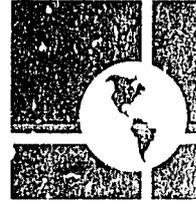


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Can Schools Teach Democratic Values?

*A Review of Moral and Values
Education Programs
of Relevance to Latin America*

Eleonora Villegas-Reimers

1993

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Introduction

The two main purposes of this paper are: a) to review the most current literature on moral and values education in school settings, and b) to present options to the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) for developing initiatives in moral and values education with a special focus on teaching democratic values.

The paper is organized as follows:

The first section examines the definition of moral education and focusses on the process of moral and values education in school settings as an important component in the preparation of citizens of democratic nations. Democratic values are moral in nature and can be taught. Moral education is the process by which those values are learned.

The second section reviews the major psychological approaches to the study of moral development and their influence on models of moral education.

The third section explores some of the factors that have been identified as affecting moral development and assesses the importance of taking these factors into consideration for the successful development of moral education programs.

The fourth section describes four models of moral education that have been successfully implemented in school settings and — when information is available — presents a critical review of their implementation.

Finally, the fifth section offers some suggestions for possible A.I.D.-supported initiatives in moral and values education with a special emphasis on teaching democratic values in school settings.

Moral Education: A Definition

There is no single definition of moral education because there is no single definition of morality. In addition, the words morality, ethics, and values are often used as synonyms; therefore, the terms moral education, ethics education, and values education are used interchangeably, even though each of these terms refers to a different idea.

In a strict sense and from a psychological point of view (rather than a philosophical one), *morality* usually refers to the cognitive distinction between right and wrong, or to the prescriptive knowledge of what "should" or "ought to" be done based on what is good and bad. Traditionally in psychology, morality has not referred to the content (values) of *what* is good or bad, as that content may change from culture to culture and time to time. Rather, it has focussed on the processes that human beings in all cultures and times engage in when designating attitudes, behaviors, and/or beliefs as right or wrong.

Ethics, on the other hand, refers to the discipline that studies morality. Thus, ethics offers a broader perspective on the different principles of right and wrong. For most authors, ethics does focus on the content of what is right and wrong, universally or for a specific cultural group.

Finally, *values* refer to the moral qualities and characteristics that the moral individual possesses; therefore, values are the content of morality, and they may be culturally specific (family values in different cultures) or universal (human rights like freedom, honesty, and dignity).

Thus, what is *moral education*? In its simplest form, moral education is the process followed when individuals and/or social groups pass on to the younger generation their views about and values of what is right and what is wrong (Ryan, 1985). From a culturally specific point of view, moral education implies the teaching and learning of the specific values of a culture. From a universal point of view, moral education refers to the formal and informal processes followed to impart the values of each culture.

In all cultures, human beings become social and moral individuals through socialization, an informal process that begins at birth and lasts through the lifespan. Through socialization, individuals learn the accepted norms and conventions of society and actually become members of their specific cultural group. This process of socialization was sufficient when societies were simple in their socio-political organization and when diversity of views was not the norm. With the increasing complexity of societies — and the different points of view present in true democracies — a more unified, planned, and formal process of moral education has become necessary.

Why Moral Education?

Throughout history and across cultures, governments and societies have identified moral education as one of the main goals of the formal and informal processes of education. In fact, among the many goals that different countries throughout the centuries have set for their systems of education, there has been one goal common to all: to develop a moral, ethical, and responsible individual capable of serving his or her society. Davis (1980), in a review of goals, purposes, and effects of education, refers to this common goal as one that even Plato and Aristotle presented in their vision of what the process of preparing an educated person should include. This view has been echoed by many leading figures throughout history, including Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Herbart, Spencer, and Dewey (Davis, 1980).

The paradox is that while societies have recognized the importance of educating citizens who are moral and responsible as citizens and as individuals, they have not done much to fulfill this goal. Families may leave the moral education of their children to schools, but most schools do not make moral and values education an explicit part of the curriculum, and most curricula (produced by centralized ministries of education in developing countries) do not include any time for (or any specific content about) moral education. There may be many reasons for this lack. Among the strongest are:

- Moral education has usually been associated with controversial beliefs and processes, such as religious beliefs or indoctrination processes (discussed later).
- Many people believe that moral values cannot be directly taught but are learned only through experience.
- As a field of study, moral education has not been seen as important as math, science, and language. Whenever time and resources are limited, this low priority has meant that moral education was dropped.

The reality, however, is that given the complex socio-political organization of most societies in the world today, the need for moral education has increased dramatically and has moved beyond the focus on simply teaching right from wrong. Not only do young people receive many contradictory messages from the numerous institutions that exist in any given society today (e.g., family, school, religious institutions, the media, peer groups, etc.), but also the complexity of democratic societies requires in-depth and serious attention to the teaching of democratic and moral values, beliefs, and attitudes. A democratic citizen is a person who holds certain specific values and beliefs (such as, respect for freedom of speech and freedom of belief, respect for others' property) and whose actions are based on those values.

Democratic values are moral in nature and can be taught. Moral education is the process by which those values are learned.

Unless moral democratic values are *explicitly* taught to the younger generation, democracies in some countries will always be weak and unstable. Freedom of speech, respect for all, active participation in social and political decisions that affect all, and working for society's benefit — among many other democratic values and attitudes — are "teachable," and only those societies that are committed to providing opportunities for the younger generation to develop these values will function as truly democratic nations. Democracies do not work if only a minority practice and believe in democratic behaviors.

Moral education is a process that happens through the influence and work of many institutions. Socially and ethically accepted behavior is crucial for the survival of societies, and democratic values are crucial for the survival and development of truly democratic societies. Thus, education in democratic values should be included in the daily curriculum of all schools.

When these premises are accepted, societies and governments will make a commitment to the institutionalization of moral education in the same way that they have institutionalized other forms of education. Schools could become the center for teaching democratic values, thus strengthening the relationships among schools, families, and other social institutions.

Why Moral Education in School Settings?

Historically, moral education was in the hands of the family, and learning about moral values was thought of as an informal, unplanned process. In traditional societies, children and adolescents are taught the values of their cultures by their parents or by a special individual chosen from the community because of their exemplary behavior. For example, in small villages in Nigeria, religious leaders are responsible for teaching children obedience, respect, and discipline (Maqsd, 1980). The same is true in small villages in other countries.

However, as societies became more complex in their social and political organization, the traditional processes of moral education and socialization become insufficient, and sometimes inadequate, because different institutions are giving many contradictory messages. The need for a more unified and "formal" process of moral education has increased.

Because schools are the social institution committed to teaching and learning and to preparing future generations to serve society, schools seem to be the most appropriate institution to carry out the process of moral education, including teaching democratic values. In addition, whether or not they provide formal education in values, schools have profound effects on children's social and moral development.

If we accept Dewey's contention that the school is the crucible of democracy, and Durkheim's belief that it is the necessary and crucial socializing link between the family and society, then the highest priority of schooling becomes

moral development culminating in morally autonomous individuals. (Vare, 1986, p. 212)

In a way, schools are already performing that role, but not in the most appropriate way.

All schools are necessarily involved in moral education. Teachers are constantly and unavoidably moralizing to children, about school rules and values and about students' behavior toward one another. Because moralizing is unavoidable, it seems logical that it be done in terms of consciously formulated goals of moral development. (Kohlberg, 1981, p. 297)

What is inappropriate and must be changed is that this "moralizing" is unplanned and depends on the personality of each teacher. Moral education should be an *explicit* and *planned* process based on principles of child development and moral growth.

It is important to emphasize once more that the role that schools play in the moral and values education of citizens in complex societies goes beyond teaching right from wrong. For democratic societies, teaching the practices and the values of democracy in schools seems to be essential for survival. Thinking and behaving ethically is necessary for people who live in well-functioning democratic societies, and schools — as the social institutions in charge of preparing future generations to serve society — have the responsibility to produce moral, ethical, and responsible citizens.

Psychological Theories of Moral Development

Models of moral education are based on different approaches to the development of morality from a psychological perspective. This section provides a brief review of some of the main theories of the psychology of moral development. The review is not complete by any means; its purpose is simply to help the reader put the different models of moral education (discussed in section four) in context.

The existing theories of moral development have primarily focussed on one of three areas: the cognitive aspect of morality, that is, the development of moral reasoning and moral judgments; the affective aspect of morality, which usually includes the development of feelings of guilt and empathy; and the behavioral aspect of morality, which usually focusses on moral actions and pro-social behavior. Of course, there are theories that have explored combinations of these aspects, but each theory has focussed primarily on one aspect alone.

The Cognitive Approach

The Cognitive Developmental Theory was first formulated by Piaget in Switzerland in the 1930s and was further developed by Kohlberg, Kegan, and Gilligan among others. The two

basic principles of the Piagetian theory (applied to cognitive development as well as to moral development) are: a) that all human beings are stimulus-seeking beings that make meaning out of their experiences and, therefore, construct their own realities and understanding; and b) that all human beings develop following specific predictable patterns (which Piaget called stages).

This approach to moral development focusses on the cognitive aspect of morality, that is, the development of moral reasoning and moral judgment. According to this approach, all human beings pass through specific stages (structures, or ways of organizing experience). Each new stage incorporates previous ones; therefore, developing a higher level of moral reasoning is a matter of developing more complex ways of examining moral situations. A higher stage is not necessarily a better stage (according to Kohlberg), but it is a more complex way of dealing with situations and, therefore, is more adaptive and functional in a complex society.

Also according to this approach, a person develops more complex ways of examining moral situations and new abilities that reflect a complexity of thinking by encountering situations that present some moral conflict. Following Piaget's idea that all human beings are stimulus-seeking beings, when a person encounters conflict or disequilibrium, in Piaget's terms, the natural tendency is for the person to seek equilibrium. In most cases, this search for equilibrium forces the person to develop new, more complex structures and therefore to move to a higher stage of morality. Thus, in this approach, one essential component of any moral education program is an environment that is morally stimulating and morally challenging, that is, one that not only presents many moral conflicts and situations of disequilibrium, but also provides support for the individual in his or her search for new equilibriums.

Models of moral education based on the cognitive approach focus on the development of moral judgment, analytical and critical thinking skills, and higher levels of reasoning. Many also focus on the creation of a "moral atmosphere" in school settings that is conducive to higher levels of moral thinking and more frequent behavior in morally accepted ways.

The Psychoanalytic and Affective Approach

The psychoanalytic approach stems from Freud's work and that of his followers. According to Freud, the human personality has three major parts: the id (the repository of raw, animal urges and desires), the ego (which keeps a balance between our animal desires and natural instincts and the requirements and impositions of social rules), and the super-ego (the agent of restraint, the result of the internalization of our parents' and, therefore, of society's norms for accepted behavior, and the aspect of our personality that teaches and guides us in differentiating right from wrong).

Because these elements of personality are developed early in life, and because, according to Freud, experience before the age of five is crucial for the formation of each element, this approach places special emphasis on parents, parenting styles, and the parent-child

relationship. Most of the studies on moral development from this point of view focus on parents and what they may do to develop a strong super-ego in their children. Therefore, this approach has not been useful in developing models of moral education for schools.

Another theory that has emphasized the affective aspects of morality (and has its roots in the psychoanalytic tradition) is that of Martin Hoffman. He has focussed on the development of empathy as the origin of all altruistic behavior. Again, this approach stresses the vital role of parents' behavior and parenting styles, and it has had no impact on the development of moral education programs for schools.

The Behavioral Approach

The behavioral approach derives from the work of Skinner and Bandura and, as opposed to the cognitive approach, which focusses on reasoning, focusses on the actual behavior or conduct of the individual.

Skinner's premise is that all learning is the consequence of behavior. According to this theory, human beings are shaped through their experiences which are either rewarded or punished by society. Bandura expanded this view of learning by adding the idea that learning also takes place through modeling and imitation.

Moral learning, like any other form of learning, follows the same principles. According to Maccoby (1980), "moral behavior is behavior a group defines as good or right, and for which the social group administers social sanctions." In this model, the ultimate goal is to teach pro-social (as opposed to anti-social) behavior (positive, moral, accepted behavior).

Two methods are used to develop pro-social behavior. One is direct teaching of specific accepted behaviors, with rewards when the person behaves in a desired way. The other method is learning through modeling or imitation; parents and teachers model appropriate behavior so that children and students imitate these actions.

Many models of moral education, including the "hidden curriculum" model discussed in the appendix, are based on behavioristic principles in their implementation.

Factors That Influence Moral Development

Some research stemming from the three theories explained above has examined different factors that affect moral development. While some of these factors cannot be changed (e.g., the socio-economic status of students), others are useful to consider when developing programs of moral education. Discussion of the most important factors that affect moral development follows.

- *Level of education of the parents.* It has been shown in research in the United States and in India (Holstein, 1972; Parikh, 1980) that the level of education of the parents (and more significantly that of the mother) is associated with the stage of moral reasoning of the children (until the adolescent years).

There is no published research about the relationship between the level of education of teachers and the level of moral reasoning of students. However, it follows that if the level of the parents' education affects the children, so will the level of the teachers' education, although perhaps to a lesser degree. *Teacher training that focusses on developing the teachers' higher levels of thinking, critical skills, moral judgment skills, and general knowledge should be a good influence on the moral development of children and adolescents.*

- *Type of parenting style.* There are four general types of parenting style: authoritarian, authoritative (democratic), neglectful, and indulgent. Research has shown that the authoritative parenting style helps children to develop higher levels of moral reasoning and more frequent pro-social behavior. The authoritative parent sets clear expectations and specific rules but is always willing to listen and to discuss the creation and implementation of rules.

There has been no research showing the effects of teaching style on the moral development of students; however, there has been speculation that authoritative teachers may be more effective in developing higher levels of moral reasoning and higher frequency of ethical behavior in their students than authoritarian teachers. In a way, the teaching style of teachers in Kohlberg's "Just Communities" (discussed in the next section) confirms that. Thus, *teachers who have an authoritative style, and who create an open and democratic environment in their classrooms, might be one of the most positive influential factors on moral development.*

- *Moral atmosphere.* Some research (e.g., Higgins, Power, & Kohlberg, 1984) shows that a moral atmosphere — one where situations that are moral in nature are openly discussed, where moral issues are emphasized, where critical discussions happen, and where high moral standards are held — is very influential in the development of moral reasoning and moral behavior. Thus, *supporting training and efforts that will create a "moral atmosphere" in classrooms, schools, and communities is a powerful means of promoting moral development.*
- *Complexity of the society.* Many studies (e.g., Edwards, 1975) in different societies and cultural groups have shown that the more complex the organization of society, the higher the level of moral reasoning of its citizens. Societies that have institutionalized many processes tend to be much more complex than traditional societies, where the main institution is the family. This level of complexity creates more "disequilibrium"

for the individual, who is forced to seek new equilibriums and, therefore, move to higher stages.

Although the effect of the complexity of the organization of a school on the development of moral reasoning and action has not been studied, the finding that the complexity of society does have an effect indicates that this may be an important variable to examine. If students are organized in committees and work-groups responsible for the general governance of the school, and if parents and community members are regularly involved in activities related to the school, the school will have a more complex type of organization than the traditional school where the principal holds most of the power and students have little to say about decisions that affect them. Thus, *learning more about the effects of the complexity of schools on students' moral development and promoting a democratic structure in schools may be successful ways of promoting moral development in the younger generation.*

- *Other factors.* There has been speculation that religion, gender, socio-economic status, and family structure may all affect moral development. These are variables that schools have no control over; therefore, they will not be examined in this paper. (For more information, see Gilligan 1982; Kohlberg, 1984; and Sapp, 1986.)

Models of Moral Education

A review of journals on moral education, comparative education, international education, cross-cultural education, and developmental education, as well as of writings in moral education, psychology, and philosophy of morality, shows a great variety of models of moral education. A few of these programs are not moral education programs per se (they may be, for example, forms of religious education), but because they have traditionally been associated with morality, they are included in this review.

The four models discussed here have been implemented successfully in the United States and other countries, including Latin America, and are especially relevant to A.I.D.'s interest in teaching democratic values because of their emphasis on moral education for democracy. Additional models are discussed in the appendix. Many of these models have been implemented on only a very small scale; others have not been implemented yet at all.

Civic Education

A group of studies presents civic education programs and curricula as a common form of moral education in many countries of the world. Depending on the type of government of a specific country, observers may qualify a civic education program in a totalitarian regime as a form of indoctrination (see the description of indoctrination in the appendix). Therefore,

traditionally, the label of civic education has been reserved for countries that have democratic regimes.

In many democratic countries where the participation of citizens in decision making is a pillar of the political system, civic education programs focus on preparing a "good" citizen — one who understands the organization of the government and other social institutions, who knows and understands the law, and who knows and understands the importance of his or her active social participation in shaping the country's decisions and programs. The curriculum usually includes units on the Constitution, the rights and responsibilities of citizens of the country, the organization of different social institutions (family, schools, local and national government, the police, the military, etc.), and the laws.

Among the limitations of this approach are its exclusive focus on knowledge of and respect for the Constitution and the law. It is uncommon to find a program of this type that includes discussion of the moral principles underlying the laws or the general underlying assumptions about the importance of respecting them. In addition, in most countries where these civic education programs exist, the goal is for the students to know (at a cognitive level) what is legal and illegal, and there is no emphasis on the actual practice of these laws and regulations. In fact, many of the rights students are taught they have as citizens are not respected by the school where these programs exist (for example, students have no right to vote on school policies, they cannot express their ideas freely, etc.).

"Escuela Nueva"

In response to the common criticisms of most civic education programs, some schools have created a program that emphasizes the actual practice of the laws and regulations of a democratic society. Among these programs, the "Escuela Nueva" model in rural schools in Colombia has proven to be successful in promoting civic, democratic, and participatory attitudes in children in primary school (Rojas & Castillo, 1988), in addition to the many other aspects of this model that are unrelated to moral education.

This model is based on the idea that in order to initiate their civic and democratic life effectively, students need to be active participants in student committees in the school. According to Schiefelbein (1991),

By participating in Student Councils [committees] children learn to act with authority and responsibility in the organization and management of the school, but also to integrate cognitive processes involving social, affective attitudes and moral development. (p. 28)

The types of committees students may serve on include those that take care of cleaning, maintenance, sports, school garden, school newspaper, library, recreation, school adornment, discipline, and tutoring (Schiefelbein, 1991).

Escuela Nueva seems to be successful in Colombia, according to Schiefelbein (1991) and Rojas & Castillo (1988). However, the evaluation of the specific component of civic and moral education of Escuela Nueva is not clear. In 1988, the Instituto Ser of Colombia did a very complete evaluation of Escuela Nueva (Rojas & Castillo, 1988). The section that evaluated the civic program included a test of fourteen questions where students had to select the best answers to some "dilemmas" or compromising situations. It was surprising to see that the researchers did not evaluate the actual behavior of the students (since that is the main goal of the program), and that most of the questions on the test measured students' interpersonal skills rather than their civic behavior. Given the goals of the program of moral education and the way the program has been implemented, a different type of evaluation is needed.

"Republica Escolar"

Before Escuela Nueva, a similar experimental program took place in Venezuela in the early 1960s, when the country was beginning a new democratic era. This program, "Republica Escolar" (School Republic), was based on the same principles as Escuela Nueva's civic program. The school was considered a "republic" that had a president and a congress (with senators and representatives). The election process was the same as that used in the country, and elected students were in charge of many activities in the school. The main goal was to educate the younger generation of Venezuelans about their new roles as citizens in a democratic country, and to teach them to respect and defend the democratic system of government.

This program was implemented only in a handful of "experimental" schools and is no longer in existence. Some schools in the country may still have some elements of the program in place, but a formal evaluation of their success would be needed.

"Just Community"

Most of the recent literature on moral education refers to Lawrence Kohlberg's "Just Community" approach. This approach began in the 1970s as an attempt to reform moral education in some school systems in the United States and was based on several principles:

- Moral education must include the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral aspect of students.
- Moral education is basic for the survival of a democratic participatory society.
- Moral education must be an explicit part of the whole curriculum, not just a subject that is taught for a few hours every week.

Kohlberg proposed creating small communities or alternative schools within the schools based on the general principles of a democratic governance. These Just Communities usually

included about one hundred members, of whom fifteen were staff and faculty. Each member of the community had one vote, and every rule of the community was decided by the community as a whole. Discipline problems would be addressed by a disciplinary committee elected by members of the community, and any decisions in regard to any member of the community would be made by everyone. The goal was to promote individual moral development — moral awareness, understanding of a democracy, respect for others' rights, knowledge of moral principles underlying the rules, and an overall sense of responsibility to others — through promoting a general moral atmosphere. In this way, not only would individuals be active participants, but the peer group would also be the entity controlling general behavior (as opposed to those in "authority positions" as is traditionally the case).

Much of the inspiration for this model came from the principles of some of the Kibbutzim in Israel (see Kohlberg, 1984; Reimer, Paolitto, & Hersh, 1989). That is, every member of the community must be an active participatory member, every decision is a community decision, and every member must work for the community.

The Just Community approach worked very successfully in many high schools in the United States (see Reimer, Paolitto, & Hersh, 1989). In fact, it had many of the advantages of Escuela Nueva, but it is more complete in its approach as it focusses not only on civic education issues, but also on ethical and moral values, awareness, and responsibility. (It must be remembered, however, that Escuela Nueva is a model for elementary school, while the Just Community is a model for high school). In addition, the Just Community gave students more responsibility than does Escuela Nueva. In the Just Community, students were responsible — in concert with faculty and staff — for every decision made in the community: curriculum, rules, hiring and firing of personnel (of the Just Community, not of the whole school), discipline, evaluation, etc.

But the model also had its limitations. In order to be successful, the whole community needed to be involved, willing to participate and to be affected by the decisions of everyone. The tremendous time and effort required of administrators and faculty, in addition to the need to restructure some of the "normal functioning" of a school, were limitations to opening more of these alternative schools in other parts of the country. (Most of them were opened in New York City, Scarsdale (NY), Boston, Cambridge (MA), and Brookline (MA).) Finally, it was expected that all faculty and staff involved in this type of community would be trained in developmental theories of moral development and moral education, specifically in Kohlberg's theory. Thus, even though the success of the Just Community programs was very high, the effort required for implementation was usually perceived as "too much" by teachers and administrators.

Options for A.I.D. Investment in Moral and Values Education

Based on the theories and programs reviewed above, a number of options are available to A.I.D. to promote moral education programs that focus on the teaching of democratic values. Following are listed just a few of the activities that could be implemented either as new initiatives or as parts of broader projects (e.g., teacher training). These options are listed in random order.

- *Promote policy dialogue on moral education.* Many policy makers in developing countries are unaware of the options available to them to promote the implementation of national goals that relate to moral education. Dissemination of reviews like this one, or of specific documents such as those presented in the bibliography, could help expand the range of options for policy makers to consider. Specific follow-up activities could be provided, such as visits to existing programs of moral education (Escuela Nueva in Colombia, Just Community schools in the United States).
- *Encourage project design teams to address moral education,* either incorporating it in components of curriculum development and teacher training or making it an explicit project component.
- *Develop programs to train teachers in the area of moral development and moral education.* In many teacher training institutions in the United States as well as third world countries, the field of moral development and moral education does not exist. Teachers are taught theories of child development and take many methods (pedagogy) courses, but the field of moral development is omitted from the curriculum. In many third world countries, in addition, there is no knowledge that values can be taught in schools independent of religion. To include some training on the psychology of moral development and methods of moral education could influence teachers' practices.
- *Develop new programs of moral and civic education.* These programs should focus not only on the education of democratic citizens, but also on the ethical behavior of citizens in a democratic society. Being a citizen in a democracy requires certain responsibilities and knowledge of rights that could be taught in schools (not only to students, but also to parents and community members as well).
- *Assist in the implementation of changes in classroom and school structures.* At the same time that teachers are being educated about moral development and moral education, the structure of the classrooms and the schools must be changed to make them more democratic, open, and conducive to a moral atmosphere. It will be easier to change the structure of the classroom and the teaching style once new teachers educated in the field enter the work force.

- *Support innovations through "experimental" schools where different models of moral education are implemented.* Based on the models presented by Escuela Nueva in Colombia, Republica Escolar in Venezuela, the Just Community in the United States, or any of the other models discussed in the appendix, different schools could be chosen as "experimental" sites. Again, it is important that teachers are knowledgeable about moral education and moral development, because many of the activities in these experimental programs (i.e., moral dilemma discussion, identification of situations as moral or ethical, a democratic style of decision making, etc.) require specific skills.
- *Promote in-service training for teachers with a focus on moral education.* In the third world, in-service courses for teachers are not common; the few that exist are very much appreciated by the teachers. Offering in-service courses on moral education and moral development for teachers at all levels would be a helpful step in the development of moral education programs.
- *Fund courses on moral education for administrators.* It is not enough to involve the teachers in moral education; administrators need to be committed to these changes, too, since changing the structure of the classroom, the schools, or the curriculum will depend on their support and knowledge.
- *Promote the involvement of the parents and the community in these experimental schools.* The effectiveness of these types of programs will be increased if the parents and the community get involved. Offering courses for parents, creating opportunities for their participation in schools, and generally involving them in the program should help in making changes more successful.
- *Fund research.* The creation and implementation of new programs in moral education should be based on research results obtained in the specific country where these implementations will take place. In addition, the implementation of these suggestions should be followed by research and evaluation to know what worked and what needs to be changed. Research could focus on: a) the moral development of the students, measured in terms of either their reasoning or their behavior or both; b) the teachers' perceptions of the changes and their participation in the different programs; c) the parents' perception of the programs and their level of involvement with the school; or d) the general academic performance of the students (in Kohlberg's Just Community, the academic performance of the students improved even though that was not one of the goals of the program).
- *Disseminate publications about moral education among teachers, administrators, and parents.* Because this is a relatively new field, reference material is scarce, particularly in developing countries. Making teachers' manuals or easy-to-read books available could support individual initiatives in this area or reinforce some of the other options outlined in this paper.

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Appendix
Additional Models of Moral Education

Models Based on a Cognitivist View of Morality

Values Clarification

The basic assumption of the values clarification approach is that all moral values are relative and, therefore, none should be inculcated (as is done in indoctrination, discussed next). The role of the teacher is to accept any values that students may have, and clarify their meaning to give the child or adolescent a choice of whether that value is the one he or she wants to hold (Kohlberg, 1981). Thus, the school plays a neutral role in that it does not advocate any particular morality.

In values clarification the teachers' role is passive and non-judgmental.... The teachers' primary concern is giving students the opportunity to identify their personal values though engaging in exercises which necessitate using the process of valuing. (Kohlberg, 1981, p. 190)

Values clarification is done through a series of classroom games and exercises that differ in time requirements, complexity, and subject matter depending on the ages of the children (Ryan, 1985). These exercises may be discussions of ethical situations, conversations about situations faced by the students at home or at school, or discussions about classroom readings. All of these discussions are open, and the values presented during them are not judged.

In most schools where this model has been implemented (it was popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the United States), two different forms are presented. In the most common form, the teacher facilitates the discussion, never takes a stand, and simply helps students clarify their own values (e.g., "So, what you are saying is that you like honesty"). In the other modality, the teacher does take a stand, but only at the very end of the discussion, once all the students have had a chance to express their points of view in a nonthreatening situation.

The values clarification model has been criticized by many in the field. First, the model suggests that all values are equally good and therefore should be accepted; this could lead to some form of anomie and to the promotion of values relativity. In addition, by asking students to "discover" their own values, the rights and responsibilities of teachers, parents, and others to pass their values to the younger generation lose meaning.

Indoctrination

This second model is difficult to define because it receives different labels depending on the point of view of the person evaluating the model. In the countries or systems where this model is implemented, it is usually presented as citizen education; however, because of the characteristics of the program, observers in democratic societies call it "indoctrination."

Indoctrination happens when moral education is the instrument that a specific government or powerful group (usually a politically dominant group) uses to transmit its values on the grounds that those are the values on which the society is built. One of the problems of an educational system based on indoctrination is the fact that these "moral values" are not necessarily based on general principles of human rights and justice but usually are the guiding values of a specific political perspective imposed on others to dominate specific groups in society.

The moral education typically referred to in the former Soviet model of education was considered by experts in the field to be a form of indoctrination; similarly, the moral education model existent in the People's Republic of China is also seen as indoctrination by experts because it emphasizes the "creation" of a citizen who believes, respects, and defends primarily the teachings of the Communist Party.

Traditionally this type of moral education has not been explicitly used in democratic societies, although many observers (especially those with a "values clarification" orientation) consider that any form of education where values are imposed on individuals should be classified as indoctrination.

Because this type of moral education is so much a part of what makes a totalitarian regime survive, and because many people associate moral and values education with the imposition of certain values chosen by dominant elites on powerless groups of society, many decision makers in democratic countries deny the need to include a program of moral education in schools.

Moral Dilemma Discussions

This approach to moral education was begun in the 1970s by Moshe Blatt. Based on Kohlberg's theory of moral development and on the assumption that by creating some cognitive conflict students will reason at a higher stage, Blatt (Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975) initiated "moral dilemma discussions" in the classroom.

The way to stimulate stage growth is to pose real or hypothetical dilemmas to students in such a way as to arouse disagreement and uncertainty as to what is right. The teacher's primary role is to present such dilemmas and to ask Socratic questions that arouse student reasoning and focus student listening on one another's reasons.... Unlike values clarification, its assumptions are not relativistic but, rather, are based on universal goals and principles. It asks the student for reasons, on the assumption that some reasons are more adequate than others. (Kohlberg, 1981, pp. 27-28)

The approach differs from indoctrinative approaches because it tries to move the student's thinking in a direction that is natural for the student rather than

moving the student in the direction of accepting the teacher's moral assumptions. It avoids preaching or didacticism linked to the teacher's authority. (Kohlberg, 1981, p. 28)

This model was successful in promoting a quicker development from stage to stage of moral development, but its implementation was not easy: Teachers needed to be trained in Kohlberg's moral development theory and specific techniques of moral dilemma discussions. Also, teachers felt that the discussion of hypothetical dilemmas was too far removed from the realities that the students were facing every day and, therefore, the students were not motivated to apply their knowledge in their actions (Reimer, Paolitto, & Hersh, 1989). As a result of these criticisms, Kohlberg designed and implemented the Just Community approach, in which real-life dilemmas are discussed in an atmosphere that is based on democratic principles of governance.

Value Analysis

Similar to moral dilemma discussions, this model proposes teaching a way to analyze value positions and to come to some defensible conclusion. For this purpose, students are taught the skills of ethical thinking in the same way that they are taught certain scientific methodology or problem-solving skills (Ryan, 1985).

The value analysis model, proposed by Jack Fraenkel (1977), involves the following steps: a) identifying the dilemma, b) identifying the alternatives, c) predicting the consequences of each alternative, d) predicting the short-term and long-term consequences, e) collecting the consequential evidence of each alternative, f) assessing the correctness of each consequence according to some criteria based on universal human rights and the enhancement of human dignity, and g) deciding on a course of action.

Value analysis is not widely practiced. Yet it has been presented as a very important tool to educate democratic citizens who need to approach ethical situations in a knowledgeable way.

The Philosophy for Children Program

Lipman's Philosophy for Children model is a new program of moral education. The goal of the program is for children to become philosophers "not merely 'morally educated individuals'" (Freiberg, 1986, p. 188). The model is based on the idea of exposing children to many "philosophical novels." In these novels, the characters address fundamental issues of ethics, metaphysics, logic, epistemology, and aesthetics (Freiberg, 1986).

In simplest terms, Lipman and his associates believe that through acquainting children with important philosophical issues and concerns there will be a greater chance that children can be ready to deal with these general and important problems in daily life....This is not unlike Kohlberg's claim that

reasoning is the single most correlative aspect leading to moral behavior.
(Freiberg, 1986, p. 189)

This model requires the teacher to take on the responsibility of facilitating a discussion that is productive, critical, and philosophical in nature. The Philosophy for Children model, according to Freiberg, is most popular with professional philosophers. However, the model is practiced frequently in the United States in classrooms with young children (even when teachers are not aware that this is a moral education model), as many stories are read and discussed by the group with facilitation from the teacher. It is not unlike the moral dilemma discussions proposed by Blatt and Kohlberg, but it is specifically designed for younger children.

Human Rights Education

The Canadian Human Rights Foundation has been very active in implementing a model of education on human rights. There are different ways of implementing this model. In some cases, it is a time set aside every week for formal teaching and discussions of human rights issues. In other schools, however, the model is implemented as a "Just Community," in the sense that everyone at the school participates as an active member of the community, and students serve on committees that plan and implement positive school attitude activities (Taylor, 1990). The involvement is not as total as in the Just Community model, but it follows the same principles of democratic and active participation, with special emphasis on human rights.

Developmental Moral Education

Reimer, Paolitto, and Hersh (1989) present a model that is based on general principles of moral development and developmental education. This model includes many of the underlying principles of Kohlberg's theory and has been implemented successfully in many schools, some of which were "Just Communities."

The model includes the following steps (many of which are derived from Blatt's moral dilemma discussions and Kohlberg's theory):

- Understanding the nature of moral conflict from a developmental perspective
- Understanding the elements that promote moral growth
- Developing the awareness of moral issues
- Developing questioning strategies
- Creating a facilitative classroom atmosphere
- Anticipating difficulties of practice
- Experiencing personal cognitive conflict as the teacher

In addition, Reimer, Paolitto, and Hersh (1989) suggest the following steps when planning a moral development curriculum:

- Develop a rationale.
- Identify moral issues in the curriculum.
- Relate moral issues to students' lives.
- Use materials that promote role-taking.
- Expose students to more adequate reasoning structures (slightly higher than the reasoning level of the students).
- Encourage students to be curriculum developers.
- Work with another colleague.
- Do a pilot test of material.
- Examine materials beyond textbook data.
- Develop experiences in which students can act on their reasoning.

Most schools in the United States (and some in Europe) that follow a developmental approach to education have used this or a similar model to develop their curricula. According to the literature, this model has been successful.

Using Literature to Promote Moral Development

Literature and story-telling have been used successfully in many levels of formal education to promote moral thinking and development. Usually in this type of program, narrative learning is contrasted with logico-deductive learning (Ellenwood & Ryan, 1991). Students read or are read different pieces of literature, and then are engaged in discussions of the moral situations presented in the story. This approach is very similar to moral dilemma discussions.

Models Based on a Behavioristic View of Morality

A Behavioristic Model

A very small number of studies have focussed on the process of moral education as a program of stimuli and responses, in which a person is rewarded or punished according to what is expected of him or her in a specific circumstance. This approach treats moral problems as behavioral problems, leaving aside the development of skills in decision making and conflict resolution, development of a sense of commitment, and development of a deeper understanding of human rights and principles.

This type of program does not exist in most schools in an explicit form, but its principles often guide teachers' activities in disciplining. At the preschool level these programs are implemented to develop social skills and pro-social behavior in children who are too young to engage in reasoning or make moral judgments. There are also many books written for parents

that give suggestions based on these general principles (e.g., Eyre & Eyre, 1984; Schulman & Mekler, 1985).

The Hidden Curriculum

For many educators, moral development and moral education occur in the daily interactions of individuals in and outside of schools. The process of educating a moral individual is seen as part of the general process of socialization and, therefore, is not planned, discussed, or evaluated. This view has been used as an excuse by many educators to avoid designing and/or implementing explicit programs of moral education. This has been strongly criticized in the field:

One [cop-out or false solution to the relativity problem of moral education] is to call moral education socialization. Sociologists have sometimes claimed that moralization in the interests of classroom management and maintenance of the school as a social system is a hidden curriculum; that it performs hidden services in helping children adapt to society.... In practice it means that we call the teacher's yelling at her students for not putting their books away socialization. To label it socialization does not legitimize it as valid education, nor does it remove the charge of arbitrary indoctrination from it. Basically this sociological argument implies that respect for social authority is a moral good in itself. Stated in different terms, the notion that it is valid for the teacher to have an unreflective hidden curriculum is based on the notion that the teacher is the agent of the state, the church, or the social system, rather than being a free moral agent dealing with children who are free moral agents. (Kohlberg, 1981, pp. 7-8)

Unfortunately, this model is perhaps the most commonly used throughout the world today. But as the field of moral development and education grows, it makes no sense to leave the education of moral values and attitudes to fate; an explicit moral education curriculum must be developed and implemented.

Character Education

Character education focusses on the idea of developing in students specific personality traits that are thought to be good. No emphasis is placed on the development of critical thinking or reasoning, or on the processes of making moral decisions and judgments.

According to Kohlberg (1981),

This approach to moral education was widely prevalent in the public schools [in the United States] in the 1920s and 1930s.... Those who developed this

approach defined character as the sum total of a set of those traits of personality which are subject to the moral sanctions of society. (p. 9)

Kohlberg (1981) strongly criticized this model; he stated that the creation of specific personality traits was a way of looking at morality as "a bag of virtues," and "one difficulty with this approach to moral character is that everyone has his own bag" (p. 9).

Teaching Children Responsibility

Teaching children responsibility is a model designed for parents' use (rather than teachers' use). According to the model, children best learn responsibility through a specific sequence.

They learn first to be responsible to their parents (obedience); then to be responsible to society for who they are and for what they do (morality); then to be responsible to self (discipline); and finally, to be responsible to and for other people (service)... Attempting to teach responsibility out of sequence is hardly ever successful. It is difficult for a child to feel responsible to society if he has not previously learned responsibility to his own parents. (Eyre & Eyre, 1984, pp. 5-6)

The model is presented in a book that describes step-by-step what parents should do. It has been suggested that the same model could be used in classrooms around the country, but, according to the literature available, this has not been done.

The Child Development Program

This project was created for the purpose of designing some intervention strategies that would enhance the social and moral development of children by systematically changing the classroom, home environments, and schools (Battistich et al., 1991). There are five classroom components which are reinforced by school-wide and home activities: cooperative learning, discipline, helping activities, highlighting pro-social values, and promoting social understanding.

The implementation of this project has shown an increase in the pro-social (moral) behavior of the children (even as young as first grade), an increase in conflict resolution strategies, and an increase in the commitment children show to democratic values in the classroom.

Models Based on a Religious View of Morality

In spite of the efforts that experts in the field of the psychology of moral development have made to separate moral development from religious development, many schools throughout the world have implemented programs of moral and values education within their programs of religious education.

This association between religion and morality is often explained by saying that to understand morality or any moral value, religion has to be studied since any moral principle or value has its roots in general principles or divine commands revealed in Holy Books (Sapp, 1986). It is also often stated that religious education and moral education are one and the same.

Most recently, since the field of moral development and education appeared in the social sciences independent of religion (e.g., Kohlberg, 1984; Gilligan, 1982), many have acknowledged that religious education is one more model of moral education (Sapp, 1986). Kohlberg (1981) was a very strong supporter of keeping moral and religious education as two separate processes.

In summarizing findings suggesting the very limited influence of religious education on moral development, I am not attempting to argue that religious education may not be able to play a role in moral development. I am arguing that formal religious education has no specifically important or unique role to play in moral development, as opposed to the role of the public school and the family in this area. The primary purpose of religious education in our society is not to develop moral character but rather to develop religious beliefs and sentiments. (Kohlberg, 1981, p. 304)

When religious education is used as the model of moral education, the curriculum is determined by the specific values and beliefs of the particular religion taught in that system. This type of moral education is common in religious schools in many countries in the world, and in public schools in countries where religious institutions and the State are not separate (for example, in many Muslim nations like Pakistan and Iran). In these cases, the moral education of most children has been left in the hands of religious leaders or religious institutions. The problem appears, however, when there is disagreement about whose religious beliefs should be taught (assuming that there are several religions coexisting in a country), or about how to interpret some of the writings in religious books, even in countries where there is an homogeneous religious population.

The fact that morality and religion have been associated in the minds of some people for many years has worked against the creation of nonreligious moral education programs in some societies and schools. The design and implementation of these programs have been avoided by many educators, decision makers, and governments who want to keep controversies about religious education, its content and goals, away from the classroom.

Models Based on an Interdisciplinary View of Morality

Confluent Moral Education

Confluent moral education is a trans-disciplinary approach to moral education that embodies three dimensions:

- Curricular applications (i.e., group counseling, modification of disruptive behavior, analysis of current events, etc.);
- Student and teacher behaviors (i.e., decision making, impartial thought, role-taking, forming relationships, acceptance of opinion, sincerity, etc.); and
- Instructional strategies, which include discussion approaches (Socratic peer discussion of dilemmas, values clarification techniques, etc.); action approaches (role-playing, simulation and games, creative dramatics); and classroom investigative techniques (jurisprudential model, group investigation, classroom meeting model).

The goal of confluent moral education is that of moral autonomy and is dependent upon the simultaneous achievement of both cognitive and affective goals in the classroom. In addition, teachers must model appropriate cognitive and affective behaviors if the most efficient and effective moral education is to occur. (Vare, 1986, p. 216)

Based on available literature, there is no evidence that this model has been implemented as such. As can be seen, the strategies suggested in the model are actually a mix of many models discussed earlier; therefore, this model has been considered a theoretical model of moral education rather than a practical one.

John Dewey's Model

Even though Dewey's model was never implemented as such, most of its principles were incorporated in Kohlberg's Just Community approach and other models discussed here.

John Dewey's proposal for moral education is very different from all the other contemporary popular approaches. First, Dewey's moral education is not a package. In fact, he would say that any 'unit' or 'course' or 'time set aside' for moral education is wrong-headed...values arise out of and are determined by common socially determined interests. Moral education ought to be directed toward acquainting students with these relationships. Students ought to be given opportunities to engage in these social situations in the classroom. Problems and/or dilemmas that arise in normal social considerations are the starting point for moral education in school. (Freiberg, 1986, p. 190)

Two elements of Dewey's model must be considered. First, according to this model, the physical, social, and psychological arrangements in the classroom must be such that appropriate social interactions occur. The second condition is that "when real problems arise, students must be encouraged to face, work at, and solve them by employing the scientific method" (Freiberg, 1986, p. 191).

Experiential Moral Learning

The goal of experiential moral learning is to immerse students in situations where they have to experience moral conflict and the process of seeking a solution. It is different from role-playing, simulations, and other games in that its goal is

...to establish real situations in which the participants are involved in the exercise, to the extent that they are one with the experience and are thus unable to remove themselves from the situation. In other words, they are not role-playing the situation; they are part of the situation. (Freiberg, 1986, p. 191)

According to the proponents of this model, experiential moral learning can provide a link between moral judgment and moral action (the lack of which in most cognitive models has been criticized), as the students will be genuinely, not vicariously, experiencing the moral conflict. "Experiential moral learning seeks to replicate, in the classroom setting, the sort of contexts in which moral decisions are made and acted upon" (Freiberg, 1986, p. 192). Given the literature available, there is no evidence that this model has been implemented.

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