for her because of that. She also noted that the class provided her the opportunity to process her emotions: "I became more in touch with my emotions because I didn't feel alone. Other people were going through the same things as I was." Survivor made a similar comment: "[I shed] tears because some issues that were taught people could relate to or some things were so shocking and disturbing that we had to feel compassion." However, although several students found the class to be emotional, in part, because of the connection they made between personal lives and course material, all the participants agreed that the class was emotional for most students, regardless of personal circumstances. Romeo noted that, "Even if I was the happiest most upbeat person in the world at the time, that class still would have broke me down."

Donna, a middle class student reared in a two parent home, remarked that she found the service learning portion of the class to be emotional:

> I visited the soup kitchen on several occasions but there were two events that always stuck with me. I believe my first trip to the soup kitchen a mother came through the line with her infant child…As a child, unable to walk or form words, she was delivered into the world having to struggle. That always stays with me and reminds me that it is my duty to be an advocate or to give what I have to give so I can give a child a chance. The second [emotional instance] would be when I met an older woman. She had a PhD in library science. After she served her time in the world, somewhere along the line her children forgot about her and she was left unattended. I can't be blind to people and their respective needs. Both times, I left teary eyed and left trying to figure out how to conquer poverty in my backyard.

When asked to expound on her emotional experiences in class, Lareese, a student of Mr. James, focused on the in-class portion of the course:

> Yeah, we would hear stories, watch movies/documentaries that were tear jerkers, like the Ryan White documentary, the boy with AIDS...he was one of the first cases I remember. Michael Jackson made the song "Gone Too Soon" for him. Well, that documentary had us crying. *Platoon* was also a tear jerker. We went to see Les Miserables [which is about] a guy goes to jail for stealing food for his family. All of those things brought out emotions.

Jenna, another middle class student, made a similar observation about an emotional experience. However, in her example, she made a connection between both the in-class portion (e.g. a lesson on the Holocaust) and the out-of-class portion (a visit to the Holocaust museum and a prayer service in the school chapel about the Holocaust). Jenna's example serves as an important indicator of the way the out-of-class service learning portion of the class was taught in concert with the in-class portion.

> *Jenna*: I definitely think the class was emotional. We talked about a lot of touchy topics, such as the Holocaust, I mean, that's a very emotional point in history.
>
> *Interviewer*: Do you remember how the Holocaust was covered?
>
> *Jenna*: I think we went to the Chapel. And we also took a field trip to the Holocaust museum. I definitely think that was emotional. It was very 'in your face.' Definitely. No sugar coating. It kept you in reality, as to what really happened.

When asked if the class was emotional, Bird was forceful: "Hell yeah!" He explained that the course "opened [his] eyes more, [and] made [him] care more." Earlier in the interview, when recalling some of his personal experiences with Mr. James, he was sober and reflective. He expressed that "[Mr. James'] slide shows were amazing. Many of us guys were trying not to cry. Many of us had red eyes, watery eyes, the pics he showed, the music. Wow. He was the St. Mark's spirit. He could motivate us to do anything. I wish I would have done more service with him."

Theme 3. Forms of Impact

St. Mark's alumni were consistent in their belief that the TSJ course had an impact on their present-day lives. Several forms of impact emerged in the course of the interviews, the most salient of which are mentioned here: perceptions of self (identity), conception of justice, civic mindedness and moral development, social awareness and perspective transformation, and challenging prejudice and privilege.

Form 1: *Perceptions of Self (Identity)*. Ten of the participants expressed that their sense of self, or the way they construct their identity, was affected by the class. This was expressed, generally, in four dimensions: one, how alumni want to be seen by others; two, increased agency; three, alumni's commitment to personal values; and four, improved feelings of self-efficacy or self-worth (which was particularly evident for alumni who experienced risk factors in high school; e.g. low SES, single-parent home, extended or repeated experience with abuse/neglect, experience with foster care, and so-forth).

Some examples of how TSJ touched on participants' perceptions of self were direct, whereas others were indirect. *How I want to be seen by others* is an indirect example of how self-perceptions were affected; this sub-form of *perceptions of self* captures how participants shaped themselves, in part, based on the perception of others (e.g. their peers, the teacher, the community). After making several comments that expressed high regard for the teacher and the impact on his present day life, Romeo captured the sentiment of how the class changed how he wanted to be seen:

> A lot of the feelings I had about issues, I kind of always felt that way, but I was never open enough to even express my views. Figured it didn't matter. Never really cared about how people saw me. He made me care enough to open up a bit.

Romeo also made comments that alluded to how his concern over the perceptions of others, the teacher included, helped him form a perspective on himself. Additionally, in his comment above, Romeo alludes to two other effects of the class: one, his concern over the self he projected to others grew, and two, he experienced a feeling of increased agency as a result of taking the class, the latter of which was a theme in ten of the thirteen interviews, and will

be explored in the next section, as this sense of agency appears to be the basis for other aspects of moral and social responsibility.

Increased agency is offered as another type of perception of self. Whereas moral agency, for instance, can be seen as a sense of responsibility a person has for the decisions he makes, participants also expressed ways in which their identity and moral agency merged. The form of agency expressed by Romeo speaks as much to the capacity students developed to change themselves and situations endemic to their own lives, as it does changing larger conditions external to them, such as institutional injustice. After several moments of reflection, Poet observed that in high school she was "dealing with self-confidence issues, [and] didn't think a lot of herself at the time." According to her appreciation of what the class did for her, she began to believe in the power of her own agency, in terms of, one, changing the world, and two, changing how she views her part in it. Flower noted that she became in touch with her emotions when taking the class, and even though she was dealing with issues that were traumatic, began to feel more confident and capable as a result of taking the class. These, and similar comments, express how students move beyond their own passivity, learning to negate fatalistic thoughts and feel empowered enough to transform their own worlds. This sentiment was captured by Andrea, a victim of domestic violence who entered foster care her freshmen year at St. Mark's and had been estranged from family members most of her high school career. Andrea explained that altering her perceptions of the experiences of others contributed to her belief that she could control situations in her own life:

> The class made me see my situation in a different perspective. It helped me realize that there are a lot of people who are struggling and facing tough times in their life, and that theirs could be a whole lot worse than mine. It also showed me that even some of my classmates could and were going through a hard time, although they may not show it… Ms. Kellogg taught me that everyone wears a mask. We may see their outside facial appearance but we do not see their inside. Their outside appearance is just a cover up. …Situations can be handled in a nonviolent way. She taught me nonviolent tactics and…how I can change the predicament of a situation. She also taught me to have love and do for others.

Romeo made a similar observation:

> He made me remember where I came from. When we were reading these articles...about the poverty people had, I related it to our little messed up apartment in …and the fact that these people were way worse off and the fact that, by any one little chance, anyone in the world can experience that. No one is above being broken down to that level.

One last example of perception of self, many participants reflected on a changed level of commitment to their own values, which is to say, the degree to which those values participants held prior to the class changed as a result of the class. Queen noted that the class "had a part in developing" her, but also noted that many of the values conveyed through the course were similar to ones she received from other sources, particularly family and church. For Queen, the impact of the class was in the form of "making sure [she] does some sort of service in some kind of way," which is "a part of how [she] was cultivated through the class."

> *Queen*: I think it was a really good class. It made you look at things a different way. It made you think about the less fortunate and…
>
> *Interviewer*: Is that something you would have done without taking the class?
>
> *Queen*: I would have thought about it, but I may not have thought about it to that extent if I didn't take the class. Because, it really informed me of Gandhi and what Gandhi was all about, and Mother Teresa…and really just denying yourself, like, just what Jesus did. So I think that's how it was connected.

According to Queen, TSJ is a success if it "makes people think about other people other than themselves, and how they can help other people." Lisa expressed a similar sentiment. She described the class as having several goals, including making "young people more aware of what's going on in the world, [and giving] them a chance to change injustice, especially those who are given special opportunities like the ones [students] had a St. Marks." Lisa continued, contending, "I believe to whom much is given much is required." When asked if she held this belief prior to taking the class, Lisa responded affirmatively, but added with conviction that "the class made [her] feel more accountable because [she is] more aware now, so the more [she] knows, the more [she] wants to make a positive difference."

Form 2: *Conception of Justice.* More than half of the participants noted that TSJ class gave them a different conception of justice, different from the one they had prior to taking the class and different from what they observe in their peers who haven't had a similar course. Columbia notes that "Social Justice is a course that looks at how people have treated one another over the course of history. The class addresses injustices that exist(ed), what oppression is, why certain people were or were not oppressed and how we as individuals contribute to these problems or conversely, how we may help eliminate those problems." Later, she noted that the course pressed her to remember the "humanity in all people." Jenna expressed that she has identified a contrasting view of justice between herself and others who have not taken the class. According to Jenna, she has "had conversations with people in the past who have never taken the class, who have never attended St. Marks, and [she] feels as though there are times when they are not as compassionate towards certain issues. [She is] very confident, that if they took this class, that morally they would look at certain topics

from a different standpoint." Jenna observed that "There's a possibility they may have a different perspective. I'm very positive about that." When asked to expound on her notion of justice, Jenna responded:

> I see justice as more of a 'making things right.' I don't look at revenge as making a situation right. Maybe people do look at the judicial system and say 'Well, okay, that's where justice lies,' [or] 'punishing the criminal is where justice lies, and by default we've made things right in our society.' I don't think that's the case because many times [court decisions] are about revenge, they are about punishment; and I don't think social justice is focusing on punishment. It's focusing on other mechanisms, other positive ways that we can make things right. [For instance] nonviolence. People look at violence, a form of revenge, as a form of justice, as making things right in our society. The nonviolent mechanism that Dr. Martin Luther King took with the sit-ins and the marches, I think that's related to justice. I think that's his mechanism of making things right. And it's nonviolent.

Form 3: *Civic-Mindedness* and *Moral Narratives*. When reflecting back on the phenomenon of the class, as well as its connection with present-day life, civic mindedness and development of a moral narrative (see Table 3) emerged as dominant themes. Civic mindedness refers to alumni's concerns with civic interests or their level of activity in the community regarding civic affairs. The development of a moral narrative refers to participants' concern for the moral implications of their conduct. Students develop a narrative by which they deliberate on the morality of intentions, decisions, and actions. There is considerable overlap between these two forms of impact; often comments regarding moral and civic development were offered in concert. Additionally, notions of caring were woven into conceptions of both civic mindedness and moral narratives.

Civic-mindedness. Civic-mindedness was a prominent theme that emerged in all of the interviews. Bird noted that the TSJ class "teaches you that you must care for others, that everyone has rights. You can't stand to the side and watch something bad happen to someone." He explained that the TSJ teachers communicated to students the reason to help others, explaining further that the issues discussed in class were broad but that, no matter how broad, students learned how each issue affected them personally. It also taught them that even when they cannot perceive how an issue affects them, they should still be willing to get involved. Bird explained that the TSJ class "taught [students] that we don't have to wait until we are affected to act on something. You always think about equality."

Jenna discussed how her knowledge of civic issues increased:

> Certain topics I was not knowledgeable about, like, for example, capital punishment, which is actually political, a very political standpoint that is taken. It's not only religiously viewed upon in our society but it's also political

…..From my opinion, I look at it more on a religious, moral standpoint versus political. [Without the class] I would look at it more on a political, educational viewpoint, you know, looking at statistics as to why it's wrong versus why it's morally wrong. So, that's one topic and one view that I would have to say it has focused…it has affected me.

Many of the students referred to an increase in the importance they assigned service to the community (e.g. Andrea). Whereas several participants made comments that suggested that their civic identity was changed (in terms of how they view their role in participating in civic activities), Poet directly noted that her political identity was affected by this course. Jenna commented on how political standpoints and moral standpoints were not separated, as students learned about the moral side of political issues. Lisa mentioned that she learned about different ways to participant in the political process, for instance, how to protest peacefully.

Developing a Moral Narrative. Students' growing conception of morality often took the form of anger about injustice. For instance, Donna noted that she is "progressively growing intolerant to what I call adult set in ignorance. That goes back to adults who insist on being unmoved about injustices and share that same philosophy with the impressionable minds around them." Seven participants commented on the TSJ class has informed their moral narrative in terms of their commitment to aligning themselves with just causes. For instance, Andrea noted that she will "I will remember to take a stand for what is right." Both Lareese and Poet, for instance, spoke directly about how the class has informed, if not, shaped, their worldview.

Finally, over half the participants noted that the TSJ class affected their level of moral empathy with individuals and causes around them. The empathy is a common thread among participants, (e.g. empathy for the less fortunate expressed by eight of the participants and empathy for those with whom they disagree, expressed by four of the participants.) Columbia explained this in the following way: "I learned or in some cases, was pressed to remember the humanity in all people—even in the Newt Gingriches of the world (I think I mentioned, Newt was not one of Mr. James' fav people). Often times, high school level courses don't call on students to challenge the status quo, but Mr. James SJ class challenged us to speak up."

Jenna captures this point most emphatically of all the participants interviewed:

I've had conversations with people in the past who have never taken the class, who have never attended St. Mark's, and I definitely feel as though there are times when they are not as compassionate towards certain issues. They don't understand, and their moral level seems to be…well, I don't want to say lacking, but it's not where I think it should be. However, I don't want to judge them. I'd rather not judge someone's morals. But I

do feel as though, and I'm very confident, that if this particular person took this class, that morally they would look at certain topics from a different standpoint. There's a possibility they may have a different perspective. I'm very positive about that.

Form 4: *Social Awareness and Perspective Transformation*. Flower observed that the TSJ class "allowed [her] to see the world from a different perspective." The course content exposed her to the complexity and depth of social issues, at a level which otherwise she would not have been aware; which is particularly noteworthy given that many of the issues discussed in class, Flower had experienced personally. She continued, "Not the closed-minded perspective I had that was ignorant to the fact of homelessness, poverty and the many different views and faces of both. It allowed me to open my eyes to the world." Every participant spoke of experiencing an increase in social awareness. In five of the interviews, alumni who referred to the social awareness they experienced, like Flower, also had personal experiences with the issues. When responding to the level of comfort a person would have in the class if personally experiencing issues that the course covered, Jenna offered the hypothetical example of a homeless student in the class:

> Because with homelessness, it helped us understand their situation, and how you are a human, and how you are still a child of God, and how it is important to help others. It's like 'what would Jesus do?' So, I think if you were homeless, you would definitely be comfortable in that class, because you would feel as though people are starting to understand your circumstance as to why you may be homeless, and not have these stereotypes that sometimes people develop due to their ignorance when it comes to homelessness.

Andrea, Survivor and Romeo made similar points when they noted that their awareness of the problems classmates were enduring provided them with a new appreciation of their own hardships, and served to reintroduce them to the issues they faced. For instance, despite facing hunger in her own life, Andrea noted that the "soup kitchen [visits] gave [her] more perspective on life." Other students also experienced perspective transformation. Lareese spoke at great length about how her "views changed:"

> *Lareese*: It just makes you see how it's so easy to get caught up in a cycle...how hard it is to get out...how a person can lose a job, end up on the streets, can't apply to a new job because they have no clothes, address or telephone...how there are not enough programs to help reform…help transition people from one stage to another...helping to reintroduce them to society so they can survive, be it a homeless person, a vet, a felon released from prison.
>
> *Interviewer:* But aren't these experiences that life may have been teaching you anyway? How do you know it was Mr. James' class that made the difference?

Lareese: This is true *but* this class was taught to us during a time where peers and outside influence are a great impact on your life and your decision making...where you are now old enough to "get it" but young enough to be impressionable.

When remembering his grandfather, a Vietnam veteran, and then also when reflecting on the issue of Jim Crow segregation, Bird became particularly emphatic about the awareness developed in the class, and began to espouse some of the beliefs he now holds as a result of it:

Bird: Why are there homeless veterans? There shouldn't be homeless people. There shouldn't be poverty. USA goes and blow up Iraq, we then send resources, folks to help build medical treatment, drop off food. Why can't we do that here in the USA? I care for all people but it's upsetting. Hearing how my grandfather took my mother to Little Tavern, a hamburger place in the 50's. She is hungry. They walk in and order, my mom was told she couldn't eat in the store because they were black. My mom was born in 1947.

Interviewer: And Social Justice class helped you see the world this way?

Bird: Oh yeah, made me think deeper. That was not that long ago, injustice once again. What give the white race the right and not the black race? Fluffland!

At the end of this emotional harangue, Bird invoked a term used in class "fluffland," a term that is intended to capture the shallow, banal thinking that can be common and regrettable in modern society.

Form 5: *Challenging prejudice and privilege*. Romeo remarked on a racial incident that he experienced in high school, an incident that Mr. James used as a teaching opportunity to challenge Romeo's conceptions of prejudice and justice:

One thing he definitely helped me with was race. After I met him I no longer had a race divide. He used to always say, 'the world will not be saved by 6s or 7s', meaning the world would not be saved by those who straddled the fence on issues. You're either a 1or a 10. I went through a racial issue I told him about some white folks in [name of hometown] called me and some friends Niggers and I was telling him I was gonna get a tattoo that said Black Power, with "[name of hometown] Recognize" right underneath it…I was so serious. He was like, "why would you even give someone with that much hatred power over you?" And I thought about it and of course he was right. And the type of person he was...I know God wouldn't make just one White person be that loving and kind and cool…I knew there had to be others out there and there are...and I've met them. Well maybe not that kind or caring but kinda close.

Despite attending a predominately African-American school, the white race of the teachers in the present study did not appear to be a negative factor for the students in this study.

> *Interviewer*: Did it make a difference to you that Mr. James was a white male teaching these issues?
>
> *Columbia*: No, it didn't. In my experience up until his class, many if not most of my teachers had been white. Also, I think Mr. James proved himself in some way as a person, at least in my eyes. So the fact that he was a white male teaching Social Justice didn't really occur to me at the time....it was just 'Mr. James' class' and that's what we learned about.

Columbia also noted that Mr. James did not ignore the issue of race, but would use his race as a teaching tool, even if only for humor or to get the students to feel comfortable speaking about their own racial outlooks:

> On the first day of Social Justice class, Mr. James started by establishing authority—he kicked a kid out of my class for looking at his shoes. On our first day! In between reading articles and mentioning the empty-headedness of Newt Gingrich, he would tell us to close our eyes, listen to his voice, and answer the question, 'Do I sound black?"

Columbia also noted that her own prejudices were challenged as a result of her participation in TSJ class. Examples like that were salient in three of the interviews for the present study.

In addition to challenging prejudice, notions of privilege were challenged as well. Survivor noted that "I used to think that all homeless were drug addicts and the like, then Ms. Kellogg showed us the facts, and that the majority of homeless are actually just a victim of circumstance." Like Survivor, Poet observed that prior to the class she "felt superior to homeless people" but that this view shifted because of the course. Bird observed that he had always been taught to help people and he thought he cared, but the class taught him that sympathy was not an adequate response to injustice, and that, instead, he had to allow himself to be inconvenienced when making a difference. Jenna noted that she had grown up "sheltered" and that, a byproduct of her rearing, was that there were "a lot of things she did not know about" and there were "certain views that were pushed on her." According to her, the class challenged those views and, consequently, "shaped [her] point of view as to how [she] looked at certain subjects and certain topics." Survivor shared a similar sentiment.

Alumni perceived that the class was impactful and that impact was evident in their present-day lives. The forms of impact listed above were often reported as evidence of this impact. Although some behaviors were included, like volunteering, tithing, giving money to the homeless, and other civic behaviors, these examples were not as common or as cogent as the forms of impact mentioned above.

Discussion

The present study helped elucidate the role of the TSJ class in influencing the civic, personal, and moral development of adolescents and speaks to the central developmental task of identity formation. TSJ class does appear to have some consistent themes across the two teachers of the students included in the present study. Although this was not a thorough examination, in that inconsistencies and differences between the approaches of the two teachers were not explored, alumni invoked similar descriptors when chronicling a typical day of class and when describing the teachers and their methods. Thus, this paper has helped to further illustrate how TSJ class is, among other things, a class in moral and civic education that has important implications for adolescent identity development. Such results are consistent with several studies that suggest a relationship between transformative pedagogy and aspects of identity (e.g. Berman et al., 2008; Ferrer-Wreder et al., 2002; Kurtines, Ferrer-Wreder, et al., 2008; Kurtines, Montgomery, et al. 2008; Montgomery, Kurtines, et al., 2008; Williams, 2003). For example, Berman et al. observed an increase in identity exploration for the students in their sample. This exploration appears similar to alumni's description of their TSJ experience in the present study.

It appears that the teachers of the students in the present study enhance the moral identity of students through several transformative approaches, all of which are similar to those discussed in Rossatto (2005). Among them are, one, open conversation and debate on a number of relevant, relatable and emotionally infused topics and subsequent guided critical assessments on those topics. Two, they highlight issues that are of concern to the community in which the school, and the students within it, are embedded and guide critical thinking. Issues of concern are introduced through newspaper articles, songs, plays, multimedia resources, guest lectures, and so forth, which is consistent with transformative tools mentioned in Nagda et al., (2003). Three, they introduce compelling stories of moral courage from influential people to demonstrate the moral consciousness of others (e.g. complex, gripping stories of individuals who have suffered unexpected loss/tribulation), and then guide critical assessments as to how that moral consciousness has been coupled with moral courage. And fourth, they expose students to the less fortunate through service learning opportunities and then guide critical assessment of those experiences. Changes in attitude due to field experience are consistent with Mezirow (1991) and Youniss & Yates (1997), which helps students appreciate the value of context in critical reflection on moral issues (which is consistent with aspects of transformative pedagogy described in Mezirow (1991)). Through this process, students perceive that they begin to develop their own moral narratives which bleed into their sense of who they are as well as who they want to be. This process includes being constantly prodded and provoked to deliberate morally on the issues being brought forth in the class, and to articulate those deliberations on

homework assignments and in-class discussions. This process builds on previous work that examines the relationship between transformative teaching approaches and changes in students' conceptions of morality (e.g. Generett & Hicks, 2004) but builds on it by documenting the processes involved at the secondary school level.

The results regarding moral identity also link well with the concept of "identity disruption" found in ICT. When alumni spoke about receiving identity feedback that was inconsistent with identity standards (e.g. Bird's contention that he thought he was a good person but the class convinced him that he was not doing enough to care for others), they also experienced a sense of "discomfort" that they addressed by finding ways to reject the feedback (e.g. by proving to themselves or the teacher that they are caring and justice-minded individuals) or to incorporate lessons and experiences from the class in a way that revises the identity standards (e.g. Because values in class aligned with values she had been exposed to outside of class, Queen noted those values becoming that much more salient in her identity formation). Thus, in terms of identity, these results are consistent with ICT (Kerpelman et al., 1997) which would suggest that the uncomfortable identity disruptive experiences that adolescents articulated occurred through in-class and out-of-class service experiences are purposeful in challenging and changing identity (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman, 2010). Additionally, results from the present study indicate that teacher personality plays an important part in students' perceptions of the class years later, which is supported by previous work (e.g. Davis, 2006). However, this study also builds on previous research, as not all the students interviewed maintain the same impression of or relationship with the TSJ teacher; yet most participants espouse similar levels of impact. Thus, it is noteworthy that, although *liking* is not a prerequisite for a transformative classroom experience (a point made by Jenna), it appears discomfort is (a point made by several participants). Jenna captured this point in a discussion about whether the class was enjoyable only for those who liked the teacher:

> You don't even have to agree with her views. I don't think it's about *liking*. I think it's about whether you find the class interesting, whether you are interested, whether you're moved by the topics. I don't think it's about liking the teacher. Because you may not even agree with anything she's saying, but guess what, she's opening your eyes. She's opening your eyes to these topics, and she's helping you think. So it has nothing to do with liking the teacher.

Although identity appears to be impacted by the class (a result consistent with Harrell-Levy and Kerpelman, 2010), changes in behavior were particularly difficult to discern. Although it appears, for instance, that students experienced changes in their civic, political and moral identities, their actual civic engagement, years after the course had concluded, is implied but not pronounced. These results diverge somewhat from Youniss and Yates (1997), in that the

connection we found between civic engagement behaviors and TSJ class were not cogent. However, although there are differences, our results do not necessarily contradict one another. There are several plausible explanations for the differences in our results, including that our participants were not prompted to make the connection between the class and civic engagement behavior (which suggests that either it did not occur to them or perhaps, instead, that they did not perceive an impact on their present-day behaviors), and, two, the participants in the current study did not have time to sit with the question for a while and develop an answer (as was the case in Youniss and Yates, as their responses were collected via the mail). The present study builds on this early work, however, as participants in the present study were encouraged to freely associate on whatever forms of transformation occurred to them, if any at all, but were not coerced in any particular direction. Thus, because alumni were encouraged to share the impressions they had as to how the class related to their present-day lives, it is particularly useful to learn that the majority of their responses (as well as the most animated and enthusiastic responses) focused on facets of identity and not behavior. This could suggest that behavior was not affected, or that, instead, participants do not perceive the effect on behavior (whatever it is) to be *the* story of this class.

The results of the present study also provide support for our retrospective approach. Because the participants had been former students of the course and, in some cases, had taken the course many years ago, there was less of a focus on the nuts and bolts of the phenomenon of TSJ, and more of a focus on the memories they hold into as well as their reflections on the important components of the class, after the fact. This retrospective perspective was intentional because of its ability to speak to the more lasting parts of the class (the parts that remain with students even after the class has ended). Additionally, because of Youniss & Yates, 1997, we felt it was important to focus on the perceptions of *former* students and only aspects of the class that they perceive impact their present-day lives. Moreover, although it is interesting to know how adolescents perceive a class that, by design, is intentionally difficult and uncomfortable for them, the authors of the present study stipulate that it is decidedly more informative to policymakers and human development researchers to learn how adults who have taken the class now perceive it. This particularly is important because of transformative goals that are expected to manifest later in the lives of former students, and because of adults' ability to reflect back on that experience with a more critical appreciation of its processes, goals, failures and successes. As several of the participants noted, the perceived impact was likely greater because of the developmental period during which the course was taken, and, like Queen communicated, the process of transformation endures into adulthood. There are additional benefits to the retrospective interview approach, including that, aside from trying to appear articulate and informed, participants are not motivated to impress the interviewer, interviews are not constrained by

time, and candor and intimacy established between the researcher and participants may lead to results with more depth. There are also limitations to the retrospective approach, most of which have to do with the accuracy of recall, including that participants may not remember events the way they actually happened or that recollections will reflect temperament as much as they do actual events (for examples, see McCrae & Costa, 1988; Wohlwill, 1973). However, in rigorous qualitative studies, such limitations are often addressed through a detailed verification process (e.g. triangulation).

Overall, for the students in the present study, TSJ is a class about the construction of values that also provides a definite message of empowerment, as students learn that they have a responsibility to live well and improve the world around them, which is consistent with Youniss and Yates (1997). However, we go beyond Youniss and Yates, and can intimate that the forms of impact revealed do connect back to the TSJ high school experience, primarily because we utilized an in-depth interview format with alumni years after the course concluded. Through TSJ, students are encouraged to believe that their actions and thoughts affect the world on a grander level; because of which, they must learn to be critical thinkers and informed, impassioned citizens. For the students in the present study, for instance, this means "Romeo" does not have to perceive himself as *just* an impoverished male, "Survivor" does not have to perceive herself as *just* a rape victim, and "Andrea" does not have to perceive herself as someone perpetually slated to be on the receiving end of charity. Regardless of personal background, however, the course is generally impactful and landmark in constructing students' later-self concepts, a result that stems as much from teacher pedagogy and teacher characteristics as it does service-learning associated with the course.

Ultimately, the present study begins to address some of the issues raised in the introduction by expanding understanding on transformative pedagogy for social justice in adolescence, and, particularly, its relationship with identity development. The learning experience is galvanizing and the class is perceived to have impact on life post-high school.

Limitations

Although the present study is successful in capturing the voices and stories of students of the TSJ class, it was only a preliminary step and further analysis is needed to answer more sophisticated questions about the contributions and risks of the TSJ approach in adolescence. There are several limitations to the interpretation of results. One, the study was purely qualitative and, although this approach has merit for the present project, it is limited in its generalizeability. Two, the present study included only three male participants, and, while there is no evidence that there are disparities between the male and female perspective, men's voices may be underrepresented. Three, although several attempts were made to identify a negative case, including following leads provided by participants included in the present study, one

was not found. Additionally, results found were uniformly positive, which suggests the possibility of volunteer bias. Four, information was collected through self-report which is vulnerable to inaccuracy. Finally, whereas the present study highlights some of these special memories of students, it did not analyze these memories for depth or breadth.

Implications and Future Research

Little is known about what aspects of adolescent development are affected by transformative classes. The present study begins to address that gap in literature by highlighting the gains ordinary students make when taking a TSJ class in high school (e.g. changes in perception of self, moral identity, civic identity, social awareness, reversing perceptions of privilege and prejudice, and so forth). The present study contributes a great deal to our understanding of the potential implications of a life-changing course as well as what ways students are impacted. Additionally, the responses from alumni were uniformly positive, which was a surprising result even for the researchers, which is suggestive of the potency of this class as well as the exceptionality of its teachers.

The present study is phenomenological, and thus, our interpretations of these results are limited in that the only aspects of the class that are analyzed are those that occur to the students after the course has concluded. Thus, it is not plausible, or reasonable, to speculate on the encyclopedia of factors that may serve as explanations for students' impact. However, there are indications that the TSJ course had some pretty consistent and, potentially, transferrable, themes and practices that could benefit more students, if implemented more widely. One important conclusion that can be drawn from the TSJ teachers of the alumni included in the present study is that attaining transformative goals set forth in classrooms, like those the students were once in, requires creativity and dedication on the part of the teacher.

The current study points to the possibility for curricula to meet the current and future needs of diverse learners, where neither privilege nor oppression is a barrier to the gains an enriching class can provide. The transformative high school teachers in the present study were successful, in part, because of an appreciation that an impactful education includes a thoughtful consideration of the diverse needs within and between student learners. This revelation is particularly appealing because the class was situated in an urban setting and, although the school was tuition-based, St. Mark's drew diverse voucher students from varying socioeconomic backgrounds. Given that the disenchantment of students is a major concern in urban schools, a point noted by Rossatto (2005), the successful efforts of the teachers included in the present study to challenge the fatalism of students in a real and lasting way means a great deal to what we understand as possible and reasonable in secondary schools. This study points to the need, therefore, to continue to examine the specific teaching strategies that lead to this perception of impact discovered in the present study. Although

the attributes described by participants are in some respects, remarkable, there appears also to be some replicable themes which can, and should, be explored in future studies.

Future qualitative research into the phenomenon of TSJ should ask questions pertaining to the role of moral emotions, as these are considered prerequisites to moral sensitivity. Empathy, one example of a moral emotion, appears to be a possible byproduct of the TSJ class. What is not clear is what students perceive the role of moral emotions to be in the class, as well as how they are developed, or if they lead to moral sensitivity. Therefore, in order to further examine the relationship between moral development and TSJ, future studies should continue to explore the specific teaching strategies that relate to these emotions. This understanding could lead to a more sophisticated appreciation of how pedagogical strategies contribute to transformative learning experiences in high school.

Along similar lines, the role of school culture and the religious tradition in the school appear to play significant roles in the transformative learning experience. Future research should tease apart this connection, looking at the obstacles and supports to TSJ that lie within the school. Such a direction is supported by Levingston (2009), who used qualitative methodology to research moral education in several schools. Among his results, Levingston discovered that students with an authentic and assured moral voice enter into a moral contract with their schools, in which they accept a moral tradition that has been institutionalized at the school. Thus, such an analysis of school culture and TSJ would lead to an understanding as to whether TSJ, in the form found in St. Mark's, could be implemented widely, including in different school types.

Additional research also should more systematically explore the taut relationship between out-of-class service learning and in-class transformative learning, with a focus on conceptualizing the scope of transformative teaching, as perceived by alumni. In other words, the evidence of impact is only a first step. Future studies must more clearly detail how such an impact is perceived to be accomplished particularly from the vantage point of those who were impacted. Given the scope of the current study, this was a theme that could not be adequately explored, despite participants' repeated references to it. Further analysis of interviews into the phenomenon of the TSJ class, as perceived by former students of it, may provide more insight into the how aspects of the course merge to maximize impact. Moreover, quantitative research to examine the outcomes associated with the transformative approach can also help illustrate the relationship between class/teacher factors and perceived impact. Future studies should explore the relationship between these constructs to examine what factors within the class, if any, contribute to a transformative.

Although no one in the present study indicated a negative Social Justice class experience, respondents' answers to interview questions indicated that a negative experience is plausible. Further insight into the possible negative

perceptions of the class is warranted. Moreover, the absence of a negative case points to the possibility that the TSJ class is a rare and exceptional case. Given the qualities described, it may be rare to find a teacher who can be fully transformative, and many high school teachers (perhaps even the majority) may find it too draining. However, such a result requires further analysis, including, for instance, making comparisons between students of different Social Justice teachers. Social Justice class, by design, has transformative goals, but teachers may bring a variety of techniques and pedagogies into the classroom to accomplish their goals. Teasing out what qualities of the class and of the teacher have the strongest relationship with forms of impact could have profound implications for teacher practice.

References

Aquino, K., McFerran, B., & Laven, M. (2011). Moral Identity and the experience of moral elevation in response to acts of uncommon goodness. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 100*(4), 703-718.

Aquino, K., & Reed, A., II. (2002). The self-importance of moral identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 1423–1440.

Becker, B. E. & Luthar, S. (2002). Social-emotional factors affecting achievement outcomes among disadvantaged students: Closing the achievement gap. *Educational Psychologist, 37(4)*, 197-214.

Berman, S. L., Kennerley, R. J., & Kennerley, M. A. (2008). Promoting adult identity development: A feasibility study of a university-based identity intervention program. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 8*, 139–150.

Blasi, A. (1984). Moral identity: Its role in moral functioning. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Morality, moral behavior, and moral development* (pp. 128–139). New York, NY: Wiley.

Burns, L. T. (1998). Make sure it's service-learning, not just community service. *The Education Digest*, 64(2), 38-41.

Burrow, A. L. & Hill, P.L. (2011). Purpose as a form of identity capital for positive youth adjustment. *Developmental Psychology, 47* (4), 1196-1206

Cote, J. E. (1996). Sociological perspectives on identity formation: The culture-identity link and social capital. *Journal of Adolescence, 19*, 417-428

Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Damon, W. (2008). The path to purpose: How young people find their calling in life. New York, NY: Free Press.

Davis, H. A. (2006). Exploring the context of relationship quality between middle school students and teachers. *The Elementary School Journal, 106* (3), 193-223

Donnell, K. (2007). Getting to we: Developing a transformative urban teaching practice. Urban Education,42, 223–249.

Erikson (1977). Toys and reason. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Ferrer-Wreder, L., Lorente, C. C., Kurtines, W., Briones, E., Bussell, J., Berman, S., et al. (2002). Promoting identity development in marginalized youth. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 17,* 168–187.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Penguin.

Gelmon, S., Holland, B., Seifer, S., Shinnamon, A., & Connors, K. (1998). Community-university partnerships for mutual learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 5*, 97-107.

Generett, G.. & Hicks, M. (2004). Beyond reflective competency: Teaching for audacious hope-in-action. *Journal of Transformative Education, 2,* 187-203.

Giroux, H. (1985). Critical pedagogy, cultural politics and the discourse of experience. *Journal of Education, 167* (2), 22-41

Hall, S. P., & Brassard, M. R. (2008). Relational support as a predictor of identity status in an ethnically diverse early adolescent sample. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 28*, 92–114.

Harrell-Levy, M.K., & Kerpelman, J. L. (2010). Identity Process and Transformative Pedagogy: Teachers as Agents of Identity Formation. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research,10 (*2), 76 – 91

Hill, P.L., Burrow, A.L., O'Dell, A.C. & Thornton, M.A. (2010). Classifying adolescents' conceptions of purpose in life. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 5*, 466-473

Hughes, J. N., Oi-Man Kwok, W.L., & Loyd, L.K. (2008). Teacher–Student support, effortful engagement, and achievement: A 3-Year longitudinal study. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 100*, 1-14

Jacoby, B. & Associates (1996). Service-learning in higher education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Kerpelman, J. L., Pittman, J. F., & Lamke, L. K. (1997). Toward microprocess perspective on adolescent identity development: An identity control theory approach. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 12*, 325–346.

Kolb, D.A. (1984). *Experiential Learning: experience as the source of learning and development*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Kurtines,W. M., Ferrer-Wreder, L., Berman, S. L., Cass Lorente, C., Briones, E., Montgomery, M. J., et al. (2008). Promoting positive youth development: The Miami Youth Development Project (YDP). *Journal of Adolescent Research, 23*, 256–267.

Kurtines, W. M., Montgomery, M. J., Eichas, K., Ritchie, R., Garcia, A., Albrecht, R., et al. (2008). Promoting positive identity development in troubled youth: A developmental intervention science outreach research approach. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 8*, 125–138.

Kvale, S. (2008). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research. California*: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32* (3), 465-491.

Levingston (2009*). Sowing the Seeds of Character: The Moral Education of Adolescents in Public and Private Schools*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Lingard, R. L. and Mills, M. (2002). Teachers and school reform: Aligning the message systems. In: B. Webber, Teachers Make A Difference: What Is The Research Evidence? *NZCER 2002 Conference,* Wellington, NZ, (63-82). October 2002.

McBrien, J. (2008). The world at America's doorstep: Service learning in preparation to teach global students. *Journal of Transformative Education, 6*, 270-285.

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Montgomery,M. J., Kurtines,W. M., Ferrer-Wreder, L. M., Berman, S. L., Lorente, C. C., Briones, E., et al. (2008). A developmental intervention science (DIS) outreach research approach to promoting youth development. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 23*, 268–290.

Nagda, B.A., Gurin, P. & Lopez, G.E. (2003). Transformative pedagogy for democracy and social justice. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 6* (2), 165-191.

Noguera, P., & Weingarten, R. (2011). Beyond Silver Bullets. *Nation*, 292(2/3), 18-23.

O'Connor, E & McCartney, K. (2007). Examining teacher-child relationships and achievement as part of an ecological model of development, *American Educational Research Journal, 44* (2), 340-369.

Piaget, J. (1970). *Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child*. New York: Viking.

Reimer, K., & Wade-Stein, D. (2004). Moral identity in adolescence: Self and other in semantic space. *Identity, 4*(3), 229-249.

Rest (1986). *Moral development: Advances in research and theory*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Rossatto, C. (2005). *Engaging Paulo Freire's pedagogy of possibility: From Blind to Transformative Optimism*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield.

Schachter, E. P., & Ventura, J. J. (2008). Identity agents: Parents as active and reflective participants in their children's identity formation. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 18,* 449–476

Stanberry, A. M., & Azria-Evans, M. (2001). Perspectives in teaching gerontology: Matching strategies with purpose and context. *Educational Gerontology, 27,* 637–656.

Stewart, T. (2008). Comparing the intended and the perceived: Administrator expectations and student perceptions of teacher roles in Catholic service-learning. *The High School Journal, 91*(4), 59-76

Tabak, I., & Baumgartner, E. (2004). The teacher as partner: Exploring participant structures, symmetry, and identity work in scaffolding. *Cognition and Instruction, 22,* 393–429.

Thomas, E. (2007). Student engagement and learning in a community-based arts classroom. *Teachers College Record, 109*, 770–796.

Youniss, J., S. Bales, & Christmas-Best, V. (2002). Youth civic engagement in the twenty-first century. *Journal of Research on Adolescence 12*(1)*,* 121-148.

Youniss, J., & Yates, M. (1997). *Community service and social responsibility in youth*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Youniss, J. & M. Yates (1999). Youth service and moral-civic identity: A case for everyday morality. *Educational Psychology Review: Special Issue: Moral Development in Adolescents and Adults, 11(4),* 361-376

Wentzel, K. R. (1997). Student motivation in middle school: The role of perceived pedagogical caring. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 89*, 411-419.

Wentzel, K. R. (1998). Social support and adjustment in middle school: The role of parents, teachers, and peers. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 90*, 202-209.

Williams, M. (2003). "Citizenship as Identity, Citizenship as Shared Fate, and the Functions of Multicultural Education." In Kevin McDonough and Walter Feinberg. *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press**:** 208-247.

Wingert, P. (2010, January 26). The Real Issue Behind the Rhee Flap: Why Can't Schools Fire Bad Teachers? *Newsweek*, pp. 1A, 2A.

Winkler, A. (2002, November). Division in the ranks: Standardized testing draws lines between new and veteran teachers. Phi Delta Kappan, 219-225.

Zaff, J.F., Malanchuk, O. & Eccles, J.S. (2008). Predicting positive citizenship from adolescence to young adulthood: The effects of a civic context. *Applied Development Science, 12*, 38-53.

Table 1. Participant Demographic Information

Name	**Gender**	**Teacher**	**Graduating Class Year**	**Highest Education**
Andrea	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2009	College Student
Bird	Male	Mr. James, Ms. Kellogg	1998	Graduate Degree
Columbia	Female	Mr. James	1997	Graduate Degree
Donna	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2000	Undergraduate Degree
Flower	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2006	Undergraduate Degree
Henny	Male	Mr. James	1997	High School Diploma
Jenna	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2000	Graduate Student
Lareese	Female	Mr. James	1997	Undergraduate Degree
Lisa	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2006	Undergraduate Student
Poet	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2007	Undergraduate Student
Queen	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2000	Graduate Degree
Romeo	Male	Mr. James	1995	High School Diploma
Survivor	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2007	High School Diploma

Note. Names of students, teachers and the school have been changed.

Study Two

Habits of Exemplary High School Transformative Teachers, as Perceived by Students Transformed by a Social Justice Course

Many high school teachers utilize a transformative pedagogical style in their classrooms to augment students' learning experiences and cultivate identity development in their students. The purpose of this descriptive, qualitative research study is to gain an understanding of the transformative learning that takes place in a mandatory, high school social justice (SJ) course. To assess this, 20 former students of the transformative SJ course, current and former teachers of the course, and other faculty and administrators were interviewed. Additionally, all alumni of this course over the past 30 years were sent a survey in which they were prompted to reflect on the memorable aspects of the class. A range of curriculum materials also were consulted. Findings indicated that, despite a prevailing focus on adult learners in the transformative field, transformative practices at the high school level are largely comparable to those practiced at the post-high school level, such as using tools for critical self-reflection and individuation. Additionally, using some approaches that have not been widely discussed in the transformative literature, the teachers make use of the developmental timing of adolescence to make this class experience particularly edifying and, potentially, enduring.

The education of youth is one of the most fundamental and essential tasks of America, and also one of the more unsuccessful ones (Noguera & Weingarten, 2011). Given the importance of effective teaching, there has been a specific interest in the competency of teachers, particularly those working with at-risk youth, and a subsequent move toward incentive-based pay (Wingert, 2010; Winkler, 2002).The present study is grounded in the assumption that it is important to revisit *how* and *what* successful, innovative teachers teach our students. Prior literature strongly suggests that a social justice (SJ) class with transformative goals can have a lasting impact on adolescent students; thus, the overall aim of this qualitative study is to ascertain the aspects of the SJ class that contribute to a transformative learning experience.

To address the study aims, the lived experience of former students of an exemplary, mandatory, high school SJ course with transformative goals were examined. This course is similar to civic education and social studies in many secondary schools and is intended to shape the worldview of students. SJ uses a holistic approach to educating students, and maintains the goal of transforming students who can one day transform the world. Because there has been little research on transformative education at the secondary school level, the descriptive and theoretical literature available is fragmented and sparse. However, from a prior study (Harrell-Levy, Kerpelman, & Henry, 2012) it was found that students taking a SJ class experienced a variety of uncomfortable and disconcerting experiences that were intended, in some respects, to have delayed effects on students' lives, and that the influence of the class remained with the students years after the course's conclusion. The present study expands on those results and further examines the transformative teaching approach in order to increase understanding of the aspects of the transformative high school class that students believe made it distinctive and, subsequently, transformative.

Transformative Pedagogy and Creating a Person-Oriented Teaching Ethic

Effective teachers can make the difference between poor education and exemplary education and the most effective teachers rarely gravitate toward low resource schools (The New Teacher Project [TNTP], 2009). Despite the high cultural value placed on education in America, educational goals often fail to match results (Noguera & Weingarten, 2011). For example, because of its focus on systemization and the policy's failure to fully consider how competent and effective teachers influence their students' successes in the classroom, among other pitfalls, the *No Child Left Behind Act* has received a great deal of negative attention (Deakin, Crick & Joldersma, 2007; Joldersma & Deakin Crick 2010; Lingard & Mills, 2002). Research strongly suggests that policy changes in recent years have failed to improve the outcomes for students in secondary schools, and particularly for students perceived as at-risk (Barton, 2005; Graves, 2009; National Center for Education Statistics, 2011; New York Times, 2010; TNTP).

There is a growing body of research that suggests that addressing the gap between our ideals and our goals in secondary education begins with pursuing a person-oriented educational ethic (Margonis, 2011); this ethic includes an "appreciation of the importance of showing students respect" (p.434), and is typically captured in **student-centered** pedagogy. Student-centered pedagogy contains elements that promote student-directed learning (e.g. individual choice, self-expression, independent thinking), as opposed to teacher-centered pedagogy in which teachers direct and organize the flow of information, with little to no contribution from the students (Kember & McNaught, 2007). This allows teachers to know their students better and discern patterns that could lead to targeted efforts to improve outcomes for diverse learners, thereby reducing the student attrition rate (Margonis). The practice of transformative pedagogy is the embodiment of this effort. Transformative pedagogy, which could be considered a blending of teacher-centered and student-centered education, takes a person-oriented ethic even further, as it is the art of teaching students a socially constructed curriculum that is relatable to their own lives with the goal of facilitating transformations (Mezirow, 1991). However, transformative learning rarely has been investigated at the adolescent level.

All understandings and implementations of transformative pedagogy are not the same. Dirkx (1998) comments on some of the main strands of transformative learning as understood in the adult learning field, which include (1) **consciousness raising** (which refers to the process of cultivating an interest in the key issues of our communities, particularly as they relate to social, political, cultural and economic contexts), (2) **critical reflection** (which speaks to the process of identifying and deconstructing personal assumptions in efforts to reconstruct perspectives so that they are informed and rational) (3) **development** (the way students make sense of classroom experiences will be related to the their movement between phases in their personal development; Dirkx contends that adult learners are in-between phases of development and that they will construct new meaning structures and relate that back to their changing lives), and (4) **individuation** (which speaks to the process of integrating the emotional-spiritual aspects of learning with everyday life). These strands identified by Dirkx help guide the present study; this existing frame has been applied to adult learning and, thus, is purposefully tested with alumni's memory of their learning experience during adolescence. No such analysis has been done to assess, in such detail, implementations of transformative learning at the secondary school level. Thus, it is not yet known whether a high school SJ class would fit with any, or all, of Dirkx's strands.

Youth Development: Contributions from Social Studies Learning Literature

Although SJ at St. Mark's is not a social studies course, it bears important similarities with established social studies courses in many parochial, private and public secondary schools. Several studies have discussed the importance of introducing justice content to the pedagogy utilized in social studies classrooms in order to influence sustainable

change in student's lives as well as influence social reality (e.g. Buxton, 2010; Seiler & Gonsalves, 2010; Tzou, Scalone, & Bell, 2010). Despite this push toward more transformative practices in the secondary school social studies classroom, the *pedagogy of poverty* (a term invoked to describe didactic, teacher controlled instruction) is much more prevalent than transformative teaching practices (Thadani, Cook, Griffis, Wise, & Blakey, 2010). Nonetheless, the literature regarding those social studies teachers who do utilize transformative practices and SJ content is promising.

One example of such promise emerges from a study that examined the seventh grade students of 8 urban teachers to learn of the differences between classrooms that were more **inquiry-based** as opposed to those that were more didactic (Thadani, et al.). Short term differences in learning benefits were found favoring students in the inquiry-based classrooms, but the authors did not follow up to see if the benefits were sustained over time. Noting the struggle in the field to identify rigorously evaluated teacher-development approaches that lead to reliable gains in the achievement of students of varying ages and grades, Allen, Pianta, Gregory, Mikami, and Lum (2011) conducted a randomized trial that investigated improving teacher-student interactions in the classroom, and found that increasing **teacher-student interaction** in the classroom had a significant effect on what students took away from the class one year later.

SJ instruction is sometimes considered a pedagogy within social studies; as a pedagogy, it is said to incorporate students' lived experience in efforts of empowerment, which works best with collaborative projects and diverse classrooms (Applebaum, 2008). This move toward SJ education is a part of a larger challenge to provide empowering learning experiences, particularly to those in urban settings (O'Neill, 2010). In a qualitative study of 7th grade classes in the urban center of New York, O'Neill found that when teachers foster student ownership in social studies, they are particularly successful at engaging students into a more meaningful class experience.

In addition to student-teacher interactions within the classroom, it has been argued that infusing the learning experience with a **service-learning** component among adolescent populations offers a way of linking classroom lessons with life outside of school. Kaufman (2010) offered that the service learning approach has unique appeal for those teaching social studies because of the meaningful integration of curriculum, learning and service. When service is regular and frequent in adolescence, the service may contribute to a more influential experience. Additionally, identity development deepens in adolescence but endures throughout the life span, contributing to the plausibility of this influencing adolescent identity and development in a lasting way (Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 1996).

Adding to transformative learning being inquiry-based, student-centered, interactive, and service learning focused, one final component put forward by Coke (2005) is provision of **cooperative-learning teaching strategies**, noting that teachers should model the skills they would like to develop in students. Although the importance of **role**

modeling has not been a theme explored in the adult learning literature, it is present in research regarding youth development (Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Sullivan & Larson, 2010; Zeldin, 2000). Thus, developmentally, there may be unique benefits to this approach for adolescents because they have not yet made firm conclusions about their moral and civic selves, which are two aspects of self that alumni of the SJ course reported were impacted in Harrell-Levy et al. (2012). Role modeling also can be effective when teachers expose students to other adults who can model skills and responsible living for them (Sullivan & Larson, 2010).

Present Study

Although there is a great deal of research on classroom and teacher influences on student engagement (e.g., Becker & Luther, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Lee & Smith, 1993), there is surprisingly little research on students who take transformative courses in adolescence (which is a crucial point in their identity development, Erikson, 1968); and empirical research with former students themselves serving as informants is particularly sparse. The current study uses Dirkx' strands of transformative learning that previously have been applied to adult learning to understand the different transformative SJ experiences that were a part of the high school course. Whether these same strands emerge in alumni's recall of their high school SJ class, as well as whether additional strands are identified are determined through careful analysis of data sources (i.e., open-ended survey responses, interviews with teachers, administrators, and alumni, and information from the course texts and curricula).

Method

The present study employed techniques based in the tradition of qualitative research, also known as naturalistic research. Data for this study were developed through case studies bounded by three teachers of a mandatory high school SJ class. The case studies consisted of several data sources, including mostly interview sessions that include both unstructured and semistructured components (see Table 1 for the sources of data). The case study approach is based on a constructivist paradigm, which suggests that truth is relative and, thus, highly dependent upon multiple perspectives (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). The qualitative case study approach is particularly relevant for the present study because alumni included in the present study have taken the SJ course across multiple years and, thus, the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not entirely clear (Yin, 2003).

Insert Table 1 about here

Students of three SJ teachers at St. Mark's were interviewed to tease apart the aspects of the transformative teaching method that led to perceived impact. Additionally, the interviews with alumni spanned class years of one and a half decades and included alumni's thoughts (positive and/or negative) on the teacher, the class or a service

experience/memory. One of the 3 teachers of former students included in the present study was the founder of the course, and had taught the course for the greatest number of years. Building on Harrell-Levy et al., (2012), the 13 interviews used in the prior study were recoded to address the goals of the current study. In addition, seven new interviews were conducted to more fully explore the current research aims.

Participants

Alumni interview participants. All interview participants were alumni of St. Mark's High School, a primarily Black parochial school situated in an urban setting. Interview participants of the SJ teachers (N=20) spanned across different class years: 1995 (1), 1997 (2), 1998 (2), 2000 (9), 2006 (2), 2007 (3), and 2009 (1) (See Table 2). The teachers were three former religion teachers of SJ. Mr. James, a white male, layperson; Ms. Kellogg, a white, female layperson; and Ms. Gaskins, a black, female layperson).

Insert Table 2 about here

Context: Class, school and teacher participants. SJ at the school used in the present study is a mandatory class that students take during their junior year of high school. The school was first opened as a multiracial, male school in the 1950s, and became coeducational a few decades later. According to the school website, the mission statement for the SJ course includes such themes as the formation of conscience, recognition of modern day social problems, reflection on moral and responsible living, and service in the soup kitchen. Students are expected to reach the learning objectives noted above through several units that span the duration of their entire junior year of high school (e.g. domestic poverty, economic justice, etc.). These units are not always the same (and at times there can be notable variability between teachers).

According to accounts from multiple colleagues, Mr. James (now deceased) spearheaded many of the school's long held traditions and founded the course in 1976. The textbook and syllabus of the course came directly from him. Ms. Kellogg came to the school in 1992. After Mr. James' passing, she spearheaded the course and continued teaching at the school through the 2010-2011 school year. Ms. Gaskins was a religion teacher at the school from 1996 through the 2003 school year. Although she taught sections of social justice across her tenure at the school, beginning in 1998, social justice was not her main course.

Interview Questions and Survey Open-ended Items

An interview protocol was developed that assessed the following general categories: perceptions of class content, the teacher, the teaching style, and the impact of the class on their lives. Additionally, information about biographical information was collected. The open-ended survey material included information from alumnis' responses

to one or two open-ended prompts that were included as part of a larger survey that was open to all alumni; the first question asked alumni to reflect on the class and record any thought helpful to researchers seeking to learn about the course, and the second question prompted alumni to describe one memorable experience in the class.

Procedure

This qualitative case study was an approach to research that facilitated exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources. Atlas.ti (Muhr, 2004), the qualitative software analysis program, was used for coding the transcripts. The unit of analysis for coding was a complete thought (e.g. a single word, a sentence, a paragraph). For more detailed illustrations of analysis and corroboration, see Harrell-Levy et al. (2012). The material in Table 1 was coded to identify how the teachers of SJ contributed to the impact that was uncovered in Harrell-Levy et al. (2012).

The data came from multiple sources and were organized into categories and subcategories, based on emergent themes. Following that, patterns and themes were used to create clusters of information, which allowed us to develop a comparative method of analysis. For instance, an interview with a former principal resulted in several themes (e.g. history and background of course, students' appraisal of the course and its teachers, teachers' appraisal of the course and its founder, the similarities and differences between Ms. Kellogg's and Mr. James' approach and impact, school demographics and culture, and the general pedagogical orientation of the class). These emergent themes, along with those found with other data sources, were then clustered into themes that allowed us to answer the main research question regarding *how* the SJ teachers contributed to impact.

Credibility and Trustworthiness

In the qualitative tradition, *validity,* or *credibility,* refers to the researcher's attempts to verify findings by employing procedures like triangulation and member checking (Creswell, 2009), which, in large part, is determined by the skill set and training of the individual researcher (Kvale, 2009). It is important for results to be transparent, such that an informed audience could read the codes, results and interpretations and understand how the three relate. Finally, issues of validity are important; however, *quality craftsmanship* at every stage of the research process is expected to satisfy those conditions.

To ensure credibility and trustworthiness, several steps were taken. First, the case study design that relies heavily on multiple data sources collected over an extended period of time helped achieve a degree of triangulation (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Second, the research protocol was developed over time and edited extensively based on recommendations from informed colleagues and former students of the class who participated in pilot testing.

Additionally, all interview participants were given the opportunity to review transcripts for errors and omissions. Also, in a manner consistent with Marshall & Rossman (1999), coding was reviewed by a former student of the course who, though knowledgeable of the class, was an outsider to this project and offered insights to challenge and question the coding process and research results. Third and finally, when interviewing Ms. Kellogg and all students, recording devices were used and interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Results

In the course of the interviews, when describing a typical day of class, the teaching process, and other aspects of the phenomenon of SJ, several themes emerged regarding the teaching process and key attributes of the teachers of students in the present study. When these themes were merged with data from all sources, the following clusters of themes and subthemes emerged that (a) supported Dirkx's strands of transformative learning, (b) went beyond Dirkx's strands but were similar to post high school approaches to transformative pedagogy described in the literature, and (c) were different from previously documented aspects of post high school approaches to transformative learning.

Evidence Supporting Dirkx's Strands

The first four similarities identified are organized according to the strands of transformative learning suggested in Dirkx (1998). These are consciousness raising (through cooperative learning), inquiry-based critical self-reflection, development, and individuation.

Consciousness raising through cooperative learning. Consciousness raising, the ability to pose questions and then take action on those issues based on a heightened awareness of those issues, was a major component of the SJ course. The methods were aimed at providing students with a better understanding of current events by encouraging discussion and analysis of social issues and the relationship those issues have with students' lives. Two quotations are included below to illustrate this theme; in the first, a student of Ms. Kellogg demonstrates how teachers directly contributed to consciousness raising, and, in the second, a student of Mr. James demonstrates how students also contributed to consciousness raising through cooperative learning.

> I recall a discussion on sweat shops….I could not believe that adults would exploit children and other adults in this manner. Learning this caused me to question if there were any laws to protect these workers, if anything could be done to stop this injustice, and why companies were allowed to produce the apparel at a low cost and charge high rates to consumers. [female, class of 2000].
>
> I remember a class where all my peers were 100 % for the death penalty except for me... By the end of the class after sharing my reasons and listening to theirs, I had changed the opinion of every class member. It

> got heated and personal, which Mr. James encouraged. But I held on to my beliefs and they listened and they changed their minds... It was monumental. I think people may have even cried during that discussion...[female, class of 1997]

In a third example, a former student of Mr. James explained how the teacher modified the service learning experience to generate consciousness raising.

> We held a Super Bowl party at the new homeless shelter downtown …At first I was confused as to why someone would spend the money to have *catering* there when that money could be used to pay for other things over a longer period [but] realized that this one event could be significant in impacting the self-esteem and outlook of the people at the shelter that evening. [male, class of 1987].

Inquiry-based critical self-reflection. Consciousness raising was often followed by, or intermingled with, techniques for critical self-reflection. Inquiry based critical reflection can be seen as the process of identifying, assessing and reformulating the assumptions that lead to one's perspective through the process of penetrating questioning (Dirkx, 1998). Not only were students introduced to social issues, they were encouraged to form opinions on those issues. Moreover, consistent with Dirkx's conceptualization of critical reflection, after students were introduced to new and unfamiliar issues, they were then encouraged to reflect in ways that led to rethinking their past, present and future selves. This process was a recurring theme in students' descriptions of the class and emerged as an important feature of *how* SJ teachers taught. However, there were differences between how the SJ teachers generated critical self-reflection.

Moto, a former student of Ms. Gaskins, offered an example of how Ms. Gaskins' would stimulate critical self-reflection through the use of inquiries. Regarding the issue of education, Moto noted that Ms. Gaskins asked students about their time at St. Mark's, and if they felt that we were using their time effectively, which "led to a question that would prove to be prescient - would we support public money for students to come to St. Mark's?" He noted that many of his peers gave responses such as: "can I use the money and not pay tuition?" but said that through further questioning, she was able to deepen the critical self-reflection. Moto explained that the lesson "made [him] question [his] own place as a student in private school…In hindsight, it also put access in contrast with prestige…Is it better to have a few excel, or [to have] many succeed?"

Poet, a former student of Ms. Kellogg, captured the process of stimulating critical self-reflection among students through inquiry. Poet remarked that the class would occasionally lead to "very heated debate," but that this debate was productive because Ms. Kellogg nurtured an "element of universal understanding in spite of the fact that we could have very different opinions." To stimulate such *heated debate*, Ms. Kellogg would "come after you with more

penetrating questions until your argument fell apart or until you could hold your own, [which was] not an easy thing to do with Ms. Kellogg." This student further described that this process was routine for Ms. Kellogg: "She would open up [the class discussion] for question and debate and then she would find something about the topic that no one had brought up, but one with such profundity to make everyone shut up and think. There was a lot of shutting up and thinking in this class because the material wasn't something you could make black and white decisions about."

The critical thinking in class was not just reflective, it was personal. According to a female graduate from the class of 1997, "Mr. James challenged us to change the world through any form of self-expression." Students were compelled to personalize issues. The goal was to improve students' abilities to critically engage issues but also influence how those same students "look[ed] at the world." According to another student of Mr. James, this reflective and personal process of critical thinking was neither incidental nor easy. Instead, Mr. James routinely challenged his students and made the process of defending one's position rigorous.

> He challenged us on a daily basis to study the SJ issues of our day. He was respectful if one were to have a differing opinion of the causes and/or solutions of society's ills; however, one must have been very well-prepared to defend his position in front of the class. This was useful in not only learning the subject, but also in developing skills of critical thinking and debate. It would be a great benefit to our society as a whole if his teaching model were adopted throughout the country. [male, class of 1985].

However, although there are similarities between the teachers in this inquiry based critical self-reflection, there are several examples of ways that Mr. James' process differed in its extremity from both Ms. Kellogg and Ms. Gaskins. According to multiple sources, Mr. James would also go to unexpected straits to convey what he believed to be a relevant point to his students. In one example of how far Mr. James would go to initiate critical self-reflection, a student recalled a rather extreme and vivid lesson about the irresponsible use of wealth:

> Mr. James spit coffee on a kid's shirt in class that cost $200 to express his displeasure in what he felt was irresponsible use of wealth…It taught me a lot about the true use of wealth and value…of frivolous expenditures. That guy's shirt was worthless and he then went on to explain what $200 dollars could mean to the poor. [male, class of 1989].

Development. The SJ teaching method required students to integrate feelings and action in a way that would lead to a new construction of self (Dirkx, 1998). This element of the class was indicated in all interviews with former students of Mr. James and Ms. Kellogg and in two interviews (of the five) of former students of Ms. Gaskins. As an example of development, many students spoke about their diverse service experiences and how they continued to

perform service after the class, or sought more opportunities for service during the class. This sense of development was similar across teachers; however, three students of Ms. Gaskins' attributed this development solely to the service experience or opportunities to work with other teachers in the school, outside of Ms. Gaskins' class. Wheelhouse, however, noted that Ms. Gaskins was very concerned about the development of students, encouraging students to elaborate on how they would connect SJ to their everyday lives. Students of Mr. James and Ms. Kellogg spoke a great deal about the service experience as having developmental goals; however, only one of Ms. Gaskin's students included this developmental aspect when describing her teaching.

In the following example, a student explained how she combined the service experience with in-class lessons about civic engagement to reflect on making changes to the way she involved herself in social issues, and even acted on those reflections while a student. The quotation also demonstrates how this process was provoked deliberately by Mr. James:

> After serving at the soup kitchen one day, my group decided to write a letter to our Congressman about the social injustices that we saw and the stories that we heard from the homeless. After not receiving a response from the Congressmen's office, Mr. James asked us what we were going to do now. On one of the half days, we all went to Congress in uniform and demanded that our elected official sit down and speak with us since he refused to answer our letter. We sat there for two hours waiting for him to return from a meeting before his secretary called the school and spoke with Mr. James. He was the only one that could get us to leave. Two days later we received a written response to our letter and 1000 extra woof points on our weekly assignment. [female, class of 1997].

Individuation. The teaching method hinged on a high level of emotional and spiritual engagement from all participants, with teachers tugging at the unconscious or more hidden aspects of students' selves in hopes that they could evoke undisclosed thoughts and emotions. This, according to Dirkx (1998), is the process of individuation. Ideally, students' thoughts and feelings would become active and alert, and students could then subject those thoughts to a deeper level of discernment. Two examples of this process are presented below. First, in a hypothetical discussion about war, Mr. James placed the students in the position to make national security decisions, which resulted in emotional engagement of the students; in the second example, the teacher admonished a student for not allowing herself to "feel the experience."

> We had a discussion where if you were the president and just found out the US was going to be hit with a nuclear attack would you fire our nuclear weapons back at the enemy? The moral question posed was

> wouldn't it be better to not fire back and ensure the survival of the human race. It was a very emotional topic and after many classes of discussion, I believe the whole class concluded the right thing morally would be to not fire back so mankind could survive. [male, class of 1984].
>
> I remember my first day at the soup kitchen [and] being admonished by [James] for not letting myself feel the experience. There was such passion and sincerity in his voice [and] eyes. He felt that none of us were any better or different than the patrons of the soup kitchen. That we had life experience [and] experience that deserved respect [and] reverence. [female, class of 1995].

This individuation was a common teaching element across all the teachers, but remained particularly salient in descriptions of Mr. James' course. Without always going into detail, many former students of Ms. James and Ms. Kellogg commented on the level of emotionality in the class. Bird (a student of Mr. James) and Andrea (a student of Ms. Kellogg), for instance, noted that it was not uncommon to cry.

When describing her own teaching method, Ms. Kellogg spoke about the process of individuation by noting the importance of "engaging [her students] with reality, and touching their wounds." This method included *taking a sociological look* at an issue or a person, by video or by article; *touching the issue* through a service experience, guest speaker, movie or some other introduction; *consulting some moral/ethical authority* (such as the bible or catholic social teaching); *looking at a hero* who deals with the issue, whose responded to an ethical crisis; and *sharing stories in community*. She noted that her style of teaching was similar to Mr. James', but that some differences emerge in that her learning objectives were clearly laid out for the students, she utilized a more traditional organized curriculum, she maintained a clear and consistent grading rubric, and she was less involved in students' personal lives.

Beyond Dirkx's Strands: Similarities with Post-high School Transformative Approaches

Coding revealed aspects of the pedagogical approach at St. Mark's that are consistent with post-high school transformative implementations but beyond Dirkx' strands: teacher-student interaction, service learning focused, and interactive and lively learning.

Teacher-student interaction. Ms. Gaskins, Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James were perceived as supportive and compassionate. Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James, in particular, were regarded by their former students as available and supportive teachers and had strong student-teacher relationships. However, although this was amplified by alumni of Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James, it appears also to be the case for Ms. Gaskins. Francois, a former student of Ms. Gaskins enjoyed the SJ class, in part, because, "she made you feel wanted in the class and she connected with every student." He also stated that "She was always encouraging. She loved her students and it showed." Although it is not clear if her

relationship with students extended beyond the classroom, Francois noted that the way Ms. Gaskins connected with students was by being inclusive of everyone: "[She] didn't leave anyone out. Made you a part of her lesson and class."

According to Ms. Kellogg, forming a personal relationship was an essential aspect of her teaching style and Mr. James' teaching style. Thus, she described her relationship with her students as a part of the class. Conversations about the teacher were marked by high regard, and an appreciation for her responsiveness to and compassion for her students. Andrea shared that Ms. Kellogg was "always there for [her] and [she] felt comfortable talking to her about numerous things." Donna noted that she "spoke to [Ms. Kellogg] indirectly about personal matters. Ms. Kellogg built this relationship by interacting with her students and being attentive to their written work: "Reading is listening. That's how you get to know them." She further explained:

> In between classes I'm always talking. Like, a lot of it is in the hallway. And a lot of it is eye contact. You know, some of the kids are so quiet and they see that you see them, the way that you listen to them. But if a kid feels unseen and unheard, they're not going to learn. I think that's the worst part of poverty anyways. It's feeling unseen and unheard.

Ms. Kellogg also articulated that although a personal relationship is a goal of her teaching, a positive relationship is not always the case and not the cause of impact. Accordingly, what matters is teacher-student interaction.

For students of Mr. James, teacher-student interaction extended beyond the classroom. Columbia recalled that "people would stay after school to help [Mr. James] with course-related projects and, during the summer, some students would be employed [to do projects at the school] and many of the guys would work side by side with Mr. James, fixing up the school, [and] painting." Romeo spoke about a close relationship with Mr. James, one in which he was free to discuss any number of issues, including TuPac, a popular rapper that was murdered in 1996. Romeo illuminated this relationship by describing an incident during his freshmen year when he came to class after submitting his essay on his service learning experience:

> The day after I turned in the [soup kitchen] paper I came to class and he was really quiet. …He was digging in his bag…He took out a paper...and was looking at me smiling,…and he goes 'You know, my car got stolen last night...and the only thing I could think about...was the fact that your paper was in it.' I'm thinking 'what?' He tells me that in the history of people writing essays after coming from the soup kitchen that I wrote the best essay he had ever read, ever. And he told me that he was going to read it in front of the class…I left out the room and stood in the hallway while he read it. When I [came back in] the class started clapping.…I can still see his grin, him looking at me.

Additionally, Romeo recalled that later in his junior year, he ran away from home. Mr. James grew concerned because of Romeo's extended absence from school, located him and compelled him to return home. Romeo recalled, "I remember being handed the phone where I was at, and he goes, 'Child...why aren't you at school?' Do you know what you're doing...? "

Overall, and according to all interview participants, supportive student teacher relationships were a general aspect of education at St. Mark's, and all three SJ teachers were supportive and attempted to foster close relationships with students.

Service learning focused. For the teachers of SJ, service learning co-exists in dynamic interrelation with pedagogy. Service learning was a recurring topic throughout all the student data. Many students had vivid recall of their service learning experience. Moreover, although service-learning (soup kitchen, food drive, and so-forth) is not particularly novel in secondary schools, it is evident that the connection that two of the SJ teachers (Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James) drew between the out-of-class service with the in-class teaching was perceived as uniquely powerful by alumni. Queen, a student of Ms. Kellogg, articulated this point:

> [The in-class and out-of-class components] complement each other because you learn in the class the reason why you should serve, and then you also learn about these people that you are serving, how they got there…how some people, for instance, they have jobs. I would have never known that. I would have just assumed that everybody who goes to the soup kitchen is homeless. So, I mean they go together for sure.

Additionally, through service experiences, and other community outreach opportunities, students were exposed to a variety of unconventional models or resources of positive value, and, thus, one important strand that emerged in the data on service learning was alumni's regard for the people to whom they were introduced as a part of service experiences. These individuals act as role models in the sense that, to this day, many alumni still vividly recall the lessons and experiences of these individuals (e.g. a doctor for the mentally ill was interviewed for a class assignment, walking "downtown to speak [to the homeless] and get a feel of how the homeless lived," and a guest speaker who had served time on death row only later to be found innocent.)

There are numerous examples of former students' vivid recall of people they met in the soup kitchen; for instance, "I met this woman and her young daughter … I learned her story and was heartbroken by her situation. She originally worked full time and had a house. She got sick for three weeks and her boss fired her. She was having no luck finding another job and eventually lost her house." Two former students were particularly taken aback by experiences in which they recognized the soup kitchen visitors. One example is as follows: "I ran into a woman that had lived across

the street from our family years earlier. She was ashamed that I recognized her" (female, class of 1992). Several students also noted that the opportunity to "interact with the visitors" at the soup kitchen contributed to a more memorable service experience. Many students many years removed from the class had excellent recall of these encounters, recalling not just how they felt, but who they met and, in several cases, what was discussed. For example, one former member of the class of 1998 recalled the following:

> I went to the soup kitchen and met a man who literally was living paycheck to paycheck with his wife and three children. He spoke to me about his ambitions and education and urged me to continue my education. I felt so sorry for the man, and he refused to accept it. He told me not to pity him; [that] it [was] just a part of the journey God set before him. It brought tears to my eyes. [female, class of 1998].

In one last example, a former student described how he had an impactful encounter with a young girl at the soup kitchen, despite having never being introduced to this "role model":

> As a 14 year old kid, I can still feel the fear I had in volunteering to feed the homeless and poor. I remember cutting the bruised veggies to make the soup, picking the meat from chicken ribs to put in the soup…No one realizes that when you work at a soup kitchen you get to see the humanity of people that look rough and are really living a rough life. So, by 12 noon, you grasp that these are real people laughing, smiling, coughing, cutting line, asking for seconds, etc. The one memory I will always have and never really shared was in the course of the day, I saw a female from afar. The frame said 9 to10 year old little girl, tops. [Prior to] that point, everyone had been a certified adult. That image and thought that the frame was a *kid*, shook me to the core. I recall going from feeling good about helping to a lasting sadness that there are poor hungry kids out there that are helpless [male, class of 1984].

Interactive and Lively Learning. The learning environment described by students of Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James was decidedly lively and interactive (e.g. students of both Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James report examples of spontaneous behaviors from the teachers to energize and excite students, including standing on desks, playing music loudly, and penetrating and thorough debate over issues discussed). In contrast, Ms. Gaskins' learning environment was not described as lively, but was interactive and contained elements that would align well with post-high school versions of transformative education (e.g. discussion, lecture, and story-telling).

One former student of Ms. Gaskins describes the learning environment of her class as a well-managed mixture of discussion and bible based-lecture that was infused with personal stories of Ms. Gaskins' son and other relevant personal experiences. Michel described what she could recall of the class learning environment (of which she admitted

there was little), noting that it was calm and predictable. Although she appreciated Ms. Gaskins as a person, Michel made references to memories of speakers and trips that she was aware were taking place in Ms. Kellogg's class the same year (*Note.* Ms. Kellogg and Ms. Gaskins had different sections of the SJ class), and lamented that she did not have what she believed to be the "true SJ" experience. Although Ms. Gaskins' methods were not described as particularly creative, those who could recall details of her method noted there was opportunity for involved discussion.

In contrast to Ms. Gaskins, both Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James were perceived as uniquely creative in their methods. This includes the use of a variety of teaching resources (e.g. films, music, class trips, guest talks, service learning, and more). Mr. James was particularly adept at introducing cultural references into the class to enrich both the service learning experience and the class discussion/lecture experience. When bridging the lessons from class with students' service experiences, Columbia noted that Mr. James once created mix tapes of songs from the current year that he gave to students and that during her school year, "Mr. James took [her] class to see Les Miserables in Washington, DC and Miss Saigon in New York, New York, which…he typically did every year for the juniors." Respondents to the essay prompt also noted other trips, including visits to meet congressional representatives and two trips to meet then President William Jefferson Clinton. According to Columbia, "These trips also coincided with the social themes [they] learned about which Mr. James drew from the Broadway musicals." Lareese noted the excursions that would take place outside of the classroom as helpful to her overall learning experience. Similarly, students described the learning environment in Ms. Kellogg's class as "nontraditional" and "unique." A former colleague of Ms. Kellogg described Ms. Kellogg's experience of taking over the SJ program as "masterful," contending that she "instantly had rapport with the students and instantly got a reputation as a very tough, good teacher." Her students contend that Ms. Kellogg was personable and affable, that, although her personality was unpredictable, they always knew what to expect in terms of the curriculum, that discussions were stimulating and common, and that Ms. Kellogg had phenomenal classroom management among lively discussions. Ultimately, data revealed that only two of the three SJ teachers (Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James) had very intense, energetic learning environments.

Differences from Post-high School Transformative Approaches

Coding revealed differences between a post-HS implementation of transformative pedagogy and the high school version at St. Mark's. These differences included: lack of student centeredness: teacher as passionate and engaged authority, teacher modeling, and developmental timing and impact.

Lack of student centeredness: Teacher as passionate and engaged authority. While the SJ course is taught in a more teacher directed way than anticipated of purely transformative classes, there also is a student-centeredness as well. Given that they were role models, the social justice teachers were not removed or passive. And, in many respects, their ideologies controlled the direction of the course and the substance of the lessons. Many students recounted examples of SJ teachers as passionate, opinionated and outspoken. Former students were very clear about where there teachers stood on the issues and, in some cases, risked an antagonistic experience if they disagreed and could not argue their point convincingly. In this way, the high school SJ teachers were not just charismatic facilitators of meaningful discussion (as might be typically expected of post-high school transformative teachers); they were authority figures whom the students looked to for substance and guidance related to the issues discussed (e.g. "he was almost like a savior" [male, class of 1985], "While I may not remember specific discussions, I do remember his unfailing defense of socially disadvantaged groups and his stance that everyone deserves respect as a human being." [male, class of 1985 (2)].

Noting a background as a fiscally conservative, wealthy person, one male graduate from the class of 2005 described the experience of submitting a homework assignment expressing views dissimilar to the teacher's that resulted in public derision by the teacher:

> The teacher told the class I was exempt from ever turning in any more written homework due to my written report on my experience working in the soup kitchen. He told the class he ripped up my paper and spit on it and he did not want to read any more of my opinions, because he disagreed with me so much (he was not as delicate as my description). [female, class of 1999]

However, it is important to note that the student above was the only one (of over 120 student participants) to describe such a negative experience. The far more common sentiment, as a female member of the class of 1997 phrased it, was that Mr. James did not "force his views on [students] but encouraged [his students] to come to their own determination about the world around them." A former principal and colleague noted that "Mr. James was not robbing or indoctrinating anyone. In other words, you could get an 'A' in the class and not agree with him." This sentiment was also supported by a male member of the class of 1984:

> The beauty of Mr. James was he taught us how to think and not to be afraid of having views of any sort. He disagreed, but if you did not know how to support your view he would be as equally challenging. We were a school of inner city kids with rather conservative views and liberal backgrounds. We have suburban kids that were both liberal and conservative. He challenged us all! I doubt if the class ever had a consistent 50-50 split on any topic. We all had different and varying views [male, class of 1984].

Also, when interviewed about her pedagogical style, Ms. Kellogg was emphatic on the point that teaching SJ is not about indoctrination; further describing indoctrination, or brainwashing, as "violence." Interestingly, however, an interview with that same colleague and other teachers suggested that the propensity for the negative encounter described above was always present with Mr. James because of his confrontational style of engaging students.

Finally, analysis of the data suggests that Ms. Gaskins was particularly adept at not imposing her views. A former student from the class of 2000 contended that Ms. Gaskins "showed her opinion but did not thrust it upon us." Thus, overall, although transformative educators at the post-secondary school level are expected to be engaged, social critics, there may also be an accompanying expectation for impartiality that two of the three high school SJ teachers may not have met. Although not clearly student-centered, it is important to note, however, that the social justice course was not 100% teacher-centered.

Teacher modeling. The SJ teachers modeled the skills they would like to develop in students. All of the interview participants noted this, but six of the interview participants spoke even more directly about how the class resonated more with them *because* the teacher was living the life that the teacher wanted for his/her students. Andrea described Ms. Kellogg as a "fanatic for SJ" and a person who imitated everything taught in class. Similarly, Ms. Kellogg was a described as a "fierce advocate for the [voiceless]" (Donna), as a person who could relate to the struggles of people all over the world (Survivor), and as a teacher who would regularly join students for service and advocacy excursions outside of class (Poet).

Both Lareese and Bird were emotional when describing what it was like watching Mr. James interact with his two adopted sons: "Seeing Mr. James with them...seeing him give himself, when we thought there was nothing left to give...It's hard to explain." One student of Mr. James captured the essence of this point in the following way: "What I enjoyed most about my teacher was his passion for the poor and SJ in general. He not only taught the subject matter, but also embodied a morality and ethic that caused him to demonstrate the truth he taught." Several students noted that, in this way, the passion (and commitment) of the teacher was transferred to the students.

Francois responded affirmatively when asked if Ms. Gaskins was a "role model for SJ living," adding as evidence that "she actually let me go to the soup kitchen more times than scheduled. She encouraged it." Moto spoke about the personal passion Ms. Gaskins had for the material, but when asked if Ms. Gaskins joined students on out-of-class service trips, he could not recall. Ms. Gaskins was commended by students in the short answer response and interview data as having a "willingness to show love through her actions and speech." Another former student who described Ms. Gaskins as a "gentle giant" recalled a class experience during which Ms. Gaskins shared a story about her

experience interacting with prison inmates; this student reflected that this story "impacted [subsequent] views about people charged with criminal acts."

Developmental Timing and Impact. School, family and age converge and contribute to the relationship between the methods employed and the long term impact on students. Adolescents in the present study still lived at home with their parents, and relied heavily on the beliefs and values of their parents when expressing levels of interest in and agreement with the class lessons. Also, because students were in high school, they were meeting with their SJ teachers on a daily basis and given ample opportunities for off-campus community engagement as a class (as opposed to small group or individual excursions). Ultimately, the developmental timing of the class, the constant access teachers were given to students, and the opportunity to involve a large number of students in community outreach converged to act as both unique and important. Regarding the developmental timing of the class, specifically, Ms. Kellogg perceived that a class at a later time or earlier time would serve as an obstacle to such transformative practices, contending that the class is particularly relevant for this age group because it is the students' first confrontation with the nuances of important social issues and it is done at a critical point in their emotional development.

> While a certain maturity level and breadth of life experiences are perhaps missing for many students at the high school level, it is never too early to plant seeds of justice and empowerment. Particularly important for schools made up of primarily minority students like St. Mark's to foster in the students a sense of self-worth and agency." [male, class of 2000].

A former administrator echoed a similar sentiment, contending that, for an "untraditional" class like this, "the younger the better" because they get to "see how people live….and what they have to do to stay alive and [their] whole view of the world is…knocked askew." Several students added to this assertion, positing that such a class needs to come early in life because, as adolescents mature into adults and accumulate life experiences, they use the material they have learned in that process. Additionally, regarding the role of the home environment, Ms. Kellogg asserted that some students had a powerful experience because they sought to prove her wrong and others because they agreed. According to Ms. Kellogg, there were also students who "[couldn't] hear anything because they [were] overwhelmed emotionally. And that's no fault of the class or anyone else."

Discussion

Utilizing qualitative case study methodology, the current study examined the practices of transformative teachers and their relationship with transformative outcomes. Of perhaps most importance, the current study identified several key components to a successful high school transformative class, some of which have not been previously

identified in the literature. Similarities with a post-high school implementation of transformative pedagogy included the four strands (consciousness raising through cooperative learning, inquiry-based critical self-reflection, development, individuation) identified by Dirkx (1998), as well as a few others (teacher-student interaction, teacher modeling, service learning focused, and interactive learning environment; Dirkx, 1997; Allen et al., 2011). Differences between what was found at St. Mark's and a post-high school level implementation are particularly illuminating, and include, teacher as passionate and engaged authority (which indicates a lack of student centeredness), teacher modeling, and, developmental timing and impact.

The literature on transformative pedagogy suggests that its implementation is more plausible at the post-high school level (Giroux, 1988). This can be for many reasons, including older students' capacity for critical thinking (McLaren, 1995), older students' emotional and social development which should afford older students more opportunities to be intellectually engaged and relate the material back to life experiences (Giroux, 1988), and the intellectual freedom of teachers at the post-high school level are given to teach social justice transformative content (McLaren, 1995). Nevertheless, though perhaps more common at the post-high school level, such classes at the high school level do exist (Buxton, 2010; Seiler & Gonsalves, 2010; Tzou, Scalone, & Bell, 2010). Moreover, our results suggest that the youth of high school age students in such classes may be more of an asset than an impediment; teachers at St. Mark's used the identity exploration opportunities afforded by teaching adolescent students to create a sense of urgency, passion and idealism, thereby enriching the messages, and potentially, increasing the longevity of their impact on in student's thoughts and ideas about the world.

In addition to learning the core similarities and differences, the specific efforts of teachers to create sustained transformative experiences for students were assessed. Thus, our research illustrates "how" and "what" successful innovative teachers teach their students. Consistent with prior data on transformative pedagogy (Kitchenham, 2008; Mezirow, 1991), the majority of student participants did exhibit an understanding of sociocultural issues and expressed ways that this understanding was nurtured in the class, which corroborated the presence of consciousness raising within the class. Students were then encouraged to personalize these issues and make value judgments about appropriate and inappropriate responses that was evident of a high degree of critical self-reflection. Both aspects of transformative learning were accomplished through students' exposure to issues within the classroom and through a range of service and learning experiences outside of the classroom (as seen in Kaufman, 2010). Individuation and development were major components of the class, as experiences were emotionally angled toward pressing students to make changes to their lives.

One emergent theme was that, despite utilizing a socially constructed curriculum, the high school SJ teacher firmly set the direction of and content of the course. Two of the SJ teachers regularly communicated their strong opinions to the class, and formed curricula around the basis of these opinions. A typical transformative class could be considered a blending of teacher centered and student centered approaches (Kember & McNaught, 2007); but, in the current study, appeared to be primarily teacher-driven. Moreover, the framework for learning was at times inquiry-based and at others times didactic. However, despite being teacher driven, and consistent with extant theory (Mezirow, 1991), the teachers utilized a socially constructed curriculum. Specifically, the main text of the course was revised yearly and included articles from national newspapers about current social issues. Supportively, when recalling significant class memories, students routinely referenced class discussions that were relevant to current events that took place during their time in the class. Additionally, not only were relevant social issues discussed, so too were the related experiences of members of the class. In this way, each class year provided a unique class experience and the reality of any particular class varied from class to class. On this basis, we can conclude that though the class was somewhat teacher-centered, much of what the SJ class experience was like was determined by what the students and the teacher brought to the class, both as individuals and as a community.

One additional unexpected contribution of the present study was the emphasis former students placed on the high resource adults of positive value (e.g. teachers, individuals at the service site, and guest speakers) to whom the students were exposed. It is important to note that people who are resources of positive value are typically seen as those who have experience, power, and status (as in Sullivan & Larson, 2009) and not those who, for instance, have experienced grave loss, been victims of inconceivable injustice, or have given up material status on the basis of personal principle. The latter was often the case with many of the role models provided to the students in SJ. It is important to observe how these individuals enriched the service experience and deepened the perceived impact for alumni.

Taken together, results of the present study indicate that the secondary SJ teachers were able to maintain a successful program, in many respects, on the strength of their own personalities and visionary leadership. Specifically, two of the three teachers were charismatic and creative in their own engagement of the material and their presentation of the material to students. This method was marked by an energetic classroom environment, student teacher interaction and positive teacher-student relationships. The SJ teachers were proactive outside of class in helping to foster a socially just climate in the school. It is worth noting, however, that Ms. Gaskins' approach led to less memorable experiences, and thus, there were less data available from her students to arrive at firm conclusions about the extent of these class elements.

The overall significance of understanding the teaching elements that led to sustained, long-term success and, in some cases, many years after the course, provides initial evidence that certain teaching elements carry unique benefits. Our results have significant policy implications, particularly regarding best teacher practices and human development concerns. Through personal dedication, energetic and intense classroom discussions and exposure to a variety of social issues in and out-of-class, teachers of SJ at St. Mark's were incredibly successful at motivating and challenging students. In a culture where we often celebrate the accomplishments of individual teachers (Davidson, 1996), the present study identifies key teacher practices that one, are replicable, and, two, lead to identity enriching experiences and positive youth development (for evidence of positive youth development, see Harrell-Levy, et al., 2012).

Moreover, given that the sample was predominately African-American of different socioeconomic backgrounds, it is equally informative that alumni of the SJ class consistently described the practices of these teachers in similar ways. Prior research has suggested a tendency of urban African American youth to become disenchanted with school, which could contribute to the disproportionate amount of minorities experiencing school failure (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). It may be important for practitioners to consider the relevance of the practices utilized by the SJ teachers in engaging minority students and utilizing transformative practices as a way of deepening their connection to school.

Taken together, the key strengths of the present study are the variety of data sources consulted and the richness of the interview data specifically; both of which created the opportunity to assess ways that that practices of the SJ teachers might diverge from "conventional wisdom" of transformative practices as demonstrated through prior empirical work. The focus on SJ at St. Mark's was particularly important because of the course's documented impact on the development of students (Harrell-Levy et al., 2012). Therefore, such data are potentially extremely useful in assessing effective teaching strategies, particularly when trying to understand and recreate those methods that have a sustained effect on students' identity and behavior. Further, our study is unique in its effort to focus on the efforts of multiple teachers (as opposed to one), and to begin to make distinctions between the efforts of those teachers, as well as distinctions between the efforts of those who teach at the post-high school level and those who do not. Finally, a truly unique strength of the present study is that the bulk of the data came from alumni of the course who, through the lens of both class and life experience, were able to discuss the aspects of the class that were most meaningful to their long term development.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present study is qualitative and we do not follow students from the beginning of the class to the present time. Moreover, we focus only on one school. Therefore, our interpretations of these results are limited in that we

cannot speculate on the encyclopedia of factors that may serve as explanations for students' impact. Additionally, because it is qualitative, it is not reasonable to generalize the results out to all high school implementations of transformative social justice courses. Although we were able to corroborate materials through use of a variety of data sources, the results are primarily retrospective self-reports, which must also be interpreted with caution.

Nonetheless, little is known about the specific practices of teachers that lead to influences on the longer term development of their adolescent pupils. Therefore, despite these limitations, the present study begins to address a gap in literature by highlighting the aspects of transformative methods that continue to resonate with students after the class has concluded. The present study contributes a great deal to our understanding of methods geared toward changing adolescent lives.

Future quantitative research could be helpful when teasing out what qualities of the class and of the teacher have the strongest relationship with forms of impact, and could have profound implications for teacher practice. This is particularly relevant as results from the present study showed that the efforts of the SJ teachers in the present study varied. The present study cannot specify which of the transformative practices mattered most. Therefore, future studies should also clarify the relationship between the other contextual factors that support or inhibit the process of transformation. For instance, although it could be argued from the present findings that teachers who utilize transformative pedagogy have a unique and consequential impact on the development of youth, it is also just as likely that that the present findings reflect that successful transformative teachers reinforce efforts of parents at home or views that have already been developed and nurtured in religious communities.

References

(2010, December 10). America's High School Graduation Rate. *New York Times*. p. 1.

Allen, J.P., Pianta, R.C., Gregory, A., Mikami,A.Y., & Lum, J. (2011) An interaction-based approach to enhancing secondary school instruction and student achievement. *Science, 333* (6045), 1034-1037.

Applebaum, B. (2008) 'Doesn't my experience count?': White students, the authority of experience and SJ pedagogy. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 11* (4), 405-414.

Barton, P. E. (2005). One-Third of a Nation: Rising Dropout Rates and Declining Opportunities. Policy Information Report. *Educational Testing Service*, website: http://eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED485192.pdf.

Becker, B. E. & Luthar, S. (2002). Social-emotional factors affecting achievement outcomes among disadvantaged students: Closing the achievement gap. *Educational Psychologist, 37(*4), 197-214.

Cammarota, J., & Romero, A. F. (2009). A SJ epistemology and pedagogy for Latina/o students: Transforming public education with participatory action research. *New Directions for Youth Development*, *123*, 53-65

Carnahan, S. (1994). Preventing school failure and dropout. In R. Simeonsson (Ed.), *Risk, resilience, & prevention: Promoting the well-being of all children* (pp. 103–123). Baltimore, MD: Brookes.

Coke, P. K. (2005). Practicing What We Preach: An Argument for Cooperative Learning Opportunities for Elementary and Secondary Educators. *Education 126*(2), 392-398.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Los Angles: Sage.

Davidson, A.L. (1996). Making and molding identity in schools: Student narratives on race, gender and academic engagement. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Deakin, Crick, R., & Joldersma, C. W. (2007). Habermas, lifelong learning and citizenship education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 26(*2), 77–95.

Dirkx, J. M. (1998). Transformative learning theory in the practice of adult education: An overview. *PAACE Journal of Lifelong Learning, 7*, 1-14.

Erikson, E.H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: Norton.

Fordham, S. & Ogbu, J. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the 'burden of 'acting white.' *Urban Review, 18*, 176-206.

Giroux, H. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. Granby, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.

Graves, E. G. (2009). The Dropout Epidemic: A Crisis of Human Capital. *Black Enterprise*, *39*(12), 6.

Harrell-Levy, M.K., & Kerpelman, J. L. (2010). Identity Process and Transformative Pedagogy: Teachers as Agents of Identity Formation. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research,10 (*2), 76 – 91

Harrell-Levy, M. K., Kerpelman, J.L., & Henry, D. (2012). "Minds were forced wide open": Exploring the phenomenon of high school transformative SJ. *Unpublished Manuscript*, Auburn University, Alabama.

Joldersma, C. W., & Deakin Crick, R. (2010). Citizenship, discourse ethics and an emancipatory model of lifelong learning. In M. Murphy & T. Fleming (Eds.), Habermas, critical theory and education (pp. 137–152). London: Routledge.

Kaufman, L. (2010). How to use service-learning to enrich the secondary school social studies classroom.

Kember, D. & McNaught, C. (2007). Enhancing university teaching: Lessons from research into award winning teachers. Routledge: New York.

Kitchenham, A. (2008). The evolution of John Mezirow's transformative learning theory. *Journal of Transformative Education, 6* (2), 104-123

Kvale, S. (2009). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32 (3)*, 465-491.

Lee, V. E. & Smith, J. B. (1993). Effects of school structuring on the achievement and engagement of middle-grade students. *Sociology of Education, 66*(3), 164-187.

Lingard, R. L. & Mills, M. (2002). Teachers and school reform: Aligning the message systems. In: B.Webber, Teachers Make A Difference: What Is The Research Evidence? *NZCER 2002 Conference,* Wellington, NZ, (63-82). October 2002.

Margonis, F. (2011). In Pursuit of Respectful Teaching and Intellectually-Dynamic Social Fields. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 30 (*5), 433-439.

McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical pedagogy and predatory culture: Oppositional politics in a postmodern era*. New York: Routledge.

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*. San Francisco Jossey Bass.

Muhr, T. (2004). ATLAS.ti 5.0 [Version 5:]. Berlin, Germany: ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development. Available from http://www.atlasti.com/.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2011). *Trends in High School Dropout and Completion Rates in the United States: 1972–2009*. Washington, DC.

O'Neill, T. B. (2010). Fostering Spaces of Student Ownership in Middle School Science. *Equity & Excellence In Education*, *43*(1), 6-20.

Noguera, P., & Weingarten, R. (2011). Beyond Silver Bullets. *Nation*, 292(2/3), 18-23.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sullivan, P. J. & Larson, R. W.(2010). Connecting youth to high-resource adults: Lessons from effective youth programs. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 25* (1), 99-123.

The New Teacher Project (TNTP). (2009). The *Widget Effect: Our National Failure to Acknowledge and Act on Differences in Teacher Effectiveness*. Washington, DC:

Thadani, V., Cook, M. S., Griffis, K., Wise, J. A., & Blakey, A. (2010). The possibilities and limitations of curriculum-based science inquiry interventions for challenging the "pedagogy of poverty." *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *43*(1), 21-37.

Wingert, P. (2010, March 5). Why we must fire bad teachers. *Newsweek*. Retrieved from http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2010/03/05/why-we-must-fire-bad-teachers.html.

Winkler, A. (2002). Division in the ranks: Standardized testing lines drawn between new and veteran teachers. *Phi Delta Kappan, 84*(3), 219-225.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zeldin, S. (2000). Integrating research and practice to understand and strengthen communities for adolescent development: An introduction to the special issue and current issues. *Applied Developmental Science, 4*(Suppl. 1), 2-10.

Table 1. Data Sources

Source	Specifics
Curriculum Material	Textbook
	Student Binder
	Curriculum Outline
Administrator/Teacher Interviews	Current Director of Advancement
	Current Alumni Director
	Former Religion Teacher (3)
	Current Religion Teacher (1)
	Former Teachers (other) (2)
	Ms. Kellogg*
	Former Administrator
	Current Principal
	Former Principal/English Teacher
Survey open-ended question material	97 former students of Mr. James*
	38 former students of Ms. Kellogg
	6 former students of Ms. Gaskins*
Alumni Interviews	10 former students of Ms. Kellogg
	5 former students of Ms. Gaskins
	4 former students of Mr. James
Additional Materials	Documentary (aired on CBS in June 1992)
	Video recorded Memorial Service to Mr. James

*Social Justice Teacher at St. Marks

Table 2. Alumni Interview Participant Demographic Information

Name	Gender	Teacher	Class Year
Romeo	Male	Mr. James	1995
Columbia	Female	Mr. James	1997
Lareese	Female	Mr. James	1997
Henny	Male	Mr. James	1998
Bird	Male	Mr. James	1998
Donna	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2000
Jenna	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2000
Skipper	Male	Ms. Kellogg	2000
Queen	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2000
Michel	Female	Ms. Gaskins	2000
Wheelhouse	Male	Ms. Gaskins	2000
Black	Male	Ms. Gaskins	2000
Moto	Male	Ms. Gaskins	2000
Francois	Male	Ms. Gaskins	2000
Lisa	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2006
Flower	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2006
Ander	Male	Ms. Kellogg	2007
Poet	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2007
Survivor	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2007
Andrea	Female	Ms. Kellogg	2009

Note that names of school, students and teachers were changed.

Study Three

The Relationship between Perceived Transformative Class Experiences and Subsequent Moral Identity Development

Using a sample of 362 alumni of a high school course focusing on social justice and moral development, the present study tested a conceptual model of the effects of different aspects of this course on moral identity development after the course. SEM results supported the main hypothesis that students who had more transformative class experiences (higher critical self-reflection, more charismatic forms of instruction, and relatable course content and methods associated with the transformative style) were significantly higher on moral identity development than students who did not. Unexpectedly, more well-integrated service learning did not significantly predict higher moral identity development. Perceptions of personal transformation mediated the relationship between pedagogical approach and moral identity development. This relationship remained the same for males and females; and was mostly consistent across levels of SES. Overall, results suggest that classes with transformative goals can be influential on the long-term moral identity development of adolescents, and point to the salience of certain parts of the class in influencing long lasting outcomes.

Among an emerging body of high school educators, transformative education, and transformative social justice education particularly, is perceived as vital to young people and their development (Allen, Pianta, Gregory, Mikami, & Lum, 2011; Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Gutstein, 2008). In many respects, it serves as a key foundation for lifelong learning that is quick, concrete and personal. In the adult learning literature, several qualitative studies, and a handful of quantitative studies, have examined the experiences of teachers who have implemented transformative pedagogy (Generett & Hicks, 2004; Schuitema, Dam, & Veugelers, 2008; Taylor, 1997; Yorks & Kasl, 2006). Such analysis, however, has rarely been conducted at the adolescent student level. This is an important oversight, as adolescence is an important, formative period for moral identity development (Eisenberg-Berg & Mussen, 1978) and of a sense of purpose (Damon, Menon, & Bronk, 2003), which transformative classes are expected to cultivate in students. Thus, the overall aim of the present study is to identify which aspects of former students' personal experience of the high school social justice class relate to moral identity development after the course has ended.

Transformative Learning

A developing body of literature, particularly in the field of multicultural education, has emphasized the role of pedagogical processes within secondary school classrooms and students' overall comfort with diverse others (Applebaum, 2008; Gunstein, 2008; Lopez, Gurin and Nagda, 1998; O'Neill, 2010; Thadani, Cook, Griffis, Wise, & Blakey, 2010; Yeakley, 1998). Yeakley found that positive and intimate communication within classes, such as sharing of personal stories, led students to challenge their own prejudices. In the transformative leaning field, this form of communication is often referred to as dialogic engagement (Mezirow, 1978), and some expected outcomes are heightened ability to communicate with those who are different, critical thinking about personal identity, the ability to take on the perspective of others, and motivation to act positively in society. Transformative learning is expected to be uniquely empowering for all students, including previously disempowered students (e.g. students from disadvantaged backgrounds) (Applebaum; Freire, 1970; Freire & Faundez, 1989; Gunstein; O'Neill; Thadani, Cook, Griffis, Wise, & Blakey). Another example of the focus on pedagogical processes is found in Lopez, Gurin and Nagda (1998), who demonstrated that combining content-based learning (e.g. lectures, readings, and information-oriented methods) with active learning (i.e. learning that is communal and interactive) contributes to a positive overall classroom experience for students. Such processes positively affect students' abilities to analyze issues of equality and conflict. Research that speaks to the relationship between moral development and formal education (e.g., Rest & Thoma, 1985) emphasizes the possibility that such instruction could lead to moral development.

There are various ways of conceptualizing the pedagogical processes of teaching and learning, and three widely employed conceptualizations are the curriculum positions of transmission, transaction and transformation. The transmission style involves transmitting a set of beliefs and facts to the students (e.g. through lecturing, use of overhead transparencies and printed handouts), the transaction process is characterized by active thinking and problem solving techniques (e.g. selecting class leaders to act as experts or topic masters), and transformative learning combines elements of both transmission and transaction teaching but is different in that students are pushed to think critically about themselves and the world (Stanberry and Azria-Evans, 2001). Cognitive growth and identity exploration are encouraged and the teacher's effect on both is purposeful and encompassing (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman, 2010; Schuitema et al., 2007; Yates, 1999; Yeakley, 1998). Three key components to transformative learning appear to be the depth of the critical self-reflection, the internalization of the pedagogical approach and the perception of a thorough service learning experience (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman; Howard, 1998).

Critical self-reflection. Critical self-reflection, which is the process of critically analyzing underlying premises and the sources of those premises, is an important facet of transformative learning because of its potential to be disruptive to students' understanding of reality. Gurin, Nagda, and Lopez (2004) note that a pedagogical approach that leads to cognitive growth will likely include situations in which students are made uncomfortable; and generally, these uncomfortable moments will be a byproduct of critical self-reflection in relationship to comprehending unfamiliar and discontinuous demands. Piaget (1971), and many theorists since, including Van Overwalle & Jordens (2002), describe this experience as a period of disequilibrium that represents an optimal opportunity for learning.

Pedagogical approach of transformative learning. Beyond critical reflection, the pedagogy of transformative learning includes engaging and motivational teacher characteristics, content that is personal, social and relevant, and a pedagogical style that makes students active partners in learning (Applebaum, 2008; Harrell-Levy, Kerpelman, & Henry, 2012; Gunstein, 2008; O'Neill, 2010; Thadani, Cook, Griffis, Wise, & Blakey, 2010). Although the actual practices of teachers with transformative goals may vary, the goals are the essential part of this pedagogy and typically remain the same across teachers. A key aim of a class with transformative goals includes lasting change on students. The longevity of the effect of such a class was very much the case for the participants in Harrell-Levy et al (2012), all of whom had exceptional recall of the class, including areas of content, major course themes, the service experience, and at least one specific memory from the class that they found particularly impactful. This was true even for a participant who was 16 years removed from the class.

Service learning. One clear example of intentional efforts on the part of schools to develop students morally is the presence of a service-learning program. Service learning typically involves combining academic classroom curriculum with a structured service component. Service learning in schools provides a unique experience that informs students' moral identity development (Yates & Youniss, 1996, 1999; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997; Youniss & Yates, 1997). Youniss and Yates were able to theoretically and qualitatively link a high school course with a service-learning program with a heightened sense of social responsibility in students. According to Kauffman (2010) service learning is particularly relevant to informing students' sense of self in a class that focuses on integrating information from social sciences and humanities because it helps students link course content with real life. When this service is performed under the guidance of a teacher, relevant feedback is coupled with this experience and serves to deepen the formation of students' critical consciousness and moral identity, particularly empathy (Rosenberger, 2000). However, although service learning serves as one plausible component to a transformative learning experience, service learning is not a component of all transformative learning courses.

Additional factors influencing moral identity. In addition to critical reflection, the transformative pedagogical approach, and service learning, there may be a range of factors that can contribute to students' moral identity development above and beyond the social justice class, including religiosity (relationship between faith and moral development; King & Furrow, 2004) educational background (students who have progressed further in school may have had more structured opportunities to learn about moral development and relate the information back to their lives (Chandler & Moran, 1990), race (Moreland & Leach, 2001), and graduation year (reflecting distance from the course experience and the time context when the course was taken). Life experience may influence how experiences in the class associate with moral identity development. For instance, those from high SES backgrounds are in a position of privilege relative to their lower SES peers and may overemphasize individualism and carry the tendency to attribute culpability for problems to the victims of those problems.

Transformative Goals: Moral Identity Development

Moral identity development, the extent to which moral character is infused into a person's sense of self (Shao, Aquino, & Freeman, 2008), is particularly important for the present study as the participants are students of classes intended to affect their perceptions of what it means to be a responsible, moral agent in society, both immediately and long-term (Applebaum, 2008; Freire, 1970; Freire & Faundez, 1989; Gunstein, 2008; O'Neill, 2010; Thadani, Cook, Griffis, Wise, & Blakey, 2010). Moral identity emerged in Harrell-Levy et al., 2012 as an important outcome of the transformative social justice approach. Students reflected on their moral selves in relationship to their experiences within

the class, and, especially, their experiences reflecting on their level of moral thought, like ideas about prejudice, empathy, feelings about injustice, and beliefs about moral behaviors and perceived responsibility to contribute positively to society (Applebaum, 2008; Flanagan, 2003; Gunstein, 2008). To Kohlberg (1983), empathy was the most important aspect of moral development.

One widely shared belief is that moral identity is encouraged and stimulated by supports in the social context. Another view is that this moral identity development is stimulated when the lesson of moral commitment is tied to concrete institutions and behaviors, instead of being abstract or theoretical only. What is missing from the literature is clarity regarding the role of the school context, and, in particular, elements in classes that support moral identity development (Lerner, et al., 2003).

Moral identity development may materialize in many ways, including an increased sense of responsibility for behaving in ways that promote positive outcomes, an increased ability to relate with diverse others and feel empathy for them, or, maintaining beliefs about the responsibility of individuals to impact others positively. Regarding beliefs specifically, theory suggests that one way to introduce students to disparities in equality and their roles in addressing social injustice is through service learning opportunities that are well guided and processed, and that such moral thoughts and beliefs are likely to be affected by those classes (Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007). By supporting diversity and rejecting dominant ideologies in the content of the course, the TSJ class is expected to have a uniquely powerful influence on the identity of students who, on the basis of low socioeconomic status, would be considered disadvantaged. This is expected, in part, because of the rare opportunity the class provides to incorporate their perspectives and experiences into the learning process (Mezirow, 1978).

There has been some research to observe how empathy evolves over time, including research that suggests that empathy does not increase over time (Barr & Higgins-S'Alessandro, 2009; Davis & Franzoi, 1991). Barr and Higgins-S'Alessandro note that this, along with other results, suggest that the development of empathy among adolescents might require more concerted efforts on the part of schools to facilitate change and thus adolescents might benefit from classes where they get to practice cognitive and emotional responses to real world situations. Results from Davis & Franzoi point to the timeliness of a class that seeks to develop empathy, given that high school adolescents are able to handle taking on the perspective of others, but also points to the need to provide adolescents with targeted opportunities to develop that empathy, and other moral traits, as growth is not automatic.

Kohlberg (1983) also recognized that there may be differences in moral development, in that female gender roles are relationship focused and tend to emphasize qualities like empathy. Such a belief is consistent with empirical

work as well (e.g. Avery, 1988). Additionally, given the expectation that females are more relationally oriented than males (Crick & Zahn-Waxler, 2003; Stafford & Cannary, 1991), we expect that females will be more sensitive to messages about empathy than males, and that gender will moderate the relationship between aspects of the class and subsequent moral identity development. We also expect gender to moderate the associations between aspects of the class and perceived transformation (females will have stronger associations because they are more sensitive), and gender to moderate also how perceived transformation is related to moral identity development.

Measuring moral identity. Aspects of moral development have been measured both qualitatively and quantitatively. Frimer and Walker (2009) assessed moral centrality, or, rather, how central morality is to the individual (which is often used interchangeably with moral identity). In an interview, they posed questions that elicited conceptually distinct responses that were then coded to indicate more or less moral centrality. Similarly, MacLean, Walker and Matsuba (2004) used interview responses that prompted participants to reflect on a moral dilemma to assess moral reasoning. Additionally, to assess one form of moral behavior, specifically altruistic behavior, they utilized a 20-item self-report scale. In another qualitative study, to assess moral identity ethics and behaviors, Miller and Schlenker (2011) had participants read a story about moral behaviors and respond with information as to whom they identified with.

In a quantitative study, Aquino and Reed (2002) assessed the importance of moral traits; using a list, participants were asked to identify which traits they considered essential to a person's identity. Expanding on a study by Youniss and Yates (1999), which strongly suggested that the self-other relationship is key to moral development, Reed and Aquino (2003) examined whether there is a link between the self-importance of moral identity to individuals and the extent to which they extend moral concern to those not within their social and demographic groups. They used quantitative measures to assess participants' moral regard for those outside their in-group as well as their willingness to share resources with those outside their in-group.

Moral identity is a self-conception structured around a set of moral qualities, and specific moral traits, like beliefs about the value of citizens to help others and, empathy, that are seen as fundamental to a person's perception of self (Avery, 1988; Barr & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2007; Blasi, 2005; Carlo, Fabes, Laible, & Kupanoff, 1999; Damon, 1990; Davis, 1980). Thus, measuring moral identity may involve looking at specific indicators of moral thought or behavior as an overall assessment of moral identity. For example, Meier, Slutske, Arndt, and Cadoret (2008) looked specifically at empathy, one form of moral development, using a three item scale (e.g., I feel sorry for people who have things stolen or damaged), to examine the empathy (or callousness) that adolescents exhibit varies across neighborhoods. In another example, looking specifically at the processes within classes that challenge prejudice, within and between class

members, Matlock, Gurin, & Wade-Golden (1990) used a two item measure to assess relational empathy (e.g., I feel hopeful hearing how others have overcome disadvantages because of their race/gender).

Taken together, moral identity has been assessed in diverse ways. Across these assessments, one common feature includes examining different moral qualities as an aspect of a person's moral identity. When supported by qualitative research, these indicators serve to contribute to an overall picture of a person's moral sense of self. Feelings and beliefs about oneself, others, and the world generally may help capture an individual's moral identity development.

Present study. Ultimately, the goal of the present study was to explore whether a high school class with transformative goals had the potential to influence students' moral identity development in a lasting way. The current study predicted that perceptions of personal transformative class experiences (i.e., service learning, pedagogical approach, and course content) would be positively associated with moral identity development, and that perceptions of personal transformation would mediate associations among perceptions of the class experience and moral identity development. Furthermore gender and SES while in high school were expected to independently moderate associations among the predictors and the outcomes in the model.

Research Questions and Hypotheses.

Descriptive questions: There were three descriptive questions addressed. First, at what point in time the participants believe the class had an influence on their lives. Second, how have participants' appreciation of the class/teacher adjusted over time? Third, when participants compare their experience of the class to a similar experience, which class do they believe has had a greater influence on their identity and behavior? We contend that reports that this class mattered to alumni during and after high school, that the perceived effect did not decrease over time, and that the perceived effect from this course was stronger than the perceived effect from similar courses, would, together, suggest a uniquely powerful experience; an experience explored in Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3.

Hypothesis 1: There will be a direct, positive association between the perceptions of the class (critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, service learning) and moral identity development (Hypothesis1a). Perceptions of personal transformation will mediate the associations between perceptions of the course and moral identity development (Hypothesis1b). Specifically, the direct associations between perceptions of the course and moral identity development will become nonsignificant when "perceptions of personal transformation" is added to the model. Perceptions of personal transformation will be significantly related to both perceptions of the class and moral identity development. These associations will hold controlling for school, education, years since graduation, religiosity, and church affiliation.

Hypothesis 2: The relationships between class predictors and moral identity development and between class

predictors and perceptions of personal transformation are expected to be moderated by gender when controlling for school, education, years since graduation, religiosity, and church affiliation. Specifically, perceptions of the class experience will be more strongly related to perceived transformation and moral identity development for females than for males.

Hypothesis 3: The relationships between class predictors and moral identity development and between class predictors and perceptions of personal transformation are expected to be moderated by SES when controlling for school, education, years since graduation, religiosity, and church affiliation. Specifically, those from a higher SES background when in high school (as indicated by the funding of high school tuition) who have also had a transformative class experience (as indicated by the class experience predictors and perceived transformation) are expected to be lower in moral identity development than those with a comparable class experience but from a relatively lower SES background. Associations between aspects of the class and perceived transformation/moral identity development also are expected to be less strong for those from a higher SES background when in high school compared to those from lower SES backgrounds in high school

Conceptually, we would expect SES to moderate the relationship between the three main predictors (critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, and service learning) and moral identity development, and the relationship between the three main predictors and perceptions of personal transformation, given that these conditions may affect alumni's appreciation of the class experience. We do not expect, however, that SES will moderate the relationship between perceptions of personal transformation and moral identity development given that once the perceptions are formed, the life conditions of former students are unlikely to alter the relationship between those formed impressions and moral identity development.

Method

Sample Characteristics and Procedures

Data for the present study come from 362 former students of a mandatory high school social justice class, morality class, or ethics class (hereafter referred to as "social justice" class), all in Catholic high schools in a Northeastern area in close proximity to one another. Study participants are mostly African-American (60%) and Caucasian (30%). Fifty-seven percent of participants were Catholic in high school, whereas the other 43% cited affiliation with another Christian denomination or religious affiliation during high school. Forty-eight percent of the sample (n=164) is male.

The participants for the current sample were recruited from a diverse body of Catholic schools, and all schools require tuition for attendance (ranging from $10,000 per school year to $23,000 per school year). Classes were

chosen based on their stated goals (they all had transformative goals, and the key goals aligned across classes). Prospective participants were identified via *Facebook*, an online social networking site. Additionally, participating schools distributed the survey to their alumni network (e.g. through newsletter, alumni *Facebook* page, and emailing the link directly). Alumni study participants took the class at different points in their high school career (either junior year or senior year), and ranged in graduation year, from 1957-2010. The majority of participants graduated between 1993 and 2001 (43%).

Measures

Outcome Measure: Moral Identity Development. Moral Identity Development is a latent construct that captures a set of moral qualities which, when combined, indicate whether aspects of moral thought and behavior are part of a person's identity (e.g. anger about social injustice, beliefs about individual action on societal change, and empathy) (Colby & Damon, 1995).

Anger about Social Injustice. Assessments of anger about social injustice were completed by alumni with a 3 item measure developed by Flanagan et al. (2007) using a 5-point scale (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree), which showed good reliability (α=.87) The scale assesses alumni's concern over social justice issues (e.g., I get mad when I hear about people being treated unjustly). Reliability assessments revealed adequate reliability (α=.70) for the current sample. The mean of these items were taken to create a single composite variable on a 5-point scale. Higher scores indicate greater anger about social injustice (and greater moral identity development).

Empathy. Empathy was assessed with two scales (which were combined to create one empathy indicator). The first is the *lack of empathy* scale developed by Meier (2008), a three item measure on a 5-point scale (1= strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree). Reliabilities from Meir and the present study were both α= .79. The items assess alumni's concern for others (e.g., I feel sorry for people who have things stolen or damaged.) The second scale is the *critical, relational empathy* scale developed by Matlock, Gurin, & Wade-Golden (1990), a 4-item measure on a 5-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree). Reliabilities for Matlock, Gurin, & Wade-Golden was good; α=.78; for the present study, α= .77. The items assess the degree to which students empathize with others impacted by injustice (e.g., I feel hopeful hearing how others have overcome disadvantages because of their race/gender). The seven items across the two scales were averaged to create a single composite variable. These scales were combined, as conceptually they assess similar aspects of empathy but, when combined, create a more robust measurement for empathy. Higher scores indicate greater empathy (and higher moral identity development). Reliability was good for the full scale; α=.80.

Beliefs about Individual Action and Societal Change. This scale is from the Michigan Student Study

(1990). Alumni are asked to indicate how much they agree or disagree with statements that indicate their beliefs about their responsibility to enact social change (e.g., I have an obligation to "give back" to the community). Assessments are taken with 4 items on a 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree strongly; 5 = strongly agree; Reliabilities for Matlock, Gurin, & Wade-Golden were unavailable; however, reliability for the present study was adequate, α=.70). The items were averaged to create a composite variable. Higher scores indicate stronger beliefs about individual action and societal change (and higher moral identity development).

Predictors. The predictor measures are aspects of the class experience that are expected to lead to "transformation" class outcomes (e.g., Applebaum, 2008; Harrell-Levy et al, 2012; Gunstein, 2008; O'Neill, 2010; Thadani, Cook, Griffis, Wise, & Blakey, 2010). There are three predictors (critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, and service learning experience). Critical self-reflection and service learning are observed indicators and pedagogical approach is a latent construct.

Critical Self-Reflection. Critical self-reflection was assessed by a scale developed by the Michigan Student Study (1990). Reliabilities for the scale in Matlock, Gurin, & Wade-Golden (1990) as well as the present study were good; α =.84). Alumni are asked to indicate whether different types of critical self-reflection occurred during their course/program using a 6-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree; a sixth option for 'do not recall' is included). Originally, the scale was 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much like me), but was modified for the present study to maintain the consistency of scales and avoid confusion for respondents who, prior to that scale on the survey, had been using an agreement scale. A sample item is: "Examining the sources of my biases and assumptions." These items were averaged to create a single composite variable. Higher scores indicate more critical self-reflection.

Pedagogical Approach. Pedagogical approach is a latent construct with four observed indicators (teacher personality, teaching style, transformative content-A, and transformative content-B). The first two scales for this latent construct were adapted from the Michigan Student Study (1990). The first subscale is 6 items and assesses *Teacher Personality.* Specifically, this subscale assesses alumni's impressions of whether the teacher had character traits that were more or less transformative (e.g., enthusiastic), and is on a 5 point agreement scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). Two items were added to this scale for the current study based on the unpublished notes from Harrell-Levy et al., 2012 (e.g., modeled ethical/moral behaviors in his/her own life). These items were added as they emerged qualitatively as one of the more common descriptors of the teachers in that study. On the scale, one item was reverse coded to maintain consistency with the scale. The items for this scale were averaged to create a single composite variable. Higher scores in the 'teacher personality' scale indicate that the pedagogical approach had more transformative teaching

elements. The scale showed good reliability; α=.93. The second subscale assesses the *Teaching Style* and is 11 items (e.g., intervened when some group/class members dominated discussion) with a 5 point agreement scale (1= strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). Two additional items were added based on Harrell-Levy et al., 2012 (e.g., my classmates and I were encouraged to share our opinions and experiences). The items added reflected commonly mentioned aspects of the teaching style of teachers included in the study. These items were averaged to create a single composite variable. One item was reverse coded to maintain consistency with the direction of the scale. Higher scores in the 'teaching style' scale indicate that the pedagogical approach had more transformative teaching elements. The scale showed good reliability; α=.91).

The third and fourth scales assess *Transformative Content*. Both scales are based on results from Harrell-Levy et al., 2012; transformative content-A includes 20 items assessed on a three-point scale (1 =Yes, 2= No, 3= Do Not Recall). The items ask alumni to indicate whether they learned about a set of topics that were pulled from an existing high school social justice curriculum, specifically the curriculum used for the course studied in Harrell-Levy, et al. (e.g., the definition of justice). The "yes" responses were summed to create a single composite variable. Higher scores in the 'transformative content-A' scale indicate that the pedagogical approach had more transformative teaching elements. The alpha coefficients for the present study showed good reliability; α=.87. The second scale, transformative content-B, includes three items that assess alumni's perception of the learning content of the course (i.e. the materials we read and discussed were about issues I could relate to) and are on a 5 point scale (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree). These items were averaged to create a single composite variable. Higher scores in the 'transformative content-B' scale indicate that the pedagogical approach had more transformative teaching elements. The alpha coefficients for the present study showed good reliability; α=.85.

Service Learning Experience. This scale was adapted from Flanagan et al. (2007). Assessments of alumni's service learning experience were completed with a 5-item measure on a 3-point scale (1= Yes, 2 = No, 3= Do Not Recall). Items assess whether the experience of service learning was thorough (i.e. I learned about possible causes of and solutions to social problems I was addressing in a service project). The "yes" responses were summed to create a composite variable. Higher scores on the 'service learning' scale indicate that the relationship between service and class was more integrated, which is in line with what would be expected in classes with transformative goals. The scale showed good reliability; α=.79.

Mediator and Moderators

Perceptions of Personal Transformation **(mediator).** This scale was based on Harrell-Levy, et al., 2012.

Assessments of personal transformation were taken using an 8-item measure with a 5-point scale (1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree).The scale assesses alumni's perceptions of the influence the class has had in their lives (e.g., I carry with me views developed in the class.) Three items were reverse coded to maintain consistency with the scale. All the items were averaged to create a single composite variable. Higher scores indicate that the students perceive that they have been transformed by the class. In the current study, the scale showed good reliability; α=.91.

Gender **(moderator)**. Gender is dichotomous predictor, 0=male, 1=female. It was assessed through alumni self-report.

Privilege **(moderator)**. *SES* of students when in high school was based on how alumni's education was funded; (2 groups were formed; 0 (high privilege) =those who entered [3 (family member)]; and 1 (low privilege) = those who entered [1 (need-based financial aid or need based scholarship] or 2 (scholarship merit based) or 4 (other)]. The participants were grouped this way because all the schools in the present study require tuition, and utilize vouchers, need-based scholarships and other aid in varying degrees. Voucher students, financial aid students, and need based scholarship students are expected to come from families without the means to afford the school on their own, thereby increasing the socioeconomic diversity of the schools. An alternative proxy for SES, parental education, was also used. The results of two scales, mother education and father education, were combined to create this measure. Both single-item measures asked participants to identify the parent's highest level of education and had 8 options, ranging from elementary high school education to completion of a gradation degree, with an additional option for "do not know." Those with high SES (coded 2) had at least one parent who completed college education (indicated by entering a 7 or higher for either parent on the parent educational attainment scales). Those with low SES (coded 1) had neither parent complete college education (indicated by entering less than a 7 for both parents on the parent educational attainment scales).

Control Variables. When analyzing the data, a pattern emerged regarding race. Almost all the African-American participants emerged from one school. Moreover, the majority of participants (approximately 2/3rds of the sample) come from that same school, St. Mark's. After conducting a multigroup analysis which revealed sample differences between those who attended St. Mark's and those who did not, "attendance at St. Mark's" was added as a control in in all my hypotheses, and race was removed.

Attendance at St. Mark's. Those who attended St. Mark's were coded 1; alumni from all other schools were coded 0.

Church affiliation. Self-report data on religious affiliation were used to create a dummy variable, such that those who are catholic are entered as 1, and all others are entered as 0.

Educational attainment. Educational attainment assesses the highest level of education of the respondent (specifically: educational attainment were created as a continuous variable, such that if the respondent has not completed high school, he/she will receive a 1. If he/she has received an advanced degree, s/he will receive a 6). Higher scores indicate progressing further along in school.

Religiosity. One item assesses how often alumni attend religious services. The scale is a 6-point scale (1=More than once a week, 2=Every Week, 3=Approximately two times a month, 4=Approximately once a month, 5=Less than one a month, and 6=Rarely to never.). This scale were recoded so that higher scores indicate being more active in religious activities.

Year since graduation were assessed with one open-ended item that asks participants to report the year of their graduating class. This item was used as a continuous variable.

Results

Analysis Plan

All data were read into SPSS files, and analyzed using SPSS and MPLUS software programs. Pearson correlations and structural equation modeling (SEM) were used as the primary analytic techniques to assess the hypothesized relationships among the variables. Univariate and bivariate analyses were examined to evaluate the distributions of and relationships among study variables. After fitting a measurement model, correlations among the latent constructs and the fit of the model to the data were examined. Structural Equation Modeling in Mplus (SEM: Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2009) was employed to test the hypothesized models of the current study; The full information maximum likelihood procedure (FIML) was used to manage missing data. With regard to hypothesis 1a, a path model was fit in which the latent construct moral identity was regressed on critical self-reflection (observed indicator), pedagogical approach (latent construct), and critical self-reflection (observed indicator) simultaneously, controlling for all else. With regard to hypothesis 1b, the mediation model was fit twice, the second time constraining the direct paths from the predictors (that satisfy the conditions for testing mediation) to moral identity development to 0. Following that, a delta chi square test was conducted to assess if there were statistical differences between the two models (H_0= The path from pedagogical approach, critical self-reflection and service learning to moral identity development=0 in the population). With regard to hypotheses 2 and 3, using a grouping variable for sex, and then for SES, multi-group analyses were performed to test for differences in the final model between the two groups (males/females & high

SES/low SES). In each model, each parameter was constrained separately in order to discover each path's individual contribution to moderation.

Assessing statistical power. Power analyses using a range of recommendations (Bentler and Chou, 1987; Kline, 1988; Stevenson, 1996) and techniques indicated that a need for between 160 and 240 cases to detect statistically significant associations[2] (i.e. results from a power analysis using Bentler and Chou indicate that our largest model, with controls and their effects, will require approximately 225 participants, a number that was estimated by multiplying 5 cases per parameter estimate).

Preliminary Analysis

Means, standard deviations and Pearson correlations among study variables are presented in Table 1 and 2. The coefficients of the class factors were similar to the outcome variables. As expected, all the study predictors were positively correlated with the indicators for the moral identity construct. Additionally, the predictor variables were significantly correlated. When examining the frequencies of my items, only one of my items appeared to be skewed (i.e. skewness for teacher characteristics = -2.713). Multiple transformations were attempted and sensitivity tests were performed, but no steps taken improved the skewness. Some have indicated that skewness can be as high as 3 without serious implications for results (Kline, 2011.) Nevertheless, results should be interpreted with caution.

Insert Tables 1 and 2 about here

Descriptive Questions.

For their responses to questions asking about their experience with the transformative class, participants were able to choose multiple categories (e.g. when reporting when the class was impactful, participants were able to indicate all relevant options). Therefore, the combined percentages for a particular item may not always add up to 100%. When asked to identify the different periods when the class was impactful, 146 (40%) reported that it was really impactful while taking it, 83 (26%) reported that it was really impactful immediately after taking it, 92 (25%) reported that it was really impactful a few years after taking it, and 174 (48%) reported that the class is still having an impact. 151 participants (42%) reported that their appreciation of the class grew over time, and 10 participants (3%) reported that their appreciation decreased over time. One hundred and seven participants (30%) reported that their appreciation of the class remained the same. Of those who had taken another course with similar goals to social justice (N=96), 25% (N=24) believed the high school social justice course had a larger effect on their moral identity than those other classes. Twenty participants (6%) indicated that the class was never impactful on their lives. Twelve participants (3% of the sample)

[2] Note to committee: See appendix 5.

indicated that they did not appreciate the class. 11 participants (3% of the sample) indicated that they did not appreciate the teacher.

Overall, results suggest that the social justice class was a uniquely powerful experience. Specifically, answers to the descriptive questions revealed that the class was influential on the lives of the overwhelming majority of participants, with slightly over half reporting that the class continues to influence them, and less than 5% reporting that their appreciation of the class decreased over time. Supportively, over half of participants who have taken similar classes (in high school, college, or elsewhere) reported that the social justice class had a greater influence on their moral identity development than those other class experiences.

Addressing Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a. The model for hypothesis 1a tested whether class experience factors (i.e., critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, and service learning) predicted moral identity development (i.e. beliefs about individual action, anger at injustice, and empathy for others) after controlling for school, cohort, religiosity, being Catholic, and educational attainment. First, a measurement model was fit and revealed that all but one (Content-A) of the proposed factors loaded significantly on the latent constructs appropriately (see Table 3). With the elimination of Content-A, Content-B is now referred to as Content for the remainder of the paper. The final measurement model presented below (see Table 3) contains unstandardized and standardized factor loadings for each latent variable. The factor loadings of each observed variable to underlying latent variables were statistically significant ($p < .001$) and substantive with loadings no smaller than .68, with factor loadings in the anticipated direction. Fit statistics for the measurement model indicated a significant chi square and RMSEA, but a CFI well over .90 ($\chi 2$ (8, N=332) =27.94, p=.001; CFI=.96; and RMSEA=.09*). Although the CFI suggested good fit and the factor loadings were high, the RMSEA and chi square/degrees of freedom did not. However, the measurement model only contained two latent factors and when all variables (latent and observed) were included in the full structural model, the fit improved (*Note.* See below in hypothesis 1b for a good CFI value, a nonsignificant RMSEA and chi square/df = 2.1).

Insert Table 3 about here

In a next step, the structural model was fit. This final model showed a good fit to the data ($\chi 2$ (36, N=360) =75.77, $p < .001$; CFI=.94; and RMSEA=.06, *ns;* $\chi 2$/df = 2.1). Although the chi square is significant, CFI, RMSEA, and chi square to *df* ratio indicate good fit. When entered simultaneously, the path from two of the class experience factors (critical self-reflection and pedagogical approach) to moral identity development were significant, controlling for attendance at St. Mark's, educational attainment, years since graduation, religiosity and religious affiliation (See Figure 1).

The path from critical service learning to moral identity development was not significant. The standardized structural coefficient for MID on approach is .42, which means that MID will increase by .42 standard units for each unit increase in the pedagogical approach. The coefficient for self-reflection is .15, which means that MID will increase by .15 for each unit increase in the pedagogical approach. (The observed indicators of MID are all on a 5 point scale.) Therefore, as students' perceptions of these transformative elements of the class increases, so too does the salience of their moral identity. This model accounted for 44% of the variance in moral identity development. Thirty-eight percent of the variance is accounted for by the predictor variables alone. Conversely, a model with just the control variables explains 16% of the variance in moral identity development.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The first hypothesis of the current study addressed the paths from the class experience predictors to moral identity development. Consistent with our hypothesis, there was a significant and positive link between critical self-reflection and subsequent moral identity development, and between perceptions of the pedagogical approach subsequent moral identity development. In contrast and opposed to what we expected, the association between the level of service learning in class and moral identity development after high school was nonsignificant.

Hypothesis 1b. Hypothesis 1b addressed whether perceptions of personal transformation mediated the association between the class experience factors and moral identity development was examined. It was expected that the addition of perceptions of personal transformation to the model would result in the direct paths from the class factors to moral identity development becoming weaker or nonsignificant. The results (see Figure 2) reflect a model that controlled for years since graduation, religious affiliation, religiosity, educational attainment, and attendance at St. Mark's. The model showed good fit to the data ($\chi 2$ (45, N=360) =75.77, $p < .001$; CFI=.94; and RMSEA=.06, *ns;* $\chi 2/df = 1.68$).

Insert Figure 2 about here

There are four steps for mediation testing, with the first three steps described in Baron and Kenny (1986) and the fourth step involving the delta chi square test to confirm mediation. First, the independent variable must significantly predict the dependent variable, such as the path from critical self-reflection to moral identity development; second, the independent variable must significantly predict the mediator, such as the path from critical self-reflection to perceptions of personal transformation; third, the mediator must significantly predict the dependent variable, such as the path from perceptions of personal transformation to moral identity development; and last, the impact of the independent variable (i.e., critical self-reflection; pedagogical approach) on the dependent variable (i.e., moral identity development) must be attenuated or become non-significant after including the mediator (i.e., perceptions of personal transformation) in the

model. In addition to the three conditions outlined by Baron and Kenny, a fourth and final step was taken to confirm mediation, by constraining the path from the predictor to the outcome to zero and using the delta chi square test with 1 degree of freedom to compare with model with the model when this path is free to be estimated. A significant delta chi square disconfirms full mediation.

For the hypothesized mediation models of this research question, the first of these three conditions were already tested in hypothesis 1a. Specifically, critical self-reflection and pedagogical approach (but not service learning) significantly predict moral identity development. Further analysis revealed that only pedagogical approach was significantly related to perceptions of personal transformation. And, finally, the mediator, perceptions of personal transformation, had a significant relationship with moral identity development. Therefore, the only path to be tested for mediation was from pedagogical approach to moral identity development, potentially mediated by perceptions of personal transformation.

To determine mediation, first the results of this full model were compared to the full model tested in Hypothesis 1a (see Figure 1), in which moral identity was regressed on each of the predictors simultaneously. Comparison of the two models indicated that the path from pedagogical approach to moral identity development was fully mediated by perceptions of personal transformation. Specifically, the path from pedagogical approach to moral identity development became nonsignificant when *perceptions of personal transformation* was added to the model. Furthermore, when the path from pedagogical approach to moral identity development was constrained to 0; and the two models were compared, the delta chi square test with 1 degree of freedom indicated a value of 2.85 which did not exceed the critical value of 3.84. Thus, we did not reject the null hypothesis that this path is 0 in the population, and, confirmed that full mediation has occurred for this path.

Although it did not fit the criteria for testing mediation, results revealed that service learning predicted perceptions of personal transformation which, in turn, predicted moral identity development. The indirect effect from service learning to moral identity development through perceptions of personal transformation was found to be significant (B=.03**, SE=.03, β=.10**).

Taken together, the results of hypothesis1a and 1b indicated that, as hypothesized, both critical self-reflection and pedagogical approach significantly predicted perceptions of moral identity development and, contrary to expectation, the direct relationship between service learning and moral identity development was not significant, controlling for all else. The standardized structural coefficient for MID on perceptions of personal transformation is .41, which means that MID will increase by.41 standard units for each unit increase in students' subsequent perception of

transformation. When this mediator was included in the model, the coefficients for both critical self-reflection and pedagogical approach decreased. The coefficient for self-reflection is .09, which means that MID will increase by .09 for each unit increase in self-reflection; and the coefficient for approach is .20, which means that MID will increase by .20 for each unit increase in the pedagogical approach. This model explained 59% of the variance in moral identity development. Mediation testing showed that when *perceptions of personal transformation* was entered as a mediator, the path between pedagogical approach and moral identity development became nonsignificant, indicating that perceptions of personal transformation fully mediated the path from pedagogical approach and moral identity development. Moreover, although there was no mediation, an indirect relationship was found between service learning and moral identity development through perceptions of personal transformation. Fifty-six percent of this variance in perceptions of pedagogical approach is explained by the predictors.

Hypothesis 2. The second research question of the current investigation aimed to examine whether the relationships represented in hypothesis 1b would be moderated by gender. To assess moderation by gender, multi group analysis was performed and a series of subsequent models were fit. At each step, the regression parameters were constrained one at a time, holding those equal that had already been tested and found to be invariant. After running the multiple group analysis and comparing each of the path, the critical value was not exceeded in any of the comparisons, indicating that that there were no significantly different paths for males and females.

Hypothesis 3. For the third hypotheses, SES was examined as a moderator . The initial plan for determining SES (type of funding for tuition) resulted in highly unbalanced groups (High SES n = 301; low SES n = 54). This imbalance increased the likelihood of committing a type II error. In addition, the size of the low SES group was too small to adequately test the full structural model. Therefore an alternative approach was used to determine SES.

Research suggests that parental education can also serve as a proxy for SES. Thus, multi group analysis was performed with parent education serving as a moderator of SES. Specifically, those higher in SES (n = 196) had at least one parent who completed some college education and those lower in SES (n = 142) were those whose parents had experienced no post-high school college education.

The relationship between self-reflection and moral identity was stronger for alumni whose parents were more educated (B=.13, SE=.06, β=.22, ns) than those who were less educated (B=-.05, SE=.06, β= -.08, ns).In other words, students from higher SES backgrounds showed a more positive relationship between critical self-reflection and moral identity development when the moderator was entered into the model. However, while this path between critical self-reflection and moral identity development was significant when the model was fit with the full sample and the delta chi

square test indicated there was a difference in strength when the low and high SES groups were compared, the self-reflection to moral identity development path in these two groups was nonsignificant. Therefore, conclusions about group differences cannot be drawn based on this analysis; however, future work should continue to explore whether SES matters for the associations between self-reflection and moral identity development using larger sample sizes or alternative assessments of SES. Also, on average, using the unstandardized and standardized results, the group not high in SES did not show more moral identity development than those in the high SES group.

Discussion

The primary goal of this study was to examine different dimensions of a high school social justice class with transformative goals and to assess whether these dimensions affect the moral identity development of former students of the class. We begin our discussion by examining findings related to the classroom practices–moral identity interface. We then discuss, in turn, study limitations and implications for research and practice.

The Classroom Practices–Moral Identity Interface

The present study revealed several general findings concerning the classroom practices–moral identity interface. First, it was shown that the more students engaged in critical self-reflection as a part of the class (e.g., examining the sources of biases and assumptions) and the more they perceived a transformative pedagogical approach (i.e. teacher personality, teaching style, course content) the higher they were on their moral identity (i.e. empathy, beliefs about individual action and social change, and anger about social injustice). This finding is consistent with previous research that suggests that pedagogical approaches in class relate to the overall development of pupils (Allen et al., 2011; Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Gutstein, 2008). However, contrary to expectations, moral identity development was not affected by how well service was integrated into the course, as suggested by prior work (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman, 2010; Howard, 1998; Yates, 1999). We did, however, find an indirect association – service learning predicted perceptions of transformation which in turn predicted moral identity development. Although service learning was not a direct predictor of moral identity development, it did matter for whether students perceived their class experiences as transformative. Although it may be that service learning influences moral identity development through its direct influence on perceived transformation, it is possible we failed to find a direct link between service learning and moral identity development because of the way service learning was measured. In the present study, participants responded to the items about service learning with two options, yes or no, which may have limited variability in responses received. Those participants who *did not recall* were excluded. Therefore, we assessed the presence of service learning components as opposed to the depth of the service learning experience. One caution with a transformative class that incorporates

service learning is that, when there is not a tight relationship between course content and service, students conducting service projects may develop perspectives that reproduce positions of power (Adams, Bell & Griffin, 1997; Applebaum, 2008; Eyler & Giles, 1999; O'Grady, & Chappell, 1999); and thus, their personal social justice experience may not be related to long term development (Honnet & Poulsen, 1989). It is important to note also that how a teacher structures activities and discussions to deepen the service learning experience relates to the experience of the teacher. Novice teachers, for instance, may lack the pedagogical training needed to strengthen the connection between course methods and future identity development (Stewart, 2008). Finally, it is also possible that, because all study schools were parochial, schools in the study sample may have had quite similar service projects which caused the effect of service to be washed out by these similarities.

Second, and also in line with expectations, perceptions of personal transformation mediated the relationship between the pedagogical approach (i.e. teacher personality, course content, and teaching style) and moral identity development. In other words, the effects of the pedagogical approach on moral identity development occurred when students also perceived that their experience of the course was personally transformative. There was also an indirect relationship between service learning and moral identity development through perceived transformation, as was previously discussed. Although prior empirical research has not demonstrated the link between perceived transformation and later moral identity development, conceptually this relationship is supported by the theoretical literature. In the short term, "transformed" students should develop a voice and a perspective of their own *transformation* and, in the long run, such a shift should lead to long term effects on aspects of identity (Freire & Faundez, 1989).

Third, and contrary to expectations, the results indicated that neither sex nor socioeconomic status affected the direction or strength of the relationship between the class experiences and moral identity development or between the class experiences and perceptions of personal transformation. These results are somewhat surprising given that some research would suggest a difference between men and women, and between those high and low in SES (Avery, 1988; Kohlberg, 1983; William, 2004). With regard to gender, there is evidence to suggest that although females may show more signs of moral identity development in some areas (e.g. empathy), males may show more moral identity development in other areas (e.g. ideas about justice) (Jaffee & Hyde, 2000). Although there are mean gender differences in moral identity development these differences do not appear to translate into how moral identity, aspects of the social justice class and perceived transformation are associated. However, future research should continue to explore whether the way moral identity is measured matters for such associations. With regard to SES, one plausible explanation is that SES was assessed with a single item. SES is broad in scope and, thus, a multi-item measure may have better covered the

construct domain. However, these findings, though surprising, are in line with previous theoretical studies in transformative pedagogy, which posit that the transformative pedagogical approach should be similarly impactful for all students (Giroux, 1985; 1988). It is important to note that some social justice teachers utilize a socially constructed curriculum (Harrell-Levy, et al., 2012), which includes efforts to make material relatable to the lives of the students who take it. Given this, it is plausible that we did not see differences emerge between students on the basis of life experience because of these intentional efforts to be inclusive of the experiences and ideas of all students. Ultimately, these results suggest the importance of transformative social justice classes for all students, as it appears that the influence of the approach the teachers use on later identity development may transcend gender and socio-economic status.

In sum, the results of the present study show that when students perceive that their personal class experience had transformative elements (as defined in adult learning theory), they also perceive that they were transformed, and, ultimately, are higher in moral identity development than students who perceive that their personal class experience was less transformative (Allen et al., 2011; Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Ginwright& James, 2002; Harrell-Levy, et al., 2012). Furthermore, by examining major processes of this course simultaneously (pedagogical approach, critical self-reflection, and integration of service learning), this study provides a comprehensive picture of the class experience-moral identity interface, and, what matters most.

Limitations

Several limitations should be acknowledged. First, the study is limited by how some of the variables were measured. The measure for teacher characteristics was slightly skewed. Kline (2011) contends that measures with a skewness statistic of 3 or higher require transformation and those less than three (which was the case for teacher characteristics in the present study) do not have serious implications for results. Nevertheless, we note this skew and that results should be interpreted with caution. The aforementioned measurement issue of service learning that may have limited variability in responses received presents another limitation. Limitations of these measures could be improved by increasing the variability of these scales.

Second, this study is limited by its cross-sectional nature, which precludes making causal inferences regarding relations among the model constructs. It would be valuable to know by means of a longitudinal design how pedagogical processes affect moral identity over a long period of time. Also, because you were not able to use a prospective longitudinal design, an alternative interpretation of the results is that students with better-developed morality before the social justice course were more receptive to the content and style of the course, and thus perceived the course as more transformative. The third limitation concerns the generalizability of our results across races. Because race and school

were confounded in the present study, it would be good for future studies to assess the relationship between aspects of the class and moral identity development with samples that are more diverse within schools. Similarly, our moderator questions regarding privilege could not be assessed and a more diverse sample socio-economically would be helpful. The fifth limitation regards the retrospective design of the study. Information about the class comes from participants making retrospective accounts of the class. There are several potential problems with retrospection, such as the possibility that some people will remember more positive memories than negative or even neutral ones, the role of age as a factor in affecting memory, and inaccuracy generally. It is important to note, however, that some issues with retrospection were addressed when we controlled for the length of time since taking the course.

Sixth, it is plausible that part of the associations among constructs is shared method variance, and thus we suggest future research with more objective or independent measures of course content/style and morality. Future studies can begin to address these issues by utilizing a prospective design and follow students before and after taking the social justice course. The seventh limitation regards the small number of classrooms involved in the study. Results could not be definitively attributed to class effects rather than to teacher effects, and conclusions must be interpreted within the context of the limitations of this research design which still offers meaningful insights into an under-researched teaching style and its relationship with subsequent development. The eighth, and final, limitation regards the limitations of using parental education as a proxy for SES. Parental education is only one index of SES. A more robust indicator of SES might include multiple indices of SES.

Despite these limitations, the present findings highlight the value of transformative efforts of teachers in schools as a way of fostering youth development. Utilizing transformative methods in secondary school classrooms may eventually affect students in a long lasting way. Although it is an adult learning theory, the present study points to its use and potential benefits for adolescent learners.

Implications for Future Research

This study has several implications for research on teacher practice processes and on the relationship between transformative methods and identity development in particular. Most studies on transformative practices to date have focused on adult learners (e.g. Generett & Hicks, 2004; for one explanation of this trend, see Clark & Wilson, 1991), utilized qualitative methodology, and maintain a focus on the more proximal influence of the class on areas of student development (e.g. Generett & Hicks; Yorks & Kasl). Studies on the relationship between pedagogy and youth development, generally, are also rare; as many studies conducted with adolescent learners focus on academic resilience and achievement (Lubienski & Stillwell, 2003; Moses-Snipes & Snipes. 2005; Munoz, & Chang, 2007; Wenglinsky, 2002).

However, no known prior studies have carefully integrated theories on pedagogical processes in schools and human development processes. The results of the present study show that transformative class processes, as extensively studied in the field of adult learning, have relevance at the adolescent level because of their potential to influence identity in a real and lasting way. It is recommended that future studies of these class processes include other aspects of identity development, and human development more broadly, to better understand the links between school and development. For instance, prior qualitative research (Harrell-Levy, et al., 2012) suggests a plausible relationship between the class and career and civic identity. Ultimately, this study is relevant because it suggests that certain practices in secondary schools can positively influence moral identity development, regardless of race, socioeconomic status, gender, and religious affiliation, and even for students who are decades removed from high school.

One good way for future studies to continue to explore this relationship is to include other school types in the analyses, and to have enough schools to be able to examine contextual effects – students within classrooms within schools. Moreover, future studies could include the design of a prospective study where the class components and transformative experience are measured during adolescence while students are taking the course and then follows the students into adulthood to see how the class experiences continues to influence moral identity development. It is clear from results of the present study that there were differences in moral identity development on the basis of these class factors particularly among students exposed to general catholic school culture. Despite this meaningful finding, however, we must also take into consideration that the collective culture of parochial schools differs from public schools (Stewart, 2008) and Catholic schools in particular may be more supportive generally, which could contribute to the effect of this class on moral identity development. Incorporating other school types into this research will only further contribute to the generalizability of these results. Future studies also should continue to consider the role of service learning in non-parochial schools. We stipulate the likelihood that service is still important, even though evidence from the present study does suggest that when service and pedagogical approach are entered into a model simultaneously, that the teaching approach is a more robust (direct) predictor of future moral identity development than is the service component.

Ultimately, moral identity development is an important outcome of a transformative social justice class because it is a cited goal in the written description of such courses, and evidence suggests a relationship between moral identity development and caring, socially responsible moral behavior (Aquino & Freeman, 2009, Aquino et al. 2011, Colby & Damon, 1995). However, as noted in Reimer (2003) and Nasir and Kirshner (2003), moral identity requires much more exploration to understand what predicts it because studies are only now beginning to consider the socially influential factors that are likely to play a significant role in its formation. The present study begins to address this gap in literature,

highlighting the importance of including transformative pedagogical methods in secondary school classrooms aimed at increasing students' long term identity development. Understanding the mechanisms by which pedagogical factors help to buffer children from having a poor or unclear moral identity is a particularly important aim for future work on school pedagogy and human development. Having supports for positive youth development within schools may bolster the efforts of parents at home, or even supplement adolescents in areas where they may not be supported. Such efforts may help lead to healthier identities and more positive civic attitudes. Thus, it is important that we extend the scope of transformative pedagogy studies to cover adolescence, moral development, and other social psychological processes that may be affected by students' experiences in such classes.

References

Adams, M., Bell, L.S., & Griffin, P. (Eds.). (1997). *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook*. New York: Routledge.

Allen, J.P., Pianta, R.C., Gregory, A., Mikami, A.Y., & Lum, J. (2011). An interaction-based approach to enhancing secondary school instruction and student achievement. *Science, 333* (6045), 1034-1037.

Aquino, K. & Freeman, D. (2009). Moral identity in business situations: A social-cognitive framework for understanding moral functioning, pp. 375-395. In Narvaez, D., & Lapsley, D. (Eds.) *Moral personality, identity and character: Prospects for a field of study*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Aquino, K., & Reed, A., II. (2002). The self-importance of moral identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83,* 1423–1440.

Aquino, K., McFerran, B., & Laven, M. (2011). Moral Identity and the Experience of Moral Elevation in Response to Acts of Uncommon Goodness. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 100 (4), 703-718.

Applebaum, B. (2008). "Doesn't my experience count?" White students, the authority of experience and social justice pedagogy. *Race, Ethnicity and Education, 11,* 405-414.

Avery, P. G. (1988). Political tolerance among adolescents. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 16, (3), 183-201.

Barr, J. J., & Higgins-D'Alessandro, A. (2007). Adolescent empathy and prosocial behavior in the multidimensional context of school culture. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 168,* 231-250.

Barr, J. J., & Higgins-D'Alessandro, A. (2009). How adolescent empathy and prosocial behavior change in the context of school culture: A two-year longitudinal study. *Adolescence*, *44*(176), 751-772.

Battistich, V., Solomon, D., Kim, D., Watson, M., & Schaps, E. (1995). Schools as caring communities, poverty, levels of student populations, and students' attitudes, motives, and performance: A multilevel analysis. *American Education Research Journal, 32*, 627-658.

Blasi, A. (1984). Moral identity: Its role in moral functioning. In W. Kurtines & J. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Morality, moral behavior, and moral development* (pp. 128–139). New York: Wiley.

Blasi, A. (2005). Moral Character: A Psychological Approach. In edited by Lapsley, D.K. and Power, F.C (Eds.), *Character Psychology and Character Education* (pp. 18–35). University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, IN.

Cammarota, J., & Romero, A. F. (2009). A social justice epistemology and pedagogy for Latina/o students: Transforming public education with participatory action research. *New Directions for Youth Development, 123*, 53-65.

Carlo, G., Fabes, R. A., Laible, D., & Kupanoff, K. (1999). Early adolescence and prosocial behavior II: The role of social and contextual influences. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 19,* 133-147.

Chandler, M. & Moran, T. (2001). Psychopathy and moral development: A comparative study of delinquent and nondelinquent youth. *Development and Psychopathology, 2,* 227-246.

Clark, C. M. & Wilson, A. (1991). Context and rationality in Mezirow's theory of perspective transformational learning. *Adult Education Quarterly, 40,* 75-91.

Cohen, C. (2006). African American youth: Broadening our understanding of politics, civic engagement, and activism. New York: Social Sciences Research Council. Retrieved November 1, 2011, from http://ya.ssrc.org/african/Cohen.

Colby, A., & Damon, W. (1995). The development of extraordinary commitment. In Killen, M., and Hart, D. (eds.) Morality in Everyday Life: Developmental Perspectives, Cambridge University Press, New York: pp. 342-370.

Crick, N. R. & Zahn-Waxler, C. (2003). The development of psychopathology in females and males: Current progress and future challenges. *Development and Psychopathology, 15*, 719-742.

Damon, W. (1990). *The moral child.* New York: Free Press.

Damon, W., Menon, J., & Cotton Bronk, K. (2003). The development of purpose during adolescence. *Applied Developmental Science, 7(*3), 119-128.

Davis, M. H. (1980). A multidimensional approach to individual differences in empathy. *Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 10,* 85.

Davis, M. H. (1983). Measuring individual differences in empathy: Evidence for a multidimensional approach. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 44,* 113-126.

Davis, M. H., & Franzoi, S. L. (1991). Stability and change in adolescent self-consciousness and empathy. *Journal of Research in Personality, 25,* 70-87.

Eisenberg-Berg, N, & Mussen, P. (1978). Empathy and moral development in adolescence. *Developmental Psychology, 14(*2), 185-186.

Erickson, J. & O'Connor, S. (2000). Service-learning: Does it promote or reduce prejudice? In C.O'Grady (Ed.), Integrating service-learning and multicultural education in colleges and universities (pp. 59-70). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum & Associates.

Eyler, J., & Giles, D.E., Jr. (1999). *Where's the learning in service learning?* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Fan, W., Williams, C. M., & Corkin, D. (2011). A multilevel analysis of student perceptions of school climate: The effect of social and academic risk factors. *Psychology In The Schools*, *48*(6), 632-647

Flanagan, C. (2003). Trust, identity, and civic hope. *Applied Developmental Science, 7*(3), 165-171.

Flanagan, Syvertsen, and Stout. (2007). Civic Measurement Models: Tapping Adolescents' Civic Engagement. CIRCLE Working Paper 55. *Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE).*

Fletcher, A. C., Elder, G. H., Jr., & Mekos, D. (2000). Parental influences on adolescent involvement in community activities. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 10 (1)*, 29-48.

Flouri, E., & Tzavidis, N. (2011). Non-verbal reasoning ability and academic achievement as moderators of the relation between adverse life events and emotional and behavioural problems in early adolescence: The importance of moderator and outcome specificity. *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, *42*(1), 42-52

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Penguin.

Freire, P., & Faundez, A. (1989). *Learning to question: Pedagogy of liberation*. Geneva: WCC Publications.

Frimer, J. A., & Walker, L. J. (2008). Towards a new paradigm of moral personhood. *Journal of Moral Education, 37*, 333-356.

Frimer, J. A. & Walker, L. J. (2009). Reconciling the self and morality: An empirical model of moral centrality development. *Developmental Psychology, 45,* 1669-1681.

Generett, G. G. & Hicks, M. (2004). Beyond reflective competency: Teaching for audacious hope-in-action. *Journal of Transformative Education, 2,* 187-203.

Ginwright, S., & James, T. (2002). From assets to agents of change: Social justice, organizing, and youth development. In B. Kirshner, J. O'Donoghue, & M. McLaughlin (Eds.), Youth participation: Improving schools and communities (pp. 27–42). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Giroux, H. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. Granby, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.

Giroux, H. (1985). Critical pedagogy, cultural politics and the discourse of experience. *Journal of Education, 167* (2), 22-41

Gutstein, E. (2008). Building political relationships with students: An aspect of social justice pedagogy. *Mathematic Education Library, 46*, 189-219.

Gurin, P, Nagda, B. A., & Lopez, G. E. (2004). The benefits of diversity in education for democratic citizenship. *Journal of Social Issues, 60*(1), 17-34.

Harrell-Levy, M. K., Kerpelman, J.K., & Henry, D. (2012). "Minds were forced wide open": Exploring the phenomenon of high school transformative social justice. *Unpublished Manuscript,* Auburn University, Alabama.

Honnet, E. P., & Poulsen, S. (1989). Principles of good practice in combining service and learning. (Wingspead Special Report). Racine, Wisconsin: The Johnson Foundation, Inc.

Howard, J.P. (1998). Academic service learning: A counternormative pedagogy. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning, 73,* 21-29.

Jaffee, S. & Hyde, J. S. (2000). Gender differences in moral orientation: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *126*(5), 703-726. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.126.5.703

Kerpelman, J. L., Pittman, J. F., & Lamke, L. K. (1997). Toward microprocess perspective on adolescent identity development: An identity control theory approach. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 12*, 325–346.

King, P. E., & Furrow J. L., (2004). Religion as a resource of positive youth development: Religion, social capital, and moral outcomes. *Developmental Psychology, 40*, 703–713.

Kirshner, B. (2009). "Power in Numbers": Youth Organizing as a Context for Exploring Civic Identity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence (Blackwell Publishing Limited)*, *19*(3), 414-440.

Kline, R. B. (2011). Principles and practice of structural equation modeling (3rd ed.). New York: Guilford Press.

Kohlberg, L., Levine, C. and Hewer, A. (1983). Moral Stages: A Current Formulation and a Response to Critics.

Kohlberg, L., & Mayer, R. (1972). Development as the aim of education. *Harvard Educational Review, 42*, 449-496.

Lopez, G.E. Gurin, P., and Nagda, B.A. (1998). Education and understanding structural causes for group inequalities. *Political Psychology, 19 (*2), 301-329.

Lubienski, S. T, & Stillwell, J. (2003). Teaching low-SES students mathematics through problem solving: Tough issues, promising strategies, and lingering dilemmas. In *Teaching mathematics through problem solving: 6–12*, ed. H. Schoen and R. Charles, 207–18. Reston, VA: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

Maclean, A., Walker, L. J., & Matsuba, M. (2004). Transcendence and the Moral Self: Identity Integration, Religion, and Moral Life. *Journal For The Scientific Study Of Religion*, *43*(3), 429-437

Meier, M.H.; Slutske, W. S.; Arndt, S. & Cadoret, R. J. (2008). Impulsive and callous traits are more strongly associated with delinquent behavior in higher risk neighborhoods among boys and girls. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 117 (2), 377-385.

Mezirow, J. (1978). Perspective transformation. *Adult Education*, 100–110.

Moses-Snipes, P. R., & Snipes, V.T. (2005). The call: The importance of research on African American issues in mathematics and science education. *The Negro Educational Review, 56*(2), 103–105.

Matlock, J., Gurin, G., & Wade-Golden, K. (1990. The Michigan student study: Students' expectations of and experiences with racial/ethnic diversity. Office of Academic Multicultural Initiatives, the University of Michigan. Retrieved at < http://www.oami.umich.edu/mss/downloads/synopsis0103.pdf>.

Miller, M. L. and Schlenker, B. R. (2011). Integrity and identity: Moral identity differences and preferred interpersonal reactions. *European Journal of Personality, 25*, 2–15.

Moreland, C. & Leach, M.M. (2001). The relationship between black racial identity and moral development. *Journal of Black Psychology, 27* (3), 255-271.

Munoz, M. A., & Chang, F.C. (2007). The elusive relationship between teacher characteristics and student academic growth: A longitudinal multilevel model for change. *Journal of Personnel Evaluation in Education, 20,* 147–65.

Nagda, B. A. (2006). Breaking barriers, crossing boundaries, building bridges: Communication processes in intergroup dialogues. *Journal of Social Issues, 62*(3), 553-576.

Nasir, N., & Kirshner, B. (2003). The cultural construction of moral and civic identities. *Applied Developmental Science, 7*, 138–147.

O'Connor, P. (2004). If everyone's responsible, then nobody is, pp. 286-298 (In Heldke, L & O'Conner, P. *Oppression, Privilege, and Resistance: Theoretical Perspectives on Racism, Sexism, and Heterosexism*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

O'Grady, C.R., & Chappell, B. (1999). With, not for: The politics of service learning in multicultural communities. In C. Ovando & O. McLaren (Eds.), *The politics of multiculturalism: Students and teachers in the crossfire (pp. 209-224).* Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Payne, A. A., Gottfredson, D. C. and Gottfredson, G. D. (2003). Schools as Communities: The Relationships Among Communal School Organization, Student Bonding, and School Disorder. *Criminology*, 41(3), 749–773.

Piaget, J. (1971). The theory of stages in cognitive development. In D. R. Green, M. P. Ford, & G. B. Flamer (Eds.), *Measurement and Piaget* (pp. 1–11). NY: McGraw-Hill.

Reed, A., & Aquino, K. F. (2003). Moral identity and the expanding circle of moral regard toward out-groups. *Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology*, *84*(6), 1270-1286.

Reed, A., II, Aquino, K., & Levy, E. (2007). Moral identity and judgments of charitable behaviors. *Journal of Marketing, 71,* 178 –193.

Reimer, K. (2003). Committed to Caring: Transformation in Adolescent Moral Identity. *Applied Developmental Science, 7(*3),

129-137.

Rest, J. R., & Thoma, S. J. (1985). Relation of moral judgment development to formal education. *Developmental Psychology*, *21*(4), 709-714.

Reynolds, S. J., & Ceranic, T. L. (2007). The effects of moral judgment and moral identity on moral behavior: An empirical examination of the moral individual. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(6), 1610-1624.

Rosenberger, C. (2000). Beyond empathy: Developing critical consciousness through service-learning. In C. O'Grady (Ed.), Integrating service-learning and multicultural education in colleges and universities (pp. 23-45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Sarason, I. G., Levine, H. M., Basham, R. B., & Sarason, B. R. (1983). Assessing social support: The Social Support Questionnaire. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44(1), 127-139.

Schuitema, J., Dam, G. ten & Veugelers, W. (2007). Teaching strategies for moral education: A review. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 40,* 1-21.

Shao, R. Aquino, K., & Freeman, D. (2008). Shao, R., Aquino, K., & Freeman, D. (2008). Beyond moral reasoning: A review of moral identity research and its implications for business ethics. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 18*, 513-540

Stanberry, A. M., & Azria-Evans, M. (2001). Perspectives in teaching gerontology: Matching strategies with purpose and context. *Educational Gerontology, 27*, 637–656.

Steinberg, L. (2004). Cognitive and affective development in adolescence. *Trends on Cognitive Sciences, 9* (2), 69-74

Stewart, T. (2008). Comparing the intended and the perceived: Administrator expectations and student perceptions of teacher roles in Catholic service-learning. *The High School Journal, 91* (4), 59-76.

Suad Nasir, N., & Kirshner, B. (2003). The cultural construction of moral and civic identities. *Applied Developmental Science, 7*(3), 138-147.

Wagaman, M. (2011). Social empathy as a framework for adolescent empowerment. *Journal of Social Service Research*, *37*(3), 278-293.

Wenglinsky, H. (2002). How schools matter: The link between teacher classroom practices and student academic performance. *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 10(12), 1-30. (Accessed at http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v10n12 on April 15, 2012).

Willems, F., Denessen, E., Hermans, C., & Vermeer, P. (2010). Citizenship education in religious schools: an analysis of tolerance in Catholic schools from a virtue ethical point of view. *Journal of Beliefs & Values: Studies In Religion &*

Education, 31(2), 215-229.

William, R. (2004). Blaming the victim, pp. 275-285 (In Heldke, L & O'Conner, P. *Oppression, Privilege, and Resistance: Theoretical Perspectives on Racism, Sexism, and Heterosexism*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Witenberg, R. T. (2007). The moral dimension of children's and adolescents' conceptualization of tolerance to human diversity. *Journal of Moral Education, 36* (4), 433-451.

Van Overwalle, F., & Jordens, K. (2002). An adaptive connectionist model of cognitive dissonance. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6(*3), 204–231.

Yates, M. (1999). Community service and political-moral discussions among adolescents: A study of a mandatory school-based program in the United States. In M. Yates & J. Youniss (Eds.), *Roots of civic identity: International perspectives on community service and activism in youth* (pp. 16-31). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Yeakley, A. (1998). The nature of prejudice change: Positive and negative change processes arising from intergroup contact experiences. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.

Yorks, L & Kasl, E. (2006). I know more than I can say: A taxonomy for using expressive ways of knowing to foster transformative learning. *Journal of Transformative Education, 4* (1), 43-64.

Youniss, J., and Yates, M. (1997). *Community Service and Social Responsibility in Youth*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Zaff, J.F., Malanchuk, O., Michelsen, E., & Eccles, J. (2003). Socializing youth for citizenship: A report prepared for the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement. Washington, DC: Child Trends.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviation, and correlations between predictors and outcomes

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7.	8.	9.	M	SD
1. Perceptions of personal transformation	---								---	3.96	.97
2. Critical Self Reflection	.50**	---								4.15	.83
3. Service Learning	.50**	.22**	---							4.36	.87
4. Content	.54**	.49**	-.33**	---						4.23	.89
5. Teacher Characteristics	.49**	.40**	.36**	.45**	---					4.61	.70
6. Teaching Style	.62**	.41**	.39**	.45**	.68**	---				4.34	.74
7. Beliefs	.46**	.31**	.26**	.37**	.21**	.31**	---			4.28	.71
8. Empathy	.44**	.23**	.33**	.25**	.22**	.35**	.44**	---		4.36	.54
9. Anger	.51**	.28**	.37**	.43**	.31**	.39**	.43**	.50**	---	4.33	.72

**$p < .01$

Table 2. Correlations between controls/moderators and outcome measures

Measure	Beliefs	Empathy	Anger
High School	-.04	-.19**	-.31**
Sex	.06	.18**	.20**
Educational Attainment	.01	.06	.05
School Funding (SES)	.03	-.09	-.01
Maltreatment/Not	.00	.01	.04
Cohort	-.02	.07	.12*
Religiosity	-.17**	-.18**	-.10
Catholic/Other	.03	.07	.12

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Table 3. Measurement Model (standardized results in parenthesis)

	B	S.E.	β
Moral Identity development by			
Anger	1.00	0.00 (.04)	0.73***
Empathy	0.68***	0.08 (.05)	0.68***
Beliefs	0.78***	0.10 (.05)	0.62***
Pedagogical approach by			
Teaching style	1.00	0.00 (.03)	0.83***
Teacher characteristics	0.89***	0.07 (.03)	0.81***
Content	0.81***	0.09 (.04)	0.63***

B = unstandardized path coefficient, β= standardized path coefficient

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Figure 1.

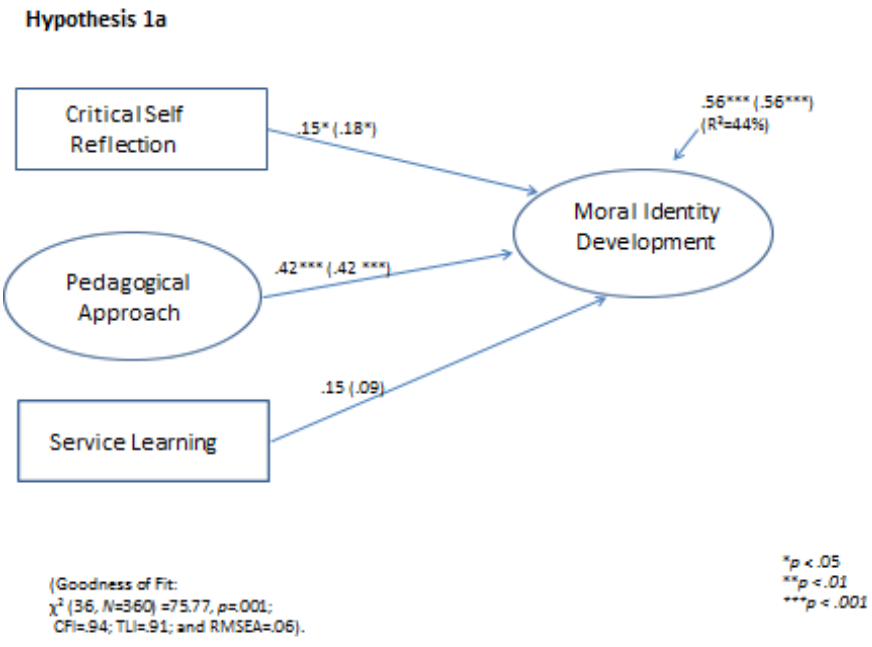
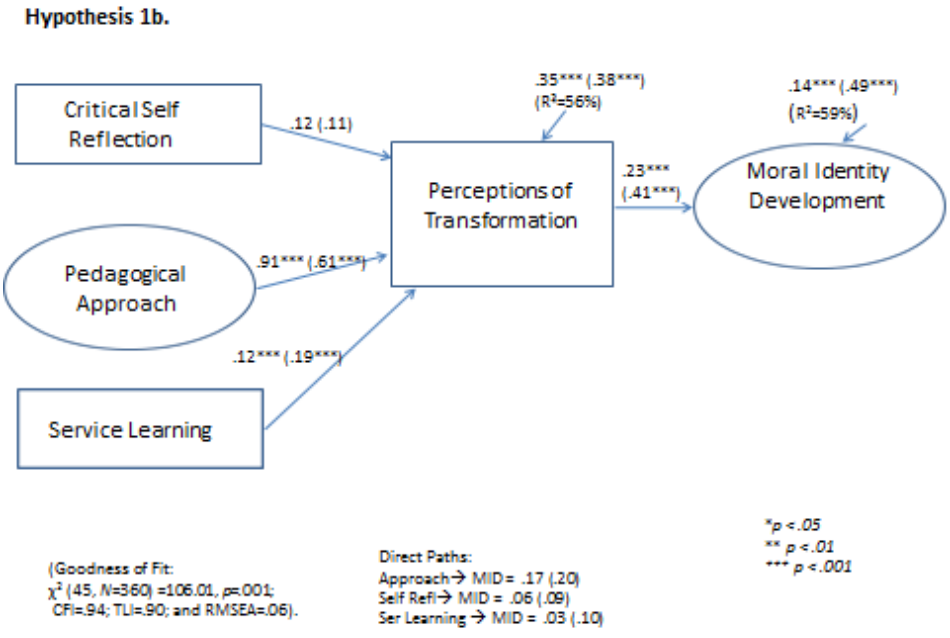


Figure 2.



Figures.

Figure 1. Fitted Path Model for moral identity development regressed on critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, and service learning (standardized estimated correlations in parentheses) (*N*=362).

Figure 2. Fitted Path Model for perceptions of personal transformation mediating the relationship between critical self-reflection, pedagogical approach, and service learning on moral identity development (standardized estimated correlations in parentheses) (*N*=362).

General Discussion

Studies addressing transformative pedagogy at the high school level are warranted to learn about the habits of successful and innovative teachers. The current research begins the process of making distinctions between the conception of transformative education at the post high school level and transformative education at the secondary school level, and examines associations among transformative education and adolescent identity development. The first study illustrated the transformative effects of the Transformative Social Justice (TSJ) class qualitatively. From interview data of thirteen students, all of whom claimed to have been transformed by the course and had excellent recall of class experiences, we learn that that TSJ class is, among other things, a class in moral and civic education that has important implications for adolescent identity development. All alumni experienced changes in attitudes and identity and, for some, changes in behavior, which were reflectively attributed to the social justice class.

By way of class experience, students perceived that they began to develop moral and civic narratives, which informed who they were while taking the class and who they wanted to be years later. As they aged and matured, alumni then accumulated life experiences and infused the lessons from their class experience into their burgeoning personal identities. The results build on previous work that has examined the relationship between transformative teaching approaches and changes in students' conceptions of morality (e.g. Generett & Hicks, 2004) by documenting the processes involved at the secondary school level and sharing the ways in which this course was a life-changing experience.

Results from study one also suggested that Mr. James and Ms. Kellogg, the two teachers of the study participants, enhanced the moral identity of students through several transformative approaches, all of which are similar to those discussed in Rossatto (2005). This includes open conversation and debate, guided critical assessments on topics, highlighting issues of concern to the students and local community (as discussed in Nagda et al., 2003), introducing compelling stories of moral courage from influential people to demonstrate the moral consciousness of others, and exposing students to the less fortunate through service learning opportunities. A sophisticated analysis of these strategies was not conducted; however, these themes were uncovered in terms of their relationship with the ways alumni noted they had been impacted years later.

The second study expanded on the work from study one by increasing the data sources consulted, bounding the data by three teachers (instead of the two used in study one), and focusing on how the TSJ teachers were able to influence the alumni in such vivid and lasting ways. *A priori* coding was organized around aspects of the transformative

teaching style identified by Dirkx (1998). Findings revealed that, as consistent with Dirkx, the transformative social justice teachers utilized consciousness raising (through cooperative learning), (inquiry-based) critical self-reflection, development, and individuation. Aspects of the pedagogical approach at St. Mark's that were consistent with post-high school transformative implementations but beyond Dirkx' strands included a good deal of teacher-student interaction, a focus on service learning, and an interactive and lively classroom learning environment. Coding also revealed three differences (which were interpreted as strengths by interview participants) between a post-high school implementation of transformative pedagogy and the high school version at St. Mark's. These three differences were: one, a lack of student centeredness, as teachers were passionate and opinionated and firmly set the direction of the course; two, teachers were role models of course content in class and out; and, three, developmental timing (which includes adolescents' propensity toward idealism) increased the urgency in which messages were communicated to the class.

The third and final study was a quantitative investigation that helped further explain the aspects of the TSJ class that were most meaningful for moral identity development. Results revealed that higher levels of critical self-reflection as a part of the class (e.g., examining the sources of biases and assumptions) and perceptions that the teacher had charismatic personality traits, utilized an engaging and inclusive teaching style, and incorporated course content that was relatable and focused on relevant social issues (called 'pedagogical approach') were related to being higher on moral identity (i.e. empathy, beliefs about individual action and social change, and anger about social injustice). These findings are consistent with previous research that suggests that pedagogical approaches in class, critical thinking, and self-reflection relate to the overall development of pupils (Allen, Pianta, Gregory, Mikami, & Lum, 2011; Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Gutstein, 2008). However, contrary to expectations, service learning was not a direct factor in alumni's moral identity development, as suggested by prior work (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman; Howard, 1998; Yates, 1999). Furthermore, mediation tests showed that the effects of the pedagogical approach occur when students also perceive that their experience of the course was personally transformative, and service learning was found to affect moral identity development indirectly through its direct influence on perceived transformation. Associations among moral identity, aspects of the social justice class and perceived transformation were similar across gender and SES.

In sum, the high levels of moral identity development discovered in study *one* that students attributed to the transformative teaching process captured in study *two* held true when studied quantitatively in study *three*. Those participants that were highest in their moral identity development were those who perceived that their classes were infused with transformative elements identified in prior work (specifically, the transformative pedagogical approach and level of critical self-reflection).

Together, the findings across these studies offer, first, that although there may be many avenues that lead to moral identity development, one influence is particularly important—the transformative high school class. More specifically, results of these studies demonstrate certain particularities within the transformative class that contribute to identity development. Using retrospective qualitative and quantitative data, we were able to show that when students perceive that the methods and their class experiences were transformative, they were higher in moral identity development than others who perceived a less transformative experience. Second, these results support also the use of mixed method methodologies as a way of distinguishing the more unforgettable processes in these courses (such as charismatic forms of instruction) and the processes that are most clearly tied to identity development (for example critical self-reflection).

Third, the first two qualitative studies informed the development and presentation of a model of moral identity development, which was tested in study three. According to the model, moral identity development is influenced by adolescents' experiences in transformative service learning courses. These results suggest the importance of students perceiving that the experience of the class has been transformative—perceptions matter because they mediate the relationship between the experiences of the class and later moral identity development. Qualitatively, such a result was made only that much more impressive by alumni's exceptional recall of these transformative elements, many years, and, in some cases, decades, after the class. Therefore, results suggest that it would be unwise for educators, and schools more generally, to ignore the importance of students' perceptions of their learning experiences. These results suggest the importance of engaging students and deepening their connection to the learning that takes place in schools; such engagement may enhance the learning and contribute to students' subsequent efforts to stretch class learning into lifelong learning. If students perceive that their experience is transformative, they are more likely to show signs of identity development.

Fourth, qualitative results also showed that one important, and perhaps overlooked, contribution of the transformative teaching style is its long-term relevance for the students: Interviews revealed alumni's enduring efforts to integrate the lessons into their sense of self. The aspects of the class that alumni considered most meaningful to their identity development continued to resonate with them in many ways after high school and as alumni accumulated more life experience. Similarly, we learned that students' relationship with the class evolved over time, such that the class was reported by alumni to shape critical thinking, self-reflection and investment in moral and civic issues over time, regardless of what conclusions were ultimately drawn.

Overall, these results have important implications for teacher practices and social policy. We have learned that

transformative class processes, as extensively studied in the field of adult learning, have relevance at the adolescent level because of its potential to influence identity. Results also suggest the importance of giving due attention to the specific practices of teachers in schools in impacting the identity development of adolescents. For instance, we were able to begin distinguishing class elements that were most important in leading to moral identity development. Understanding these practices, and the influence they have in the development of adolescents, can lead to developing supports for teachers so that more educators can become purposeful and successful co-constructors of healthy adolescent identities.

Future research can build on these findings by exploring alumni priorities regarding aspects of identity. For instance, it appears that alumni who have experienced a more transformative style of learning in their social justice class subsequently experienced more feelings of empathy, a greater degree of anger over injustice, and stronger beliefs about their role in influencing social change. It would be beneficial to assess whether, contrarily, those with a less transformative social justice class experience have ideas that are based more on individual notions of success. Similarly, it would be important to explore what such a difference in beliefs and ideas means for actual transformative social action, as well as the propensity to be critical and reflective about personal assumptions and biases when engaging in said action.

Given the developmental challenges of getting high school adolescents to critically and reflectively engage in complex social issues, future attention should be paid to the way the key aspects of the TSJ class actually relate to students' efforts to examine and understand their decisions and the antecedents and consequences of those decisions. Such findings would lead to better teaching practice as well as clearer understanding about the relationship between transformative practices within schools and identity development during adolescence and beyond. Future research also should build on results from study two, and continue to explore the relevance of high resource adults of positive value (e.g. teachers, individuals at the service site, and guest speakers) to whom the students were exposed . Observing how these individuals enriched the transformative learning experience and deepened the perceived impact for alumni could lead to a more critical appreciation of how the TSJ teachers were able to draw their high school students into a level of critical self-reflection that could be considered atypical of that age without scaffolding.

Results from these studies also hint at the possibility that through novel service learning experiences, compassionate teacher-student relationships, and community fostered within the class, transformative social justice (TSJ) teachers challenge aspects of internalized oppression within students, and schools, which influence how adolescents respond to cultural differences. For instance, the unpublished notes from both qualitative studies revealed a powerful sense of community fostered within the TSJ class, which provided the opportunity for students experiencing battles

related to internalized oppression and privilege to share their experiences (and their emotions about those experiences) in a structured community context. Although these results were not pervasive throughout the interviews, and fell outside of the scope of the dissertation project, these issues did arise in significant ways in a few interviews. Therefore, future studies should explore this in more detail, and examine whether the class affects the relationship between internalized oppression and privilege and racial and ethnic relations with others, at the time of the class and after.

Finally, results from the qualitative studies suggested that several dimensions of identity, in particularly moral identity and civic identity, were affected by the TSJ class. Therefore, as moral identity was included as an outcome in the third study of this dissertation, future quantitative studies should explore the relationship between the perceived experience of a transformative class and civic identity development to determine which aspects of the class contribute to civic identity development. Moreover, such work should consider differences between students who experience high and low levels of civic identity transformation, with a pointed interest in life experience factors, such as socioeconomic status, regional differences and family type. Together, efforts to examine linkages between TSJ class experiences and different domains of identity development will help policymakers to identity ways that schools can foster positive youth identity development, which should lead to healthier individuals, citizens and communities.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Literature Review and References

Appendix 2: Study 1 Data Reduction Table for Study 1

Appendix 3: Coding Guide for Study 2

Appendix 4: Codebook for Study 3 Survey

Appendix 5: Expanded Power Analysis

Appendix 6: Expanded Qualitative Methodology

Appendix 7: My Process to and Through the Studies

Appendix 1: Literature Review

In the absence of literature that looks closely at the relationship between aspects of high school TSJ and perceptions of transformation later in life, this review begins with an introduction to social justice and transformative pedagogy, which includes the results of a review of several school websites that feature curriculum courses on social justice. Following the introduction, I provide a background for pedagogical approaches used in the classroom and the subsequent evolution of transformative pedagogy, and then continue by reviewing what has been covered on transformative pedagogy, which is comprised mostly of theoretical and qualitative pieces on adult learners. The next section discusses possible forms of transformation that can result from a TSJ class, with a focus on civic and moral identity formation. Following that, a short discussion on obstacles to transformative pedagogy and what is revealed by placing transformative-critical pedagogy (TCP) under a critical lens is provided. This information is followed by a short section on the role of Catholic school culture in fostering social justice and transformative practices within schools. Finally, this review ends with a developmental perspective by describing two theories relevant to the present study, identity development (with a pointed focus on identity control theory) and transformative learning theory.

Introduction

In an interview published in Rossatto (2005), Freire, a famous scholar on pedagogy who examined the relationship between poverty and education, notes that one of the tasks of modern, progressive education is to inspire and provoke critical curiosity in students, as opposed to allowing them to fumble through the world with a naive, uninspired curiosity that lacks accuracy and depth. From such a view, transformative pedagogy was spawned. In a study conducted by Generett and Hicks (2004), transformation for the teachers included in the study was described as a reshaping of perspective: "recognizing how [student teachers] shape and are shaped by the world, learning how to provide a deep critique of their environment or a practice and to value multiple perspectives or at least not rely on their assumptions" (p.194).

Social Justice content and Transformative Critical Pedagogy (TCP) may come together to create a galvanizing learning experience. When Social Justice is taught with a transformative approach, the dialogic pedagogy that is described by Freire and other critical pedagogues is bolstered by rich historical, sociological and psychological content. When this happens, the text of the course or the tangible parts of the curriculum could convert a very abstract, purely reflective process into a concrete, less ethereal exercise. A transformative approach consists of both reflection and dialogue; but a course dedicated to issues of Social Justice adds also exposure to social issues and knowledge of institutional structures

that can lead to increased agency on the part of students. Thus, although transformative pedagogy may be useful in a variety of disciplines and subject areas, it may have even more potency when the subject matter is Social Justice itself. In the case of a transformative Social Justice class, for instance, both the content and the pedagogy are geared toward understanding and deconstructing sources of domination in society.

> Content and pedagogy may be sources of domination, but they can also be a basis for grappling with ethical responsibility, conducting critical analysis, and enacting the democratic ideals of equality, freedom and justice (Nagda, Gurin & Lopez, 2003, p.167).

The relationship between content and pedagogy cannot be overstated. A transformative math class is important in that it provides students with a richer, more reflective educational experience; moreover, in such a class, students are learning ways to use their knowledge to transform society. Likewise, a transmissional Social Justice class is important because, despite the use of lectures and rote memorization, students are still being exposed to social issues and ills, as well as their role in contributing to societal injustice/justice, exposure they might not receive elsewhere (i.e., even without a transformative experience, students in a Social Justice class are still exposed to information that could alter their conception of themselves, justice and morality.) In other words, taken alone, a transformative teaching approach is positive, and the same can be said of a Social Justice class that does not utilize a transformative approach. However, when given the opportunity for the two to come together, "transformative" and "Social Justice," the learning experience is potentially deeper, richer, and, perhaps, even more transformative. Kolb (1984) describes such an experience, suggesting that bringing the lived experience of students into the classroom is made richer when the teacher is able to introduce meaningful content that causes them to reflect on and challenge their own assumptions. Nagda et al. (2003) expounds on this point, noting that a transformative pedagogy for Social Justice would likely include such teaching tools as discussions, journals, activities, simulations, case studies and videos; and that, when these tools are "coupled with knowledge content—lectures, readings and other conceptual input—students can develop a more abstract understanding of social life, and that understanding can be tested outside the classroom and in new situations" (p.169).

Preliminary Internet Review into High School Social Justice

To begin to understand Social Justice classes in high schools, I reviewed the websites of over twenty-five schools that have a Social Justice vision and/or a Social Justice course. Courses and schools were identified by Google

search. Several search terms were used, some of which included ("social justice + high school," "justice + curriculum + school," and "social justice curriculum."

Table 1. Review of High Schools with Social Justice Courses

School Type	Number
Public Charter Schools	4
Public Schools	6
Private (non-religious schools)	6
Parochial Schools	9

This preliminary review yielded Social Justice courses across different school types across the United States (i.e. public, private, parochial, and charter). Among the websites reviewed, commonalities were found. One, schools with Social Justice courses tend also to have Social Justice missions. Two, many of these schools also have small teacher-student ratios. Three, Social Justice class in high school seeks to nurture in students a transformative optimism, described by Rossatto (2005) as a profound, emancipatory hope. Ideally, this emancipatory optimism is critical, as opposed to naïve, and students who embody it do not "merely hope for or believe in the opportunity for emancipation from hegemonic and repressive socioeconomic structures, but indeed see [themselves] as necessary and viable participants in the collective process of social change" (p.81). Four, this effort toward social change is a fundamental aspect of Social Justice class. Five, the goals of Social Justice in high school include cutting through the hopelessness and/or apathy common among teenagers, imbuing students with passion for peace, justice and the dignity of all people, and sparking the curiosity and creativity of students (e.g. Community School for Social Justice in Bronx, NY).

Two more commonalities between many of the Social Justice classes reviewed are, a, an element of service learning and, b, a focus on civic engagement. Civic engagement can be defined as the actions individuals or communities take to promote the common good by responding to issues of public concern. Such engagement is a fundamental ideal of a participatory democracy. For citizens to truly understand democracy, think democratically, and participate in democratic processes, it is helpful for them to first experience it in their classrooms. Thus, there is an intended relationship between Social Justice class in high schools and civic engagement/involvement in civil society. Theoretically, service learning activities that provide exposure to community issues as well as topics pertaining to civic engagement

help produce more competent, more concerned, and more engaged citizens. According to Shor (1992), establishing the relationship between education and democracy is both a moral and practical imperative in modern day society:

> To teach skills and information without relating them to society and to the students' context turns education into an authoritarian transfer of official words, a process that severely limits student development as democratic citizens (p.18).

Thus, one goal of Social Justice class would be to teach students to become better citizens, to desire and thirst for a better society and to believe in their capacity to bring about such a society. Paulo Freire sums up this society well:

> My dream is the dream of having a society that is less ugly and less unjust; a society in which it would be easier to live, easier to dream; a decent society, permanently striving to overcome discrimination and the negation of others, for example; a society that struggles for equality (Rossatto, 2005, p.19)

There were some websites that were incredibly detailed about this mission of Social Justice at their schools, including Social Justice High School (SJHS), a public high school located in Lawndale, Ohio. On its website, SJH describes its curriculum as having four sets of behavior goals organized by grade (See Table 2). Although examples of curriculum mapping are provided below, the list provided includes only a fraction of the mapping goals actually included on the website.

Table 2. Social Justice High School Curriculum Examples

Goal	Description
behavior back mapping	e.g. ninth grade 'think before speaking', tenth grade 'empathize', eleventh grade 'give and take feedback', and twelfth grade 'work effectively and collaboratively with others'
critical back mapping	e.g. ninth grade 'differentiating fact from opinion', tenth grade 'use academic skills to discuss and investigate thematic content across disciplines', eleventh grade 'identify and explain the important institutions in the United States and how they affect student's lives, and twelfth grade 'be critical researchers—thinkers, planners, doers'
community back mapping	ninth grade 'identify roles of power', tenth grade 'self-identify as a leader', eleventh grade 'plan and implement a service project involving a community', and twelfth grade 'be contributing members of their communities'
classical back mapping	e.g. ninth grade 'develop comprehension and inference skills while reading', tenth grade 'assess and reflect on preferred learning strategies', eleventh grade 'have critical knowledge of the different mechanisms functioning in the world', and twelfth grade 'be literate and knowledgeable about the world and their relation or positioning in it'

At SJHS, Social Justice includes constructing a knowledge based on the students own realities and backgrounds. Such knowledge is intended to help them in their preparations for college. The school's mission statement reads as follows:

> The Little Village Lawndale High School is a reality because of the principles of social justice. Our belief in self-determination inspired a community to act on its convictions to affirm its right to a quality education. Through a system of support, guidance, and accountability our students will graduate high school, be prepared for college and implement a post-secondary plan. Our students will cherish and preserve their ethnic and cultural identity, will serve and determine the future of our community, and will have a passion for peace, justice and the dignity of all people (http://sj.lvlhs.org/sj/mission_vision.jsp).

A study done on the Social Justice Education Project (SJEP) revealed that the goal of Social Justice courses for the high school in that study is "for students to reclaim the political space that silences their voices by filling in the missing element, student knowledge, for developing effective policies for young people" (Cammarota & Romero, 2009). This political voice is often supported by a more fine-tuned sense of personal morals. Thus, one last goal of Social Justice class could be the development of a moral narrative. There is an element of moral philosophy in most Social

Justice classes that I explored via the internet. The extent of this element is likely to vary depending on the school and on the pedagogical style undergirding the course. However, all Social Justice classes are intended to help foster a consciousness[3] in students about a morally just and inclusive society. In his discussion on fatalism and optimism, Rossatto (2005, p.20) notes "the necessity of a moral philosophy based on solidarity," that raises the consciousness of students, works toward the inclusion of all members of society, and contains elements of mutual giving and receiving. This dialectical ethical construction "empowers citizens to participate in what is the responsibility of every community member and that also ensures no one is left behind."

Additionally, a review of over forty Catholic school websites revealed that Social Justice Class is offered in many Catholic high schools but is, one, not in all Catholic high schools and, two, not always mandatory in the schools in which it is offered. Moreover, my interviews and conversations with Catholic school teachers and administrators reveal that the frequency, timing and design of the social justice class are expected to change throughout the Catholic school system. In an article describing the role of teachers in a high school service-learning program, Stewart (2008) suggests that Catholic schools are uniquely positioned to promote Social Justice, service learning and transformative learning experiences: "Catholicism teaches that one's faith and love for God is demonstrated most clearly in active service to others. By aspiring to the examples set by the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, Catholics should understand that being agents of transformation and Social Justice is a duty of every Christian" (Stewart, 2008). Catholic schools, specifically, often bring a service-learning model of education vis-à-vis the development of Social Justice (Stewart, 2008). However, many non-religious Social Justice courses include a service learning component.

Catholic high schools come with strengths and challenges. Whereas some studies have heralded that minority students experience a great deal of success in Catholic schools (Coleman and Hoffer, 1987 & Greeley, 1982), concerns have been raised regarding the hiring of uncertified/untrained teachers and the use of public funds to support vouchers to Catholic schools (Stewart, 2008). Although Catholic schools have a clear religious agenda, it is important to note the prevalence of these schools, the inclusion of non-Catholics in Catholic schools, and the overarching concerns to teach all Americans by "promoting values that underscore virtues key to democracy" (Stewart, 2008).

Summary. Social Justice appears to be a meaningful part of the curriculum in many schools, including parochial schools. The overall findings of my internet search suggest that Social Justice is intended to implicate the submissive mental attitude, or fatalism, that is often a byproduct of an uncritical education. Fatalism is a condition of

[3] In Moraes (2003), Peter McLaren contends that consciousness is the product of our social existence which is "embedded in the material world" (p.127)

"hopelessness among the disenfranchised, where the future is death," and can be described as "a plague that kills the spirit of empowerment and enchantment" (Rossatto, 2005, p.25). Prevalent in disenfranchised communities, fatalism is often passed through families through intergenerational transmission, promoting behaviors that help maintain the status quo (p.26). The problem of fatalism is psychosocial, such that those affected by fatalism internalize their interactions with forces in society psychologically and that psychological state then colors how they interact in society.

Social Justice is a meaningful part of the curriculum in many schools. A major goal of Social Justice class, regardless of the affiliation, is to encourage students to be agents of change as opposed to passive observers of society. However, depending on the approach given to this class (e.g. transformative versus transmissional, emphasis on ethics/morals versus emphasis on social issues, service-learning component versus no service-learning component, and so forth) some classes will have more/less of an emancipatory educational experience, which is to say, an experience that "validates the existing knowledge of students and attempts to dialectically construct new knowledge among the students" (Rossatto, 2005, p.20).

Teaching Pedagogy

Teaching pedagogy can be divided into three general camps: teacher-centered, student-centered, and shared centeredness between teacher and student. Student-centered pedagogy often contains elements that promote student-directed learning (e.g. individual choice, self-expression, independent thinking), and teacher-centered pedagogy contains elements that compel the teacher to direct and organize the flow of information, with little to no contribution from the students. This is done generally through maintaining discipline in the classroom, compelling a respect for the ultimate authority of the teacher, the transmissional transfer of knowledge and basic skills from the teacher to the student (referred to as the "banking system" by Freire; a system in which ideas are deposited into students), and utilization of linear time concepts (Rossatto, 2005). Transformative pedagogy, as practiced in the United States, could be considered a merging of student centered and teacher centered education, a hybridism which considers the knowledge and experience of both students and teachers as key to class content.

Generally, a tension exists between camps advocating student-centered approaches to teaching and camps advocating teacher-centered approaches to teaching. Approaches that are wholly student-centered appear, on their face, to negate the crucial role of the teacher in directing student learning. An approach that is wholly teacher-centered is similarly problematic, in that it negates the crucial role of the student in creating a purposeful, meaningful learning environment. Thus, it is important to note these different theoretical foundations that underlie each camp. Typically, the teacher-centered approach is more comfortable for teachers and easier to implement. This authoritative style was

common in most classrooms until the 1920s (Cuban, 1993); thus, in some respects, student-centered education is still in its infancy. Several scholars still prefer the teacher-centered approach, contending that it is ideologically neutral and easier to implement in a variety of settings (Cherryholmes, 1988); what flows from these perspectives is that this approach may be the only way to ensure that all students receive a comparable standard of education.

It is easy to imagine how a teacher-centered approach lends itself to widespread implementation more easily than a student-centered approach; however, for those who prefer student-centered educational processes, that rationale is not good enough. Teacher-centered theories are not without their flaws. According to Rossatto (2005), teacher-centered instruction begins with teachers who do not utilize critical thinking in their own approach to teaching and thus lack the motivation to teach critical thinking to their students. Although perhaps convenient for teachers, this banking system, as Freire describes it, can be disempowering to students. Those who criticize the teacher-centered approach often point to the links between the larger political and socioeconomic context and education that disempowers students, and how in a teacher-centered approach, teachers pass "problematic philosophies, methods, and practices on to the current generation" (Rossatto, 2005, p.122). Questions regarding power (more specifically, "how power privileges temporal knowledge") are more important to student-centered theorists than discussion of which approach is easiest to mainstream. Rossatto contends further that the underlying premise of the transmissional teacher-centered approach, that schools are objective and therefore do not bequeath to their students an unproblematic cultural heritage, is seriously flawed.

Given those concerns, the movement toward a student-centered education is not just about a matter of style, or preference about style, but it is about, one, responding to students' developmental needs by allowing them to have more control over their learning when they are older and also providing them less traditional, more creative learning methods when they are younger, and two, overturning a curriculum that has not been culturally relevant or sensitive for disenfranchised students (Rossatto, 2005). When a critical theory is applied to this movement, once disenchanted students are enabled to "transform their reality and liberate themselves from hopeless conditions" (p.32). Ultimately, critical educational theorists work toward developing an educational experience that leads to a better education for all students and a fairer, more participatory society.

However, despite the tension between these two positions, it is possible to move beyond the dialectic and generate a mixture of these approaches, which appears to be the aim of some transformational theorists. Cuban (1993) suggests that many teachers create a hybrid of these approaches, tailored to fit unique classroom conditions and curricula. Most critical theorists subscribe to a student-centered approach to teaching, while a fair number of critical

theorists seek a balance between teacher-centered and student-centered approaches or shared centeredness between a teacher and his or her students. Regardless of theorist's position on this point, teaching students to transform the world is a deliberate, fundamental element of Freirean pedagogy; and both transformative and critical pedagogues build on the theories of Paulo Freire. Thus, the differences between critical pedagogy and transformative pedagogy are not always cogent.

Transformative Pedagogy: Theoretical Background

Transformative pedagogues are intentional in their approach to education, and there are practices and beliefs specific to this approach. However, these beliefs and practices are quite similar to the beliefs and practices that separate critical pedagogies from other learner-centered pedagogies. According to Peter McLaren, a notable critical theorist, the history of critical pedagogy is difficult to trace (Moraes, 2003). McLaren notes that the evolution of critical pedagogy begins with the seminal work of Paulo Freire (1970), was adapted for North America by theorists like Henry Giroux and Ira Shor, and merged with the ongoing social reconstruction movement, led by such philosophers as John Dewey. The North American interpretation of critical pedagogy differs somewhat from conceptions of critical pedagogy abroad, in that it is has been largely post-modernist and lacks a Marxist tradition (Moraes, 2003).

According to Pinar and Bowers (1992), theorists who have "envisioned using the educational process to support social reform could be said to exhibit a 'critical perspective'" (p.163). Thus, on one hand, transformational theorists and critical theorists can both be said to adopt a critical perspective. However, in other respects, transformative theorists could be considered a subgroup in the general camp of critical pedagogy—according to Meizrow's Transformative Learning Theory, critical reflection (a key component in critical theory) triggers transformative learning, which suggests that the latter is a version of the former.

However, the treatment of these terms "critical' and transformative' in the literature is inconsistent and hazy; in some articles, they are used interchangeably and, in others, "critical pedagogy" receives the same definitions/descriptions attached to "transformative pedagogy" in other articles. For instance, according to Rossatto (2005), critical pedagogy "challenges and legitimizes the lived experiences of teacher and students and empowers them as agents of social change" (p.131); this phraseology is attributed frequently to transformative pedagogy. In other cases, the word *transformative* is often used to describe critical pedagogy and the word *critical* is often used to describe transformative pedagogy. One example of this trend is found in McLaren (1994, p. 173), when McLaren notes that "*critical* theorists want to provide for educational theorists in general a public language that not only confirms the voices of teachers and of subordinate groups in the student population, but also links the purpose of schooling to a *transformative* vision of the future." In

another example, Rossatto (2005) notes that one asset of critical pedagogy is that it offers tools for reflective learning and self-empowerment, tools that "*transform"* the reality of students.

What is clear is that both pedagogies, and others like it (e.g. pedagogy of empowerment, humanistic pedagogy, culturally relevant pedagogy, liberatory pedagogy, and so-forth) evolved from Freire's vision. Shore (1992) identified ten values that are necessary components of an empowering, emancipatory Freirean pedagogy: *participatory* (i.e. high student involvement; e.g. cooperative exercises and negotiated authority in class), *affective* (i.e. emotional; e.g. frustration, self-doubt, excitement, concern, happiness), *problem-posing* (i.e. a Freirean concept in which a teacher poses problems in efforts to lead a critical dialogue), *situated* (i.e. the use of situations familiar to the students to explore themes in a deeper way), *multicultural* (i.e. celebration of diverse cultures and an inclusive educational experience), *dialogic* (i.e. codevelopment of curriculum through dialogue), *desocializing* (i.e. challenging behaviors and experiences in school), *democratic* (i.e. reflexive teaching and giving students opportunities to accept/reject thematic options), *researching* (i.e. integrating formal bodies of knowledge into the learning process), *interdisciplinary* (i.e. acquiring information from a variety of sources), and *activist* (i.e. using knowledge gained to act in the community). All are values that have been used to describe critical pedagogies and transformative pedagogies. Freire (1993, p.10) contends:

> For education to [utilize the realities of students as a self-empowerment tool] each student must become uniquely critical, challenged to understand that the world which is being presented as given is, in fact a world being made, and for this very reason it can be changed, transformed, and reinvented.

It is the argument of the present author that, when defined by some of the more notable theorists in this literature, the commonalities between transformative and critical pedagogies are more numerous and more obvious than their differences. Thus, for the purposes of the present dissertation, transformative pedagogy and critical pedagogy will be considered synonymous, but only to the extent that both share the traits of transformative and critical pedagogy described in *this* section. These traits include, but are not limited to: 1) the transformation of the teacher as well as the students, 2) centeredness shared between students and teacher, 3) the emphasis on solidarity and community, 4) the emphasis on developing the critical thinking of students, 5) the goal for students to become social critics and social agents in their schools and communities, 5) the goal for students to become empowered and less fatalistic, 6) the goal to deconstruct hegemonic structures, and 7) "encouragement of a symbiotic relationship between hope and action" (Generett & Hicks, 2004, p. 187).

More revolutionary theorists like Peter Mcaren (1995) would be uncomfortable with this conception of

transformative critical pedagogy (TCP). McLaren has been an outspoken critic of some of the more relativistic, post-modernistic treatments of critical pedagogy, favoring a more revolutionary manifestation and going so far as to suggest that subjective or discursive treatments of TCP are shallow and, thus, inadequate, as they do not fulfill the overall agenda to challenge the structural foundations that perpetuate inequality (Moraes, 2003, p.123). McLaren contends that many postmodernist educators "remain mired in the trap of ethical relativism" that leads to "study[ing] the representations of the world as if they were the things that they represent" (p.124). Although his concern is valid—and will be revisited in a later section (see *TCP under a Critical Lens)*—it is important to note that there are many different manifestations of critical and transformative pedagogy, and there is no appointed keeper of this approach. The conception provided for this dissertation, however, is consistent with several studies conducted in North America.

In a critique of critical pedagogy, Bowers (2003) lay out some of the core assumptions underlying TCP. Among the ones listed are that, one, critical reflection (referred to as conscientization by Freire) is the only approach to nonoppressive knowledge and cultural practices, two, in order to bring forth change in society, traditions need to be constantly overturned, and three, through critical reflection, individuals are taught how to resist forces of oppression in society. TCP has roots in the work of Freire (1970, 1982, 1984). Freire's pedagogy was aimed at individual transformation, social transformation, and humanization (Au & Apple, 2005).

According to critical pedagogues, hopelessness/fatalism is a considerable problem in schools. This hopelessness has several negative implications for students. Beyond the negative implications to students' personal lives, hopeless can immobilize students, blocking the acquisition of knowledge or the strength required to change the world (Freire, 1992). According to McLaren (1989), TCP is "the process through which students learn to critically appropriate knowledge existing outside their immediate experience in order to broaden their understanding of themselves, the world, and the possibilities for transforming the taken-for granted assumptions about the way we live" (p.186).

Apple (2003) contends that the corpus of Freire's work is "putting into practice a transformative education in real institutions and real communities," a pedagogy of the oppressed that Freire defended against rightist and neo-liberal attacks for the duration of his professional life (p.116). Freire (1982, p.25) contends that "the pedagogy of the oppressed is a pedagogy which must be forged with, not for, the oppressed…in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity." Freire advocated for individuals to liberate their minds, contending further that a great obstacle to this liberation is the reality that the individuals absorb. When this reality is oppressive, the student, in particular, may resist conventional forms of learning. The transformation that Freire described has an action dimension and a reflection dimension, the latter of which can be nurtured through educational processes. According to Freire's appreciation of this transformative

process, students should have influence over their own education because that influence empowers them and enables them to be "their own example in the struggle for redemption" (Freire, 1970, p. 54). This process is characterized by the personal and social transformation of all members of the learning community that results from dialogue and reflection. In the transformative context, learning is a shared process that touches each student in a personal way" (Stanberry & Azria-Evans, 2001).

The work of Foucault, a French philosopher and sociologist, is widely discussed in educational literature, and his writings on power and knowledge have informed transformative critical pedagogy as well. According to Foucault, power can and should be shared but is instead often in the possession of the person who most knows how to exercise it. One element of Foucault's philosophy is that alternative discourses provide an opportunity for those in powerless positions to find themselves with a powerful voice. Foucault's writings on the nature of power in society have important implications for education, and for the development of transformative critical pedagogy.

Foucault claims that there is a significant union between power, education and discourse. Those in society who possess power often have possession over society's messages; however, when students are given control over their own messages, regardless of their race or background, they are given an opportunity to share in the regime of truth. Teachers are uniquely positioned to engage in interactions with students and can choose alternative power messages, messages that challenge the tenets of social stratification in society; teachers can empower students who do not believe they have any connection to power and status. In doing so, the oppressed are uplifted because unequal conditions can only be maintained so long as those hurt by those conditions remain silent and disempowered.

Before uplifting can take place in society, it will first take place in home and schools. Regarding the school context, the value of empowerment is elemental to transformative pedagogy. Empowering education, when defined in Shor (1992), is a "critical-democratic pedagogy for self and change" (p.15). According to Shor, the self and society create each other, exercising a similar influence on one another; empowering education works to help students disentangle the "self" from the "society." When education is approached from this vantage point, the individual growth of every student is a priority, and that process of growth is active, cooperative, and social. Thus, in addition to learning to change the structures of society, students "develop skills and knowledge as well as high expectations for themselves, their education, and their futures" (p.16). The relationship between empowerment and transformation is an important one. According to Banks (1991), without empowerment there can be no transformation: "A curriculum designed to empower students must be transformative in nature and help students to develop the knowledge, skills and values needed to become social critics who can make reflective decisions and implement their decisions in effective personal, social, political, and

economic action" (131).

In a thought piece, Christian van Gorder (2007) attempted to answer the following question: "What does a Freirean perspective mean for educators intent on motivating students toward fostering Social Justice within a context of privilege?" The paper begins with a brief biography of Paulo Freire and is followed by an examination of themes pulled from Freire's writings. Freire believed in the redemptive power of education, contending that it could empower students to break away from rigid conformity to social norms, a belief that van Gorder argues "lays the foundation for Catholic liberation theologians" (p. 2). Freire did not believe that social injustice was necessary or inevitable, and argued that by teaching students the same thing, they would be braced to challenge the status quo whenever they thought injustice was prevailing. According to van Gorder this liberating education has particular merit for those with backgrounds of privilege. While the bulk of Freire's work has focused on the poor, who he deems are the oppressed of the world, Freire notes those in a position of privilege are also hurt by the presence of oppression, particularly in the sense that they are constantly bombarded by social, economic, and political contradictions, and are somewhat spiritually imprisoned by the goal of maintaining a coherent and healthy sense of self in a world marked by so much inequality and unfairness. Whereas the oppressed come to see education as threatening, those in a position of privilege are taught to "maintain the status-quo through education by keeping the vanquished from realizing they are being victimized" (p.5). In this way, those from privileged backgrounds are taught to conform and kept from the reality of poverty and social injustice. The light they come to see themselves in is positive and paternalistic notions like "the great white hope" are developed. In this way, education can and has been indoctrination for the privileged as well as the oppressed. Thus, van Gorder points out that for Freire, the education of the privileged is decisive to the promotion of social justice through education.

Transformative Pedagogy: Empirical Research

Research on the body of transformative learning has grown in the past two decades, but experienced its greatest boom in the mid-1990s. Much of what has been written about transformative pedagogy, particularly as of late, has been largely theoretical. The empirical research that has been conducted has been almost exclusively qualitative. Regarding the research that looks at indicators and/or outcomes of the transformative approach, several approaches have been taken to conceptualize transformative learning.

Researchers and practitioners who investigate the transformative approach empirically have done so primarily phenomenologically (generally through interviews or case studies). A significant portion of the investigations build on Mezirow's Transformative Learning Theory. Those building on the tenets of transformative theory have tended to research perspective transformation as an intended outcome of the transformative class (e.g. Brooks, 1989; Clark, 1991,

1992; Group for Collaborative Inquiry, 1994; Lucas, 1994; Sveinunggaard, 1993). Researchers more interested in how transformative practices contribute to multicultural and intercultural learning (Harper, 1994; Holt, 1994; Kennedy, 1994; Taylor, 1993, 1994; Whalley, 1994) research how and if transformative practice leads to the appreciation and acceptance of culture. Whereas the previously identified studies showed mostly positive results, there are at least a handful of theoretical and qualitative pieces on the possible negative aspects of transformative pedagogy, particularly when teachers take a multicultural perspective (see King, 2004 and Riviere, 2008; for theory, see Heaney & Horton, 1990 and Tennant, 1993). Hooks, b (1993) provides a sound theoretical perspective on the relationship between multiculturalism and transformative pedagogy. There is also a stream of research that looks at whether transformative class affected students' career ambitions (e.g. Clevinger, 1993; First & Way, 1995; Pope, 1996; Vogelsang, 1993; Weisberger, 1995). Although there have been at least four unpublished dissertations on the process and practices employed by transformative teachers (Cusack, 1990; Ludwig, 1994; Matusicky, 1982; Pierce, 1986), published empirical research on the processes and outcomes of transformative learning are still scant.

Despite the lack of depth in rigorous, published empirical studies, several more recent qualitative studies have been conducted about different aspects of transformative pedagogy. These studies reveal the benefits of the qualitative approach as well as the great deal of knowledge left to be tapped. One fairly recent study, Yorks and Kasl (2006) analyzed data from a purposeful selection of eleven published case studies and seven semi-structured interviews (5 in person and 2 over the phone) with a predominately white sample of adult educators to determine how expressive ways of knowing (i.e. "people's intuitive grasp of what they perceive through images, body sensation, and imagination" (p.43)) contribute to learning. Expressive ways of knowing are the fundamental component of whole-person learning, according to Yorks and Kasl. Analysis began by creating narrative summaries for the data, which described the student's perceptions of how learning was affected by expressive activities, and continued with a rich thematic analysis of the data.

Findings led to the creation of a taxonomy of expressive knowing that Yorks and Kasl (2006) divided into two broad categories: creating the learning environment and fostering the learning. In terms of the educators, they learned that the educators felt that they had to be prepared to change as part of the process of seeking transformation in their students. In this way, they regarded themselves as whole persons that are fully present in the learning environment, both facilitating and learning as the course unfolded. This co-learning also led to insights about the use of teaching scripts or similar protocols. Because the teacher feels the need to demonstrate flexibility, willing to change and be changed as required, protocols are of little use in this method of teaching. However, Yorks and Kasl also note that "a taxonomy of expressive knowing practice can help educators be more intentional in how they use activities that engage learners in

imaginal and intuitive realms, particularly in working to foster transformative learning" (p.51).

In terms of the learners, expressive ways of knowing are important in creating the mental and emotional space necessary for whole-person learning; The empathic field is important and expressive ways of knowing helped foster empathic relationships between members of the class (especially when class members attempted to relate to experience that are different than their own). This speaks to the power of participating, but also the power of being heard. Expressive ways of knowing helped evoke the individual experiences that attracted the students to the class. One way this was accomplished was through storytelling. Expressive ways of knowing helped bring feelings and emotions to the conscious level and led to increased awareness. Finally, expressive ways of knowing helped students to integrate insights about themselves so that they understood them emotionally (and bodily) as well as cognitively. This was done, partly, by bringing to surface each student's frame of reference and then helping the student discover his or her "lid lifter," which is "a physical feeling in his body and emotion that serves as a liberating frame of reference for expanding his natural capability as a leader" (p.57). Yorks and Kasl refer to this as a codifying experience.

Overall, Yorks and Kasl (2006) found that expressive knowing is a bridge that connects emotion and feeling and critical reflection, as well as empathic connection and critical discourse. This is evident in both the intrapersonal whole-person learning and the interpersonal learning-within-relationship. According to the authors, this finding "brings together the three factors that shape [their] article: the adult learning discourse that grounds our theoretical understanding of transformative learning, Herron's (1992) conceptualization of whole-person epistemology, and the linkages provided by expressive ways of knowing" (p.60). Yorks and Kasl note that in adult learning, critical reflection and critical discourse are often put forth as "the primary processes that facilitate transformative learning" (p.60). By taking a closer look at expressive ways of knowing, they contribute to the discourse on how critical reflection develops. According to the authors' findings, critical reflection develops, at least in part, through expressive ways of knowing which makes tacit assumptions more accessible and more obvious. Additionally, as transformative learning is highly social, their findings highlight the critical relationship between critical discourse and empathic connection. Expressive ways of knowing provide opportunities for individuals in class to engage in each other's worldviews and develop trust and authentic respect for one another.

Generett and Hicks (2004) conducted a qualitative study on a predominately white sample of adult educators with the goal of learning whether teachers in a teacher education program took an anti-oppressive stance in their work. Specifically, they sought to explore whether their students were "able to reframe their classroom practice and school environment – in a holistic matter – so as to meet the needs of their student learners?" (p.191). Generett and Hicks are

responsible for a teacher education program driven by a commitment to Social Justice, and seek transformation in their students that will lead students to take a nonoppressive approach to teaching. Inspired by the writings of critical theorist Cornel West (1997), who wrote about "audacious hope," they note that taking a nonoppressive stance means making an effort to level the playing field for the less privileged without any expectation of reward and with full awareness of the potential for adverse consequences. Thus, they take Cornel West's formulation of audacious hope to be a challenge to teachers to "take action when there is little evidence that doing so will produce a positive outcome," which, Generett and Hicks believe is a stance that produces "the best possibility for transforming the experience of teaching and learning in schools" (p.192).

Overall, results revealed that the curriculum was good at helping students perceive the merits and possibilities of a transformative approach, but unsuccessful at preparing them to sustain their own transformation over an extended period of time, particularly when confronted with acts of oppression in their schools. One contribution of this study is that both teachers and students were transformed (the teachers being taught and their students). More specifically, results reveal that students in the class had an opportunity to explore their identity and students indicated a greater level of consciousness about their own lived experiences. Students also indicated feeling more comfortable problem-solving because they were "better able to name problems" (p.193). Another example of how the teachers in this program were transformed was learning that the voices of students are truly important, and using that to impart that same value to their students.

The results of the study led Generett and Hicks (2004) to conclude that, for the teachers in this study, the evidence of transformation was two-fold: One, teachers recognized how they influence and are influenced by their social reality; and two, teachers recognized how to engage in deep critique and began to appreciate the value of multiple perspectives. One aspect of transformation that they did not find, but hoped to, was a transformation in teachers' way of being. The change for the teachers in the Generett and Hicks study was mostly intellectual. Teaching teachers to be audaciously hopeful, then, is a desired but not easily accomplished end. Students in the study expressed both weariness and "mercurial exercises of agency" (p.194) in the face of pressures in the schools where student teachers were taught. To overcome this, Generett and Hicks contend that hopefulness is not enough; transformation is complete only when students are audaciously hopeful.

The results of a small interview-based study of exemplary transformative teachers, Nieto (2001) found the following shared characteristics among transformative teachers: robust, coherent teaching identities, unmitigated concern for their students, strong emotions (e.g. hope and anger) when considering the vision of the future; and a belief in that

teaching is a craft that requires intellectual investment. Additionally, Nieto (2001) noted that her teachers had defined moral and cultural identities, believed in the inherent worth and capability of all children, were constantly working to develop and refine their craft, and, lastly, they "developed reflective habits of mind that give them the skill of systematically assessing their teaching as well as the degree to which their students are learning" (191).

McBrien (2008) examines transformative learning through her students' field experiences that included 12 hours of teaching refugees or immigrants. McBrien notes that many, if not most, of the students came from families of high privilege. In an attempt to understand her students' growth over the course of a semester, in particular how the realities of service moved the students beyond their own expectations and what additional learning took place as a result of the service learning experience, McBrien had her 24 undergraduate students (17 women) complete journal assignments at the beginning of their service learning requirement, at the midpoint of the requirement, and at the end of the semester. Her sample was predominately white. Their reflections were guided, as students were asked initially to expound on beliefs and expectations, and then, as the field world progressed, asked to provide descriptions of their field work experiences. In their final entries, students reflected on their service learning experience, and were asked, specifically, to ruminate on whether their field service caused them to think differently about diverse student populations in the US" (p. 274). Consistent with Merriam (2001), information was coded at three levels of specificity, descriptive analysis, thematic analysis, and interpretive analysis as it related to the research questions.

Several themes emerged during coding, including: a) students brought unrealistic expectations, b) students began to recognize differences between reading proficiency and writing proficiency, c) students began to recognize learning difficulties (other than language) that the refugees and immigrants experienced, d) students were surprised by the motivation of the students, e) students appreciated the relationship of the field work to course content, f) students connected with one or more of the individuals they were assigned to help, g) students believed that their contributions were lasting and meaningful, h) students recognized that they learned from their experiences as well as the individuals they helped, and i) students expressed the desire to continue volunteering (p. 276). In addition to analyzing the growth experiences of the students, McBrien also examined what evidence students gave for the belief that their "field experience constituted a transformative educational experience" (p.275). Themes F, G, H, and I listed above correspond with this research question. Students perceived a transformative experience because of the joyful and painful connections they forged. In her ruminations o these findings, McBrien notes that an important component of transformational change is the ability to cultivate interpersonal connections), the contributions they made to the learning of the students, their own gains in terms of what they learned, and the desire to do more volunteering.

In addition to the findings summarized above, McBrien notes some other important contributions of her study to the literature on transformative pedagogy: *One*, in addition to answering the research questions, McBrien notes that comments made by students reflected a strong relationship between the service learning component and the readings, videos and discussions that were a part of the class. This finding is important because it points to the importance of the service learning component reflecting a relationship with course content. *Two*, one particularly important part of the transformative experience for the students in this class is that the class took place over three months time (as opposed, for instance, a weekend seminar), and was unlike previous experiences in their life. Because this experience was new and sustained over time, it was fairly disruptive to students' previous beliefs and expectations, which led to a transformation. *Three*, according to McBrien, one great benefit of the service learning component of the class is that "students came to see themselves not as the great White hope of the refugee students but rather as those who had gained valuable knowledge from these children and who hoped that the children learned something from them" (p.283). Thus, service learning challenged notions of privilege, instead of reinforcing it. There were some limitations of McBrien (2008), including first and foremost that it was not a very rigorous design (i.e. the data does not appear to be corroborated by other sources or other material); McBrien used her own students and, to compound the point, journaling was a part of a graded course so students may have felt compelled to accentuate the positive, and there is no way to determine if the effects were sustained over time so the transformation that was captured was immediate but perhaps not enduring.

In an empirical study using three cohorts of secondary school students, Mollina and Wittig (2006) demonstrate that when a class provides an opportunity for students to learn from the experiences of peers and view those peers as equal, regardless of their differences, prejudice reduction is plausible. The potential for these relationships to have this influence, however, is bolstered by the institutional support provided (i.e. the guidance of a teacher). The majority of participants in the study were ninth grade students enrolled in a suburban area within Los Angeles, who enrolled in an elective Life Skills course. Also include was an additional sample of 7th grade students enrolled in a different public school with a different curriculum. Students in the high school samples were divided into groups and participated in a racial awareness program (RAPS), during which they were exposed to a wide range of social issues, including issues related to race, ethnicity and culture as well as other social issues in which issues of race may be implicated. The institutional support measure, which was one predictor of change, was similar to what is found in transformative models of teaching and includes efforts on the part of the teacher to enrich the learning experience for students (i.e. "The teacher in this class encourages students to make friends with students of different races"; p. 495). Pre- and post- tests were given. Results revealed that the class was successful in reducing students' prejudice, and that this change was

facilitated by aspects of the class that would make it transformative, including acquaintance potential (being exposed to diverse others in meaningful ways) and the teachers' efforts to facilitate dialogue and discussion.

Service Learning

Service learning is important as it has been a key attribute of many classes utilizing transformative pedagogy. According to Paulo Freire, fatalism "pushes us to a compromise with the surrounding reality instead of attempting to transform such reality" (Rossatto, 2005, p.16). Through cooperative discourse of modern social issues and the varying implications of one's actions on those issues and those issues on society at large, students are imbued with an appreciation of the complexity of societal norms. Service learning serves to further introduce students to the issues that are of interest to the class. When this discourse is united with a discourse of optimism about self and others, when students are confronted with the issues that they seek to resolve, and when students can consider through that experience the possibility of working to improve society, students are exposed to the malleability of societal norms, and thereby taught to consider that their contributions to class, to their community, and to the world "allow us [all] to invent new pedagogical possibilities" (p.21).

Service learning has received a good deal of empirical and theoretical attention. According to Eyler and Giles (1999), there are at least one hundred different terms used to describe service learning, which speaks both to its prevalence and breadth in academic literature. Additionally, although it has been considered an important component of transformative pedagogy (in that many studies on transformative pedagogy have included classes that have a service learning component), service learning has often been conceptualized as its own pedagogy (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995; Jacoby, 1996; Moore, 2000; Nieto, 2000; Sigmon, 1998). Jacoby (1996) defines service learning pedagogy as the art of guiding students to develop curiosity and concern for their community so that they might contribute meaningfully to its development. Although service learning has been reviewed at all levels of education, the bulk of the literature reviews it in a collegiate context. When discussing service learning in the collegiate context, Rhodes (1997) utilizes a similar definition of service-learning but adds that the learning is supervised by a faculty member and is taken for course credit. Similarly, Wilkenson (1997) writes about the pedagogy of service learning, offering that a successful implementation of service learning should lead students to participate in public life. One definition of service learning that fits well with the transformative pedagogical model is provided by Robinson and Barnett (1996), who contend that service learning is a for-credit class that "integrates community service with academic instruction as it focuses on critical, reflective thinking and civic responsibility" (p.1).

Several studies conducted by James Youniss and Amanda Yates document the theoretical and empirical

relationship between courses like Social Justice that include a service-learning component and positive citizenship from adolescence to adulthood (e.g. Youniss & Yartes, 1997; Yates & Youniss, 1999; Youniss, Bales, Christmas-Best, Diversi, McLaughin & Silbereisen, 2002; Youniss & Ruth, 2002). Through such research and other such studies, researchers have been able to conclude that "engaging youth in civic activities is the most effective way to promote civic identity formation and subsequent identity formation in adulthood" (Zaff & Eccles, 2008). For instance, Youniss and Yates (1997) conducted a study on the effects of community service when combined with a Social Justice class at the same school selected for the present study (a predominately Black, urban Catholic high school in Washington, D.C.) and found that teachers play an important role in the effectiveness of beneficial service learning programs.

McBrien (2008) included a service learning component to her undergraduate multicultural education class in a teacher education program, with the intent to, one, provide needed help in the community and, two, help students "confront their own prejudices, expand their world views, and learn from the wisdom of others who have very different world experiences so that they could become more understanding" (p. 271). According to Mezirow (1991), such a result is because changes in attitude and behavior occur through the experience of field experience (i.e. service learning), critical reflection, and critical discourse.

Service learning can be particularly influential when the experience is reinforced by teaching pedagogy (i.e. in-class journaling, structured discussion, class readings, and so forth) (Youniss & Yates, 1997). Consistent with previous studies, service-learning in the present study is defined as an approach to teaching and learning that actively engages students in community service which is directly connected to academic course content and well integrated with the subject matter of the class. Service learning can have different objectives. However, if the field experience is well-supported by a competent teacher, students may be influenced and, potentially, transformed. When service learning is not supported by a competent teacher in an organized class setting, there is potential for reinforcing privilege, such that those in the position to give leave the field experience feeling powerful and, perhaps, superior, while those on the receiving end of the field experience leave the experience having had feelings of inferiority reinforced. The risk here is that of patronization and condescension (King, 2004).

Sigmon (1998) indentified three guiding principles for effective service learning programs. They include allowing those in need of the service to have control over the service provided by the students in the service learning class, helping those serve move from a deficit position to a resource position so that they too are better able to serve, and three, the students working at the service site are perceived as learners and allowed some control over their learning goals and expectations. When the experience is effective, expected outcomes include gains in social awareness,

citizenship, leadership development and general knowledge (Burns,1998; Gelmon, 2001; Ramalay, 1997). In the most effective implementations, other gains like the ability to identify solutions to complex problems is also expected (Isaacson, Dorries, and Brown, 2001).

Catholic Schools and the Culture of Social Justice

Catholic schools are considered extensions of the Catholic Church, of which social justice is a defining characteristic, according to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (1998) (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993). There are spiritual and moral traditions that inform the practices of Catholic school educators, regardless of the religious background of faculty. These traditions and practices converge into a philosophy of education (Coll, 2007) that promotes holistic learning (with an interest in the formative development of students), service to others (including active engagement in the community) and moral and spiritual development. The virtues of social justice and social responsibility are particularly salient to the stated mission of the Catholic Church (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993).

The role of the Catholic school educator is to contribute to the greater good of society, making students competitive academically (many Catholic high schools, if not most, are college preparatory institutions) and morally (Coll, 2007). Students are expected to meet the highest possible standard of moral, ethical and scholastic success; (i.e. in terms of academic success, of the schools selected for Study 3, all boast college acceptance rates of 99% or above, even schools that attract lower SES students). Catholic schools help socialize adolescents to begin this process of lifelong learning, which is to say that students of Catholic schools are expected to build on the development that is instigated by educators and practices within Catholic schools. Religion teachers, in particular, are considered transmitters of Catholicism, with the goal of imparting Catholic values and traditions to their students (Stewart, 2008). Thus, because of this goal to transmit a certain set of beliefs and practices, it is difficult to imagine that Catholic religion teachers can *easily* maintain a sense of impartiality and objectivity that would be expected from transformative teachers in public institutions.

As Catholic teachers are expected to act as catechists, any struggle to encourage critical thought and reflection in students would suggest the need to balance the goal of transmitting values against the transformative goal of encouraging critical thought and self-direction. As transmitters of the faith, religion teachers may strike this balance by providing students the means with which to make moral and ethical choices in their personal and social lives by imparting gospel values as well as alternative and/or contradictory values, and grounding the information in the students' actual experiences and encouraging students to wrestle with their choices but ultimately arrive at their own conclusions. Subsequently, though religion teachers may act as witnesses to the Gospel and model what they believe to

be moral and ethical behaviors, students can be encouraged to critically engage the material and arrive at their own conclusions. The religion teacher that is particularly successful at this will be conscious of his own interpretations based on personal experiences, traditions, and values; and include and bracket that background out, as necessary, to encourage student learning (van der Zee & de Jong, 2009). Such an implementation of a transformative religion class would be consistent with other aspects of the Catholic philosophy of education, particularly building critical thinking and analytic skills (Stewart, 2008). Such a result would also be consistent with Freire (1970), whose theories suggest that the moral responsibility required of Catholic school teachers, as noted above, is consistent with the responsibility of all teachers everywhere. In other words, transformative teachers who are moral in practice critically examine their circumstances and assumptions and are deliberate in their attempts to transform students without brainwashing them. This process of engaging in the praxis of reflection (Freire, 1970) is highly interpretive, and requires the highest level of professional and moral responsibility.

Nevertheless, regardless of the actual classroom practices and pedagogy of Catholic teachers, the culture of Catholic schools, more generally, is expected to promote moral and civic mindedness (Hackney, 1998). Above and beyond any particular class, Catholic school educators expect advances in students' moral agency because of the general culture of morality and justice promoted throughout the school, including an emphasis on service to others (Stewart, 2008). However, although this is a goal outlined by the US Conference of Bishops, there is likely to be variance depending on the school (Moore, 2000).

Overall, the role of Catholic school culture in implementing transformative social justice comes with both strengths and challenges. Perhaps the two biggest strengths are the investment in an overall school culture that promotes social justice and critical thinking; and the implied community and administrative support to teachers who seek to meet these goals by utilizing transformative methods in their classrooms. One potential limitation is the expectation of religion teachers to impart values and traditions to their students, which may make it difficult, though not impossible, for transformative social justice teachers to respect the conclusions that students draw, particularly when those conclusions appear contrary to the dictums of the Catholic Church. However, truly transformative teachers will assume a moral and ethical responsibility to use this obstacle as a challenge to grow as individuals and professionals. An example of this would be thoughtful analysis of pedagogical style and practice. Further, this could become a strength as teachers in this context, with this level of responsibility and awareness, can consciously and critically reflect on how to meet the specific needs of diverse learners, particularly in contexts where Catholic schools have a great deal of ethnic or socioeconomic diversity. The transformative Catholic Social Justice teacher may be able to use this heightened awareness to account for

differences in preferences and needs, and thus more sensitively implement their pedagogy to diverse learners (Greeley, 1982). By achieving this level of reflection, ultimately, Catholic school social justice teachers may be uniquely positioned to teach students to account for their own epistemologies and be equally critical in their quest for knowledge. Given their commitment to social justice, as required by the Catholic Church, it is reasonable to expect that Catholic school teachers strive to be moral in practice by questioning assumptions and biases (van der Zee & de Jong., 2009).

Obstacles to a Transformative Social Justice Education

The larger culture serves as one obstacle to the implementation of a transformative Social Justice class, because educational reform, as opposed to educational transformation, has often been the preferred means of improving education (Generett & Hicks, 2004). Programs that focus on holistic learning and learning that is an alternative to teacher-centered are perceived occasionally to be without rigor or merit. Even some supporters often look at transformative classes as a fun, complement to "real" education. A byproduct of this thinking is that authentic, rigorous learning takes place in highly structured classrooms, and transformative education is a fun but ultimately meaningless respite from the monotony of real learning.

> Since schools reflect the culture at large, many acceptable and legitimized educational practices enforce compliance with established rules and regulations imposed by dominant interests (Rossatto, 2005, p. 19).

Along these lines, Generett and Hicks (2004) note that "schools are rarely zones of imaginative enterprise, spheres where the imagination breaks apart reified notions of who we are, what we think, about and how we go about crafting our lives," (p.188), but are instead, often stifling, bureaucratic and highly unimaginative. The culture of schools and classrooms is such that they are "places where assumptions of conformity, standardization, and assimilation are woven into the fabric of daily life." As schools work to standardize both the teaching *and* the thinking of teachers, transformative teaching can be seen as reckless and irresponsible. Moreover, Generett and Hicks note that even when teachers can move past this larger cultural bias against innovation in the classroom cognitively, it is still difficult for them to build and sustain a practice of transformative teaching. Oppressive forces and external barriers may make it difficult for teachers with transformative intentions to really build and craft a workable, sustainable teaching method. Thus, school culture is also a more specific barrier to the implementation of successful transformative classes.

According to Giroux (1985), teachers, as well as students, are disempowered by current school culture, which includes, among other attributes, the focus on standardization and systemization, and maintaining the status quo. This

amounts to oppression, in that teachers must subordinate to a variety of external forces (.e.g. courts, states, districts, administrations, and other dominant structures of order) that restrict creativity and send down edicts that teachers are compelled to observe, even when they fail to meet the best interests of their students. Rossatto (2005) notes that in the United States, educational decisions are made from the top down, with structures external to schools (e.g. court decisions, federal mandates, state mandates, local mandates, and so forth) exerting a great deal of influence on educational policies. This is a point also made by Generett and Hicks (2004) as they explore how to help teachers develop a theory of hope that will sustain them as they encounter these internal and external pressures. Generett and Hicks note that in the *No Child Left Behind* generation of teaching, especially, teachers are "hard-pressed to find space to accomplish [transformative] goals," and that true transformative teachers may be rare because "the educator who dares to dream in this climate not only has to have heart but massive doses of hope" (p.188).

> Teacher education is saturated with cognitive experiences that encourage conservative, individualistic, competitive, and decontextualized teaching as a result of the efficiency era. One of the consequences of this era is that the rewards for teaching are not based on the reasoned notions of competence and creativity, but on adherence to a format (Rossatto, 2005, p. 124).

Regarding the culture of schools, a more specific obstacle to implementing transformative pedagogy in schools is the fatalism that theorists like Freire believe is rampant in schools. In Rossatto (2005), Freire notes that the fatalism in schools serves as one of the biggest obstacles to the implementation of transformative Social Justice classes in high schools. Fatalism, because of its propensity to help maintain the status quo, is often encouraged in schools, as such behaviors will support the standing structures of the school, lending themselves to depressed resistance, and conformity to norms.

Another aspect of culture that can be a barrier to the implementation of TSJ is the role of ideologues on either side of the debate. Political rhetoric that attempts to demonize those who are either ardent supporters or ardent opponents of Social Justice often fuels tension, spurns constructive debate and distracts potential consumers of TSJ from entering into substantial discourse on the unique characteristics and benefits of TSJ. Moreover, both neoprogressive discourse and ultraconservative discourse, and, in some respects, the negative perceptions of those involved by those removed from those conversations altogether, serve as yet another obstacle to the widespread implementation of transformative Social Justice.

Another obstacle to the implementation of transformative pedagogy is one of the concerns regarding the implementation of transmission pedagogy – the possibility that teachers could infuse too many of their own beliefs (and biases) into the teaching process. Ironically, however, this particular concern was one that led to the movement toward learner-centered approaches and teacher-learner-shared approaches to teaching. Concerned that a teacher-centered approach lends itself toward indoctrination—like when schools reflect traditions and values that are decidedly Eurocentric, classist and dependent upon a version of history that further subordinates the oppressed—more constructivist forms of teaching were developed.

Another obstacle to the implementation of TSJ concerns the ability of the students to reflect critically. One, some definitions of critical reflection would suggest that this form of thinking is only possible post-adolescence and, potentially, even much later. Two, even when critical thinking is defined in a way that is possible in adolescence, developmentally students will vary in their ability to reflect critically. The differences could be due to many different factors, including variation in educational background (e.g. were the students exposed to philosophy prior to their TSJ course), life experiences (e.g. lack of diverse life experience could be a negative), the presence of outside distractions (e.g. a troublesome home environment could diminish a student's capacity to fully invest in the personal work that would lead to a transformative learning experience), and familiarity with these issues (e.g. are these issues commonly discussed in/or around the home?)

One last obstacle to implementation is the dearth of rigorous qualitative, quantitative and mixed method research studies on transformative pedagogy at the secondary school level. Not enough studies have been done on the subject. This is particularly true of generalizeable studies. Until observations may conceivably be generalized to different implementations of TSJ across different teachers at different schools, observations may vary in how reliably they permit inferences about the TSJ secondary school approach.

Transformative-Critical Pedagogy (TCP) Under a Critical Lens

McLaren (1995), and many European transformative theorists like him, has at different stages of his career been influenced by post-modernism as well as Marxism. In Peter McLaren's vision, critical pedagogy is not just about the pedagogy of a class, but it is about the structure of a school. Critical pedagogy, as described by McLaren, has a definite revolutionary agenda. In fact, when asked in an interview about the progress made on critical pedagogy in the United States, McLaren responded that he preferred the term revolutionary critical pedagogy, coined by British educator, Paula Allman (Moraes, 2003). McLaren, a student of Marxism, is an advocate of socialism and democracy, and partial to a version of transformation that involves overturning the current social order. Seen this way, TCP is more than a style of

instruction or a set of beliefs about the nature of knowledge; TCP is about using the classroom as a springboard for revolution, revolution aimed at dismantling the capitalist structure in its current state. McLaren is more interested in "the structural foundations or conditions upon which various antagonisms take root (racism, sexism, etc), the exploitation of human labor within capitalism" (Moraes, 2003, p. 123).

For the purposes of the present studies, it is not vital to note whether or not McLaren's stance is appropriate or accurate; but rather, whether or not we should allow teachers to fight such ideological wars in their classrooms. Thus, noting McLaren's penchant toward socialism and revolution is not intended to delegitimize the contribution of his work. McLaren's personal preferences do not diminish the thoroughness of his research in the area of TCP. Contrarily, McLaren's insights into pedagogy are rich, poignant and insightful, and do a great deal to inform the present author's understanding of the evolution of TCP abroad and in the US. For instance, McLaren contends that some of the guiding principles of TCP are mutual respect, honesty, humility, cooperation, trust, a commitment to read the world critically, attention to personal transformation, passion for Social Justice, hopeful thinking, efforts toward promoting democracy, critical curiosity, and solidarity with the community (Moraes, 2003); all of which are principles that are consistent with American ideals and healthy development. However, recognizing McLaren's personal partisan philosophies and how they inform his work is important because his contentions must be appraised under the same critical lens he would intend, through TCP, to instill in students. In other words, the content of his work must be reviewed with caution.

Although this acknowledgement can be scary—that a political agenda that could potentially undermine the current social order in America undergirds the efforts of some of the researchers in the area of TCP—it is fear that must be mitigated by the reality that politics is evident in every classroom and every school. Indeed, Freire (1970) argues that there is no such reality as a value-neutral education. How a teacher structures a class (e.g. type of test, activities chosen, etc), for instance, is an expression/extension of that teacher's politics. As institutions, schools have long been used to socialize societal norms. Indeed, TCP is, in many respects, a response, to the values that are being unconsciously imparted in transmissional classrooms. TCP encourages teachers to pause and reflect on the messages that students receive, and whether these messages are appropriate and effective. Thus, values are not without their place in the high school classroom; conversely, the communication of values is interchangeable with the purpose of education (Freire & Faundez, 1989, p. 27).

Nevertheless, although the presence of values in classrooms may be a foregone conclusion, the presence of programming does not have to be. Although programming is considered a necessary evil in the transmissional approach to education, it is strongly discouraged in TCP. Thus, it is still necessary to wrestle with these problems posed by

McLaren's strong anti-capitalist views; we must continue to explore the facets and implementations of TCP because of, one, the extensive, scientific theorizing that has been done in its development, two, the early evidence that indicate academic, psycho-social, and behavioral gains, and three, at its roots, TCP is an approach that can revolutionize teaching and learning such that we might close the achievement gap and improve educational and behavioral outcomes of students all across America. More to the point, transformative teaching is about teaching to change the world; a goal that is lofty but, through refinement and development of *TCP* over time, more and more realistic. Thus, the benefits associated with this approach far outweigh its risks; and, by studying exemplary uses of TCP, it is plausible to manage and decrease the risks.

One concern with the global literature on transformative pedagogy (as opposed to *just* the North American treatment of TCP) is the lack of concern for the risk and difficulty of this approach, in particular, the menace of a teacher with a strong personality imposing his views on a vulnerable audience of adolescents. Granted, given the focus in the transformative literature on adult learning, many theorists who have written on transformative pedagogy may think this is less of a problem (adults, as opposed to adolescents, are developmentally in a different place, and likely able to better resist enculturation or indoctrination; moreover, adult classes are voluntary and self-selecting, whereas classes in high schools may be mandatory). Another plausible explanation for the lack of attention this issue is given in the literature is that the strong political views of some of the more prolific writers who advocate the critical and transformative approaches are shared. In other words, perhaps these researchers are less concerned about the risks of strong personalities pushing agendas in classrooms, because so many people who write on these issues share the same agenda. Although this is one possibility, it is not a stipulation the author of the present study is prepared to make, especially given that revolutionary critical pedagogues like McLaren note that "there was never much of a Marxist tradition in North American instantiations of critical pedagogy" (Moraes, 2003, p.122). According to McLaren, TCP in the US has been highly transdisciplinary," and postmodern, which he (and I suppose a great deal others) identify as a limitation (Moraes, 2003).

Putting transformative pedagogy under a critical lens exposes unique risks and unique benefits. It would appear that an ideal use of this approach, particularly in a high school classroom in which students are mandated to participate (as opposed to a university setting in which adults can self-select into a class), would be to encourage students to reflect and dialogue openly and critically about issues they would normally ignore, dismiss, or over-simplify, and to do so in such a way as to challenge instruments of oppression in their own thoughts, lives, schools and communities. Generett and Hicks (2004) note that regardless of a teacher's political or religious views we can teach teachers to be

morally competent teachers and resist the temptation to program their students: "By struggling to improve a particular problem or puzzlement in their classroom, we want teachers to be reflective about what they do, considering multiple perspectives and crafting a potential solution that responds morally to all parties involved in the experience" (p. 189).

Generett and Hicks (2004) note the importance of teaching teachers to transform themselves before they attempt to transform the world through their students. Thus, the concerns raised above can be addressed by one of the goals of critical, transformative pedagogy, which is for students *and* teachers to be "literate in multiple ways of seeing and understanding the world" (p.189). Given this, noting the different political penchants of critical and transformative pedagogues is not a dismissal of *TCP*, but merely a caution to those who advocate its approach to adhere to this original principle. Through the development of critical and transformative pedagogy, Freire proposed an alternative to the banking system. *TCP* is not intended to replicate the banking systems of schools, albeit with a different currency, and thus is not intended to teach student *what* to think. Rather, *TCP* is intended to teach students *how* to think.

Generett and Hicks (2004) notes:

> We realize there are those who fret about efforts that promote activism for Social Justice in research and teaching; however we believe that teachers are 'moral professionals' and as such should think about not only matters of content but how content shapes the range and quality of experience of the learner (p.191).

It is important to explore further Freire (1970)'s contention that there is no such manifestation as a value-neutral education. Even when a teacher makes efforts to be objective and pluralistic in his or her views, there is still great potential to influence students with the teacher's own personal beliefs. However, this, alone, is not entirely problematic. Teaching for Social Justice, for instance, as many transformative teachers do (including the students of those teachers included in the present study), is consistent with democratic and socially accepted ideals in the United States. In this way, the present danger is that teachers will impart ideas and notions that are consistent with productive, informed citizenship (which, in essence, is no danger at all). In other words, teaching students to work for Social Justice is a huge responsibility and requires considerable professional morality but it is not unwise or unnecessary. An engaged, competent citizenship that believes in a socially just society, for instance, is fundamental to maintaining democracy in America; teaching students how to think and participate in bringing about change is an important means of achieving that fundamentally important end.

Similarly, teaching students to resist, and work against, oppression is not so dangerous or politically partisan that it should be discouraged altogether. Teaching students to discern the nature and complexity of oppression is

essentially teaching students "how the interaction of systems and thought and practice merge to define new interpretations of experience and quite likely, transformative responses to problems that emerge from these understandings" (Generett & Hicks, 2004, p.196), which is also an important element of democracy. It is considerably more risk not to teach students these skills, than it is to. That said, teaching students to think for themselves is always a dangerous proposition. Free-thinkers are particularly dangerous when situated in a context of conformity and standardization.

McLaren's criticism of post-modern, relativistic forms of critical pedagogy, which he asserts are found primarily in North America, is not entirely without merit. Contrarily, the present author agrees with the premise that there is danger in stripping transformative pedagogy of any Social Justice agenda. It would be wise to acknowledge the legitimacy of McLaren's concern and note how teaching students to see the difference between "the representations of the world" and the "things they represent" is an important part of the transformative process (Moraes, 2003, p.124). The "complacent relativism," that McLaren fears is the case in North America could lead to a watered-down pedagogy, completely devoid of any transformative potential. In an interview with Moraes, McLaren reminds the he is not alone in this observation: "I am scarcely the first to observe that critical pedagogy has been badly undercut by practitioners who would mischaracterize or misrepresent its fundamental project" (Moraes, 2003, p. 123). Those who think like McLaren help identify a potential problem with North American conceptions of TCP, namely that it is not enough to discuss the cultural artifacts of oppression; we must also discuss the instruments of oppression. Discussions of race and gender, for instance, cannot be separated from larger social issues and larger social forces. Essentially, McLaren is posing an important question: In our implementation of TCP in North America, are we doing enough to promote democracy and challenge oppressive forces that seek to erode it?

Ultimately, even when TCP educators disagree on the methods for change, as well as what change is required, there are still deeper issues with which we must grapple:

> What is the use of critical revolutionary pedagogy if it cannot help us to discover ways of feeding the hungry, providing shelter for the homeless, bringing literacy to those who can't read or write, struggling against the criminal justice system to stop it from its war on Blacks and Latinos who are imprisoned in this country in numbers that greatly exceed their percentage of the population—in fact, the prison population of the U.S. is the largest in the world. We need to create spaces and sites for the development of critical consciousness and grassroots social activism both within schools and outside of them and in both rural and urban spaces where

> people are suffering and struggling to survive on a daily basis. And we need to discover ways of creating—and maintaining—a sustainable environment (Moraes, 2003, p.131).

Indeed, the questions McLaren pose demand an answer and act as a reminder of why TCP is so important.

Placing TCP under a critical lens also reveals the importance of TCP to promoting democracy and challenging oppression by teaching related virtues to students. Seen this way, the absence of TCP in schools may be a disservice to students specifically and to the interests of America generally. Young (1990) contends that oppression includes the marginalization of persons, exploitation of gifts and talents, causing others to feel powerless, and blaming participants or treating them as problematic. Arguably, each of these tenets is addressed in a TSJ class, either by its content or by its structure.

In the end it is unlikely that revolutionary critical pedagogues would find this treatment of TCP sufficient. No doubt, McLaren would consider this form of TCP a watered down pedagogy that does little to challenge the status quo but attempts to be palatable to the bourgeoisie. However, TCP is still quite new and there is room for disagreement, as well as multiple interpretations. More importantly, we can agree that "the role of teachers as that of transforming the world, not just describing or interpreting the world" (Moraes, 2003, p. 131). Ultimately, we must accept that transformative teachers will take risks and, occasionally, will cross lines. To teach the next generation of free thinkers, teachers must be afforded a fair degree of free thinking in their own classrooms. As noted in Generett & Hicks (2004), "it should be our goal to provide teachers with opportunities to experience their own version of freedom in their own educational lives, for in doing so, they allow the same possibility for their children" (p.201).

Identity Theory

According to Erik Erikson's (Erikson, 1950; 1968; 1980) psychosocial theory of identity development, adolescents integrate past experiences with others into their burgeoning understanding of who they are. Adolescence represents a tension between identity development and role confusion; at this point, adolescents truly begin to search for their identity, and they seek out and accumulate experiences that will affirm or negate their sense of self. This process of exploration and commitment has relevance for the intents and possibilities of a transformative Social Justice class because adolescents come to this class (in their high school years) at a crucial time of their development. As they begin to commit to certain values and beliefs, the opportunity to challenge their fatalism, to encourage democratic sensibilities, and to develop their critical and moral reasoning has never been better. In this way, adolescents have an opportunity to take a potentially important class at a potentially crucial point in their development. The effect of the class, then, could

be long-term because the socialization that takes place in schools, and in classes at this stage of adolescent development, is likely to mesh into their sense of self that they will carry into the future. This socialization process takes place in school regardless of the subject, as "education has traditionally been seen as an important socializing arena for preparing students to become active citizens" (Nagda et al., 2003, p.165), but may be particularly meaningful when a class is rich with affective and cognitive challenges.

Adolescence is a period of development that includes an emphasis on the social context (e.g., Bartle-Haring, 1997; Berzonsky, Branje, & Meeus, 2007; Kerpelman & Smith, 1999; McLean, 2005; Meeus, Iedema, Maassen, & Engels, 2005; Sartor & Youniss, 2002). Socialization processes in schools can help foster students' sense of identity, including civic identity, which speaks to the concept of the self as it relates to civic issues (Aquino & Reed, 2002) and moral identity, which speaks to adolescents' commitment to considering the needs of others (Colby & Damon, 1985). The social context in schools is extremely important to adolescents. At times, this social context contributes to healthy development and at times it detracts from it. Although there is not much theoretical dialogue about the influence of teachers as agents of identity formation, teachers can and often do act as co-constructors of adolescent identity development (Harrell-Levy and Kerpelman, 2010). Some efforts are intentional, as is the case with teachers who make deliberate efforts to positively influence the self-development of their students; and some efforts are unintentional, as teachers can act as role models for students and do things that contribute to the students' perceptions of themselves without intending to do so. However, we expect that the process of identity transformation is particularly rich in the context of transformative learning: "When teachers use a transformative pedagogy approach in their classrooms, they increase their capacity to be effective identity agents through their motivation of students to take active roles in identity development" (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman, p.4). Extant research, however, tends to focus on the role of friends and family as identity formation partners; the efforts of teachers may be evident but the effects of their efforts are difficult to discern empirically, and thus are invisible and typically go unmeasured.

Given the developmental concerns and opportunities of adolescence, the dialogic approach to teaching is even more relevant to high school students: "Students and teachers engaged in dialogic pedagogy can become active citizens, challenging injustices both within and among themselves, and in the social world around them" (Nagda et al., 2003, p.168). According to Erikson's framework, civil society is constructed, just as the identities of those within it (Erikson, 1968).Thus, as concepts of justice, morality and civic behavior are developed in the school context, the schools themselves can become microcosms of civil society. And the skills developed as a result of an adolescent's participation in high school can have a meaningful relationship with choices, behaviors and conceptions of self later. These insights

will be necessary in terms of adolescents' long term development: "To participate in a public democracy, students need to be educated to bring a range of competencies and world-views to understand and respond to human and social dilemmas" (Nagda, Gurin & Lopez, 2003, p.166).

Apple (2003) notes the "increasing attention paid over the past decade to questions of identity in education and cultural studies" (p.116). Ideally, transformative classes are situated in transformative schools, and the community of the school then works to address issues of unequal power relations in school. When this happens, social identities that are constructed in the context of unequal power relations can be reconstructed (Rossatto, 2005, p.127). Students begin to see themselves in global terms, and can then become more effective citizens "capable of independent thinking to handle scientifically new problems as they arise" (Rossatto, p.125).

One new dimension of the theoretical framework on educational policy is the role of classrooms and schools in influencing the identity of African-American youth and increasing or decreasing their chance of success. Identity is important because the vision adolescents have for their lives is directly associated with their identity and sense of self. A psychosocial approach to identity is even more important because it recognizes the "interplay between the individual biology, psychology, and social recognition and response within a historical context" (Kroger, 2003, p. 37). Although it is true that "for most Caucasian-American adolescents cultural ancestry is not of vital concern to their sense of ego identity, for members of many ethnic minority groups living within majority cultures, questions regarding ethnic identity have prompted vital identity explorations" (Kroger, 2003, p. 42). Thus, classes on Social Justice may also have a relationship with racial concept, particularly for African-American youth.

The significance of what TSJ teachers do is particularly evident through the lens of identity control theory (ICT; Kerpelman et al., 1997), which is a microprocess look at identity development and contends that identity development over time is a byproduct of the day-to-day interactions between adolescents and significant others. ICT considers identity standards (one's self-definitions), self-perceptions (how one thinks one is being or being seen by others), and the comparison of self-perceptions and identity standards as basic components of the intrapersonal dimension of the identity microprocess. The social behaviors that are demonstrated when an interaction is taking place and the feedback that is provided by the social partner to the identity constructing individual are the elements of the interpersonal dimension (Harrell-Levy & Kerpelman, 2010). According to ICT, it is expected that when contact with another person is common and material, that identity change is likely.

Recent work in the identity field has moved to the examination of identity process (see Schwartz, 2001 for a review). A process model was proposed by Hal Grotevant in 1987 and during this same time period, Michael Berzonsky

(1989; 1990; 1992) proposed the concept of identity style (one's orientation to the process of identity formation in terms of openness to information, reliance on social norms, and extent of active engagement in the identity formation process). Since the presentation of these process perspectives, considerable theorizing and empirical examination of identity as a process has followed. One direction has considered identity at the microprocess level (Kerpelman, Pittman, & Lamke, 1997).

According to identity control theory (ICT; Kerpelman et al., 1997), the day-to-day interactions between adolescents and significant others contribute most meaningfully to identity development over time. In other words, daily interactions drive identity development. Viewing identity development at the microprocess level means taking into consideration the intrapersonal and interpersonal factors involved. ICT identifies identity standards (one's self-definitions), self-perceptions (how one thinks one is being or being seen by others), and the comparison of self-perceptions and identity standards as the elements of the intrapersonal dimension of the identity microprocess. The elements of the interpersonal dimension are the social behaviors occurring during an interaction and the feedback being provided by the social partner to the identity constructing individual. Although the parent-adolescent relationship is particularly important because it provides the adolescent with a stable micro-ecology for identity formation, other meaningful relationships, such as those with significant family members, friends, and important adults, such as school teachers, also matter for identity formation. When contact with another person is regular and meaningful, the likelihood that interactions with that person will include influential feedback about the adolescent's identity is heightened.

Ultimately, TSJ is an effort by educators to empower and encourage students by reinforcing the value of their perspective, and incorporating that perspective into the learning process. Although differences and distinctions between different transformative teachers exist, generally the transformative teacher designs opportunities that challenge students intellectually and emotionally. Many teachers, as in the case of Harrell-Levy, Kerpelman, & Henry (2011 then provide students with a supportive class environment so that students can begin to address the challenges introduced to them in class and enter a period of self-definition and self-revision. This self-revision that relates to the big moral and ethical questions of the day, more than any other goal of the TSJ method, is *the* important contribution of this class; and given the developmental period in which it falls as well as the number of classes students take (a year long, daily course meets approximately 240 times), this may also be a contribution unique to young adult learners. In the course of their studies, high school students are given the opportunity to ask and answer the question, *who am I morally?* Just as in other classes and experiences, high school students are encouraged to consider who they are talent-wise (e.g. athletic, artistic, poetic, a leader and so forth) and who they are career-path wise (e.g. want to be a doctor, want to be a lawyer, want to be a Navy

Seal, and so forth), students in a TSJ class take cues from the topics, the community developed among students, the teacher's investment in them and the pedagogical method utilized and make decisions as to how or why to invest in themselves and in their communities based on their own understanding of right and wrong, as developed in the class. Moreover, in a successful implantation of TSJ, students process and explore the feedback received from the variety of role models to who they are introduced as part of the overall identity formation process (Harrell-Levy, 2010).

The importance of school influence on youth civic and moral identity development is a sentiment echoed by several studies, including Torney-Purta et al. (2001), a qualitative study conducted on the civic development of 90,000 14 year old students in 28 countries in an effort to create a model to define national citizenship development broadly. Torney-Purta et al. found, in all 28 countries, that the school context was a primary influence on civic engagement. Both McBride (2003) and Keeer and colleagues noted two spheres of civic development, classified as social and political. Social civic engagement would include acts that fall more in line with identity behaviors identified in Social Justice class (Youniss, 1997), which include behaviors like volunteering, community organizing, membership in local civic groups, and charitable donations.

Lopez and colleagues (2002) also demonstrated the importance of institutions in fostering civic participation in youth, particularly school and community organizations. Using a diverse sample of 1,700 American youth, ages 15 to 25 years of age, they found that many youth are disengaged, but for those who do participate civically, engagement manifests in diverse ways, including the ones observed in the study (e.g. civic activity, political activity, and political voice). Their results led them to conclude that volunteerism and political engagement among youth are much more likely when youth are invited *and* inspired. Boasting similar results, Keeter and colleagues (2002) found that academic institutions, both secondary schools and colleges, act as "training grounds" for civic engagement. In their study, they found that of the approximately 70% of those who report having taken a civics course, almost half perceive the course to have contributed to a heightened interest in civics and political issues. Youniss and Yates (1997) found that a strong sense of civic identity can be fostered through processes in schools, particularly service-learning programs (Yates & Youniss, 1996, 1999; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997; and Youniss & Yates, 1997). Several of the studies conducted by Youniss and Yates have particular merit for the present dissertation. Their work provides a developmental perspective to the formation of civic development, such that we can begin to conceive of how service learning in high school helps lead to a civic identity later in life.

Processes in school can have a similar influence on moral identity, which is the extent to which moral character is infused into a person's sense of self (Shao, Aquino, & Freeman, 2008). Moral identity, as opposed to moral reasoning,

suggests a commitment to moral goals. Moral identity represents one stand of the identity literature because it is the integration of self and morality (Aquino, McFerran, & Laven, 20011) As a construct, it has been utilized most often in the discipline of psychology to explain aspects of moral behavior and functioning (e.g. Aquino, et al., 2011; Aquino, Freeman, Reed, Lim, & Felps, 2009; Aquino, Reed, Stewart, & Shapiro, 2005; Hardy, Bhattacharjee, Reed, & Aquino, 2010; Reed, Aquino, & Levy. 2007). Evidence suggests that moral identity is the basis of social behavior, in terms of being more caring and socially responsible (Aquino & Freeman, 2009, Aquino et al. 2011, Colby & Damon, 1995). When interviewing 37 exemplary moral adolescents, Colby and Damon (1995) identified a clear relationship between the ideals of the adolescents and the behaviors that make them exemplar. Results indicated that moral identity assumes a sense of self that promotes or protects the welfare of others. Theory supports this result, as Davidson and Youniss (1991) note that the transformations that occur both developmentally and socially make adolescence a prime period in influencing the moral trajectory of adolescents. However, in order for moral actions to be evidence of moral identity, the actions must be consistent with adolescents' views of themselves. It is during adolescence, Davidson and Youniss contend, that individuals are first able to develop a moral identity (and, thus, quite susceptible to being influenced by significant others). In a discussion of adolescent moral identity, Hart, Atkins, and Ford (1998) define moral identity development as "a particular type of moral strength that often binds the adolescent to facets of the public community" (p.514). Thus, what happens in terms of moral identity, and other aspects of identity, is made more poignant because of the developmental context of adolescence.

Contemporary research on moral identity development more generally tends to emphasize the bidirectional relations between individuals and social contexts, which many contend provide the bases of behavior and developmental change (e.g., Damon, 1990; Ford & Lerner, 1992; Gottlieb, 1997; Overton, 1998; Lerner, 2003). Using a sample of 225 undergraduate students (half Asian, half white; 119 men), Reynolds and Ceranic (2007) contend that moral identity is a specific type of identity and, thus, utilize aspects of Erickson, 1964's identity model, specifically, internalization and symbolization. They also employ two other terms to explain the relationship between consensus and actual moral behavior, consequentialism (which is that when choosing a behavior, the individual values the ends over the means) and formalism (which suggests that when choosing a behavior, the individual values the means over the ends). Social consensus refers to how much members of a group agree whether a potential act is good or evil. They believe that the relationship between moral identity and moral behavior is moderated by this social consensus.

In a three year longitudinal study of high school students, Davis and Franzoi (1991) found that their adolescent participants were better able to take the perspective of others as time passed. Although this result was consistent

between males and females, there is theoretical and empirical evidence to suggest that females may be more susceptible to messages related to moral identity than males. For instance, in a study of political moral cognitive development, Avery (1988) noted that females exhibited significantly greater tolerance than the males. There may also be differences in identity development between students low and high in risk. More specifically, there is also the possibility that those who have had less exposure to or proximity with the social issues that comprise the service experience or course content may find it more difficult to empathize, and, thus, may not have as robust a reaction to the course material as those who have prior experience or intimate knowledge of those issues (O'Connor, 2004). Ultimately, however, there is no consensus as to the levels of moral development and how people progress through the levels across the life course, Kohlberg, 1983's position that people have three levels (attending only to oneself, attending to others and what they think, and attending to broader standards that are then related back to self) provides a loose framework for the general progression of moral development. For the present research project, it suggests that the high school class that exposes adolescents to both social issues and social standards for responding to them and then affords them the time and space to critically reflect and relate that information back to themselves and their lives, may be helping students advance through Kohlberg's last level of moral development.

Transformative Learning Theory

Jack Mezirow, the author of Transformative Learning Theory (TLT), focuses a great deal on adult education and transformative experiences that accompany shifts in perspective (e.g. Mezirow, 1971, 1975, 178, 1981, 1991). According to Kitchenham (2008), the components of the earliest form of Meizrow's TLT are drawn from Kuhn (1962), Freire (1970) and Habermas (1971). The following table is replicated from Kitchenham (2008, p.106). (*Note*. Kitchenham holds a doctorate degree in Transformative Learning and Educational Technology.)

Table 3. The Influences on Mezirow's Early Transformative Learning Theory and its Related Facets

Influence	Transformative Learning Facet
Kuhn's (1962) paradigm	Perspective Transformation Frame of Reference Meaning Perspective Habit of Mind
Freire's (1970) conscientization	Disorienting Dilemma Critical Self-Reflection Habit of Mind
Habermas's (1971, 1984) domains of learning	Learning Processes Perspective Transformation Meaning Scheme Meaning Perspective

TLT is a relatively simple theory that Mezirow perceives as *the* adult learning theory, given that transformative learning is considered the most important facet of adult education.

Habernas (1971), one of Mezirow's early influences, noted three forms of knowledge: work/instrumental action (i.e. knowledge based on investigation and rules; cause-and-effect), practical/communicative (i.e. knowledge that pertains to understanding ourselves, others and consensual norms), and emancipatory (i.e. self-knowledge that leads to freeing self-awareness; this knowledge is the result of critical reflection and critical discourse). The third form of knowledge, emancipatory, is the type that Habernas considers transformative. A student develops an interest in how his or her perceptions have been shaped by the outside world, then experiences self-emancipation (or critical self-awareness), and finally deepens this understanding through reflection and discourse, all of which lead to transformed consciousness (i.e. perspective transformation).

According to Mezirow (1971), perspective can be defined according to its three most important parts: a) a definition of the situation, which includes what the situation is, why one is in it, and what would be required for one to leave the situation, b) awareness of the appropriate activities for the given situation, and c) awareness of the criteria for judging the situation which include "standards of value against which people are judged" (p. 144-145). This definition has roots in the work of social interactionism, a tradition in sociology that focuses on micro-scale social interaction. Mezirow contends that when students have a transformative classroom experience, their perspective is altered to the point where they experience perspective discrepancy. Assessing perspective discrepancy is one way of assessing transformation.

Kuhn (1962), another early influence on TLT, has also written a great deal on perspective transformation. (*Note*. Kuhn is responsible for the term, paradigm shift). In an examination of how the scientific process has evolved with time, Thomas Kuhn writes a great deal about how knowledge is produced and transmitted. Kitchenham (2008, p.105) records Mezirow's Ten Phases of Transformative Learning (see Table 4).

Table 4. Mezirow's Ten Phases of Transformative Learning

Phase	Description
Phase 1	A disorienting dilemma
Phase 2	A self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame
Phase 3	A critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions
Phase 4	Recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change
Phase 5	Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
Phase 6	Planning of a course of action
Phase 7	Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans
Phase 8	Provisional trying of new roles
Phase 9	Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
Phase 10	A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's perspective

According to Mezirow's TLT, transformative learning begins with a disorienting dilemma and ends with a reintegration into one's life, which Cranton (2002) refers to as *restored equilibrium*. Cranton notes that later in Mezirow's writing on TLT, most of the phases were retained but Mezirow no longer regarded them as steps. Subsequently, Cranton (p.66) proposes her own guide as to how to structure a learning environment to promote transformation. From this information, I produced a table to summarize her main points (See Table 3). Although Cranton provides a helpful guide for teachers as they promote transformative experiences, Cranton notes that teachers "cannot teach transformation" and often "cannot identify how or why [transformation] happens" (p.70).

Table 5. Cranton (2002) Guide for Structuring a Learning Environment

Guideline	Explanation	Teacher Effort
An activating event	Typically exposes a discrepancy between what a person has already assumed to be true and what has just been experienced, heard, or read.	Expose students to viewpoints that may be discrepant from their own
Articulating assumptions	Recognizing underlying assumptions that have been uncritically assimilated and are largely unconscious	Use of critical questioning, with questions crafted to encourage students to describe beliefs and how those beliefs emerged
Critical self-reflection	Questioning and examining assumptions in terms of where they came from, the consequences of holding them, and why they are important	Provide opportunities to question assumptions (e.g. reflective journaling) & modeling self-reflection
Being open to alternative viewpoints	(none given)	Modeling openness to different ideas; give students opportunities to try on alternative perspectives (e.g. role plays)
Discourse	Engaging in discourse where evidence is weighed, arguments assessed, alternative perspectives explored, and knowledge constructed by consensus	Move discussion to higher level of critical thinking, during which evidence is prioritized over persuasion
Revising assumptions and perspectives to make them more open and better justified	(none given)	Provide time for one on one interaction; lend support when needed
Acting on revisions	Behaving, taking, and thinking in a way that is congruent with transformed assumptions or perspectives	Provide experiential learning projects and/or help students design action plans

References

Al-Yagon & Mikulincer (2004). Socioemotional and academic adjustment among children with learning disorders. *The Journal of Special Education, 38* (2), 111-123

Aquino, K., McFerran, B., & Laven, M. (2011). Moral identity and the experience of Moral Elevation in Response to Acts of Uncommon Goodness. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *100*(4), 703-718

Aquino, K., & Reed, A., II. (2002). The self-importance of moral identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83,* 1423–1440.

Aquino, K., Reed, A., II, Thau, S., & Freeman, D. (2007). A grotesque and dark beauty: How moral identity and mechanisms of moral disengagement influence cognitive and emotional reactions to war. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 43,* 385–392.

Aquino, K., Reed, A., II, Stewart, M. M., & Shapiro, D. L. (2005). Self-regulatory identity theory and reactions toward fairness enhancing organizational policies. In S. W. Gilliland, D. D. Steiner, D. P. Skarlicki, & K. van den Bos (Eds.), *What motivates fairness in organizations?* (pp.129–148). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

Arnett, J. (2004). Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties. Oxford University Press. New York: New York.

Astin, A. W. & Sax, L. J. (1998). How undergraduates are affected by service participation. *Journal of College Student Development,* 39(3), 251-263.

Blasi, A. (1984). Moral identity: Its role in moral functioning. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Morality, moral behavior, and moral development* (pp. 128–139). New York, NY: Wiley.

Bringle, R.G., & Hatcher, J.A. (1995). A service-learning curriculum for faculty. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 2*, 112-122.

Brooks, A. K. (1989). Critically reflective learning within a corporate context. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teacher's College, Columbia University, NY.

Bryk, A.S., Lee, V.E., & Holland, P.B. (1993). *Catholic schools and the common good.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burns, L. T. (1998). Make sure it's service-learning, not just community service. *The Education Digest, 64(2), 38-41.*

Cammarota, J., & Romero, A. F. (2009). A Social Justice epistemology and pedagogy for Latina/o students: Transforming public education with participatory action research. *New Directions for Youth Development*, *123*, 53-65.

Campbell, D.E. (2001). Making democratic education work. In P.E. Peterson & D.E. Campbell (Eds.), *Charters, vouchers, and public education* (pp.241-267). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Cherryholmes, C. (1988). *Power and criticism: Poststructural investigations in education.* New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Clark, C. M. (1992). The restructuring of meaning: An analysis of the impact of context on transformational learning. 33rd Annual Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings (pp. 31-36). University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Clark, C. M. & Wilson, A. (1991). Context and rationality in Mezirow's theory of perspective transformational learning. *Adult Education Quarterly, 40,* 75-91.

Clevinger, J. E. (1993). Exploring transformative learning: The identification and descriptor of multiple cases among kidney transplant recipients. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Colby, A., & Damon, W. (1995). The development of extraordinary moral commitment. In M. Killen & D. Hart (Eds.), *Morality in everyday life: Developmental perspectives* (pp. 342–370). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Coleman, J. S., & Hoffer, T. (1987). *Public and private schools: The influence of communities*. New York: Basic Books.

Coll, R. (2007). Student teachers' perception of their role and responsibilities as Catholic educators. *European Journal of Teacher Education, 30*(4), 445-465.

Cuban, L. (1993). *How teachers taught: Constancy and change in American classrooms, 1890-1980*. New York: Longman.

Cusack, P. J. (1990). Preaching the passion of the earth and perspective transformation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto.

Cruz, N. & Giles, D. (2000). Where's the community in service-learning research? *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 7*, 28-34.

Davis, H. A. (2006). Exploring the context of relationship quality between middle school students and teachers. *The Elementary School Journal, 106* (3), 193-223

Davidson, A.L. 1996. *Making and molding identity in schools: Student narratives on race, gender and academic engagement.* Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Detert, J. R., Trevin˜o, L. K., & Sweitzer, V. L. (2008). Moral disengagement in ethical decision making: A study of antecedents and outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 93,* 374 –391.

Erikson, E.H. (1950). *Childhood and society.* New York: Norton.

Erikson, E.H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis.* New York: Norton.

Erikson, E.H. (1980). *Identity and the Life Cycle.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc.

Eyler, J. & Giles, D. E. (1999). *Where's the learning in service-learning*? San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publications.

First, J. A. &Way, W. L. (1995). Parent education outcomes: Insights into transformative learning. *Family Relations, 44*, 104-109.

Foreman, S. G., & Wilkinson, L. C. (1997). Educational policy through service-learning: Preparation for citizenship and civic participation. *Innovative Higher Education*, *21*, 275-285.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Penguin.

Freire, P., & Faundez, A. (1989). *Learning to question: Pedagogy of liberation*. Geneva: WCC Publications.

Gelmon, S., Holland, B., Seifer, S., Shinnamon, A., & Connors, K. (1998). Community university partnerships for mutual learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 5*, 97-107.

Generett, G. G. & Hicks, M. (2004). Beyond reflective competency: Teaching for audacious hope-in-action. *Journal of Transformative Education, 2,* 187-203.

Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company.

Giroux, H. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. Granby, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.

Giroux, H. (1985). Critical pedagogy, cultural politics and the discourse of experience. *Journal of Education, 167* (2), 22-41

Goldstein, K. (1939). The organism. New York: American Book Co.

Greeley, A. M. (1982). *Catholic schools and minority students*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Greene, J.P. (1998). Civic values in public and private schools. In P.E. Petersen & B.C. Hassel (Eds.), *Learning from school choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Group for Collaborative Inquiry. (1994). A model for transformative learning: Individual development and social action. 35th Annual Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings (pp. 169-174). Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Habermas, J. (1971). *Knowledge of human interests.* Boston: Beacon.

Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action. Vol. 1: Reason and the rationalization of society* (T. McCarthy, Trans). Boston: Beacon.

Hackney, C.E. (1998). Catholic school faculty as an adult learning community. *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice, 11*(4), 388-399.

Hardy, S. A., Bhattacharjee, A., Reed, A., II, & Aquino, K. (2010). Moral identity and psychological distance: The case of adolescent parental socialization. *Journal of Adolescence, 33,* 111–123.

Hart, D. Atkins, R. and Ford, D. (1998). Urban America as a context for the development of moral identity in adolescence. *Journal of Social Issues, 54* (3), 513-530.

Hooks, b. (1993) Transformative pedagogy and multiculturalism. In *Freedom's plow: Teaching in the multicultural classroom*, eds. T. Perry and J. W. Fraser, 91–97. New York: Routledge.

Isaacson, R., Dorries, B., & Brown, K. (2001). *Service learning in communication studies*. Toronto: Wadsworth Group.

Jacoby, B. & associates (1996). *Service-learning in higher education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Keeter, S., Zukin, C., Andolina, M., & Jenkins, K. (2002). *The civic and political health of the nation: A generational portrait.* College Park, MD: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.

Keith, N. (1994). School-based community service: Answers and some questions. *Journal of Adolescence*, 17, 311-320.

Kennedy, J. G. (1994). The individual's transformational learning experience as a cross-cultural sojourner: Descriptive models. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Fielding Institute, Los Angeles.

Kihlstrom, J. F., & Klein, S. B. (1994). The self as a knowledge structure. In R. S. Wyer Jr. & K. Thomas (Ed.), *Handbook of social cognition: Vol. 1. Basic processes* (2nd ed., pp. 153–208). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum

King, J. T. (2004). Service-learning as a site for critical pedagogy: A case of collaboration, caring, and defamiliarization across borders. *Journal of Experiential Education, 26*, 121-137

Kitchenham, A. (2008). The evolution of John Mezirow's transformative learning theory. *Journal of Transformative Education, 6* (2), 104-123

Kolb, D.A. (1984). *Experiential Learning: experience as the source of learning and development*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Kuhn, T. (1962). The structure of scientific revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32* (3), 465-491

Lapsley, D. K., & Lasky, B. (2001). Prototypic moral character. *Identity, 1,* 345–363.

Lapsley, D. K. & Narvaez, D. (2004). Moral Development, Self, and Identity. *Adolescence*, *39* (155), 624-625.

Ludwig, G. D. (1994). Using adult education perspective transformation principle, in the evaluation of training program proposals for the economically disadvantaged. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Teacher's College, Columbia University New York.

McLaren, P. (1995). *Critical pedagogy and predatory culture: Oppositional politics in a postmodern era.* New York: Routledge.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3*, 551-5

Marcia, J.E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Andelson (Ed.), Handbook of adolescent psychology. New York: Wiley.

Maslow, A. H. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation, *Psychological Review 50*, 370-96.

Maslow, A.H. (1971). The farther reaches of human nature. New York: The Viking Press.

Matusicky, C. A. (1982). In-service training for family life educator,: An instructional model. Unpublished doctoral

dissertation, University of Toronto. Toronto.

Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation, *Psychological Review 50*, 370-96.

Maslow, A.H. (1971). The farther reaches of human nature. New York: The Viking Press.

Matusicky, C. A. (1982). In-service training for family life educator: An instructional model. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto. Toronto.

Merriam, S. B. (2001). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mezirow, J. (1971). Toward a theory of practice. *Adult Education , 21*, 131-147

Mezirow, J. (1975). *Education for Perspective Transformation: Women's Reentry Programs in Community Colleges*. New York: Center for Adult Education Teachers College, Columbia University.

Mezirow, J. (1978). "Perspective Transformation." *Adult Education*, 100–110.

Mezirow, J. (1981). "A Critical Theory of Adult Learning and Education." *Adult Education, 32*, 3–23.

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Moraes, M. (2003). The path of dissent: An interview with Peter McLaren. *Journal of Transformative Education, 1,* 117-134.

Moore, D. T. (2000). The relationship between experiential learning research and service learning research. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning 7,* 124-128.

Moore, L. (2000). Staff development in Catholic schools. In T. Hunt, T. Oldenski, & T. Wallace, (Eds.), Catholic School Leadership: An Invitation to Lead (pp. 93-104). New York: Falmer.

Mustakova-Possardt, E. (2004). Education for critical moral consciousness. *Journal of Moral Education*, 33(3), 245-269.

Nagda, B.A., Gurin, P. & Lopez, G.E. (2003). Transformative pedagogy for democracy and Social Justice. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 6* (2), 165-191.

Nieto, S. (2001, January). Mid-lines. *New England League of Middle Schools*, pp.21-25.

Nieto, S. (2000). Foreword, In C.R.O'Grady (Ed.), *Integrating service learning and multicultural education in colleges and universities*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Piaget, J. (1977). Gruber, H.E.; Voneche, J.J.. eds. The essential Piaget. New York: Basic Books.

Pope, S. M. (1996). Wanting to be something more: Transformations in ethnically diverse working class women through the process of education. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Fielding Institute, Los Angeles.

Ramaley, J. A. (1997). Shared consequences: Recent experiences with outreach and community-based learning. *Journal of Public Service and Outreach*, 2(1), 19-25.

Reeb, R., Katsuyama, R., Sammon, J., & Yoder, D. (1998). The community service self-efficacy scale: Evidence of reliability, construct validity, and pragmatic utility. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 5,* 48-57.

Reed, A., II, Aquino, K., & Levy, E. (2007). Moral identity and judgments of charitable behaviors. *Journal of Marketing, 71,* 178 –193.

Reeve, J. (2006). Teachers as facilitators: What autonomy-supportive teachers do and why their students benefit. *The Elementary Journal, 106* (3), 225-236

Reimer, K. (2003). Committed to Caring: Transformation in Adolescent Moral Identity. *Applied Developmental Science*, *7*(3), 129-137.

Rhodes, R. (1997). *Community service and higher learning: Explorations of the caring self.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Robinson, G., & Barnett, L. (1996). *Service learning and community colleges: Where we are.* Washington, DC: American Association of Community Colleges.

Rossatto, C. A. (2005). *Engaging Paulo Freire's pedagogy of possibility: From blind to transformative optimism.* Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Schuitema, J., Dam, G. ten & Veugelers, W. (2007). Teaching strategies for moral education: A review. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 40,* 1-21.

Shao, R., Aquino, K., & Freeman, D. (2008). Beyond moral reasoning: A review of moral identity research and its implications for business ethics. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 18,* 513–540.

Sigmon, R. I. (1998). Service-learning: Three principles. *Synergist*, *9,* 10.

Singer, J., & Shagoury, R. (2005). Stirring Up Justice: Adolescents reading, writing, and changing the world. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 49(4), 318-339.

Skinner, E; Furrer, C; Marchand, G; Kindermann, T. (2008). Engagement and disaffection in the classroom: Part of a larger motivational dynamic. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 100,* 765-781.

Stewart, T. (2008). Comparing the intended and the perceived: Administrator expectations and student perceptions of teacher roles in Catholic service-learning. *The High School Journal*, 59-76.

Strayhorn, J.M., Weidman, C.S., & Larson, D. (1990). A Measure of Religiousness, and Its Relation to Parent and Child Mental Health Variables. *Journal of Community Psychology, 18*, 34-43.

Taylor, E. W. (1993). A learning model of becoming interculturally competent: A transformative process. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, Athens.

Taylor, E. W. (1994). Intercultural competency: A transformative learning process. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *44*, 154-174.

Taylor, E. W. (1996). Rationality and emotions in transformative learning theory: A neurobilogical perspective. Proceedings of the 37th Annual Adult Education Research Conference (pp. 301-306). University of South Florida, Tampa.

Tennant, M. C. (1993). Perspective transformation and & cult development. *Adult Education Quarterly, 44,* 34-42.

Tennant, M. C. (1994). Response to understanding transformation theory. *Adult Education Quarterly, 44*, 233-235.

Transformative Learning Centre. (2004). *The Transformative Learning Centre.* Retrieved August 28, 2011, from Transformative Learning Centre Web site: http://tlc.oise.utoronto.ca/index.htm

van der Zee, T., & de Jong, A. (2009). Teachers as a source of inspiration in Catholic schools. *Journal of Empirical Theology, 22*, 7-29.

Vogelsang, M. R. (1993). Transformative experiences of female adult students. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Iowa State University, Ames.

Weisberger, R. D. (1995). Adult male learners in a community college seeing: Possibilities of transformation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Wentzel, K. R. (1996). Social motivation: Current issues and challenges. In J. Juvonen & K. R. Wentzel (Eds.), Social motivation: Understanding children's school adjustment (pp. 1-10). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wentzel, K. R. (1997). Student motivation in middle school: The role of perceived pedagogical caring. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 89*, 411-419.

Wentzel, K. R. (1998). Social support and adjustment in middle school: The role of parents, teachers, and peers. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 90*, 202-209.

Whalley, T. (1995). Toward a theory of culture learning: A qualitative study of Japanese and Canadian students in study-abroad programs. Unpublished manuscript, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.

Williams, M. (2003). "Citizenship as Identity, Citizenship as Shared Fate, and the Functions of Multicultural Education." In Kevin McDonough and Walter Feinberg. *Citizenship and Education in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press**:** 208-247.

Wolf, P.J., Greene, J.P., Kleitz, B., & Thalhammer, K. (2001). Private schooling and political tolerance. In P.E. Peterson & D.E. Campbell (Eds.), Charters, vouchers, and public education (pp.268-292).

Yates, M., & Youniss, J. (1999). Promoting identity development: Ten requisites for school-based service learning programs. In J. Claus & C. Ogden (Eds.), Community service learning: Relevance, meaning, and empowerment

in the lives and education of youth (pp. 43-67). New York: Peter Lang Publishers.

Youniss, J., McLellan, J. A., and Yates, M. (1997). What we know about generating civic identity. *American Behavioral Science, 40*, 620-631.

Youniss, J., McLellan, J.A., & Yates, M. (1999). Religion, community service, and identity in American youth. *Journal of Adolescence, 22*, 243-253.

Youniss, J. & Ruth, A. (2002). Approaching policy for adolescent development in the 21st century. In J. T. Mortimer & R. W. Larson (eds), *The Changing Experience: Societal Trends and the Transition to Adulthood* (pp. 250–271). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Youniss, J., & Yates, M. (1997). *Community service and social responsibility in youth*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Yorks, L & Kasl, E. (2006). I know more than I can say: A taxonomy for using expressive ways of knowing to foster transformative learning. *Journal of Transformative Education, 4* (1), 43-64.

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Appendix 2. Study 1 Data Reduction Table for Study 1

Theme	Subtheme
Class can be intense and demanding	Aspect 1: Workload Aspect 2: Critical Thinking Aspect 3: Cognitive Dissonance
Class can cause discomfort	*In-Class Factors* Aspect 1: Emotionality of students Aspect 2: Emotionality of teacher Aspect 3: Open debate on a number of controversial topics Aspect 4: Exploring touchy issues Aspect 5: Learning about the intimate experience of peers Aspect 6: Sharing intimate experiences with peers Aspect 7: Emotionally charged guest talks about personal experience with hardship Aspect 8: Challenging teaching style that could mean being bombarded with difficult questions from the teacher and/or peers Aspect 9: Constant re-appraisal of personal values Aspect 10: Course material that is directly related to personal experience) *Out-of-Class Factors* Aspect 11: Personal encounters with people who are different Aspect 12: Cognitive dissonance that is amplified by the combination of both in-class and out-of-class portions
Class content is relatable and relevant.	Aspect 1: Exposure to inspiration and influential thinkers/people Aspect 2: Social topics that were present day concerns Aspect 3: Ability to relate information gleaned to self and/or others Aspect 4: Lessons that have benefit in-school and beyond school Aspect 5: Unique and unusual lessons Aspect 6: Universality of lessons
Salient teacher descriptors	Aspect 1: Teacher is caring Aspect 2: Teacher is crazy/eccentric Aspect 3: Teacher is demanding Aspect 4: Teacher is dynamic Aspect 5: Teacher is honest/vulnerable Aspect 6: Teacher is loveable Aspect 7: Teacher is philosopher Aspect 8: Teacher rather intimidating Aspect 9: Teacher very hardworking. Aspect 10: Teacher very motivational Aspect 11: Teacher seemed invested and available Aspect 12: Teacher is passionate Aspect 13: Teacher is a fanatic for Social Justice Aspect 14: Teacher is a role model
Influence is immediate and long-term	N/A
No other class like Social Justice	Aspect 1: Comparing SJ to other high school courses Aspect: Comparing SJ to other religion courses Aspect 3: Comparing SJ to all other courses
Several sources of influence	Aspect 1: Connecting service learning with class content Aspect 2: Intense critical thinking Aspect 3: Discomfort Aspect 4: Emotional engagement

	Aspect 5: Relevant materials and discussion
	Aspect 6: Community in class
	Aspect 7: Empowerment by teacher
Centrality of experience in shaping later outcomes	Aspect 1: Personal development.
	Aspect 2: Perspective transformation
	Aspect 3: Learned how to develop points of view and debate respectfully
	Aspect 4: Social awareness
	Aspect 5: identity
	Aspect 6: Conception of justice
	Aspect 7: Civic-mindedness
	Aspect 8: Moral development
	Aspect 9: Personal agency
	Aspect 10: Challenging prejudice and privilege
	Aspect 11: Behaviors related to charity
Frustrating aspects of class	Aspect 1: Did not like teacher at first.
	Aspect 2: Teacher handled disagreements poorly.
	Aspect 3: Negative Responses from other students
	Aspect 4: Passion can be good and bad
Overall school culture	N/A
Class Recall	Aspect 1: Terms
	Aspect 2: Influential moments
	Aspect 3: Course content
	Aspect 4: Typical day of class
Personal risk factors affected experience of class	N/A
Personal Biography	N/A
Examples of Influence	N/A
Relationship with teacher	Aspect 1: Very close
	Aspect 2: Close
	Aspect 3: Normal/Typical Student-Teacher relationship

Appendix 3. Coding Guide for Study 2

Broader Code Category A: Consistency with Dirkx' Strands

Code 1.0 (Teacher attempts at) Individuation

This code included units where the data sources describe class experiences which speak to teachers' attempts to help students integrate the emotional-spiritual aspects of learning with everyday life. Instances where the study participants express attempts at individuation are included.

Student Source:

I remember my first day at the soup kitchen and being admonished by Mr. James for not letting myself feel the experience. There was such passion and sincerity in his voice and eyes. He felt that none of us were any better or different than the patrons at the soup kitchen, that we had life experience and experience that deserved respect and reverence.

Teacher Source:

The method involved…engaging [students] with reality and touching their wounds.

Code 1.1 (Teacher attempts at) Development

Any teacher attempts at relating students' classroom experiences to their movement between developmental phases in their personal development were coded as 2.0.

Student Source:

I remember my first day at the soup kitchen and being admonished by Mr. James for not letting myself feel the experience. There was such passion and sincerity in his voice and eyes. He felt that none of us were any better or different than the patrons at the soup kitchen, that we had life experience and experience that deserved respect and reverence.

Teacher Source (lecture to students in class):

We reach a point where we have to ask, 'What I'm going to do with my life,' 'What direction I'm going in',' what direction this world is going in'. Somehow you must carve out a place. Why can't you run the soup kitchen once a month on Saturdays?' Why can't St. Mark's kids do that? Raise all the money…"

Code 1.2 (Teacher attempts at) Consciousness Raising

Any teacher attempts at raising students' awareness of social issues was coded as 2.0. Examples where alumni discuss how awareness of social issues resulted from service learning experiences were also coded 2.1.

Student Source:

"It was a class discussion around the poor. The issue was, many of us couldn't understand why the poor were so poor. As high school seniors, we could not wrap our minds around the simple fact that many people (who were poor) just couldn't bounce back and get a job. What we quickly realized is that life has a way of catching you off guard. We had no idea what circumstances caused them to be poor (homeless, etcetera). It was extremely enlightening." (1003)

Student Source:

"In NY City, 1984 there was a subway shooting of 4 black males by Bernard Goetz. Goetz, who is white low-middle class, was mugged in 1981, his assailants were caught, but the court let them go. So he armed himself, and when opportunity came in 1984, he shot 4 kids (paralyzing one) who approached him for $5. He felt he would be mugged, so he fired his weapon, and was deemed "Subway vigilante" and became favorably famous. In Social Justice class, we discussed this case in detail and uncovered: stereotypes, bias of "perceived justice" stemming

from prior injustice, black v. white, poor v. non-poor, and social conduct/misconduct as a result environmental factors. All of these issues were well illustrated just from this one case discussion, which we had over a four day period, but most important, these issues were raised by my classmates, and not by Mr. James, who mainly facilitated the discussion. Looking back, there's no doubt in my mind, that we embodied the course's objectives not only at that moment, but well beyond high school."

Code 1.4 (Teacher attempts at) Critical Self Reflection

Any teacher attempts at getting students to think critically about themselves and the world were coded as 1.4.

Student Source:

"Social Justice is a class that you never stop taking, even after you completed your junior year at Carroll. The class makes you think about issues from a human standpoint, not as a Conservative, Liberal, etc. The main goal of the Social Justice class is to know a person for who they are, not as a stereotypical label. The main goal of the class is to make you think, when you take the class to beyond the class...for life." (1076)

Broader Code Category B: Beyond Dirkx' Strands but Consistent with Post High School Transformative Learning

Code 2.0 Teacher Student Interaction

Specifically, any description of the interactions between teachers and students, including classroom in class and out-of-class interactions, was included in this code. Examples where alumni referred to relationships with the teacher were are also coded 2.0.

Student Source:

"The discussion was about Martin Luther King and how we could all dare to align ourselves with his dream of unity by living better each and every day...by giving back when we prosper and by being compassionate when we encounter things that are not as they should be in this world. Mr. James encouraged us to get involved and during the discussion I made a comment that he liked and he threw me a snickers bar. It was a moment that I will always remember because he had yelled at me two days prior and told me that my potential was above the ceiling and my mind/focus was below the floor. Very powerful. I grew that day and will always be thankful for having had him as a teacher" (1218)

Code 2.1 Service Learning Focused

This code included units where participants discussed the classroom experience.

Colleague/Administrator Source:

"It's a service program with a social justice curriculum attached to it. High end schools have it. Cause high end parents are more open minded about what a kid should be like."

Student Source:

"Community service project where we worked at [the] Soup Kitchen. We were forced to work in an environment for which we were not familiar serving food and interacting with the less fortunate. Additionally, we were placed in a situation where we may not have been around our day to day friends because of the way the groups were determined."

Code 2.3 Interactive and Lively Learning Environment

Specifically, any description of the classroom experience, including classroom management, was included in this code. Examples where alumni referred to how teacher personality contributed to class experiences were are also coded 2.3.

Student Source:

A student recalls a class discussion about a botched space mission, and observes "I can clearly recall the day when the Space Challenger exploded on life off in 1986. As a junior, I believe if it wasn't for the social justice class experience I don't believe I would have had felt for the families of those that lost loved ones."

Teacher Source (in taped interview with newscaster):

"When they walk into this room, I want to try and set them on fire."

Broader Code Category C: Beyond Dirkx' Strands but inconsistent with Post High School Transformative Learning

Code 3.0 Lack of centeredness: Teacher as passionate and engaged authority

This code included units where participants describe teachers' positions on issues, and how (and how often) these positions were communicated to students.

Teacher Source (lecture to students):

"Culture has told you, in every ad and every tv show, that the accumulation of money will make you happy. And I'm telling you that that's a lie. This wonderful quote from Kennedy's grave, 'God's work on earth must truly be our own.'" What do you do? How do you respond? Anybody have a career in mind that you think you could touch on that would make a difference?"

Code 3.1 Teacher modeling

This code included units where the participants describe the teachers' social justice experiences, and/or communicate students' awareness of those experiences.

Student Source

Mr. James was probably the single most important teacher that I've ever had in my life. His love for St. Mark's was not just devoted to teaching and encouraging an appreciation of social justice. Although these passions have had the greatest influence in my life, I also remember fondly the many other ways in which he showed his love for St. Mark's and the people who taught, studied, and worked there. His fence partys, his painting of the school, and his pep rallies to mention a few were all examples of how he celebrated in his home, took care of his home, and inspired people in his home. Although his death hurt me deeply, I am comforted by his memory, the guidance I still feel from his teaching, and the tangible reminders I still have of him, most notable my binder of articles and other materials and an audio cassette tape of war protest songs. (1333)

Code 3.1 Developmental and Contextual Assets: School, family, and age converge and contribute to the relationship between the methods employed and the long term impact on students

This code included units where participants made comments related to students' ages and maturity levels, as well as other age-appropriate experiences that contributed to or detracted from the learning experience.

Student Source:

"I am so thankful for the social justice class at St. Mark's. I wish more schools had social justice curriculum and classes/space to critically engage social issues. While a certain maturity level and breadth of life experiences are perhaps missing for many students at the high school level, it is never too early to plant seeds of justice and empowerment. Particularly important for schools made up of primarily minority students like St. Mark's to foster in the students a sense of self-worth and agency. I would like for Carroll to go deeper into helping students deconstruct systematic and systemic racism, while also helping them build solid healthy responses. Take seriously the social location of the population that Carroll serves."

Teacher Source (class lecture): Response to student comment about her sad experience with a man with no legs and her thoughts about lacking the power/agency to make change as a teenager:

"I would say that you're already a powerful person…Don't say 'when I'm powerful.' No, you're powerful now. When you kneel down, you talk to this man who has no legs, [do] you know what that means to him? You changed his life for a day. You have power. You may have more influence someday but you have power."

Code 4.1 Obstacles to Implementation

This code includes unites where obstacles or impediments to the course's implementation and/pr success were shared.

Colleague/Administrator Source:

"Obviously the Catholic Church had that strand going but not necessarily taught. There was an accompanying mentality, like 'Why teach poor kids social justice?' Seemed largesse."

Teacher Source (in a taped interview with a newscaster):

"This is not your standard approach to Christian morality. It's not your standard approach to religion. In a course like this that demands action, I think that you take a lot of flack and it hasn't always been easy."

Teacher Source:

"There's so many things that go into…the course. I mean, it's not just. I mean, the whole support for service really left with the new administration. And once they got rid of [former service coordinator], it was, you know, so, you don't have, like the school, you know, there's just so many things that you can't measure into it all."

Appendix 4. Codebook for Entire Survey

(Several items in the survey were not included in Study 3)

SCALE	Item	Code	Question # on Survey
Contact Information	First ((nicknames or false names are fine)	Open-Ended	1
Contact Information	ZIP/Postal Code	Open Ended	1
Contact Information	Email Address	Open ended	1
Demographics: High School	*What high school did you attend?*	*Name of HS Here*	2
	Other:	Open-ended	2
Risk: SES: funding of education ***(used for moderator)**	*My high school education was mostly funded by*:	1: need-based financial aid or need based scholarship 2: scholarship (merit based) 3: family member 4: other	3
Funding other		Open ended	3
Demographics: Age	*Please enter the year you were born*:	Open-ended	4
Demographics: Sex ***(used for moderator)**	*Sex*:	1: Male 2: Female	5
Risk: Living Arrangements	*In high school, who did you live with mostly? Check all that apply.* Note: (each living arrangement has a column; 0 next to each living arrangement not mentioned; 1 next to each living arrangement chosen)	1: Lived with mom 2: Lived with dad 3: Lived with stepmom 4: Lived with stepdad 5: Lived with foster mother 6: Lived with foster father 7: Lived with grandparents 8: Lived with aunt and/or uncle 9: Lived in group home 10: Lived in public Housing 11: Homeless	6
Risk: Social Support	*When in high school, could you count on a parent or another parental figure in your home to…* 1: Listen when you needed to talk?	1: No 2: Rarely 3: Sometimes 4: Often	7
Risk: Social Support	2: Be dependable when you needed help?	1: No 2: Rarely 3: Sometimes 4: Often	7
Risk: Social Support	3: Appreciate you as a person?	1: No 2: Rarely 3: Sometimes 4: Often	7

Risk: Social Support	4: Console you when you were upset?	1: No 2: Rarely 3: Sometimes 4: Often	7
Demographics ***(used for control)**	*How would you classify yourself*:	1: Arab 2: Asian-Pacific Islander 3: Black 4: Caucasian/White 5: Hispanic 6: Indigenous or Aboriginal Latino 7: Multiracial 8: Would rather not say	8

	NEW PAGE		
Demographics: Graduation Year ***(used to create 'years from graduation; control)**	*What is the year of your graduating class?*	Open-ended	1
Identifying Teacher	*Please identify the teacher of your course on social justice and/or moral responsibility (specifically the course that is the basis of this study):*	*List of teachers not finalized*	2
Identifying Teacher	*Other (please specify)*	Open ended	2
Comfort with Prejudice	*Give us your thoughts on prejudice and discrimination by indicating your level of agreement with the following scenarios/statements.* 1: Prejudice is acceptable.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	3
Comfort with Prejudice	2: Racist jokes are okay.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	3
Comfort with Prejudice	3: I am not offended by jokes about race.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	3

Comfort with Prejudice	4: I think people are too sensitive about discrimination.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	3

Comfort with Prejudice	5: It bothers me when people talk bad about or make fun of the poor.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	3
Comfort with Prejudice	6: When I think someone is being discriminated against, I feel a desire to intervene.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	3
Education ***(used for control, Educational Attainment)**	*What is the HIGHEST level of education that YOU have received?* (NOTE: different scale than parent education!)	1: Finished some high school 2: Finished high school 3:Some vocational/ technical education after high school 4: Some community college, college, or university 5: Completed a bachelor's degree at a college or university 6: Completed a graduate degree	4
Risk – Parental Education ***(used for moderator, SES)**	*What is the HIGHEST level of education that your MOTHER has received?*	1. Did not finish elementary school 2. Finished elementary school 3. Finished some high school 4. Finished high school 5. Some vocational/ technical education after high school 6. Some community college, college, or university 7. Completed a bachelor's degree at a college or university 8. Completed a graduate degree 9. I don't know	5

Risk – Parental Education ***(used for moderator, SES)**	*What is the HIGHEST level of education that your FATHER has received?*	1. Did not finish elementary school 2. Finished elementary school 3. Finished some high school 4. Finished high school 5. Some vocational/ technical education after high school 6. Some community college, college, or university 7. Completed a bachelor's degree	6

		at a college or university 8. Completed a graduate degree 9. I don't know	
Demographics: Catholic/Non-Catholic ***(used for control)**	*Please identify your religious denomination now and in high school* (Column 1= Currently)	1: Protestant 2: Catholic 3: Jewish 4: Muslim 5: Do not have one 6: Other	7
Demographics: Catholic/Non-Catholic	*Please identify your religious denomination now and in high school* (Column 2= High School)	1: Protestant 2: Catholic 3: Jewish 4: Muslim 5: Do not have one 6: Other	7
Demographics: Catholic/Non-Catholic	*If other, please indicate your religious affiliation here*.	Open ended	8
Religiosity ***(used for control)**	*How often do you attend religious services?*	1: More than once a week 2: Every Week 3: Approximately two times a month 4: Approximately once a month 5: Less than once a month 6: Rarely to never	9

Service Cub Experience	*Did you participate regularly in a club/activity in high school that was dedicated to community service and/or issues of social justice (e.g. Christian Service Club, Community Service Club, etc.)?*	1: Yes 2: No	10
Experience With Risk	*Please help us learn about some of your experiences in high school. Indicate the degree to which each statement describes your experiences in high school.* I had a lot of personal concerns going on before or during high school.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	11
Experience With Risk	I had experience with neglect or abuse before or during high school.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	11

Experience With Risk	I experienced personal challenges before or during high school.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	11
Experience With Risk	I experienced difficult transitions before or during high school.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	11
	NEW PAGE		
Empathy (Callousness) ***(used for latent construct 'moral identity)**	*The following statements concern your thinking about people, society, and the world. For each statement, indicate how well each statement describes you (mark one for each item).* It is important to help other people.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	1
Empathy (Callousness) ***(used for latent construct 'moral identity)**	I care about other people's feelings.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	1
Empathy (Callousness) ***(used for latent construct 'moral identity')**	I feel sorry for people who have things stolen or damaged.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	1
Empathy (critical/relational) ***(used for latent construct, 'moral identity')**	When I hear others use their positions of privilege to promote greater racial/gender equality, I feel hopeful.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	1
Empathy (critical/relational) ***(used for latent construct, 'moral identity')**	I feel despair when I hear about the impact of racial/gender inequalities on others in our society.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	1

Empathy (critical/relational) ***(used for latent construct 'moral identity')**	I feel hopeful hearing how others have overcome disadvantages because of their race/gender.	1: Not at all like me 2: Mostly not like me 3: Neutral 4: Very Much like me 5: Very much like me	1
Expectations for unconventional political engagement	*Are you ever likely to….* participate in a boycott against a company	1: Definitely no 2: Probably will not 3: Neutral 4:Probably will 5: Definitely yes	2
Expectations for unconventional political engagement	refuse to buy clothes made in sweat shops	1: Definitely no 2: Probably will not 3: Neutral 4:Probably will 5: Definitely yes	2
Expectations for unconventional political engagement	participate in political activities such as protests, marches, or demonstrations	1: Definitely no 2: Probably will not 3: Neutral 4:Probably will 5: Definitely yes	2
Expectations for engagement in community issues	do volunteer work to help needy people	1: Definitely no 2: Probably will not 3: Neutral 4:Probably will 5: Definitely yes	2
Expectations for engagement in community issues	get involved in issues like health or safety that affect your community	1: Definitely no 2: Probably will not 3: Neutral 4:Probably will 5: Definitely yes	2
Expectations for engagement in community issues	work with a group to solve a problem in the community where you live	1: Definitely no 2: Probably will not 3: Neutral 4:Probably will 5: Definitely yes	2
Retrospective - Expectations for engagement	Think now of the answers you just gave in the previous question. Please rate the extent to which the class you took in high school on ethics/justice/morality has contributed to your desire to participate in those activities?	1: The class did not increase my desire to participate 2: The class increased my desire to participate slightly 3: The class increased my desire to participate a great deal 4: Do not recall	3
Risk – Family_B (Perception of Family Functioning)	*Which word best describes your family life in high school?*	1: very unhappy 2: unhappy 3: neutral 4: happy 5: very happy	4

Risk – Grades	*Which word best describes your grades in high school?*	1: mostly As 2: mostly Bs 3: mostly Cs 4: mostly Ds 5: mostly Fs	5

Cultural Value of Service at School	*The following questions help us learn about the culture of your school. Please rate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following questions:* There was an emphasis on service at my school.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Cultural Value of Service at School	Service was important to many of my high school peers.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Cultural Value of Service at School	I remember times when the entire school was excited about community service.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Cultural Value of Service at School	I attended at least one assembly/school-wide lecture just about serving the community.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Cultural Value of Service at School	Community service was a big part of the culture of my school.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Cultural Value of Service at School	*Think now of the answers you just gave in the previous question. Please rate the extent to which the class you took in high school on ethics/justice/morality has contributed to your desire to participate in those activities?*	1: The class did not increase my desire to participate 2: The class increased my desire to participate slightly 3: The class increased my desire to participate a great deal 4: Do not recall	6

PAGE BREAK	Instructions: THE NEXT SET OF QUESTIONS ASKS QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE RELIGION COURSE YOU TOOK IN HIGH SCHOOL THAT WAS SPECIFICALLY ABOUT MORAL RESPONSIBILITY/ ETHICS/SOCIAL JUSTICE. IF YOU DO NOT REMEMBER WHAT CLASS THIS IS, PLEASE REVIEW YOUR RECRUITMENT EMAIL (FOR THE NAME OF THE CLASS FOR YOUR SCHOOL) AND/OR CONTACT THE PERSON WHO RECRUITED YOU FOR THE PRESENT STUDY.		
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	*Help us learn about the content of the course. Did you learn about...* Morality and ethics	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Stewardship and the Environment	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Domestic Hunger and Homelessness	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1

Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Causes and solutions of significant social problems	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1

Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Poverty	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Social responsibility	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Distinctions between levels of government and branches of government	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Economic Justice and Worker's Rights	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Sweatshops and Workers Rights	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Abortion or Euthanasia	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1

Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Death penalty and Criminal justice	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Distinctions between charity and justice	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	The definition of Justice	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Homophobia	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	The impact of institutional racism	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content *(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)	Domestic Violence and Rape	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1

Course Content ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)**	Characteristics of healthy and unhealthy relationships	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)**	The connection between personal moral transformation and social transformation	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)**	Strategies of non-violence	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	1
Course Content ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)**	Information from guest speakers	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	1
Course Content_ B ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)**	*Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements about your experience in the course.* The materials we read and discussed were about issues I could relate to.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	2
Course Content_ B ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)**	The material caused students to think 'outside the box'	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	2

Course Content_ B ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'pedagogical approach' – Course Content)**	We covered a lot of topics about modern day social issues.	1: strongly disagree 2: disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	2
Service Learning ***(used for predictor)**	*Please help us to understand the role of community service with your class by answering 'yes' or 'no' to the following questions.* Did you have an opportunity to think and talk about a service experience (for instance, volunteer at a soup kitchen) with other students in class?	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	3
Service Learning ***(used for predictor)**	Did you apply information learned in class to a service project?	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	3
Service Learning ***(used for predictor)**	Did you learn about possible causes of and solutions to social problems you were addressing in a service project?	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	3
Service Learning ***(used for predictor)**	Did you discuss what the government could do to solve a problem that was addressed in a service project?	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	3
Service Learning ***(used for predictor)**	Was your service experience memorable?	1: Yes 2: No 3: Do Not Recall	3

Critical Self Reflection ***(used for predictor)**	*A variety of learning and communication processes are found in courses and programs involving group discussions. Listed below are a number of such processes.* *Indicate the extent to which you agree that each of these processes occurred during your course.* Examining the sources of my biases and assumptions	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	4
Critical Self Reflection ***(used for predictor)**	Making mistakes and reconsidering my opinions	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	4

Critical Self Reflection ***(used for predictor)**	Appreciating experiences different from my own	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	4
Critical Self Reflection ***(used for predictor)**	Thinking about issues that I may not have before	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	4
Teacher Characteristics ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teacher Characteristics)**	*Please rate your teacher on each of the following characteristics: (Mark one for each item.)* *My teacher...* was knowledgeable	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	5
Teacher Characteristics ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teacher Characteristics)**	was clear and organized	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	5
Teacher Characteristics ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teacher Characteristics)**	was supportive	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	5
Teacher Characteristics ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teacher**	was creative	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	5

Characteristics)			
Teacher Characteristics ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teacher Characteristics)**	was passionate about social justice	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	5
Teacher Characteristics ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teacher Characteristics)**	modeled ethical/moral behaviors in his/her own life	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	5

Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	*Indicate the extent to which you agree that your teacher was effective in the following areas: (Mark one for each item).* Created an inclusive climate	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Actively involved me in learning experiences	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Intervened when some group/class members dominated discussion	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6

Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Intervened when some group/class members were quiet	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Offered his/her own perspectives in a helpful way	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Brought in a different perspective when everyone seemed to be agreeing	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Encouraged us to continue discussion when it became uncomfortable	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Lectured in a motivational way	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical**	Understood me	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6

approach' – Teaching Style)			
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Helped me to feel seen and heard (by the teacher).	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6

Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Validated my views and beliefs.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Teaching Style ***(used for latent construct for predictor 'perceptions of pedagogical approach' – Teaching Style)**	Took a personal interest in me.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree 6: do not recall	6
Tolerance	*Using the list below, think of your most recent experiences with members of the following groups, and rate how comfortable you felt around them.* Illegal Immigrants	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	African Americans	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	Conservatives	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8

Tolerance	Homeless	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	Welfare recipients	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	Caucasians	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	High School Dropouts	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	Arab Americans	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8

Tolerance	Hispanic/Latinos	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	Intellectuals	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	Liberals	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance	Native Americans	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8

Tolerance	Gays and Lesbians	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8

Tolerance	Wealthy	1: very uncomfortable 2: uncomfortable 3: neutral 4: comfortable 5: very comfortable 6: no experience	8
Tolerance-Retrospective	*Now that you indicated your comfort level with members of different groups, please rate the extent to which the class you took in high school on ethics/justice/morality has increased your comfort level with diversity?*	1: The class did not increase my comfort level at all 2: The class increased my comfort level slightly 3: The class increased my comfort level a great deal 4: Do not recall	9
	PAGE BREAK		
Recall	*Give us a sense of how well you recall the class by indicating your level of agreement with the following statements:* I can recall vividly some class discussions.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Recall	I can recall vividly some community service project performed as part of the class.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Recall	I can recall vividly emotions I had when taking the class.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Recall	I can recall the teacher of the class and his/her methods.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Recall_b	*Can you recall a powerful or memorable class experience (e.g. a discussion, a service-learning experience, an emotional moment, etc) that challenged you to think differently about morality and/or justice?*	1: Yes 2: No	2

	If yes, briefly describe the experience	Open-ended	2

***Self-esteem**	Thinking back to the experience you just recalled (and the class generally), please rate the extent to which the class affected you in the following areas: self-esteem	1: Not at all 2: Mostly not 3: Neutral 4: Mostly yes 5: Very much	3
***Locus of control**	Feeling in control of your life	1: Not at all 2: Mostly not 3: Neutral 4: Mostly yes 5: Very much	3
***Class Engagement**	how engaged you were in most of your schoolwork	1: Not at all 2: Mostly not 3: Neutral 4: Mostly yes 5: Very much	3
***Future Orientation**	plans for after high school	1: Not at all 2: Mostly not 3: Neutral 4: Mostly yes 5: Very much	3
***Attitude about School**	the value you placed on school	1: Not at all 2: Mostly not 3: Neutral 4: Mostly yes 5: Very much	3
	NEW PAGE		
Perceptions of Transformation ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of transformation)**	*Please answer how you feel about the class.* "The class feels like a defining part of my high school experience."	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Perceptions of Transformation ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of transformation)**	"The class is a defining part of my life."	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Perceptions of Transformation ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of transformation)**	"The class is not all that important to me." RC	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Perceptions of (Transformation) ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of**	"I carry with me views developed in the class."	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1

transformation)			
Perceptions of Transformation ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of transformation)**	"The course affects my identity."	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Perceptions of Transformation ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of transformation)**	"The course affects my behavior."	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Perceptions of Transformation ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of transformation)**	"I never think about the class or the teacher." RC	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Perceptions of Transformation ***(Used for outcome –perceptions of transformation)**	"I do not feel an impact from the class." RC	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	1
Political Efficacy	*Indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.* I believe I can make a difference in my community.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Anger about Social Injustice ***(Used for latent outcome, moral identity development)**	It makes me angry when I think about the conditions some people have to live in.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Anger about Social Injustice ***(Used for latent outcome, moral identity development)**	When I think about the hard times some people are going through, I wonder what's wrong with this country.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Anger about Social Injustice ***(Used for latent outcome, moral identity development)**	I get mad when I hear about people being treated unjustly.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Political Efficacy	By working with others in the	1: strongly disagree	2

	community I can help make things better.	2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	
Beliefs About Individual Action and Societal Change ***(Used for latent outcome, moral identity development)**	I have an obligation to "give back" to the community.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Beliefs About Individual Action and Societal Change ***(Used for latent outcome, moral identity development)**	There is little I can do to make the world a better place to live. RC	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Beliefs About Individual Action and Societal Change ***(Used for latent outcome, moral identity development)**	Even if I do the best I can to help others, it won't make much difference in their lives. RC	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Beliefs About Individual Action and Societal Change ***(Used for latent outcome, moral identity development)**	Even though it is hard to bring about social change, I still believe I can have an impact.	1: strongly disagree 2:disagree 3: neutral 4: agree 5: strongly agree	2
Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact	*At what point was the class really impactful on your life (Check all that apply).* Never	1: Yes 2: No	3
Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question; hypothesis 5)**	While taking it	1: Yes 2: No	3
Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question; hypothesis 5)**	Immediately after taking it	1: Yes 2: No	3
Class Description – Timing of Perceived	A few years after taking it	1: Yes 2: No	3

Impact ***(Used for descriptive question)**			
Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question)**	It is still having an impact	1: Yes 2: No	3
2 Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question)**	*Regarding your appreciation of the class and teacher, which would you say is most accurate? (Check all that apply)* I did not appreciate the class.	1: Yes 2: No (if left blank)	4
2 Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question)**	I did not appreciate the teacher.	1: Yes 2: No (lf left blank)	4
2 Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question)**	My appreciation grew over time.	1: Yes 2: No (if left blank)	4
2 Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question)**	My appreciation decreased over time.	1: Yes 2: No (lf left blank)	4
2 Class Description – Timing of Perceived Impact ***(Used for descriptive question)**	My appreciation stayed the same.	1: Yes 2: No (If left blank)	4
Other experience with a similar course ***(Used for descriptive question)**	*Please answer yes or no to the following question:* Have you been in other programs or classes designed to promote civic engagement and/or moral responsibility?	1: Yes 2: No	5
Other experience with a similar course	*If you answered yes above, please identify the class and when you took it (e.g. Moral Philosophy, College)*	Open ended	6

***(Used for descriptive question)**			
Comparing Course ***(Used for descriptive question)**	*If you answered 'yes' to the question above, which course had a greater impact on your identity today?*	1: The HS class on morals/ethics that was the basis of this study 2: The other class (mentioned above in question 4)	7
Additional Comments	*The survey is done. Thank you for your contribution. Is there more you would like to share (like a soup kitchen experience or a special memory of the teacher)?* *We welcome you to share any thoughts (positive and/or negative) on the teacher, the class or a service experience/memory that would further help us learn about the class.*	Open ended	8

Appendix 5: Expanded Power Analysis

Table 1. Using Kline (1988), which involves estimating 1-20 times as many cases as variables.

Hypothesis 2a	9 variables; between 90 and 180 cases needed
Hypothesis 2b	12 variables; between 120 and 240 cases needed
Hypothesis 3	10 variables; between 100 and 200 cases needed
Hypothesis 4a/b	10 variables; between 100 and 200 cases needed

Table 2. Using Stevens (1996), which involves estimating 15 cases per measured variable or indicator.

Hypothesis 2a	9 variables; 135 cases needed
Hypothesis 2b	12 variables; 180 cases needed
Hypothesis 3	10 variables; 90 cases needed
Hypothesis 4a/b	10 variables; 90 cases needed

Table 3. Bentler and Chou (1987), which involves estimating 5 cases per parameter estimate, including error terms and path coefficients.

Hypothesis 2a	3 paths, 9 observed indicators, 2 latent indicators, 3 error terms, 3 path coefficients, 3 variances among the predictors, 3 variances among the observed indicators in the latent construct pedagogical approach; total=26 parameters	130 cases needed
Hypothesis 2b	4 paths, 12 observed indicators, 3 latent indicators, 6 error terms, 4 path coefficients, 3 variances, 3 variances among the observed indicators in the latent construct pedagogical approach; total=35 parameters	175 cases needed
Hypothesis 3	4 paths, 10 observed indicators, 2 latent indicators, 3 error terms, 4 path coefficients; 3 variances, 3 variances among the observed indicators in the latent construct pedagogical approach; total=29 parameters	145 cases needed
Hypothesis 4a/b	4 paths, 10 observed indicators, 2 latent indicators, 3 error terms, 4 path coefficients, 3 variances, 3 variances among the observed indicators in the latent construct pedagogical approach; total=29 parameters	145 cases needed

Table 4. Online software program 2, results. *Number of Participants and Clusters needed to achieve a power of .8 or .9 power.*

Effect Size	**.8**	**.9**
.20	620	858
.30	278	382
.40	156	216
.50	102	140

Table 5. Online software program 2, results.

G.POWER		
Effect size	*Power*	*Sample size*
.1	.8	612
.2	.8	150
.3	.8	64
.4	.8	34
.5	.8	21
.1	.9	850
.2	.9	207
.3	.9	88
.4	.9	47
.5	.9	28

Appendix 6: Expanded Qualitative Methodology

Introduction

The two qualitative studies for the present study were designed, in some respect, to integrate data and existing theory to build new theories. This grounded theory approach allowed me to ascertain patterns in the data which could lead to drawing conclusions from it and creating concepts out of it (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Therefore, the two qualitative studies (Study 1 and Study 2) employed techniques based in the tradition of qualitative research, also known as "naturalistic research." There are common features that unite naturalistic research (Miles and Huberman, 1994 & Creswell, 2009), and include the following: holistic reports, a common definition of a naturalistic setting, sampling that is purposeful and only as large as necessary to achieve saturation, the researcher as the main instrument of data collection, inductive (as opposed to deductive) data analysis, the presentation of text as data, and that data guides the researcher (which makes the protocol susceptible to adjustment according to emergent themes).

There are several differences between the naturalistic tradition and positivistic tradition. Among these differences is the tendency for quantitative research to be perceived as objective and removed from participants. Qualitative research, on the other hand, does not rely on the assumption of objectivity, but allows for *local groundedness*, which is defined by Miles and Guberman (1994) as the significant role of context in the research process. Another distinction between the positivistic and naturalistic traditions lies with the treatment of outliers. In qualitative research, *discomforming data* and *exemplary cases* are included as vital to the study, as opposed to being removed. One final distinction noted here is that, as opposed to relying on questionnaires and surveys, the researcher serves as the main instrument of data collection, which requires familiarity with the issues at hand. Qualitative researchers are expected to have familiarity with the research field and, thus, extended time in the milieu of the research topic would be considered a study strength, as opposed to a weakness. This familiarity contributes to the "quality of craftsmanship," which includes steady questioning, checking, and interpreting of results (Kvale, 1996).

Study 1 and 2 provide rich accounts of alumni's lived experience, relying heavily on block quotes to illustrate larger themes. I do not place myself in the text but, instead, bracket out as much as possible (in both the results and discussion). This approach was chosen because it served as a preliminary investigation into this class. However, as a qualitative researcher entering a naturalistic setting, I regarded my own Social Justice experience as essential to developing the design of the qualitative studies (Study 1 and 2), as well as the interpretation of their results; however, I maintained few a priori assumptions about what I would find.

Because I took the phenomenological perspective in Study 1 and the case study approach in Study 2, I

bracketed out my own experiences with Social Justice when appropriate. For instance, in the process of conducting interviews, I suspended judgments and set aside biases (as well as the other preconceived notions pertaining to teaching style and the class itself) in order to understand the phenomenon in the way it revealed itself. It is important to set aside these assumptions because of the lack of empirical literature in this area *(for further elucidation of these points, please see verification of data below).*

Credibility and Trustworthiness

There are notable differences between the quantitative and qualitative traditions regarding notions of "validity." In the quantitative tradition, internal validity explains whether an independent variable is uniquely responsible for change in a dependent variable and external validity explains whether results are generalizeable. Tests for validity are conducted with statistical procedures. In the qualitative tradition, the concept of validity is conceived differently. One, there is no set procedure for how to establish validity. Two, many established qualitative researchers have begun utilizing terms like "credibility" and "trustworthiness," as opposed to "reliability" (e.g. Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In the qualitative tradition, this *validity,* or *credibility,* refers to the researcher's attempts to verify findings by employing procedures like triangulation and member checking (Creswell, 2009), which, in large part, is determined by the skill set and training of the individual researcher (Kvale, 1996). Generalizeability in the statistical sense is not a goal of qualitative researchers; qualitative research is transferable but it is incumbent upon the reader to determine relevance (Creswell, 2009). In other words, in qualitative research, it may be more important for results to be unique than replicable. It is, however, important for results to be transparent, such that an informed audience can read the codes, results and interpretations and understand how the three relate. Finally, in the qualitative tradition, issues of validity are important; however, *quality craftsmanship* at every stage of the research process is expected to satisfy those conditions.

Pilot Study

In a TSJ class, the teacher is expected to facilitate transformations on the individual (and, perhaps community) level. This approach to teaching suggests that teachers do more than transmit knowledge, but act also as agents of identity formation. They transcend the traditional role of teaching and expand the scope of teaching to include molding and shaping their students into critical thinkers and transformed individuals. Thus, prior to conducting Study 1 and Study 2, a pilot study was conducted with two former students of a TSJ class to help challenge this theory and consequently validate the need for the dissertation qualitative studies; and also to introduce the lead researcher to qualitative methods.

The pilot study examined the lived experience of the Social Justice class in light of the participants' status as

former TSJ students. An informed colleague and qualitative researcher and the lead researcher's professor, Dr. Daniel Henry, helped inform the frame of the present study, the interview protocol, data collection techniques, and data analysis procedures. Peer conferencing occurred on a weekly basis. Several insights were gained through this pilot study research process, including developing a clearer, broader research agenda, a more concise and appropriate protocol, and a method for identifying appropriate participants. As a part of this process, the lead researcher began to keep an electronic and written journal of emergent propositions and hypotheses that have been used to inform the design of all three dissertation studies.

Sampling Method

For both qualitative studies (Study 1 and 2), purposeful, convenience sampling was used, as former students of the class have been (and will continue to be) recruited through intermediaries and a social networking site, *Facebook*, which yielded a large pool of potential participants, exceeding 400. Based on information provided on *Facebook* (high school and graduation information), students were approached through email to request their participation in the study.

Participants

All participants were alumni of St. Mark's High School, a primarily Black parochial school situated in an urban setting. For Study 1, thirteen students were interviewed. For Study 2, twenty former students of a mandatory, junior year Social Justice class were interviewed (see *Study 1* for a full list of participants for Study 1; see *Study 2* for a full list of participants for Study 2). Additionally, study two relied on several additional data sources, including interviews with formers teachers and administrators at the school, textbook materials, CBS footage of an in-class lecture of Mr. James and a subsequent interview, and more.

The "transformative teachers" for Study 1 were two layperson teachers (Mr. James and Ms. Kellogg) who were chosen because of their transformative pedagogical style (as corroborated by interviews with former colleagues). Study 2 added a third teacher, Ms. Gaskins, who was not known for her transformative teaching style but taught sections of the social justice course for several years. Ms. Gaskins, the third teacher added to Study 2, was included to increase diversity in the instructional approaches utilized in the TSJ class. Mr. James was a white male and former Vietnam veteran who created and first taught the course, and died unexpectedly in 1996; and Ms. Kellogg is a white female who was trained in his pedagogical style, worked alongside Mr. James, fully implemented his curriculum, and spearheaded the course after Mr. James' passing. Both teachers had extensive experience working in service positions in non-profit settings. The teaching style of Ms. Gaskins was not available (as she was not available for an interview), but was assessed through student interview data. All participants are graduates of St. Mark's.

Context: Class, School and Teachers

Social Justice at the school used in the present study is a mandatory class that students take during their junior year of high school. The school was first opened as a multiracial, male school in the 1950s, and became coeducational a few decades later. According to the school website, the mission statement for the Social Justice course includes such themes as the Christian view of humanity, the value of life, the formation of conscience, recognition of modern day social problems, familiarity with the Gospel, crises faced by individuals and society, reflection on moral and responsible living, and service in the soup kitchen.

After consulting with more than a dozen different data sources and types, I was able to document the major topics and goals of the class in a given year. Although these aspects of the course are subject to change, as teachers do have authority to introduce new materials, the schema provided helps frame the Social Justice course at this school (See Table 1; also, for further details on corroboration for Study 1, please see verification of data below).

Table 1. Essential Learning Outcomes

1. Explain, critique, and apply Social Justice and biblical principles to personal and societal situations.
2. Acknowledge and affirm the dignity of the human person and community.
3. Observe and critique culture, economics, and policies of the United States in light of Catholic values.
4. Define the Christian responsibility to bear witness to the truth and work for justice.
5. Engage in service to the community in response to the Gospel call and articulate that service is essential element of discipleship.
6. Develop moral conscience informed by Church teaching.
7. Articulate a Catholic understanding of sexuality and marriage.
8. Articulate a Catholic understanding of justice and peace.
9. Explain philosophy of non-violence and demonstrate conflict resolution skills.

According to multiple sources, in this class, students are implored to "fight for a quality of life in which all students benefit" (Giroux, 1988, p.214). When asked about the goal of her teaching, one former teacher of Social Justice class at the study school answered simply, "To love the child." Although such an answer may at first appear mercurial or, perhaps even, feckless, it is an answer that is consistent with the transformative conception of teaching. In an interview between Rosatto and Freire in 2005, Freire answered a similar question in a similar way. Through teaching (among other avenues) Freire envisioned a society "in which it would be easier to love," and believed in teaching students to work

toward such a society by introducing it to them in their classrooms. When asked to describe what it is to love, Freire answered: "The way I see it, to love is to feel good when we are together with others. It is to feel that we can be open toward others; it is to understand differences and be able to thrive with them" (Rossatto, 2005, p. 19).

Students are expected to reach the learning objectives noted above through several units that span the duration of their entire junior year of high school. These units are not always the exact same (and at times there can be notable variability between teachers), but generally provide a detailed example of how Social Justice may be taught in a given year. The example list is by no means exhaustive (See Table 9).

Table 2. Curriculum Units

Unit	Example
Introduction to Social Justice	(e.g. Morality and ethics, Conscience, Relationship of justice and faith)
Principles of Catholic Social Teaching	(e.g. The 9 Principles of CST)
Domestic Hunger and Homelessness	(e.g.. Hunger Facts/Stats, causes of hunger , solutions to hunger, the principle of Human Dignity, Human Rights, Service Learning, activists who worked toward reducing hunger)
Domestic Poverty	(e.g. Economic disparity Welfare, Living Wage)
Virtues	(e.g. defining and upholding virtues, Food Drive Service Learning Essay)
Working for Justice	(e.g. Difference between justice and Charity, Family, Community and Participation, Common Good, Lobbying Project)
Global Poverty	(e.g. Global Poverty: Facts/Stats, causes, solutions, Global AIDS)
Economic Justice and Worker's Rights	(e.g. Principles of Economic Justice, Sweatshops and Workers Rights)
Right to Life	(e.g. Criminal justice, Restorative Justice, and other Right to Life issues)
Prejudice and Racism	(e.g. Types and stages of prejudice, Homophobia, Institutional racism and other –isms.)
Domestic Violence and Rape	(e.g. Stats, cycle, signs, and healing, sexuality, healthy relationships)
Political and Personal Non-Violence	(e.g. Development of conscience, connection of personal morality and social transformation, King's philosophy of political non-violence, Civil Rights Movement, Conflict Resolution)

War and Peace	(e.g. Peacemaking strategies)
Stewardship and the Environment	(e.g. Stewardship, Global warming)
Service Learning Portfolio	(e.g. Service and activism analysis, Final reflective project)

According to Generett and Hicks (2004), teaching transformatively requires "an admixture of self-knowledge, the ability to reflectively analyze—in the company of others—one's condition and practice, and the courage to act on behalf of others when doing so seems absurd and possibly dangerous " (p.200). This is a vision held by many transformative pedagogues, including McLaren (1995). McLaren's vision seems similar to the vision of the founder of the Social Justice course, which was shared with me by a former principal who worked alongside him. According to the former principal of the school, the founder/first teacher of the Social Justice course had a vision in the 1970s when he first implemented this course that many others did not share: a vision of a capitalist system that was becoming increasingly polarizing as the divide between the rich and the poor grew. This teacher believed a course on Social Justice could promote a sense of civic engagement in students that would protect them from the harsher realities of then-present day, post-war society. McLaren describes his philosophy of praxis—which appears quite similar to the vision of this one teacher— in the following way:

> We need to engage in something more fundamental, which I take to be class struggle to create the conditions in which dignity emerges from the material conditions of having enough to eat, a place to eat and the possibility of becoming critically literate about the world in which we inhabit, a world where resources such as oil are determining the future of global relations between nations and affecting the lives of millions of innocent people killed in imperialist wars and who are forced to migrate to other countries or who are forced to suffer because of embargos and other forms of economic terrorism—a place where cowboy capitalism enflames an unprincipled frenzy of economic deregulation causing financial impoverishment and insecurity for the vast majority of the world's poor (Moraes, 2003, p. 125).

Summary:

Social Justice at the study school is a required course for all students during their junior year of high school, and focuses on themes related to current social problems, and Catholic conceptions of justice. The course includes a service learning component and is intended to encourage students to be observant, critical consumers of culture and engaged citizens.

Interview Protocol

An interview protocol was developed prior to conducting interviews; however use of the protocol did not

preclude further questions being asked. Discussion included questions from the following main themes (see table 3 for complete protocol):

(1) *Perceptions of Class Content:* This section probed the participants' recall and perceptions of class content (including curricula, structure, and specific lessons)

(2) *Perceptions of Teacher*: This section probed the participants' past and present perceptions of the teacher (including their regard for the teacher)

(3) *Perceptions of Teaching Style*: This section probed the participants' perceptions of the teaching style (including demeanor, types of materials used, forms of instruction, energy level and other relevant observations)

(4) *Personal Information:* This section probed the participants' personal history (including biographical information, relationship with the class, educational background, personal knowledge of the teacher, and so forth).

(5) *Perception of Social Justice's Influence on Participants' Lives*: This section probed the participants' perceptions of the class's influence on their present-day lives (including whether they discuss Social Justice content or issues, if they still recall class content, and whether any aspects of the class are consciously infused into their present-day lives).

Interview Protocol Questions

1. What year did you graduate?
2. Who was your SJ teacher? Describe him/her.
3. What do you remember about the class? Or…Walk me through a typical day of class.
4. What aspects of the class most impacted you?
5. What is SJ? How would you describe it to someone who has never taken the class?
6. Do you believe the class had an effect on your life immediately after taking it?
7. Were you able to connect to the material on a personal level? In other words, were you able to draw connections between personal circumstances/events in your life and class material?
8. What were some of the frustrating aspects of the class?
9. How would you describe your teacher's style of teaching?
10. How would you describe your relationship with the teacher?
11. Did you have any emotional experiences as a result of your membership in the class?
12. Was your experience similar/different from other member of the class? How/how not?
13. Were students in the class close? A community? Do you keep in touch with any

classmates from this class? If so, is this class or teacher ever mentioned? If so, in what context?

14. Were you a typical student? Describe any problems/concerns you had in high school or before.

15. Do you believe the class has an effect on your life today? If so, how?

16. Ok, would social justice have been an equally good class with another teacher?

17. Can you think of another class of which you can draw a comparison with Social Justice?

18. Did you experience any personal transformation as a result of taking this class?

19. Were you raised in a 2 parent home?

20. Did either or both parents attend college? What was is their highest level of education?

21. Did you have any traumatic experiences in high school or before that may have affected your experience of the class? Or made your experience particularly unique?

22. Are you currently employed? What do you do??

23. This is just a protocol, which means I'll use this information to decide which questions are best for future interviews: Any suggestions on what else I might ask?

Interviews

Alumni interview data for Study 1 (13 interviews) and Study 2 (20 interviews, including the 13 interviews from Study 1) were collected from in-depth interviews (one with each participant) using a semistructured interview format; interviews took approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. Interviews with alumni were recorded digitally and transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were made available to participants upon request. The interview protocol was designed by the author and the instrument was pilot tested with 2 students who have taken Social Justice but who were not included in the present study.

Evidence of Craftsmanship

Several efforts were made to establish credibility and trustworthiness in the present studies. A detailed example of these efforts for Study 1 is described in this section.

First, a pilot study was conducted with a subsample of participants. Two, after the pilot study, two participants participated in member checking. Three, at every stage of the process, there was peer conferencing, during which the lead researcher shared developing work with informed others. Inter-rater reliability was used to check coding during the pilot stage. Four, two former students of Social Justice, neither of which was included in the present study and neither of which was a student of teachers in the present study, were briefed on the goals of the study and asked to code the same

two transcripts. Comparisons were made to determine at what points there were agreement and differences. Five, data were gathered through the use of semi-structured interviews and triangulated through data collection techniques:

(1) An interview with one of the teachers of the students in the current study;

(2) Curriculum materials that spanned several years of the course;

(3) An interview with a former principal of the school and colleague of both Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James;

(4) Professional video footage of a "60th birthday celebration" organized to honor the memory of Mr. James and introduce the audience to an upcoming film about his influence on the school, which was attended by several of Mr. James' former students and colleagues.

Additional steps were taken to ensure that participants' responses were not coerced: One, prior to the interview, participants were not informed about the pedagogical orientation of the researchers or the perceived pedagogical orientation of the teachers in the study. Instead they were notified simply that this was a study into the phenomenon of Social Justice, and their participation was requested because they were former students of the course. Two, efforts were made to solicit negative feedback about the course in addition to positive. Three, efforts were made to identify the negative case, a respondent whose experience of the course would differ from the other responses. Four, the interviewer avoided use of the word *transformation* until the very end of the interview, unless the respondent used the word or a close synonym prior to that point. A few additional steps were taken to verify the data and will be described in more detail in a subsequent section (see verification of data below).

Data Analysis

Pedagogical Orientation. Regarding knowledge formation for Study 2, the researcher will approach the research process primarily as a "miner" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009), which suggests a process of uncovering meanings and facts (as opposed to a wanderer who constructs meaning *only* as a result of what is offered in the interviews). This is a stance that was adopted, in part, because of results from Study 1. In this respect, the pedagogical orientation of the researcher for this dissertation project is that knowledge already exists and must simply be discovered, instead of constructed. Thus, a "start list" of codes, identified in Study 1, will be used to begin the data analysis process. Such a "start list" was advocated by Miles and Huberman (1994), who note that such a list is advisable and should also be informed by research goals, key variables and the conceptual framework of the study. However, although this is the approach *primarily* utilized in the present study, the author also recognizes that in the phenomenological process must be open to capturing the phenomenon in the way it is revealed; thus, when appropriate, new categories will be allowed to emerge from the data

(an approach advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967)).

Coding. The unit of analysis for coding for the qualitative studies (Study 1 and 2) was a complete thought (e.g. a single word, a sentence, a paragraph). For example, "[Mr. James] was very passionate," was coded "teacher is passionate" in order to capture the intended meaning of the speaker. If the participant was in the process of making a larger point, then the entire quotation was retained, even if it was a paragraph long. For this reason, several quotations received multiple codes. This process was followed for the first 13 of the 27 participants included in the qualitative studies, and generated 170 codes. These codes were subsumed into broader, more encompassing codes. For instance, codes titled "teacher is passionate" and "teacher is philosophical" were subsumed into a category called "teacher characteristics." These more encompassing codes identified for Study 1 (see Table 10) were retained for Study 2, but coded further based on their significance in addressing the new research questions (see Table 10). (*Note.* All codes were subsumed into broader themes. Study 1 was treated as a preliminary study, an initial paper, and only four themes were selected. Thus, several of these codes are not evident in the final manuscript.)

Table 3. Initial Code List (generated for Study 1)

	Theme	Subtheme
1	Class can be intense and demanding	Aspect 1: Workload Aspect 2: Critical Thinking Aspect 3: Cognitive Dissonance
2	Class can cause discomfort	*In-Class Factors* Aspect 1: Emotionality of students Aspect 2: Emotionality of teacher Aspect 3: Open debate on a number of controversial topics Aspect 4: Exploring touchy issues Aspect 5: Learning about the intimate experience of peers Aspect 6: Sharing intimate experiences with peers Aspect 7: Emotionally charged guest talks about personal experience with hardship Aspect 8: Challenging teaching style that could mean being bombarded with difficult questions from the teacher and/or peers Aspect 9: Constant re-appraisal of personal values Aspect 10: Course material that is directly related to personal experience) *Out-of-Class Factors* Aspect 11: Personal encounters with people who are different Aspect 12: Cognitive dissonance that is amplified by the combination of

		both in-class and out-of-class portions
3	Class content is relatable and relevant.	Aspect 1: Exposure to inspiration and influential thinkers/people Aspect 2: Social topics that were present day concerns Aspect 3: Ability to relate information gleaned to self and/or others Aspect 4: Lessons that have benefit in-school and beyond school Aspect 5: Unique and unusual lessons Aspect 6: Universality of lessons
4	Salient teacher descriptors	Aspect 1: Teacher is caring Aspect 2: Teacher is crazy/eccentric Aspect 3: Teacher is demanding Aspect 4: Teacher is dynamic Aspect 5: Teacher is honest/vulnerable Aspect 6: Teacher is loveable Aspect 7: Teacher is philosopher Aspect 8: Teacher rather intimidating Aspect 9: Teacher very hardworking. Aspect 10: Teacher very motivational Aspect 11: Teacher seemed invested and available Aspect 12: Teacher is passionate Aspect 13: Teacher is a fanatic for Social Justice Aspect 14: Teacher is a role model
5	Influence is immediate and long-term	N/A
6	No other class like Social Justice	Aspect 1: Comparing SJ to other high school courses Aspect: Comparing SJ to other religion courses Aspect 3: Comparing SJ to all other courses
7	Several sources of influence	Aspect 1: Connecting service learning with class content Aspect 2: Intense critical thinking Aspect 3: Discomfort Aspect 4: Emotional engagement Aspect 5: Relevant materials and discussion Aspect 6: Community in class Aspect 7: Empowerment by teacher
8	Centrality of experience in shaping later outcomes	Aspect 1: Personal development. Aspect 2: Perspective transformation Aspect 3: Learned how to develop points of view and debate respectfully Aspect 4: Social awareness Aspect 5: identity Aspect 6: Conception of justice Aspect 7: Civic-mindedness Aspect 8: Moral development

(continued on next page)

		Aspect 9: Personal agency Aspect 10: Challenging prejudice and privilege Aspect 11: Behaviors related to charity
9	Frustrating aspects of class	Aspect 1: Did not like teacher at first. Aspect 2: Teacher handled disagreements poorly. Aspect 3: Negative Responses from other students Aspect 4: Passion can be good and bad
10	Overall school culture	N/A
11	Class Recall	Aspect 1: Terms Aspect 2: Influential moments Aspect 3: Course content Aspect 4: Typical day of class
12	Personal risk factors affected experience of class	N/A
13	Personal Biography	N/A
14	Examples of Influence	N/A
15	Relationship with teacher	Aspect 1: Very close Aspect 2: Close Aspect 3: Normal/Typical Student-Teacher relationship

Consistent with phenomenological methods (Creswell, 1998), findings were presented at three levels of specificity, including descriptive analysis, thematic analysis, and interpretive analysis of underlying models. Descriptive analysis summarized the range of responses, thematic analysis summarized emergent themes, and interpretative analysis provided an interpretation of the results.

Atlas.ti, the qualitative software analysis program that can help code transcripts, was used for coding. In a first step, all interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word. In a second step, pseudonyms were created for all study participants, other individuals mentioned by name, and the school. In a third step, *Word* documents were uploaded to Atlas.ti. In a fourth step, a hermeneutical unit was established that allows for coding of individual interviews and for comparisons between all primary documents. In a fifth step, I used results from the qualifying exam study, and my research questions, to generate a "start list" of codes that I looked for in the data. After coding began, I took the sixth step, which was coding emergent themes.

Epistemological Distance

It is important to position myself in the research. I have been both a student and teacher of Social Justice. More specifically, I have worked alongside one of the teachers included in this study as a colleague and student. I have a history as an educator and researcher working with schools and communities on a variety of issues promoting personal and social development. In my work in this capacity, I consider myself part of a tradition that works toward the development of positive social, academic, and emotional health outcomes among ecologically and developmentally vulnerable adolescents. Given this interest, my research has moved toward the effect of pedagogical teaching styles on adolescent academic self-concept, identity, and social development.

I gravitate toward the work of Paulo Freire, critical education that seeks to democratize teaching and learning, and the belief that more effective and creative teaching could make better informed, more well-rounded citizens in addition to better learners, a skill that would be useful in all contexts, including schools situated in low-resource communities. Although these are notions and ideals that have been nurtured through my own educational journey and in the latter years of my professional development, I am also a product of a fairly transformative education; my first copy of Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1974) was given to me by one of the teachers included in this study, a few years after I graduated high school, which was years before I ever taught my first class.

Having said this, I am no Freirean. My epistemological grounding, though not decidedly Freirean, is in using education to transform and improve the lives of all students, in particular those at risk of poor social and intellectual development. Therefore, while I appreciate the rigor that has undergirded the conversation regarding the lived meaning of Freirean ideals (e.g. Bowers, C.A., & Apffel-Marglin, F., 2005, Au, W. & Apple, M.W., 2005, Pinar, W.F., & Bowers, C.A., 1992; Ellsworth, E., 1989, Bowers, C. A., 2003, Luke & Gore, 1992), my interest in this dissertation project is not to provide a systematic analysis of critical or transformative pedagogy, or to prove or disprove the merit of Freirean ideals; but, instead, to investigate an underresearched teaching style and class, and to capture the phenomenon from the perspective of students looking back on the experience.

My personal experience with, and interest in, the class noted, it is important to understand that while some researchers may perceive epistemological distance from the study as a positive, the present author does not. Quite the contrary, I contend that my proximity to the research topic is a tremendous positive for any qualitative study, and, in particular, one on Social Justice (Kvale, 1996). Additionally, although my interest in this work is clear, it is important to note that my expectations of the results these studies would yield were not. On one hand, previous experience suggested that a transformative class of Social Justice merits a study like this because of the influence it is likely to have on students' identity and behavior, immediately and long-term. I speak as a student who took the class and was impacted, as

well as a teacher who witnessed what I perceived to be identity transformations from my students. On the other hand, I acknowledge that there is "no one interpretation of critical pedagogy" (Bowers, 2004) or transformative pedagogy, and that such ambiguity could actually be quite dangerous in practice. Although it would appear Freire conceived of the critical, transformative learning experience as encompassing a bi-directional exchange between student and teacher (Freire, 1982), I still harbored the fear that such an education could become oppressive when a teacher has too strong of a personality and imposes his ideas on his students.

Given these considerations, one, I regarded what I knew as essential to developing the design of the present study as well as the interpretation of its results; and, two, because I took the phenomenological perspective, I also bracketed out those experiences when appropriate. For instance, my experience with the class contributed a great deal to creating research instruments; yet, in the process of conducting interviews, I suspended judgments and set aside biases (as well as the other preconceived notions pertaining to teaching style and the class itself) in order to understand the phenomenon in the way it revealed itself. It was important to set aside these assumptions because of the lack of empirical literature in this area. These studies provided a rare opportunity in that I had access to students of a mandatory, transformative Social Justice class years after the class had ended. The rich descriptions students provided led to a compelling story and it was important to bracket myself out, as necessary, to ensure that it was their story, as opposed to my own, that was revealed.

Verification of Findings

Verification is "a process that occurs throughout the data collection, analysis, and report writing of a study and standards as criteria imposed by the researcher and others after a study is completed" (Creswell, 1998; p. 194). The researcher's methods should be above reproach and, thus, "one or more strategies available [should be used] to check the accuracy of the findings" (Creswell, 2002; p. 196). For studies 1&2, I used six methods of verification for this research study.

The *first verification strategy,* the disclosure of my epistemological background, clarified researcher biases. This self-reflection was important so the reader could understand the researcher's position. Creswell (1998) stated, "The researcher comments on past experiences, biases, prejudices, and orientations that have shaped the interpretation and approach to the study" (p. 202). I then bracketed these comments for the research study's entire analysis. The *role of the researcher* evolved over the course of the qualitative studies (Studies 1& 2 in the dissertation). In the first study, the role was to clarify my own biases and expectations as they relate to the project and to bracket out my experience as possible to capture the lived experience of the participants. In the second study, I appear "in-person" in the text; which is to say,

I use the reflective process to place myself in the middle of the text. This ongoing process often takes the form of questioning my own experience as a means of understanding the unfolding perspectives of participants. This evolution in the role of researcher was the result of many hours of thoughtful consideration, and became clearest after interviewing one of the teachers of the students in the study, who was concerned that the relationship between the two of us would have implications for what I was able to draw from these studies. I concur that I experienced difficulty separating my emotions from the discovery of the alumni's experience. Thus, through the process of interviews and formulations, extensive note taking, and constant reflections, I grappled with the difficulty of being so involved in the study, in terms of my own experience with the course that was the basis of evaluation.

The *second strategy of verification* involved developing an intimate understanding of the culture. Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend, "Prolonged engagement is the investment of sufficient time to achieve certain purposes: learning the 'culture,' testing for misinformation introduced by distortions, either of the self or of the respondents, and building trust" (p. 301)**.** Thus, the difficulty noted above proved useful as it contributed to my sensitivity to the participants' words. Every time I reviewed a result that was inconsistent with my own experience, I had to grapple with my own cognitive dissonance, which gave me a more intimate appreciation of the dissonance, cognitive and vicarious, expressed by the participants. Thus, my personal experience with the class (in that I was a former student and teacher of Social Justice) leant itself toward a better rapport and empathy with participants (which contributed significantly to the depth of information that could be gathered), and to theoretical sensitivity, which refers to "the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from what isn't" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.42). This reflective process informed both the development of initial research questions as well as the process of refining questions and reshaping the goals of the project as it moved forward. Through this process, I became both an investigator and connoisseur of transformative Social Justice education. Moreover, my efforts to represent the views of the participants without any interference from my own preconceived expectations caused me to be stringent in my methods of verification and maintain a focus on the data. Overall, my experience with social justice elicits credibility, and being acquainted with the program and some of the participants led to richer interviews and more challenging questions.

The *third verification* strategy was the ample use of quotations to provide a thick, rich description of the data. Creswell (2000) contends that those who review the study should be able to read the same results and arrive at similar conclusions. Thus, the process through which results are derived are transparent. Through these descriptions, readers are expected to understand several dimensions of the phenomenon, including how alumni felt as opposed to merely what they did. In future studies, I hope to add another dimension: Describing the phenomenon (situations, emotions and

meanings) is bolstered by my own exploration of my personal understanding about these representations.

The *fourth verification strategy* involved triangulation, or corroboration, from a variety of sources, recommended by Creswell (1998).The following sources were used for corroboration: An interview with one of the teachers of the students in the current study and curriculum materials that spanned several years of the course were consulted (including a binder/text from 1993, 1999, 2004, and 2005, a complementary text on Catholic Social Teaching, and a unit outline for the 2006 school year),we reviewed several published articles about the class and its teachers and a written tribute for the teacher that was authored by former students at the end of a school year which includes quotations pertaining to their immediate perception of impact, and we conducted an unstructured interview with a former principal of the school and colleague of both Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James. Additionally, professional videographers recorded a "60th birthday celebration" organized to honor the memory of Mr. James and introduce the audience to an upcoming film about his impact on the school, which was attended by several of Mr. James' former students and colleagues. These materials were used to provide context on the class, the teachers, and the school, as well as to investigate possible inconsistencies between participant accounts and information gleaned from these other sources. No inconsistencies were found.

The *fifth verification* strategy involved member checks, which was recommended by Creswell (2002). A pilot study was conducted with 2 participants, whose contribution helped to develop the final protocol. After their information was transcribed and coded, they were recontacted to determine the accuracy of their statements. Additionally, after the completion of Study 1, the full study was given to one of the teachers of the students interviewed, who also verified that participant accounts of content were consistent with her recall of the class. The teacher was encouraged to identify any words that she felt were being misrepresented and misunderstood or if the researchers were supplied incorrect information. Moreover, she was asked if she believed the final project was a reflection of reality. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), this form of verification is the most important for establishing credibility.

The *sixth verification strategy* in this study was peer conferencing with a number of informed others, including other social justice students who were not included as participants in Study 1 or 2 because of their knowledge of the study, a qualitative researcher and member of my committee from another department, my major professor, one of the teachers of the students included in the two qualitative studies, and fellow graduate student colleagues and friends. This approach was suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), in which they advise researchers to work with those "who know a great deal about both the substantive area of the inquiry and the methodological issues" (p. 303). Overall, this peer conferencing enhanced the overall accuracy of the final products. Conversations with the teacher involved in the study

were particularly valuable as she had lots of questions and concerns about the qualitative research process, which led to a more rigorous methodology and a more transparent presentation of results.

Appendix 7. My Process to and Through the Studies

Conclusions Drawn

Although there may be many avenues that lead to moral identity development, results of this dissertation project suggest the importance of one—the transformative high school class. This dissertation project led to the development and presentation of a model of moral identity development, which was tested in study three. According to the model, moral identity development is influenced by adolescents' experiences in transformative service learning courses. Using retrospective qualitative and quantitative data, we were able to show that when students perceive that the methods and their class experiences were transformative, they are higher in moral identity development than others with a less transformative experience. When conducting interviews with alumni of three social justice teachers at one school, we learned also that students' relationship with the class evolves over time, such that the class shapes critical thinking, self-reflection and investment in moral and civic issues, regardless of what conclusions are drawn. These results have important implications for teacher practices and social policy. One, we have learned that transformative class processes, as extensively studied in the field of adult learning, have relevance at the adolescent level because of its potential to influence identity. Two, results suggest the importance of giving due attention to the practices of teachers in schools in impacting the identity development of adolescents. Moreover, we were able to distinguish between class elements that were most important in leading to moral identity development. Understanding these practices, and the influence they have over the development of adolescents, can lead to developing supports for teachers so that more educators can become purposeful and successful co-constructors of adolescent identities.

Epistemological Growth

As the lead researcher in all three studies, I have a history as an educator and researcher working with schools and communities on a variety of issues promoting personal and social development. I gravitate toward the work of Paulo Freire, critical education that seeks to democratize teaching and learning, and the belief that more effective and creative teaching could make better informed, more well-rounded citizens in addition to better learners – such development would be useful in all contexts, including schools situated in low-resource communities. Therefore, I consider myself part of a tradition that works toward the development of positive social, academic, and emotional health outcomes among ecologically and developmentally vulnerable adolescents. Given this interest, my research has moved toward the effect of pedagogical teaching styles on adolescent academic self-concept, identity, and social development. Researching the teaching methods and impact of the social justice teachers across the three studies, and particularly that of two of the

teachers at St. Mark's, emerged out of an exploration of my own identity development and commitment to social justice.

My gravitation to the projects conducted for this dissertation was stimulated by my own personal experience as a student who was challenged, moved, and ultimately, transformed, through exposure to and experience with social justice education in multiple forms and contexts; most notably, as an impressionable junior year student in the second row of Ms. Kellogg's social justice class at St. Marks. Therefore, although constructivist models of education and transformative ideals have been nurtured through my own educational journey and in the latter years of my professional development, I am also a product of a fairly transformative education; my first copy of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1974) was given to me by Ms. Kellogg, a few years after I graduated high school, which was years before I ever taught my first class.

Given these experiences, at the earliest stages of this process, I suspected that my social justice identity and the connection I drew from it back to the SJ class teachers would be more salient and more central to my overall sense of self than that of other alumni. I've been immersed in these issues for so long—how could it not be? As a former teacher of social justice and colleague of Ms. Kellogg, I also had a unique window into the nuances of her method—I perceived that perhaps some students would interpret her methods as uncompromising, difficult, and even partisan. And I wondered, at times aloud, whether a class like Social Justice could have merit for all kinds of students, regardless of their own prior interest in social justice, or family background, or dislike/like of the teacher. Or, rather, would I find that the TSJ teachers were too opinionated and uncompromising to challenge and change students the way I was challenged and changed? Subsequently, my nagging curiosity about the potential impact of the social justice class snowballed into more concrete scholarly interests that include research on teaching and education policy analysis and drew me toward this dissertation project.

My expectations for these studies were that I would meet more than a few alumni who shared my experience, but also, that, given that I was a somewhat unusual student in that I had a noticeable lure toward discussing issues like the ones discussed in class, I might find even more who did not share my experience. For that reason, I was taken aback by results from the first qualitative study and, more poignantly, my lack of success at finding anyone who did not reflect positively on the social justice class experience. Some students of Mr. James noted that the teacher may not have known he was having an impact at the time or that it took years after graduating to fully appreciate and value the course, but even those who disagreed with his beliefs or disliked his personality were hesitant to describe the class experience as anything but transformative. Ms. Kellogg's students also spoke uniformly almost about a powerful learning experience. These powerful testimonies were surprising because, one, they suggest that the class had a pervasive and widespread

impact that defied even my expectations, and, two, they revealed that my prior understanding of transformative teaching and transformation was lacking.

With regard to this faulty interpretation, I reflected back to my experiences as a novice secondary school teacher and past efforts to engage my students and push them to reconstruct knowledge and beliefs, regardless of where those beliefs led. After learning more about the efforts of the three social justice teachers in study two, it occurred to me that I rarely negotiated with the class to problem solve or to identify learning goals. And although there were efforts to organize the learning environment to challenge students to explore new beliefs, question old beliefs, and to subject all beliefs to a deeper level of discernment, I lacked organization in the way I encouraged my students to engage in this process. These are among a few of several shortcomings that became more apparent to me through the process of conducting this research and learning from the efforts and successes of seasoned teachers like Ms. Kellogg, Ms. Gaskins, and Mr. James. Wrestling with these distinctions caused me to be more sensitive to the descriptions of the class provided by former students. Along the way, I also realized that I began this study a bit entitled, as if mere proximity to such teaching largeness would suggest largeness on my part. Or that suggesting an intimate understanding of what the social justice teachers accomplished and how they accomplished it would imply that I too was gifted with the talents and skills that they brought to their classrooms. A sort of vicarious greatness, I suspect. The humbling reality, however, is that the more I engaged in critical analysis of the teaching style and its perceived impact on students, the more I felt beyond my depth. The more I heard the stories of former students specifically, the more apparent it became to me that I, personally, had never truly taught in the transformative style, and could not yet claim a share in this particular legacy.

Thus, ultimately, one other lesson I took away from this humbling, edifying experience is that what I thought I knew I didn't know, and that what I thought I taught, I didn't teach. It was a transformative learning experience for me; and I began to believe that capturing and communicating an authentic understanding of what the TSJ teachers accomplished (mostly Mr. James and Ms. Kellogg) could lead other teachers, and perhaps education more generally, to experience a similarly transformative learning experience. In other words, I learned from this process that we can do more. We can all do more. As one of the former students of Mr. James' shared with me at a memorial service to commemorate what would have been his 65th birthday, *classes like social justice change lives forever*. What more can we ask of our educators? And if there's a way for everyone to do it, then how we can allow any less?

As I continued along this journey with the aforementioned thoughts in mind, gradually, my mindset began to shift. Through note taking and journaling throughout this process, it was clear to me that I was becoming enamored by the apparent longevity of the class's effects on students. It became important to guard myself against becoming an

uncritical fan, as opposed to a researcher guided by the data. Therefore, although difficult at times, I resisted looking at this class through the lens that TSJ was an unmitigated success. I was eager to find negative cases and eager to find contrasting experiences. This was not uncomplicated. To be candid, the class was simply too memorable and positive. As I collected the data, I recognized early that some alumni appeared at first slavishly deferential to the SJ teachers. So much so that I sometimes feared that merely to raise questions critical of the SJ teachers would violate patriotic etiquette. Nevertheless, although I courted the concern that critical questions might seem incendiary, especially to alumni convinced that this was a life-changing course, I pushed past it. And this push to more confrontational interviews produced more illuminating results. It was through these questions and their answers that I learned that this almost hypnotic social justice fervor was not fetishism about this great class, but evidence of a rather strong, shared experience.

Efforts to dig deeper led to interesting revelations about Mr. James, the founder of the social justice course. I learned that Mr. James was an upstart. He could be considered egotistical and uncompromising. At times, it appeared his reach into his students' lives was almost god-like. He was described by one former colleague as a know-it-all. He was abrasive and sometimes ill-tempered, even throwing books out of classes or down hallways. Likewise, Ms. Kellogg was sometimes considered stiff and uncompromising. One student, who had not taken her course, described her as someone who would brainwash her students and failed to respect diversity of thought. Some recalled not liking, or at least appreciating, the class while in it; and that it took years to recognize the ways they were inspired, moved, and changed by it. Ultimately, however, results showed that almost all of those who reported not liking the teacher or the class were still transformed by it. No matter how hard I pushed to find different answers, the results came out the same.

The next difficult part of studying and reporting on this class became disentangling the mystery from the reality. There was something intangible about the class; as if what made it beautiful was also what made it private, like each class was a personal conversation between a unique 30 person community, and the revelation of its existence to the outside world could somehow damage or impair its beauty. And this was particularly true for the class when taught by Mr. James. Ultimately, all the SJ teachers interviewed, but Mr. James most especially, moved forward undauntedly, teaching from the core of his spirit, challenging and gripping students' cognitively and emotionally. This is a process that could not be adequately captured quantitatively, and learning about it reaffirmed the importance of qualitative measures.

Ultimately, I don't know if my hope in presenting these results is to be considered noble by association. But I am confident that this project has grown to be much bigger than a graduate student feathering her nest with the stories of great educators. And it is certainly not the exaltation of any one teacher. I have been honored to capture something

truly beautiful and much too rare. There's a technique here that, if studied more closely, could change how we prepare educators in America. As a human development researcher, I see incredible value in implementing this class more broadly; I suspect that the work done at St. Mark's could inform intervention efforts that target adolescents for a variety of issues (e.g. relationship skill building, dealing with conflict, bullying in schools, dating violence, healthy decision making, leadership development, communication strategies, and more).

Nuances and Specific Future Directions

In future work, I hope to explore the relationship between transformative social justice, internalized privilege/oppression and identity development. Results from the studies presented in this dissertation hint at the possibility that through novel service learning experiences, compassionate teacher-student relationships, and community fostered within the class, teachers challenge aspects of internalized privilege/oppression within students, and schools, which leads to identity development in different realms. Four emergent themes that either fell outside of the scope of the qualitative studies for the dissertation product (or overlapped themes presented), and relate to this topic of internalized privilege/oppression, include a) transformative social justice removed the illusion that the problems students faced individually were theirs alone, b) transformative social justice helped students move from the internalization of a stigmatized identity to a positive identity, c) through critical self-reflection, transformative social justice helped students resist internalizing societal messages (about individualism, privilege and oppression), and d) through meaningful efforts to recognize, validate and encourage students, the transformative social justice teachers moved students from feelings of invisibility to feelings of powerfulness. Additionally, the focus on the development of empathy (as discussed in study three) is considered a key aspect of educational processes targeted at promoting diversity and reducing feelings of internalized messages of privilege and oppression (Goodman, 2001).

Oppression is an interlocking system, in which *oppressors* are those in a position of dominance and *the oppressed* are in a position of subordination. Those in a position of privilege are individuals that are members of a dominant group, which sets norms and, possibly, also establishes barriers, that determine who can and cannot benefit from a set of privileges that would be considered important for promotion through society. Such a dynamic is interesting and difficult to explore in the context of identity formation given identity gradations and variations within groups and within individuals. In other words, understanding the dynamics of the *privileged* and the *oppressed* is not as simple as dichotomizing these two identities and examining the dynamics of each group. Instead, people hold many identities and the process of identity formation, particularly throughout the adolescent years, suggests that identity grows and changes over time. Therefore, dualistic and dichotomous thinking about the role of privilege and oppression in adolescent

identity development is a faulty premise, made more difficult by the multiple social identities adolescents have (as well as the different influences on these identities). At St. Mark's, a predominately African-American high school of mixed SES, people might not expect, for instance, that one could have a meaningful conversation on either privilege or oppression. In the first place, given their race, these students would often not be considered members of the dominant, privileged group in America. In the second place, their attendance at a tuition based college-preparatory school would not seem to suggest that these students are uniquely oppressed in any way. Intriguingly, however, the TSJ teachers seem to understand this "constellation of identities" and use it to foster healthy identity development within their students. As mentioned in the literature review (p. 145), Young (1990) contends that oppression includes the marginalization of persons, exploitation of gifts and talents, causing others to feel powerless and blaming participants or treating them as problematic. Arguably, each of these tenets is addressed in a TSJ class, either by its content or by its structure.

The topic of privilege and oppression has received a good deal of empirical and theoretical attention, but rarely in the context of adolescent identity development. This is a significant oversight given what we know about the opportunities for identity development in the high school years. Identity development in adolescence is our first attempt to find a meaningful balance between the self and the other, to learn how we fit in this world (Kroger, 1996). The decisions we make at this stage of our lives will affect our relationship with others and with society largely. Teachers' attempts at helping us find resolution can, potentially, set adolescents up for a level of critical self-awareness and engagement that will shape the adults we will one day be. This oversight of the importance of such practices during the adolescent years is also relevant given the paucity of opportunities for individuals from privileged groups to explore and examine the dynamics of privilege (Goodman, 2001). Whether privileged or oppressed, or both, the goal is that students will never consciously support oppression/injustice or oppress others ever again.

In addition to the opportunities provided by developmental timing, it is also important to consider high school teachers as agents of identity development, given that much of what students learn in schools shape students' consciousness and experiences (Goodman, 2001). Given that the school is an institutional structure that tends to maintain the goals and ideologies of the dominant power structure, it is important to learn what happens when teachers challenge the status quo and link issues of social justice with classroom pedagogy. Hooks (2003) notes an important danger of educational systems that fail to teach their students to expand their capacity for critical thinking of social issues and their roles in perpetuating or stymieing injustice: "One of the dangers [teachers] face in our educational systems is the loss of a feeling of community, not just a loss of closeness among those with whom we work and with our students, but also the loss of a feeling of connection and closeness with the world beyond the academy" (xv). The importance of

community and the opportunity to use that to build connections with diverse others emerged as an important theme in the qualitative studies of this dissertation, demonstrating the importance of community for the TSJ teachers. Future work can better assess how the TSJ teachers used this community to guard themselves against the danger noted by hooks, but, also, to guard their students against the same bleak possibility. St. Mark's students may be similar in that they share a racial background, but by highlighting the cultural differences among them, and introducing them to others with even more cultural differences, the TSJ teachers put the students in position to notice forms of privilege and oppression that may not otherwise have been apparent to them. As noted by hooks, "sometimes only through exposure to difference can we begin to see what we have become accustomed to and take to be normal" (hooks; p.18). Therefore, one privilege that might most easily have been stripped from St. Mark's students emerging identities was the "privilege to remain innocent," (Lazarre, 1996) or, rather, the privilege of remaining unconscious of the experiences of others (Goodman, 2001).

The TSJ class is an effort to help students perceive themselves, and their peers, in a social context. There are strands of theological, psychological and sociological perspectives that undergird the course, with an emphasis on the interplay between the sociological and the psychological. As a former student of the class, and one from a middle-class background, I recognize (reflectively) how the class was my first confrontation with my own internalized supremacy. Because the privileges that I had received were often invisible to me, and because, to a great extent, I had been taught to work hard and earn my accomplishments, I failed to recognize the superiority and entitlement I felt as a middle class black student situated in a mixed socio-economic context who found it relatively easy to get good grades. In adolescence it would have been difficult for anyone to suggest that any of the positive labels with which I identified were potentially false or unearned; and, in fact, the mere suggestion of it as a teenager led to at least one unfortunate confrontation with my social justice teacher at the time. The teacher had just finished admonishing the class for a rather apathetic response to the day's learning material, noting that a discussion on the Holocaust had generated an emotional outcry from the students but that a discussion on slavery had shown students to be unfeeling and disengaged. This admonishment, from a white teacher no less, left me feeling shame for my black peers and also a bit of hostility for my teacher. I did not appreciate the opportunity to integrate her well-intentioned criticism into my budding sense of self. Instead, I stood up before the class and admonished my peers for taking seriously the criticism of a white teacher (who, according to my 16 year old logic at the time, was shaming us as a way of dealing with her white guilt) on the issue of something so personal and unique to the plight of black people. It appears, at least in retrospect, that I forgot the obviously integral role of white people in both the maintenance and eventual dissolution of slavery.

I note this example, not as a failure of my teacher's attempt at, one, consciousness-raising, and, two, critical self-reflection; but I note it as a marker of success. The very fact that thirteen years later I can still reflect back on that experience and note my evolution in response to it is an example of the way TSJ teachers were able to navigate the very complex social identities of black youth growing up in an urban area. In similar ways, the teacher was able to deepen my understanding of oppression and privilege and my role in conferring advantages to some others and stripping advantages from different others. In my college years, and as I continued to integrate my social justice experience into my sense of self, I did not consider myself to be in a position of any great political or social influence, but I began to recognize the different ways I had come to expect better treatment and better opportunities precisely because I was a highly educated, well-resourced middle-class black female. Furthermore, recognizing it within many of my black peers and black friends made it easier to recognize it within myself. It was often evident in the types of jokes my adolescent peers made about those who were different from *us*. As an adult, I continue to recognize it in peers who fear, or in some cases completely disregard, alternative ways of thinking; I also see it manifest in the tendency to speak about the complexity of one's self while simplifying the views and opinions of others.

Regardless of how privileged, or superior, any of my school-aged peers felt at any given time, one advantage that was not globally shared among us was high self-esteem. Through the process of conducting these studies, and the opportunities for retrospection related to the results, it has also become apparent to me the ways we as black youth grappled with appraisals of our own worth. This, according to my assessments after the fact, would serve as an example of another dimension of our identity as a predominately African-American group of kids: oppression. Just as privilege was evident in the jokes we made about diverse others, feelings of internalized shame and inferiority were evident in the ways we made jokes about each other, black people generally, and ourselves. Such jokes might convey that the darker skinned you are, the uglier you are, or that the more Eurocentric qualities you have, the better you are. The ways we were seduced by white culture generally, in terms of the things we valued, the books we preferred, the career goals we sought, the code switching we engaged in around white teachers and white people, our fears and insecurities, and so forth, rarely had roots in the cultural history of African-American people. And rarely suggested a positive interpretation of that history (though our words would have communicated differently).

As evident in the example above, and the studies for this dissertation, consciousness-raising was as a key method of the TSJ course (and was identified as such in study three) and challenged notions described above. While the dissertation maintained a focus on adolescents' relationship with others and society more broadly, a good deal of the identity development that happened as a result of the class was personal and is worthy of exploration in future studies.

An overarching goal of consciousness raising in social justice education is increasing student awareness about self and others, which "allows people to challenge stereotypes, overcome prejudices, and develop relationships with different kinds of people," and, ultimately encourages people to "work and live together more productively and peacefully" (Goodman). The implications for such changes are indeed social. But to understand the roots of the class's relationship with identity development, we must go further. Hooks (2003) notes that members of the dominant group have to bridge the gap between what we understand about oppression and how we actually live. This is true for white adult males in America, as has been largely explored in the literature. But it is also true of heterosexuals, the abled, native born Americans, those who have never been poor, African-Americans, adolescents, and more. Shattering the illusion in adolescence, as hooks contends, will allow meaningful discussions about social issues that could dramatically contribute to a better society. This does not mean that St. Mark's students will never again engage in behaviors that contradict their beliefs and values; but it does mean that they can be critically aware of those contradictions and continue to grow and become better informed.

The infusion of the novel service experience at St. Mark's will be an important consideration in this future project. With regard to how service at St. Mark's was novel, it appears St. Mark's redefines service as a way of cultivating identity**.** One example of this is that students interviewed were encouraged to create their own service experiences (out of and in addition to the mandatory ones created in class).For example, one of Mr. James' former students, whom he had invited back to visit and sit in on the class, described before the current students an experience from high school when a homeless man approached him and asked him for "a quarter" or "a dime." The former student recalled before Mr. James' class how he didn't have any money on him, but asked the homeless man to wait and then went inside the house to make the man a sandwich. When he came back and handed it to him, he spoke to the man for an hour. Tearfully, he recalled this powerful, life-changing experience before Mr. James' class of current juniors, and what this experience meant to him.

> He had a family [missing words] and he had nowhere to take them and no food. He was living in a shelter…And I just wanted to do something for him. Let him know that someone cares. That there are people who treat other human beings like they're human beings. No matter if you're homeless, lost your job, whatever. They are human beings. Rich country, poor country, whatever.

Crying openly as he recalled this tale before the class, other students listened to this heartfelt, sobering tale and some shared his outward displays of emotion. Additionally, although service experiences are sometimes sad, students at St. Mark's are comfortable showing many different emotions related to service, including glee. For the annual food drive,

students collect thousands of pounds of food, often led by the juniors of the social justice course. At an annual food drive assembly, students show as much excitement as one would expect for a pep rally or a homecoming football game. This aspect of the service culture at St. Mark's, and the role of the SJ teachers at creating this fervor and channeling this energy toward identity transformation, will be a topic of exploration. These examples suggest why service at St. Mark's, generally, is of particular interest to any future study.

Regarding teacher student relationships, the three SJ teachers appeared to be invested in relationships that would challenge notions of prejudiced and privilege. Although we weren't able to fully explore it in the dissertation project, the data provided insights as to why these relationships may have been so important for Ms. Kellogg and Mr. James. Ms. Kellogg remarked that the worst part of poverty is feeling invisible and noted conscious efforts to validate her students and to relate social justice content to their everyday lives. In a discussion about teaching black teenagers, Mr. James posited that being black in an urban city was a dangerous proposition, and, thus, he teaches with urgency:

> To be young and black in Washington, DC is a dangerous thing. I'm afraid of what's going to become of them. It gives me the sense of urgency, to push harder. To achieve, and to work, to study, to learn. I want to set them on fire. That, I think, is the nicest thing that could happen to them. To be young, to have found a great cause and to give your heart to it. Is that not the secret to life?

The importance of issues related to internalized message is also suggested by alumni who spoke directly about race and diversity. Romeo discussed a negative racial incident and how Mr. James' gave him new insight into responding to the event and, essentially, rising above it. According to Romeo, that conversation affected him for the rest of his life, in part, because Mr. James was white and, if he was a good man, Romeo began to believe that there had to be others like him. Andrea did not speak about race directly but spoke about how social justice taught her how to deal with her anger more effectively, illustrating before her nonviolent ways of dealing with conflict that had been a big part of her life.

On this topic, one male student from the class of 2000 noted in the open-ended portion of the survey that he was thankful for St. Mark's social justice course and subsequent efforts to help him and his peers "critically engage social issues." He added also the issue of internalized oppression by referring to the need for more schools to "plant seeds of justice and empowerment," adding,

> [This is] particularly important for schools made up of primarily minority students like St. Mark's to foster in the students a sense of self-worth and agency. I would like for St. Mark's to go deeper into helping

students deconstruct systematic and systemic racism, while also helping them build solid healthy responses.

Take seriously the social location of the population that St. Mark's serves.

This quote suggests the possibility that TSJ includes topics on a lot of generalizable forms of oppression, but that the class may need to be more specific about the ones related to race. A broad approach to teaching social justice could lead to such oversights.

Regarding the sense of community fostered within the class, the TSJ class provided the opportunity for students experiencing battles related to internalized oppression and privilege to share their experiences (and their emotions about those experiences) in a structured community context. This sharing enabled students to see their commonalities with others, and to investigate why it was shared by so many, the nature and structure of oppression generally, and the implications for not doing anything about it. Even when students did not feel comfortable disclosing their experiences aloud, through writing and reading on topics related to these issues and listening to the opinions of peers, students were given ample opportunities to personally identify with these issues.

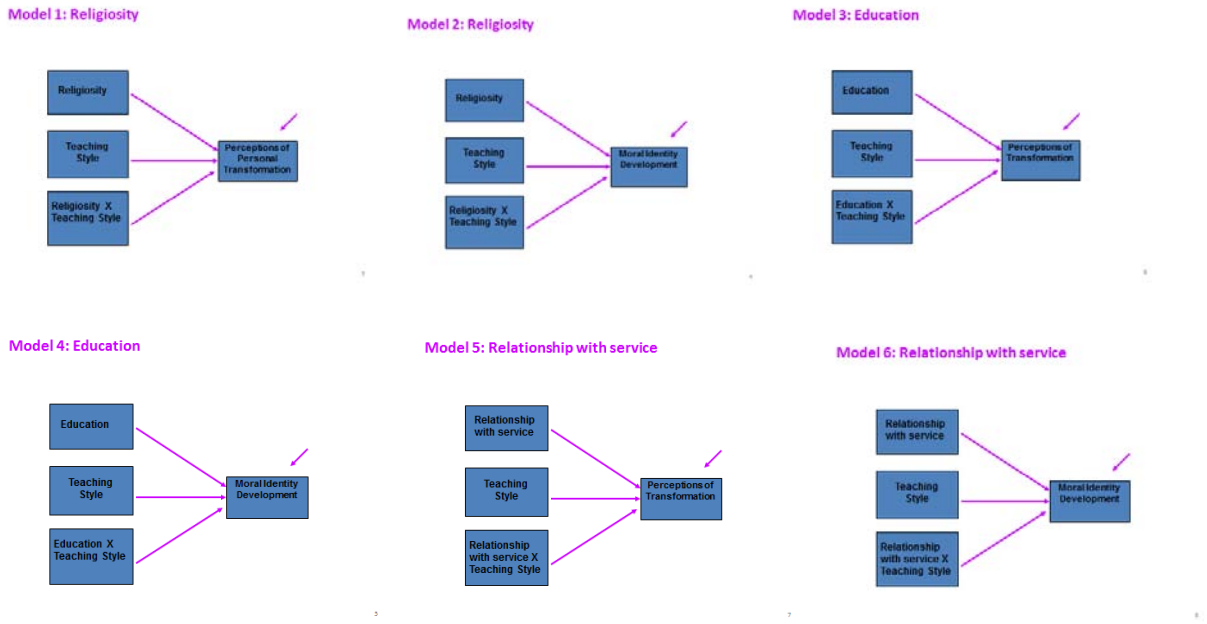
***

"If I didn't take the class, I'd be a completely different person."

Overall, I'd like to use the research described in this presentation, as well as the additional qualitative publication noted above, to author a book that captures the richness of the lived experiences of former students of the class, with a broader focus on how the experiences that were accumulated post-social justice class were related back to what students learned/experienced and contributed to the influence of the class on their identity development. In other words, what does it *really* mean to teach a bunch of inner city black kids a class that causes them to "be completely different person(s)?"

Using the key components of *Transformative Learning Theory* (Mezirow, 1968), this book would aim to explore the relationship between the class, internalized oppression/privilege, and the process of "perspective transformation", which entails three dimensions: psychological (changes in understanding of the self), convictional (revision of belief systems), and behavioral (changes in lifestyle). This book would flow from findings from prior studies and take a detailed look at the transition from a stigmatized identity to a positive identity. A book would provide the opportunity to uncover this process in more detail and richness.

Preceding this book, I would like to write two pieces; the first, combining these articles for the social studies teacher and, the second, lessons learned from doing a mixed method dissertation. The former would require a careful

consideration of the practical utility of the results found in studies 1, 2 and 3.

With regard to future quantitative work, I hope to use the data collected from the dissertation to explore the relationship between the predictors used in study three (pedagogical approach, service learning and critical self-reflection) and civic identity. I would also like to look at the relationship between simultaneous parent support & teacher support (in adolescence) and moral identity development later, as well as possible moderators of this relationship. It would be equally interesting to explore which influence (elements within the home or elements within the school) constitutes a larger influence on moral identity development. Finally, given that the pedagogical approach emerged as such an important variable in study three, I'd like to examine, one, the relationship between different life experiences (e.g. religiosity, level of education, high school participation in service, and happy family life) and perceptions of transformation; two, the relationship between these different life experiences and moral identity development; and, three, whether the teaching style moderates these relationships. Specifically, see below: