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Transformative Social and Emotional Learning (SEL): Toward SEL in Service of Educational Equity and Excellence

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This article seeks to develop transformative social and emotional learning (SEL), a form of SEL intended to promote equity and excellence among children, young people, and adults. We focus on issues of race/ethnicity as a first step toward addressing the broader range of extant inequities. Transformative SEL is anchored in the notion of justice-oriented citizenship, and we discuss issues of culture, identity, agency, belonging, and engagement as relevant expressions of the Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning 5 core competencies. We also point to programs and practices that hold promise for cultivating these competencies and the importance of adult professional development in making these efforts maximally effective for diverse children and youth. We conclude by offering a few next steps to further advance transformative SEL research and practice.

Social and emotional learning (SEL) commonly refers to a process through which children and adults acquire and effectively apply the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to understand and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain positive relationships, and make responsible decisions (Weissberg, Durlak, Domitrovich, & Gullotta, 2015). The field emerged formally some 25 years ago and over the past few years, the evidence accumulated from basic and applied research (e.g., Cantor et al., 2018; Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011; Jones & Kahn, 2017; NCSEAD, 2019; Osher, Cantor, Berg, Steyer, & Rose, 2018; Taylor et al., 2017) has prompted practitioners, researchers, and policymakers to advocate for the adoption of such programs for pre-K–12 students in school and out of school settings (Jones, Farrington, Jagers, Brackett, & Kahn, 2019).

Although much is known about the influences and impacts of SEL efforts, there are still substantial gaps in our understanding of whether and in what ways SEL programs and approaches can best advance optimal academic, social, and emotional competence development of all children, youth, and adults. For example, Jones et al. (2019) asserted that a research agenda for the next generation must necessarily include increased precision in constructs and associated measures within a developmental progression; a better understanding of the nature and processes for training and professional development of educators that leads to high-quality implementation; attention to the influences and impacts of integrated social, emotional, and academic learning at the level of the student and settings (e.g., school, family, extended learning); and last but not least, whether and what ways such efforts can contribute to more equitable learning experiences and outcomes for children, youth, and adults from diverse backgrounds and circumstances.

This article builds on our recent efforts to help advance the research agenda for the next generation by focusing on SEL in the service of equity and excellence. Scholars and practitioners have raised important questions about whether guiding frameworks, prominent programs, and associated assessments adequately reflect, cultivate, and leverage cultural assets and promote the optimal well-being of young people, especially those from communities

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Note. Some of the ideas presented here synthesize those discussed in Rivas-Drake, Jagers, and Martinez (2019) and in Jagers, Rivas-Drake, and Borowski (2018).

Color versions of one or more of the figures in this article can be found online at www.tandfonline.com/hedp.

of color and underresourced backgrounds (Ginwright, 2018; Jagers, 2016; Rivas-Drake, Jagers, & Martinez, 2019; Kirshner, 2015). The concept of *transformative SEL* is a means to better articulate the potential of SEL to mitigate the educational, social, and economic inequities that derive from the interrelated legacies of racialized cultural oppression in the United States and globally. Transformative SEL represents an as-yet underutilized approach that SEL researchers and practitioners can use if they seek to effectively address issues such as power, privilege, prejudice, discrimination, social justice, empowerment, and self-determination. In essence, we argue that for SEL to adequately serve those from underserved communities—and promote the optimal developmental outcomes for all children, youth, and adults—it must cultivate in them the knowledge, attitudes, and skills required for critical examination and collaborative action to address root causes of inequities.

Toward this end, transformative SEL is aimed at educational equity—fostering more equitable learning environments and producing equitable outcomes for children and young people furthest from opportunity. This educational equity implies that every student has what she or he needs when they need it, regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, language, disability, family background, or family income (Council of Chief State School Officers, 2017). This includes examining biases and replacing inequitable practices with those that lend themselves to fertile, inclusive, multicultural learning environments that cultivate the interests and talents of children, youth, and adults from diverse backgrounds (e.g., Darling-Hammond, Flook, Cook-Harvey, Barron, & Osher, 2019; Hammond & Jackson, 2015; Osta & Vasquez, n.d.).

In this article, we focus on issues of SEL and educational equity with regard to race/ethnicity as a critical first step in seeking to specify how SEL might be leveraged in the service of equity for a range of minoritized people within the U.S. social system. Racialized oppression was foundational to the establishment of the United States and persists as a vexing, unresolved cluster of problems for sizeable portions of the population. Along with well-known projections that the United States will be a “minority-majority” nation in less than three decades is the reality that an increasing number of school-age children and youth reside in poor or low-income families and communities (Craig & Richeson, 2017; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012, 2016). Racial/ethnic inequalities in education are linked with other inequities such as health and wealth and thereby compromises the life chances of these children and youth. This ultimately undermines the vitality of their communities and threatens the nation’s security, productivity, and standing in global community. Addressing this matter adequately is a pressing and intergenerational endeavor. It will require children, youth, and

adults from advantaged and disadvantaged racial/ethnic groups and backgrounds to be constructively engaged in the pursuit of excellence in academic, social, and emotional development.

This article is derived in part from a larger scan of the literature that Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL; www.casel.org) is conducting. Such scans are done periodically to guide updates to CASEL tools and resources. The ongoing effort is anchored in CASEL’s current strategic foci of equity, adult SEL, and integration of academic and SEL instruction. We seek to further advance this work in several ways. First, we articulate the cultural and historical context for understanding the relationship between SEL and equity. In addition, we employ notions of democracy and citizenship (i.e., Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) to help further frame the concept of transformative SEL. Third, we discuss how expressions of culture, identity, agency, belonging, and engagement can fit within the five buckets represented by the CASEL five core competencies and in themselves have the potential to compose transformative social and emotional competencies. We then point to programs and practices that hold promise for cultivating and integrating these transformative competencies in the context of academic learning. In doing so, we highlight the importance of professional development that includes adult SEL to make these efforts maximally effective for diverse children and youth.

SITUATING EQUITY AND SEL IN A CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In the United States and many other Westernized societies, there are dominant cultural themes of individualism and materialism that suggest that the primary meaning of “maturity, success and happiness” is defined as being “self-sufficient, autonomous and financially well off” (Way & Rogers, 2017, p. 229). Although this orientation has brought about technological advances that improved the basic material conditions for many, it also fosters elevated levels of greed, avarice, utilitarianism, and unethical behaviors (Piff, Kraus, Côté, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010; Piff, Dietze, Feinberg, Stancato, & Keltner, 2015; Watson, 2016). This has, in turn, brought about the concentration of wealth in the hands of a decreasing percentage of people across the globe, a shrinking middle class, and an expanding number of working poor and poor (Ryan, Singh, Hentschke, & Bullock, 2018). The inequities and sense of unrealized material aspirations and socioeconomic precarity have social and emotional implications such as self-destructive (e.g., substance abuse and suicide) and internecine conflict and violence (e.g., verbal and physical bullying and mass shootings) that are

widespread but most pronounced among boys and men of color from underresourced communities and, increasingly, by low-income and working-class White men. Further, this cultural orientation helped launch, sustain, and exacerbate long-standing racial, class, and gender stereotypes that define prevailing notions of ingroups/outgroup relations. These stereotypes further inequities by allowing dominant groups, especially upper-income White people, to affix blame on the disadvantaged for their life circumstances; justify unearned privilege; and engage in dehumanization, commodification, and marginalization of large segments of the domestic and international populations (Goff et al., 2014; Salter & Adams, 2013).

Schools, like other mainstream U.S. cultural institutions, tend to reproduce these social arrangements. They prioritize prevailing middle-class American culture and can be thought of as offering a culturally relevant education (CRE) for White middle-income children and youth. Student success is narrowly defined in these terms, and variations from those normative patterns can result in culturally and linguistically diverse students being met with unwarranted low expectations, experiences of cultural mismatch, discrimination, microaggressions, and implicit biases by peers and adults (A. Allen, Scott, & Lewis, 2013). These can be traumatic experiences, which divert students' cognitive resources from learning (Darling-Hammond, Cook-Harvey, Flook, Gardner, & Melnick, 2018). These students are also offered suboptimal learning opportunities that include less feedback and the offering of curricula that require more rote memorization, is less demanding and engaging, and is less reflective of their community and culture (Osher et al., 2018). Relatedly, opportunity gaps are greater in schools where Black and Latino middle school students report more discrimination, feeling less safe and connected with adults, and having fewer opportunities to participate (e.g., Voight, Hanson, O'Malley, & Adekanye, 2015).

For youth of color, low-income youth, and immigrant youth, the prevailing social arrangements can induce acculturative stress, stereotype threat, alienation, institutional mistrust, and disengagement, which undermine success in school and hamper young people in assuming constructive roles in family, workplace, and community contexts (A. Allen et al., 2013; Hammond & Jackson, 2015; Tuck & Yang, 2011). This serves to help reproduce or exacerbate existing educational and economic inequities. Thus, it is necessary to consider a form of SEL that transforms individuals, interactions, and institutions in ways that support optimal human development and functioning for young people and adults regardless of circumstances or background (e.g., Jagers, 2016; Jagers, Rivas-Drake, & Borowski, 2018).

OUTLINING TRANSFORMATIVE SEL AND ASSOCIATED SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL COMPETENCIES: CITIZENSHIP AS A FRAMING ISSUE

The current CASEL framework for systemic SEL includes core social and emotional competencies, developmental contexts, and short-term and long-term outcomes (see Figure 1). Engaged citizenship appears as a long-term developmental outcome. We resonate with this idea, as an informed and engaged populace is vital to individual well-being (Hart et al., 2014) and the health of democratic societies (Flanagan & Levine, 2010). In their work on the role of teachers in U.S. education, Mirra and Morrell (2011) drew a useful distinction between neoliberal and critical democracy and offered implications for education. Briefly, they argued that education aimed at promoting personally responsible citizenship and its attendant individualism, consumerism, and passivity accords with a dominant neoliberal democracy; this is the dominant model. However, a critical democracy requires education to have collectivism, productive interactionism, and authentic engagement as its goals. Accordingly, the field of SEL could aim to prepare students for not only engaged but also critical citizenship.

To further illustrate, it is useful to consider models of citizenship implied by these different models of democracy. For example, Banks (2017) provided a citizenship typology that ranges from failed citizenship to transformative citizenship. Failed citizenship captures when domestic or immigrant individuals or groups feel structurally excluded from and ambivalent toward the nation-state and do not internalize its values or ethos. Rather, they focus on their group identity and political efficacy to achieve structural inclusion. Recognized citizenship applies to individuals and groups who the nation-state recognizes as legitimate and valued members. They have rights and opportunity but are not required to fully civically engage. Participatory citizens have recognized citizenship and engage minimally through, for example, voting. These three forms of citizenship are encompassed and help define the social hierarchy within neoliberal democracy frame. Transformative citizenship is the type most closely aligned with critical democracy, as it refers to actions taken to advance policies or social changes that are consistent with human rights, social justice, and equality. Such efforts might be inconsistent with or violate existing local, state, and national laws.

Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typology does not include failed citizenship but nevertheless corresponds with the Banks' notions of recognized, participatory, and transformative citizenship. Westheimer and Kahne also suggested that citizenship (and civic education) can take three forms: personally responsible, participatory, or

Framework for Systemic School and District SEL

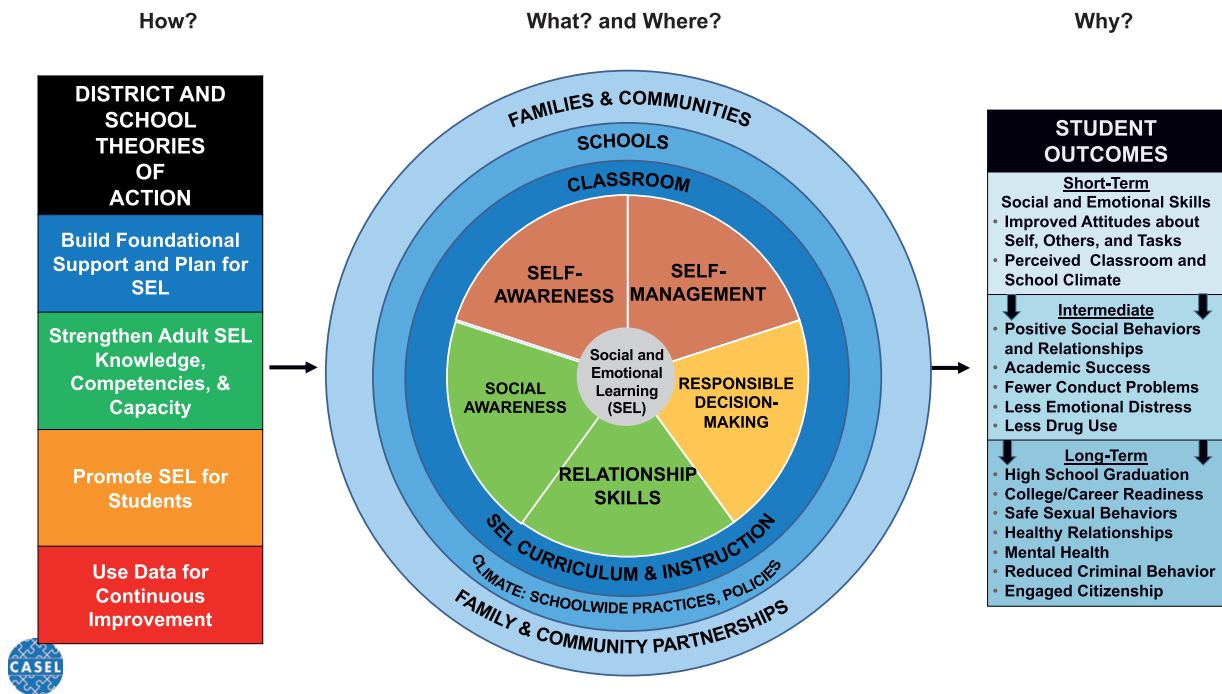


FIGURE 1. CASEL framework for systemic SEL.

justice oriented. Personally responsible and participatory citizenship are not inconsistent with neoliberal democracy. In brief, the personally responsible citizen is thought to exemplify good character by displaying prosocial attitudes and behaviors, and these youth often promote the common good (e.g., by being helpful in their local community in a general sense). The participatory citizen is actively involved in extant civic life through particular local clubs, traditional clubs and civic organizations, social institutions, and political activities. Finally, justice-oriented citizenship is concerned with institutional and system change efforts and is consistent with critical democracy.

If we understand SEL to be part of the civic development process, then we can characterize it in terms of the extent to which it is personally responsible, participatory, and transformative/justice oriented. Equally important, each form of SEL has implications for issues of social justice, which itself is a multifaceted concept (Jost & Kay, 2010). Interpersonal justice, for instance, is consistent with personally responsible SEL in that it refers to fairness in everyday informal interactions. Procedural and retributive justice refer to rules that guide decision making and thus correspond with participatory SEL; participatory SEL may also correspond to restorative justice, as it suggests a collaborative process whereby perpetrator and

victim reconcile and reestablish a sense of justice. In contrast to all of these stands distributive justice, which refers to the ways in which valued goods and services (e.g., power, knowledge, material resources) are allocated equitably; we view transformative SEL as most aligned with this type of social justice.

Pursuing social justice implies resistance to oppressive circumstances or relations. Solorzano and Delgado-Bernal (2001) offered that resistance to oppression can be self-defeating, reactionary, conformist, and/or transformational. Pivotal considerations among these are the degree and nature of one's critique of existing social arrangements and the striving for social justice. Failed citizenship can prompt reactionary and self-defeating forms of resistance, which differ slightly with regard to the level of system critique, but neither is motivated by social justice. Viewed through the lens of Solorzano and Delgado-Bernal's work, we can understand personally responsible and participatory SEL to be that which aligns with conformist resistance that offers limited or no system critique and is motivated by surviving within the existing social order. Indeed, personally responsible and participatory forms of SEL can facilitate assimilation and/or acculturation among immigrant groups, for example. Both societal arrangements assume, uncritically, the superiority of U.S.

TABLE 1
Tentative List of Relevant Concepts/Constructs for Forms of Social and Emotional Learning

	<i>Personally Responsible</i>	<i>Participatory</i>	<i>Transformative</i>
Self-awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Acquisitive individualism – Identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private regard • Exploration • Resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Communal orientation – Identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private regard • Exploration • Resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Communal orientation – Identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centrality • Private regard • Exploration • Resolution – Critical self-analysis
Self-management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Emotion-focused coping – Agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resilience • Social efficacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Emotion-focused coping – Agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resilience • Social efficacy • Civic efficacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Problem-focused coping – Cultural humility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agency • Resistance • Moral • Civic efficacy • Collective efficacy
Social awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Public regard – Belonging <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Public regard – Belonging <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion – Diversity salience (situational) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Public regard – Belonging <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-owner – Diversity salience (situational and institutional)
Relationship skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Engagement – Sharing – Helping 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Engagement – Cultural competence – Sharing – Helping 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Critical social analysis – Engagement – (Multi)cultural competence – Sharing – Helping – Collaborative problem- solving
Responsible decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Interpersonal justice – Acculturation – Personal well-being 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Procedural justice – Assimilation – Collective well-being 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Distributive justice – Pluralism – Collective well-being

TABLE 2
Examples of Program and Approaches to Forms of Social and Emotional Learning

	<i>Personally Responsible</i>	<i>Participatory</i>	<i>Transformative</i>
Examples	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skill development (risk prevention and competence promotion) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classroom community building • Multicultural education • Service learning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culturally relevant education • Project-based learning • Youth participatory action research

mainstream culture and require compliance and subservience from the disadvantaged for social acknowledgment and limited access to valued resources. In contrast, transformative SEL is consistent with transformational resistance, as it features a system critique and is motivated by distributive social justice. It prepares youth to analyze and oppose the reality that those rights and responsibilities are denied to some segments of the population and encourages disenfranchised groups to strive for self-determination within the democratic project.

These proposed forms of SEL—personally responsible, participatory, and transformative—thus have associated competencies and programmatic implications. Next we first illustrate what we mean by transformative social and emotional competencies (summarized in Table 1) in particular, before pointing to classroom-based programs and

approaches (summarized in Table 2) that hold promise for cultivating such competencies in students and adults.

SUMMARIZING TRANSFORMATIVE SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL COMPETENCIES

The CASEL 5 SEL competencies of self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision making represent large categories or conceptual buckets for organizing a range of intra- and interpersonal knowledge, skills, and abilities (Weissberg et al., 2015). We view these competencies as interrelated, synergistic, and integral to the growth and development of justice-oriented global citizens. Next we provide revisions to current definitions of each competency domain

through an equity lens, building on what we have referred to elsewhere as “equity elaborations” (Jagers et al., 2018).

- Competence in the *self-awareness* domain involves understanding one’s emotions, personal and social identities, goals, and values. This includes accurately assessing one’s strengths and limitations, having positive mind-sets, and possessing a well-grounded sense of self-efficacy and optimism. High levels of self-awareness require the ability to recognize one’s own biases; to understand the links between one’s personal and collective history and identities; and to recognize how thoughts, feelings, and actions are interconnected in and across diverse contexts.
- Competence in the *self-management* domain requires skills and attitudes that facilitate the ability to regulate emotions and behaviors. This includes the ability to delay gratification, manage stress, and control impulses through problem-focused coping. It also implies appropriate expressiveness, perseverance, and being agentic in addressing personal and group-level challenges to achieve self- and collectively defined goals and objectives.
- Competence in the *social awareness* domain involves having the critical historical grounding to take the perspective of those with the same and different backgrounds and cultures and to appropriately empathize and feel compassion. It also involves understanding social norms for constructive behavior in diverse interpersonal and institutional settings and recognizing family, school, and community resources and supports for personal and collective well-being.
- Competence in the *relationship skills* domain includes the interpersonal sensibilities and facility needed to establish and maintain healthy and rewarding relationships and to effectively navigate settings with differing social and cultural norms and demands. It involves communicating clearly, listening actively, cooperating, resisting selfishness and inappropriate social pressure, negotiating conflict constructively, seeking help and offering leadership when it is needed, and working collaboratively whenever possible.
- Competence in the *responsible decision making* domain requires the cultivation of knowledge, skills,

and attitudes to make caring, constructive choices about personal and group behavior in social interactions within and across diverse institutional settings. It requires the ability to critically examine ethical standards, safety concerns, and behavioral norms for risky behavior; to make realistic evaluations of benefits and consequences of various interpersonal and institutional relationships and actions; and to always make primary collective health and well-being.

ILLUSTRATING TRANSFORMATIVE SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL COMPETENCIES

In this section we highlight expressions of identity, agency, belonging, and engagement as transformative expressions of the five core CASEL social and emotional competencies. We offer, for example, that identity is multifaceted and reflected across competence domains; agency is an important aspect self-management and relationship skills, and that belonging and engagement imply social awareness and require responsible decision making.

Identity

Who you are, based on both self-definition and others’ perceptions, connotes relative advantage or disadvantage, helps to inform whether citizenship is contested, and determines the nature of one’s citizenship strivings and experiences (C. Cohen, Kahne, Marshall, Brower, & Knight, 2018). This implicates most directly the CASEL competencies of self-awareness and social awareness but weaves through the other competencies as well. Culture, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender continue to be used as determinants of social status and thus are key defining aspects of identity in the United States and across the globe. However, with a few notable exceptions (see Nagaoka, Farrington, Ehrlich, & Heath, 2015), notions of cultural orientation and identity have not been foregrounded in the extant SEL literature (Berg, Osher, Same, Benson, & Jacobs, 2017; Rivas-Drake & Umaña-Taylor, 2019).

Despite its connection to health problems, unethical behavior, and climate change, the cultural orientation toward acquisitive individualism continues to be a dominant theme promoted within U.S. cultural institutions, including schools (Ryan et al., 2018; Watson, 2016). Other cultural orientations or values provide an alternative sense of self/other and are an important asset to some ethnic and racial groups, including Latino, Asian American, and African American youth. For example, a communal orientation toward one’s family, ethnic/racial group, or community reduces psychological distress and risky

behaviors and promotes a range of positive socioemotional and academic outcomes, including school engagement, learning of academic content, and prosocial behaviors (cf. Rivas-Drake, Jagers, et al., 2019; Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014; Tyler et al., 2005).

The importance of cultural orientations to the nature of competence development is supported by emerging subfield of social-affective neuroscience. Immordino-Yang and Gotlieb (2017; see also Immordino-Yang, Darling-Hammond, & Krone, this issue) offered evidence that feelings are cognitive interpretations of neurolinked responses. Further, they presented comparative studies of culturally distinct groups that indicate that these interpretations are culturally situated/informed. They argued that neurobiological and sociocultural development are codependent—as such, humans are biologically cultural and that cultural orientation or the degree to which one embraces their culture of origin matters in this regard.

LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) posited that to be culturally competent within their own or other cultures, individuals would need to possess a strong personal identity, have knowledge and facility with the beliefs and values of the culture, display sensitivity to the affective processes of the culture, communicate clearly in the language of the given cultural group, perform socially sanctioned behavior, maintain active social relations within the cultural group, and negotiate the institutional structures of that culture. As such, cultural competence includes cultural humility and implicated not only in self- and social awareness but also relationship skills and responsible decision making. Further, given the increased diversity and cross-cultural contact that increasingly characterizes the extant global community, cultural fluency or voluntary acquisition, and facility with a second culture can be viewed as a desired relationship skill. Indeed, some evidence suggests that intercultural competence or bicultural-ity are associated with positive social, emotional, and academic outcomes (e.g., Brannon & Walton, 2013).

Social identities are informed by culturally defined groups and can be ascribed, adopted, and/or constructed. They can also be associated with social advantage and social disadvantage, as they often define membership in ingroups/outgroups. In their treatment of race/ethnic, gender, and immigrant social identities, Ghavami, Katsiaficas, and Rogers (2016) offered that social identities include centrality/importance, evaluation/regard, knowledge of group stereotypes, and awareness of discrimination. We acknowledge the powerful roles of class and gender identity in predicting a child, youth, and adult self-definition; the nature of interpersonal interactions; and patterns of skills and interests in the areas of education, occupation, and leisure (Leaper, 2015; Ryan et al., 2018). However, U.S. cultural norms conflate with race and class such that material wealth is associated with being White and both

are uncritically accepted as indicators of success. This fosters a sense of White racial entitlement and unearned privilege, as well as negative racialized biases and stereotypes about people of color and those from low-income backgrounds. As a result, there is a voluminous literature on ethnic/racial identity (ERI) development (cf. Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014; Rivas-Drake, Syed, et al., 2014; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011). As such, the present article focuses on ethnic/racial as an exemplar of social identity.

Decades of research indicates that children, youth, and adults are actively and regularly grappling with the meaning of their own race/ethnicity and the role of race/ethnicity more generally in their lives and society. Although early work in this area relied on stage models of racial identity (Cross, 1995), as Ghavami et al. suggested, more recent work is guided by multidimensional models (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) that include both identity content and developmental processes. Racial/ethnic identity content includes the abiding (centrality) and situational importance (salience) of race, personal (private) and public regard for one's racial group, and the idealized nature of intragroup race relations (ideology). One's sense of racial/ethnic centrality and private (one's own) regard for their group are most relevant to self-awareness. Social awareness is implicated in public (perceptions of how others') regard of one's racial/ethnic group. Racial/ethnic ideologies refer to the idealized nature of intragroup race relations and would be relevant to relationship skills and responsible decision-making. Such ideologies include assimilation (seeking to blend into the dominant society), oppressed minority (forging a common bond with other oppressed groups), nationalism (working together with same-race others), and humanism (understanding/emphasizing the shared experience of all humans, regardless of racial/ethnic background; Sellers et al., 1998). The bulk of the recent research in this area has focused on racial centrality and public and private regard. There has been less attention to salience and ideological dimensions. Although feeling good about one's racial self and being socially aware of issues of race seem relevant to all forms of SEL, centrality is transformative in the context of racialized oppression. Assimilation and humanism seem consistent with personally responsible and participatory SEL, whereas oppressed minority and nationalism are transformative in nature.

There has also been a focus on adolescence as a critical period for ERI development. This work portrays ERI as multifaceted, including the *process* of constructing an ERI as well as the content—that is, feelings, beliefs, and attitudes—associated with that identity. Meta-analyses and narrative reviews have helped to clarify the ways in which ERI may promote positive adjustment outcomes among African American, Latino, Asian American and Pacific Islander, and American Indian youth (Miller-Cotto &

Byrnes, 2016; Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014; Rivas-Drake, Syed, et al., 2014).

We find comparatively little recent research on White racial identity development, and a recent review of research on White teacher identity (Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016) pointed to the need for research that appreciates the complexities of White racial identity and its development, especially in connection with the implications for classroom practices with diverse students. There has been recent research conducted to understanding the ways in which the projected demographic shifts to a majority–minority country might impact racial attitudes among Whites. Craig and Richeson (2017) found that information about increasing diversity was associated with more explicit and implicit racial bias. This can have negative implications for social and emotional competence development in all forms of SEL but represents a particular challenge for transformative SEL in certain segments of the White population.

For example, there has been considerable attention to, but fairly little systematic research on, teacher implicit racial bias (Warikoo et al., 2016). However, anti-Black/pro-White implicit racial associations appear to be fairly common in non-Black samples (Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2007) and are described as automatic cognitive associations people make between a given social group and certain feelings, concepts, and evaluations (Warikoo et al., 2016, p. 508). People are thought to be generally unaware, unable to strategically control and unwilling to explicitly endorse such beliefs. Those reporting such biased attitudes also report fewer Black friends and feeling less comfortable interacting with Blacks (Aberson, Shoemaker, & Tomolillo, 2004). Important to note, these scholars speculate that moderate association between explicit and implicit racial bias may explain why racial disparities in school outcomes can continue to exist even in school contexts where well-intended corrective efforts have been tried. A related concept—White fragility—refers to racial stress experienced as a result of various types of challenges to the sense of privilege associated with being White. Such challenges are purported to trigger negative emotions and internalizing or externalizing defensive behaviors (DiAngelo, 2011), and thus may be quite relevant for how we understand self-management among some White children, youth, and adults in settings where issues of race are salient.

At the same time, lab-based social psychology research studies with White participants have demonstrated that positive cues about social connectedness, shared group membership, and engaging in the authentic cultural activities of diverse groups can decrease implicit bias and increase interest the culture of others concurrently and over time (Brannon & Walton, 2013; Scroggins, Mackie, Allen, & Sherman, 2016). This body of research seems

particularly important given that the majority of classroom teachers continue to be middle-class White women as the student population is becoming increasingly diverse.

Intersectionality

We agree with Nagaoka et al. (2015) that an integrated identity is a desirable developmental outcome among young people. Understanding the nature of healthy integration requires an intersectional approach. Intersectionality evolved out of Black feminist theorizing that recognized that each person belongs to multiple social categories that occur in historical and sociopolitical contexts that may subject them to multiple oppressions simultaneously (Ghavami et al., 2016). As such, we agree that there is a need to focus more on how understanding and experience of each is filtered through others within and across members of relevant groups than on which social category is more salient. Ethnic/racial, gender, and class identity have been studied as separate and distinct areas of inquiry. However, some scholars have effectively argued that in an increasing multicultural context, there is a need to illuminate how membership in multiple social groups intersect and shape experiences of privilege and disadvantage within and across developmental domains (e.g., peers, schooling, employment; Ghavami et al., 2016).

Given that transformative SEL advances equity and excellence, we see the nexus of racial/ethnic identity, academic identity, and disciplinary identification as one of the more productive lines of inquiry (e.g., Bell, Van Horne, & Cheng, 2017; Varelas, Martin, & Kane, 2012). For example, research has shown that having a positive sense of one's racial identity can buffer Black students against school-based discrimination and support one's academic success (e.g., Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, & Kohn-Zimmerman, 2003). Other work has shown that many students' pervasive notions of being a good student include conformity and compliance and that this is inconsistent with the type of sustained, creative, collaborative scholarly participation (consumer, critic, producer) required for them to approximate scientists and engineers in STEM disciplines (Martin, 2012; van Horne & Bell, 2017). Alignment across these aspects and elements of identity is pivotal to transformative SEL.

Agency/Efficacy as Aspects of Self-Management and Relationship Skills

Self-regulation is featured prominently in SEL because it contributes to short-term and long-term adaptive affective, cognitive, social, emotional, metacognitive, and academic development processes; modulation of stressful experiences; conflict resolution; and resilience. As such, self-regulation may undergird the ability to productively engagement with

the social and physical world (Blakemore & Bunge, 2012; Murray & Milner, 2015; Nagaoka et al., 2015).

However, cultural orientation and identity are also relevant to agency, another important facet of self-management (Nagaoka et al., 2015). Although it is important to limit or inhibit one's self in some instance, it is equally important to be agentic—to participate in or actively change an interaction or context. They appropriately leverage the work of Bandura (2000), who defines agency as comprising (a) devising an action plan; (b) goal-setting to anticipate, guide, and motivate action; (c) self-reactiveness or the requisite self-regulatory knowledge and skills to follow the course of action; and (d) self-reflectiveness such that one can examine their personal efficacy as it relates to the meaning, effectiveness of, and adjustment to a specific course of action. We see utility in Bandura's (2002) notion of moral agency in the context of the present interest in distinguishing among how forms of SEL might help realize equitable learning environments and outcomes. He proposed that moral agency refers to a self-reactive process through which people refrain from wrongdoing toward others and the proactive engagement in humane behavior. This seems like an important motivating factor for both advantaged and disadvantaged groups that warrants systematic attention.

Agency lends itself to understanding the ways in which individuals or groups employ psychological resources to express and realize resilience. Resilience is pivotal to issues of equity when SEL is advanced from a personally responsible and participatory perspective. However, there is a growing body of work on resistance (alluded to earlier) relevant to our emerging notion of transformative SEL. Way and Rogers (2017) suggested that resistance is a core feature of healthy social and emotional development that begins in early childhood. It refers to a process by which individuals or groups resist stereotypes, roles, and expectations that support their oppression and undermine their humanity, and how such patterns change over time.

There has been some more recent attention to students' social self-efficacy as an indicator of their agency in contributing to positive relational processes in their classrooms (Patrick, Ryan, & Kaplan, 2007). There is a body of research on teacher self-efficacy as well. Teacher self-efficacy refers to teacher beliefs that they can influence how well students learn, even those students who may be difficult or unmotivated (Tschannen-Moran & Barr, 2004). Such beliefs by teachers have been linked to their instructional quality (Holzberger, Philipp, & Kunter, 2013); job satisfaction and emotions (Stephanou, Gkavras, & Doukeridou, 2013); and a range of desirable student academic, psychological, and social outcomes (e.g., Tschannen-Moran & Barr, 2004; Sosa & Gomez, 2012).

Given our contention that SEL is a civic enterprise, we include literature on political agency or efficacy, which refers to an individual's belief in his or her own knowledge and skills to act socially and politically. The fundamental assumption of this component of sociopolitical development (SPD) is that people take action when they believe that their voice and action can make a difference (Watts & Guessous, 2006). Such political efficacy is consistent with empowerment or sociopolitical control (Zimmerman, 1995), which refers to self-efficacy related specifically to community and political action. This individual agency is the personal belief that one has the capacity to understand and effect community change through their own purposeful actions (Beaumont, 2010). Similarly, sociopolitical control is the perceived capacity to change social conditions and participate in individual and collective social action to effect social change (Diemer & Li, 2011; Ginwright & James, 2002; Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, & Maton, 1999). Some empirical work has been found to support this theoretical assumption. For instance, self-efficacy to promote justice was found to moderate the relationship between just-world beliefs and prosocial behavior (Mohiyeddini & Montada, 1998). In addition, Watts and Guessous (2006) found that experiences of agency in previous community or political projects moderated the relationships between just-world beliefs and commitment to future civic activities but did not predict recent past civic behaviors. On the other hand, Hope and Jagers (2014) found that political efficacy moderated the relationship between civic education and civic participation behaviors.

Further, collective efficacy is an essential transformative SEL competence. Although there has been some attention to the notion of collective classroom efficacy among students (Putney & Broughton, 2011), there has also been considerable attention to collective teacher efficacy (Goddard, 2000). Collective teacher efficacy reflects the capacity of a school faculty to promote student learning. This group-level belief contributes to emotional experiences and teacher job satisfaction (Stephanou et al., 2013) and to some academic outcomes (Tschannen-Moran & Barr, 2004). It is also noteworthy that collective efficacy has been applied in the civic domain. It connotes neighborhood residents' perceived collective capacity to take coordinated and interdependent action on issues that affect their lives (Bandura, 2000; Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon, & Saunders, 1998) and has been associated with reductions in violent crime, homicide, and obesity rates (e.g., D. A. Cohen, Finch, Bower, & Sastry, 2006; Morenoff, Sampson, & Raudenbush, 2001; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). It may be a useful construct for understanding school/family/community partnerships to advance educational initiatives such as systemic transformative SEL. Such collective efficacy can be

built on individual civic engagement by creating and leveraging social bonding capital (Collins, Neal, & Neal, 2014).

Belonging and Engagement Are Relevant to Social Awareness and Responsible Decision Making

Sense of belonging or connectedness represents a fundamental need for relatedness with others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and is thus foundational to healthy human functioning across developmental periods and contexts. School belonging is viewed as one of the more important factors associated with students' social and emotional well-being, academic self-efficacy and motivation, school satisfaction (McMahon, Parnes, Keys, & Viola, 2008; McMahon, Wernsman, & Rose, 2009), and academic achievement (see Eccles & Roeser, 2011 for a review). It implies a student's felt experience of acceptance, respect, and inclusion by adults and peers and includes constructs such as school identity, school connectedness, and emotional engagement (Gillen-O'Neil & Fuligni, 2013). As such, extant school belonging research seems most relevant to participatory SEL.

School belonging is thought to be particularly important in supporting developmental outcomes among students from historically marginalized groups and communities (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997; Kraft, Blazar, & Hogan, 2018). It is noteworthy that there is a strong relationship between sense of school belonging and social awareness (Kraft et al., 2018). Research also points to increased racial awareness and a decline in public regard, a component of ERI, among students of color as they grow older (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006; Swanson, Cunningham, Youngblood, & Spencer, 2009). This suggests that students may be increasingly aware of negative views that adults and peers hold of their ethnic/racial group. This realization has prompted some scholars to include racial school climate (e.g., Byrd, 2017; Voight et al., 2015) and microaggressions (J. M. Allen et al., 2018) in their work on school practices and climate.

Consistent with transformative SEL, Powell (2012) offered that belonging in a democratic society means that "members are more than just individuals; they also have collective power and share a linked fate" (p. 5). Belonging implies not only recognition but also full involvement in meaning making and the building of relationships and institutions. It connotes co-constructing or producing the nature, terms, and goals of interactions and institutions. In this sense, student authentically partner in and/or lead the school process. This transformative type of belonging exceeds access and inclusion reflected in personally responsible and participatory SEL and is

contrasted with exclusion and marginalization of failed citizenship.

Evidence suggests that sense of belonging can play a pivotal role in students' school engagement (Brewster & Bowen, 2004; Klem & Connell, 2004; Patrick et al., 2007; Tennant et al., 2014; Woolley & Bowen, 2007).

As such, school improvement initiatives such as SEL view school engagement as a meaningful gauge of the success of their efforts to positively influence students' academic and socioemotional well-being (Desimone, Smith, & Frisvold, 2010; Harbour, Evanovich, Sweigart, & Hughes, 2015). Like Allensworth et al. (2018), we believe that school engagement is an important prerequisite and result of learning. School engagement reflects students' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors with regard to their relationship to school, including attitudes toward the classroom environment and specific learning activities (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004). Fredricks et al. (2004) posited that school engagement comprises interrelated cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components. Cognitive engagement is the use of self-regulatory and metacognitive strategies to plan, monitor, and reflect on one's thinking. Emotional engagement refers to students' sense of belonging and connectedness to school. Finally, behavioral engagement is represented by positive school conduct and active involvement in academic tasks and extracurricular activities.

Civic engagement has emerged as a focal aspect of human development in the past 15 years. Civic engagement encompasses a range of knowledge, values, attitudes, and behaviors related to involvement in one's local community (including school) and broader society. Much of the recent work has focused on personally responsible (e.g., by being helpful in their local community in a general sense) and participatory citizenship (engaged in civic life through particular local clubs, traditional clubs and civic organizations, social institutions, and political activities). Less attention has been given to early manifestations of transformative/justice-oriented citizenship (active engagement in institutional and system change efforts). Elsewhere, we have pointed to kindred notions of empowerment, critical consciousness, and SPD (Diemer & Li, 2011; Watts et al., 2003, 2006) as a lens through which to explore and promote transformative/justice-oriented competencies. For example, the SPD model considers the individual and contextual factors through which youth understand and become involved in personal and/or collective behaviors for societal change. In this sense, it links intrapersonal (self-awareness, self-management) and interpersonal (social awareness,) to institutional (relationship skills and responsible decision making) competencies. Critical self- and social analyses are pivotal aspects of SPD and connote to an evolving understanding of cultural, economic, and political systems—how these systems

shape society and how societal definitions impact one's own status within the society—to guide individual and collective sense of efficacy (described earlier) and actions to ameliorate oppression and injustice and realize liberation (see Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003; Watts & Guessous, 2006; Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2012). Thus, individual and groups engage in cocreating the spaces where they belong and can thrive.

We offer this initial graduate profile of transformative social and emotional competence with the understanding that specifying the developmental trajectories and pathways for these competencies is a necessary next step in our work. In this connection, we now turn to what would appear to be promising programs, approaches, and practices for promoting transformative competence development.

Some Promising Programs and Approaches for Advancing Transformative Competence Development

Table 2 describes our initial effort to organize programs and approaches based on personally responsible; participatory; and, most important, transformative forms of SEL. As Table 2 shows, we contend that culturally infused SEL skill development, project-based learning (PBL), and youth participatory action research (YPAR) has features that are consistent with promotion of transformative social and emotional competencies we just outlined.

Prominent SEL programs do not explicitly address the various competencies and considerations just mentioned (Jagers, Rivas-Drake, & Borowski, 2018; Jagers, 2016). The bulk of the evidence and momentum for the development of the field has been derived from rigorous studies of classroom-based programs that are primarily skill development and fewer community-building that employ experimental designs to aid in making causal claims about program influences and impacts (see Rimm-Kaufman, Baroody, Larsen, Curby, & Abry, 2015; Jagers et al., 2015; Williamson, Carnahan, Birri, & Swoboda, 2015 for reviews of elementary, middle, and high school programs, respectively). Although meta-analyses by Durlak et al. (2011), Taylor et al. (2017), and Grant et al. (2017) do not distinguish between personally responsible and participatory forms of SEL, they have helped to further synthesize and distill out key findings from a range of relatively well-designed investigations.

Evidence indicates that SEL programs reduce risky behaviors and improve desired personally responsible and participatory social and emotional attitudes and behaviors. A second key finding is that extant SEL programs impact positively on academic outcomes as represented by improved grades and scores on standardized tests. In terms of academic outcomes, it is less clear the degree to which such programs incorporate or leverage more

constructivist approaches to learning advanced in the learning sciences and linked to 21st-century learning objectives (e.g., Darling-Hammond et al., 2018). There is general agreement that today's educational processes should support the development of 21st-century skills that include self-directed and collaborative activities that feature critical thinking and problem solving—the ability to locate, analyze, synthesize, and apply knowledge to novel situations. Because social, emotional, and academic learning are intertwined, it makes sense that these higher order skills and abilities are built on and cultivated through the types of transformative social and emotional competencies just outlined and enacted in structured learning contexts that lend themselves to collaborative inquiry, investigation, and problem-solving applied to real-world issues (Darling-Hammond et al., 2018; Stafford-Brizard, 2016). Thus, as we outline desired influences and impacts of transformative SEL, we need to frame excellence in academic, social, and emotional learning with this in mind. This is particularly important given the ways in which adult SEL can factor into the pervasive educational opportunity gaps that we pointed to earlier in this article.

Indeed, reviews of the Science of Learning and Development research synthesis and brain science (Darling-Hammond et al., 2018; Immordino-Yang, Darling-Hammond, & Krone, 2018) have suggested the following educational implications for schools to be attuned to diverse students in ways that support optimal learning outcomes:

1. SEL that includes explicit instruction of social and emotional competencies as well as the infusion learning and use of such competencies throughout all aspects of schooling enterprise, including educative and restorative discipline approaches;
2. a caring, supportive learning environment that includes relational trust and respect among students and adults (school personnel, caregivers, and community members); a sense of being known, valued, and safe; developmentally appropriate tasks; and culturally responsive learning opportunities;
3. productive instructional strategies that include collaborative inquiry-based activities that build on a student's prior knowledge and experiences and employs explicit instruction, scaffolding, and application to make the work meaningful and to facilitate conceptual understanding, elaboration, co-construction, and transferable knowledge and skills; and
4. individualized supports that include multitiered systems of support, extended learning opportunities, and access to integrated services.

These derivations align well with CASEL's 10 indicators of high-quality schoolwide SEL: (a) explicit SEL instruction, (b) SEL integrated with instruction, (c) supportive classroom and school climates, (d) youth voice and engagement, (e) focus on adult SEL and relationships, (f) supportive discipline, (g) a continuum of integrated supports, (h) systems for continuous improvement (and evaluation), (i) family partnerships, and (j) community partnerships (www.casel.org). For the present purposes, we focus primarily on classroom-based social, emotional, and academic content learning content; pedagogy; and teacher–student relations.

Because academic, social, and emotional competencies are deeply intertwined, we should strive toward their integration in instruction. Relatedly, teaching and learning is fundamentally a relational process. It benefits from positive developmental relationships, characterized by warmth, consistency, attunement, reciprocity, and joint activity—including sharing and transfer of power and scaffolding of learning (Center on the Developing Child, 2016). The latter point about power-sharing and scaffolding impresses us as essential to transformative SEL. For example, power-sharing can foster racial and academic identity development, agency, and a sense of democratic belonging. Scaffolding can further enhance academic identity and engagement by connecting prior knowledge with new academic content and skills and applying them to identification and solving concerns that arise within and beyond the lived experiences of students. This aligns with Mirra and Morrell's (2011) notion of teachers as civic agents in a critical democracy. Further, this is consistent with our contention that SEL is best understood as civic development enterprise and that schools and classrooms are “mini-polities” (Flanagan, Martinez, Cumsille, & Ngomane, 2011, p. 102). From the perspective of transformative competence promotion, it is useful to consider schooling and adult–student relations within an empowerment framework. As an empowering organization (Zimmerman, 1995), Wong, Zimmerman, and Parker (2010) provided a useful typology of five patterns of youth/adult relations that can be applied to student–teacher relationships. In their scheme, a vessel relationship refers to adult control with youth having no voice and choice. Symbolic relationships are those in which adults have control but youth have voice. Youth have voice, are active participants, and share control in pluralistic relationships. Independent relationships refer to situations in which youth have voice and actively participate, and adults relinquish their control. Youth have voice and full control in autonomous relationships. Transformative SEL requires a pluralistic relationship that might foster youth autonomy to lead social change.

Culturally Relevant Education

Notions of culturally responsive (Gay, 2000), culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings, 2014), and culturally sustaining (Alim & Paris, 2017) teaching can be readily found in the literature. There is a general consensus that culturally informed content and instructional processes reflect the best of the science of learning and development as they can afford cultural well-being, identity, and safe learning environments that can result in optimal opportunities for academic, social, and emotional learning (Cantor et al., 2018; Darling-Hammond, 2017; Hammond & Jackson, 2015; Immordino-Yang, Darling-Hammond, & Krone, 2018). Arsonson and Laughter (2016) offered the concept of CRE to begin to unify this literature. CRE incorporates both content and pedagogical approaches by including the following: (a) connecting a student's cultural assets and references to academic concepts and skills, (b) employing curricula that encourages student reflection on their own lives and society, (c) supporting student cultural competence by facilitating learning about their own and other cultures, and (d) pursuing social justice through critiques of discourses of power.

Issues of culture and racial identity are conflated in some of this work. CRE is widely touted as an approach for sustaining and encouraging growth in the ERI youth bring to school, as it focuses on creating learning communities in which culturally different individuals and heritages are valued; cultural knowledge of ethnically diverse cultures, families, and communities is used to guide curriculum development, classroom climates, instructional strategies, and relationships with students. Culturally responsive teaching also challenges racial and cultural stereotypes, prejudices, racism, and other forms of intolerance, injustice, and oppression. It encourages being change agents for social justice and academic equity; mediates power imbalances in classrooms based on race, culture, ethnicity, and class; and assumes cultural responsiveness is endemic to educational effectiveness in all areas of learning for students from all ethnic groups (Gay, 2013). The cultural backgrounds of students are used as a vehicle for learning (Ladson-Billings, 1995).

There is some evidence suggesting that culturally grounded SEL programs can be impactful with regard to risk reduction (Hecht & Shin, 2015; Metzger, Cooper, Zarrett, & Flory, 2013). However, such programs primarily use cultural assets to improve both participant engagement and uptake and participant outcomes (Kreuter, Lukwago, Bucholtz, Clark, & Sanders-Thompson, 2003) but seldom examine cultural assets such as communal values or ERI (self- or social awareness) as intervening or outcome variables. This would be essential to move skill-focused programs toward more participatory and transformative forms of SEL. Existing literature indicates that

explicit instruction around issues of identity can have positive impacts on student outcomes. For example, Brittian-Loyd and Williams (2017) reviewed literature on programmatic efforts to promote the ERI of African American youth. Conceptually, they posited that a culture-specific program philosophy is helpful because it informs the selection of materials and interpersonal interactions that reflect positive racial socialization messages and behaviors. One of the two school-based programs they reviewed is NTU, an Africentric program designed to reduce risk behaviors (e.g., by reducing tolerance of substance use) and increase protective factors, including racial identity, among African American early adolescents who were considered at high risk for substance use (e.g., children of substance users; Cherry et al., 1998). Among the multiple components of the intervention was a Rites of Passage program based on Nguzo Saba (Seven Principles of Kwanzaa) and Heshema (Respect), which was designed to enhance adolescents' cultural awareness, development of healthy values, resiliency, and social skills (p. 324). In a quasi-experimental study, the researchers found that fifth graders in the intervention group, as compared to the comparison group, more strongly endorsed Africentric (communal) values and reported feeling more positively about being Black and believing that being Black is a positive attribute.

Our scan revealed fewer studies of school-based promotion of ERI among youth of other ethnic/racial groups. One such program takes a universal rather than group-specific approach: Umaña-Taylor, Douglass, Updegraff, and Marsiglia (2018) reported on a randomized control efficacy trial of the Identity Project, a classroom-based intervention designed to promote ERI exploration of diverse adolescents. Although youth of color reported higher exploration and sense of clarity about their ethnicity/race over time, the authors report expected program effects on identity exploration for all youth. These studies offer evidence that school-based programs can help foster ERI among diverse youth, and a follow-up study suggests that increasing ERI exploration was related to other desired outcomes, including self-reported grades and self-esteem, but not related to attitudes about interacting with members of other ethnic/racial groups (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018).

The use of CRE in history and social studies has been connected to heightened awareness of power of political movements and effects of racism (Epstein, 2011; Martell, 2013). For example, Hughes, Bigler, and Levy (2007) reported on a small-scale experimental study designed to examine the impacts of a week-long history unit on racism on the racial attitudes and cognitive and affective responses of Black and White elementary school children. Students were exposed to biographies of famous Americans. The racism lessons included information about discriminatory experiences endured by famous

Blacks, whereas the control condition offered no such information. Among White children, those in the racism condition reported more positive racial attitudes, greater valuing of racial fairness, and greater racial defensiveness and racial guilt than peers in the control condition. The effect on racial guilt was driven by the elevated levels of older versus younger children in the racism condition.

Facing History and Ourselves, which appears in the CASEL program guide as an evidenced-based program, is designed to integrate issues of race/ethnicity into regular secondary school Social Studies and Language Arts instruction. It leverages historical examples of conflict, injustice, and discrimination to teach tolerance, social skills, and civic responsibility. The program also targets teaching practices and classroom climate. There is some evidence that FHOA improves students' psychosocial competence and reduces racist attitudes and fighting among White youth and improved teacher sense of efficacy with use of democratic (i.e., inclusive) teaching practices (Barr et al., 2015).

Our interest in informed and engaged citizens makes it essential to understand whether and in what ways CRE might contribute to academic outcomes. Aronson and Laughter's (2016) review suggests that CRE is associated with indicators of academic motivation such as increased academic motivation (e.g., Bui & Fagan, 2013), increased content interest (e.g., Martell, 2013), and increased confidence in and facility with content discourse and test-taking (Hubert, 2014).

For example, Dimick (2012) reported on the efforts of a high school environmental science teacher to make students aware of how the pollution of a local river was linked to larger regional and societal problems. After a field trip to the river, students were supported in developing their own action plans for addressing the condition of the local waterway. This included producing an informative rap song to raise community consciousness and then organizing a cleanup effort. Dimick found increased science engagement even among students who were previously disengaged during the science class.

Findings from CRE studies are also relevant to disciplinary outcomes in math and science such as time on task, engagement, and efficacy (Ensign, 2003; Milner, 2011); classroom work and test scores among Latino middle school students (Gutstein, 2003); and pre/post increase in math and science thinking skills (Rodríguez, 2014). In English/language arts, research indicates that the CRE is associated with greater motivation and creativity (Christianakis, 2011), higher attendance, test scores and college-going (Duncan-Andrade, 2007), and improved test scores (Caballero, 2010).

Gay (2010) asserted that essential actions for CRE educators are replacing deficit with more affirming views of students and communities, understanding why and how

culture and difference are essential considerations, willingness to conduct a critical analysis of textbooks and other materials, making pedagogical connections within the teaching context, and anticipating that there will be critics of culturally responsive teaching. Duncan-Andrade (2007) offered five pillars of effective culturally relevant practice: being critically conscious of their students' potential as change agents, their sense of responsibility to the community, preparation for high-level classroom practice, Socratic sensibility that supported reflection on their practice, and commitment to building trust with students.

Some suggest that book clubs, curriculum labs, and professional learning communities provide means to develop and enact greater cultural and ethnic/racial literacy as defined by critical theorists (e.g., Blaisdell, 2005; Denevi & Pastan, 2006). Warren (2018) suggested that the cultivation of empathy and perspective taking in pre-service and in-service educators is foundational to them adopting culturally relevant pedagogical orientation and adapting and refining associated instructional practices. It stands to reason that teachers' cultural orientation, racial identity, and sense of personal and collective efficacy could help inform adoption and adaptation processes as well. These considerations and approaches to CRE professional development and subsequent implementation and outcomes warrant systematic examination.

Student-Centered/Student-Led Approaches

Instructional approaches such as PBL and YPAR appear to have potential for fostering social, emotional, and academic processes and outcomes for diverse students and adults. Our read of the literature, including the recent scholarship on the science of learning and development (Cantor et al., 2018; Osher, Cantor, Berg, Rose, & Steyer, 2017; Darling-Hammond et al., 2018; Immordino-Yang et al., 2018), suggests that such approaches are aimed at developing critically informed and engaged students and thus are consistent with transformative SEL.

One of our key interests in these approaches is the ways in which students are engaged in collaborative problem-solving around student-generated concerns. Collaborative problem-solving represents a skill set that is in significant demand in the increasingly complex global community (Fiore et al., 2017). It impresses us as leveraging academic, social, and emotional learning, because collaborative problem solving is defined as the capacity of an individual to effectively engage in a process whereby two or more agents attempt to solve a problem by sharing the understanding and effort required to come to a solution and pooling their knowledge, skills, and efforts to reach that solution. Indeed, studies have shown that Black students both prefer and demonstrate greater social and academic motivation and increased learning in cooperative/

communal learning settings (e.g., Hurley et al., 2009). We imagine that identity and belonging are implicated as well.

Surr et al. (2018) studied sense of personalized learning and the structural and dynamic qualities of collaborative learning tasks among diverse students and teachers in four high schools. Structural quality elements included student-centered culturally responsive activities, group interdependence, balanced group composition and group norms, and task clarity. Dynamic quality elements included responsive, respectful, and inclusive interactions; constructive exchanges and shared leadership; and decision making. Although collaborative experience was infrequent, such experiences were associated with students' reports of higher self-efficacy, motivation, and engagement. Black students had higher ratings of collaborative experiences than did White students, and high-quality collaboration was associated with higher grades for Black students regardless of prior academic performance. Teacher expectations had less influence on the positive link between collaboration and outcomes for Black students than for their White classmates.

PBL encourages collaborative problem-solving but is represented in the CASEL program guide based on improved academic outcomes in a high school economics class (Finkelstein, Hanson, Huang, Hirschman, & Huang, 2010). Although the notion of PBL is quite familiar to educators, it can be introduced into classrooms via school-wide programs, via externally developed classroom curricula, or through teacher-initiated efforts. The Buck Institute for Education (2015) offered a "gold standard" for PBL that includes (a) student learning goals, (b) essential design elements, and (c) project-based teaching practices. Student learning goals include key knowledge and understanding, which highlights a student's learning how to apply knowledge to the real world and use it to solve problems, answer complex questions, and create high-quality products. The key success skills for students in school, the workplace, and as citizens include social and emotional competencies such as the ability to think critically, manage themselves effectively, and work well with others. These success skills are also referred to as 21st-century skills or college and career readiness skills. These skills are should be taught in all projects and only through acquisition of content knowledge.

Essential project design elements for PBL include (a) a challenging problem or question that is important to students; (b) sustained inquiry that is active, in-depth, and iterative; (c) authenticity that implies real-world relevance for students; (d) student ownership reflected in their voice and choice; (e) student and teacher reflection on what, how, and why they are learning throughout the project; (f) critique and revision such that students should be taught how to give and receive constructive peer feedback to

improve project processes and products; and (g) a public product that demonstrates learning that supports a solution to a problem or answer to a driving question.

STEM learning has been a significant focus of PBL, including efforts to align PBL curricula with the Next Generation Science Standards (Holthuis, Deutscher, Schultz, & Jamshidi, 2018). In testing this approach, they found that compared to nonparticipating sixth graders, those receiving the Next Generation Science Standards-aligned curriculum were observed as being more effective in groupwork. It is noteworthy the study included an introductory puzzle so that students could practice group skills and teachers could learn how to allow students to take initiative, deliberate, make mistakes, and solve problems. Participating students had higher scores on standardized ELA and math assessments and on a science pre/post assessment. However, Duke et al. showed the positive impacts of PBL for elementary school literacy and social studies (Duke, Halvorsen, & Strachan, 2016). In their review of the PBL literature, Condliffe et al. (2017) found that PBL has been found to increase attendance and positive attitudes toward diverse classmates (Kaldi, Filippatou, & Govaris, 2011), positive attitudes toward learning (Hernández-Ramos & De La Paz, 2009), a reduction in gender gap in science achievement (boys improved more) and in race, and socioeconomic status gaps in math (Holmes & Hwang, 2016).

Baines, DeBarger, De Vivo, and Warner (2017) suggested that PBL can create an identity-safe learning environment with reflection, collaboration, expression, and self-direction/ownership (agency) as key elements of SEL in the PBL context. However, these assertions have not been examined systematically. Van Horne and Bell (2017) suggested that PBL can link learning and identity in designed learning environments. They advocated for

culturally expansive instructional experiences ... a collective endeavor ... that foster meaningful and transformative forms of learner agency, sense making and learning about options for learners' future selves that draw on and connect to lives and cultures of youth outside of the school. (p. 438)

They developed case studies of diverse high school students participating in project-based instructional designs in the context of an 8-week genetics unit and a 6-week infectious disease unit. Consistent with PBL precepts, both projects required students to design and conduct a research study using contemporary professional (scientific) tools of the specific disciplinary biology domain. Findings suggest that students can rely on prior experiences and on notions of future identities to motivate them to engage in disciplinary practices and thereby more fully adopt a disciplinary identity.

Over the past few years, there has been a substantial increase in projects employing YPAR. YPAR is a youth-

centered form of community-based participatory research, which is used frequently in public health, social work, and community psychology to actively engage underserved children, youth, and adults in identifying and addressing local real-world problems through an iterative research and action process. In this sense, it has been argued that YPAR is useful in efforts to address racial/ethnic and class-based equity concerns (Ozer, 2016; L. Smith, Baranowski, Abdel-Salam, & McGinley, 2018). Important to note, Kornbluh, Ozer, Allen, and Kirshner (2015) described the ways in which such projects advance the SPD of children and youth while addressing academic standards such as Common Core State Standards and Next Generation State Standards.

Like community-based participatory research, contextual factors help shape YPAR projects. However, Ozer (2016) suggested that there are core “non-negotiables” to this approach. These include (a) engaging youth in the training and practice of research skills, (b) strategic thinking, and (c) strategies for influencing change on a youth-identified topic. The use of social science research skills positions youth as experts—critical consumers and producers of knowledge—about their lived experiences and of the required processes for bringing about desired changes. Second, the research process is understood to be an iterative problem identification/analysis–design–action–reflection cycle. Finally, there must be careful attention to adults’ sharing of power with students throughout the process (Ozer, Ritterman, & Wanis, 2010). This represents distributive justice such that adults (teachers, youth workers) are appropriately understood to be colearners and facilitators rather than experts or primary decision makers in the YPAR process.

Ozer et al. (2010) proposed classroom-level processes that include teacher–student power sharing, academic-relevant research and advocacy skills, group or collaborative work, positive class climate, and networking opportunities. With regard to competence development, Ozer et al. proposed that YPAR participation should result in youth-level outcomes such as positive ethnic identity and sense of purpose (self-awareness), enhanced individual and collective efficacy (self-management and relationship skills), and increased school bonding and social networks and supports (social awareness and relationship skills). This makes intuitive sense to us. However, we are unaware of direct assessments of these assertions.

Research studies have been conducted in elementary, middle, and high school (e.g., Kornbluh et al., 2015) and in out-of-school time settings (Murray & Milner, 2015). We focus on school-based YPAR for the present article. The bulk of the school base studies reflect the establishment of small student groups who volunteer and/or are recommended to participate in student voice initiatives. Practically all of the studies are smaller scale qualitative

examination of the YPAR process. Young people seek to address a range of topics relevant to their sense of personal and community well-being, including food access, community violence, and reforms in the juvenile justice system. However, many projects focus on the educational systems. With regard to school reform, student action research has, for example, offered input on school curriculum and governance (Ozer & Wright, 2012); sought to change school lunches (Kohfeldt, Chhun, Grace, & Langhout, 2011); and advocated for the implementation of antibullying, behavioral-monitoring, and service learning opportunities (Voight, 2015).

Voight (2015) described the development of a student voice project in a predominately Black low-resourced middle school. Three representative student voice teams were established through the joint recommendations of the school climate coordinator and grade-level teacher teams. Teams met for 1 hr a week, during which adults used Socratic questioning to help surface root causes of identified problems and possible solutions. Each group generated a project. For example, the seventh-grade group recommended and was supported in developing an antibullying video to show in classes, as well as a poster and other products to display in the school's public spaces. Across the projects, educators and students reported greater trust in each other. There was also an increase in team-based peer relations and some evidence of increased academic motivation, positive social norms, and pro-social behavior.

There are precious few experimental studies of YPAR efforts. In one such study, Ozer and Douglas (2013) reported on the use of a within-school randomized experimental design to compare the effects of elective direct service and youth research (YPAR) classes on psychological empowerment of a relatively small sample of diverse high school students. Students in the YPAR condition reported higher levels of social political skills (e.g., persuasiveness/efficacy), motivation to influence their schools and communities, decision-making and problem-solving skills, and participatory behavior (speaking with other students about school improvement).

It is noteworthy that Ozer and Douglas (2013) developed the YPAR process template to advance continuous improvement of YPAR efforts by linking key processes with proposed student outcomes. Focal processes include training and practice of research skills, practicing strategic thinking and discussing change strategies, integrative interaction of research and action, building school and community-based networks, and teacher-student power sharing in the action research process. Four teachers facilitated 14 semester-long cohorts of diverse high school students. Teachers adapted a version of an existing curriculum and received monthly consultation with university partners. This type of continuous improvement process

seems essential to developing high-quality YPAR opportunities. One of the major findings was that power sharing over major decisions and power sharing over daily structure were both associated positively with students' behavioral engagement.

Kirshner (2015) reported on the efforts of a group of fifth- to 12th-grade classroom teachers from seven schools who sought to integrate a critical civics perspective into their academic content courses. Teachers were all White, taught varying grades, and had a range of teaching philosophies. The overarching intent was to foster the SPD of students of color and those from low-income backgrounds through opportunities for critique and collective agency to achieve school reform. Toward this end, teachers used "three signature practices" of shared power, critical conversations about education and identity, and participatory action research (pp. 138–139). Although all were able to complete action research projects that culminated in presentations to relevant policymakers, Kirshner shed light on the ways in which teachers struggled with this launching and sustaining this type of transformative effort. These included, for example, structural challenges associated with an overemphasis on testing and administrators' discomfort with students' critique of schooling. There were also instructional challenges that included teacher experiences of vulnerability and loss of power, student apathy, and discomfort with discussions of race. He encouraged teachers interested in pursuing this type of work to develop allies among colleagues and community stakeholders and to experiment with the practices to adapt and improve applications to the local context. Implied here is the critical need for teacher identity work and for the development of personal and collective efficacy to advance transformative SEL.

NEXT STEPS

This article represents an effort to establish and flesh out transformative SEL as an approach that we believe to have merit if researchers, practitioners, and other stakeholders are interested in advancing equity and excellence in education. The effort was informed by CASEL's strategic foci, and our assertion of a transformative form of SEL generates a number of possible next steps. One immediate set of considerations has to do with CASEL tools and resources. As we further sharpen the conceptualization of multiple forms of SEL, we will need to turn attention to how these advances are represented in, for example, the CASEL framework (Figure 1). We will also wrestle with the ways in which this expanded SEL framing might best be reflected in the CASEL program review and other popular resources and tools. In many respects,

this article represents an opportunity to add additional substance and nuance to these deliberations.

With district partners, we are pursuing action research on the development of proposed transformative social and emotional competencies, with a particular emphasis on issues of identity, agency, belonging, and collaborative problem-solving. In doing so, we are using a research–practice partnership approach to gain a nuanced understanding of influences and impacts on young people and adults within and across local learning contexts (e.g., school, family, and community). This will help us determine scaling strategies within and across districts and states. As we tried to suggest herein, identity should be understood to be multidimensional, multifaceted, and intersectional. The apparent dearth of systematic information on White racial identity development is unfortunate and needs to be addressed. And although we highlighted ERI in this article, class and gender identity are also critical aspects of how students and adults conceive of themselves. As with other social and emotional competencies, the developmental course of the complex of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and institutional competencies separately and with regard to their intersections warrants attention (Jones et al., 2019). Given our assertion that social-emotional competencies are inclusive of civic knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors (i.e., in the development of citizenship), person-centered and qualitative analytic approaches might be a productive way forward. We are particularly curious about the composition and dynamics of peer networks and adult facilitation of collaborative problem-solving efforts (e.g., Medina, Rivas-Drake, Jagers, & Rowley, 2019; Rivas-Drake, Saleem, Schaefer, Medina, & Jagers, 2019). Because we embrace CASEL’s ecological framework for systemic SEL, we are also interested in understanding schools, families, communities, and the workplaces as developmental contexts for transformative competence development.

The literature points to a number of approaches, programs, and practices that are consistent with transformative SEL as they help advance aspects of transformative social and emotional competencies for children, youth and adults. Of course, adult SEL is critical to any transformative SEL effort. The prospect of widespread racial bias means that pre- and in-service professional development efforts associated with this form of SEL must include critical content and experiences aimed at humanizing underserved students and affirming their rights and assets in coconstructing an equitable and excellent educational experience. The extant research base on CRE and identity development comprises smaller scale studies that are largely qualitative in nature. There appear to be few studies that assess issues of culture and identity and link them with other more common indicators of social, emotional, and academic competence. The prevailing focus in the

SEL field on larger scale quantitative experimental studies has limited the attention given to this work by SEL researchers. At the same time, CRE is commonly understood to be highly contextualized and difficult for educators to enact. As such, more needs to be known about similarities and differences in content and pedagogy across contexts. Specifically, we would seek insights into the ways in which power-sharing opportunities might occur, as it cultivates distributive justice, a central motivating principle of transformative SEL. The nature and delivery of academic, social, and emotional content is also of interest, as it undergirds effective collaborative problem-solving.

Student-centered/student-led approaches like PBL and YPAR are consistent with the core principles of CRE. However, they are more intentional about positioning students as experts on their own lived experience and capable of working with peers and adults to leverage academic content and skills to devise and iteratively test ways to advance collective well-being. Like CRE, work in this area tends to small scale and to not include assessments of relevant social and emotional competencies. It is unclear the degree to which PBL is offered in schools serving students of color and/or students in underresource settings, so more insights are needed into how high-quality opportunities can be afforded these young people. However, it seems evident that students and adults from such communities do participate in and benefit from YPAR. Consistent with findings from social psychology studies just cited, Rubin, El-Haj, Graham, and Clay (2016) reported on a semester-long study of the ways in which student teaching in a YPAR classroom influenced the learning of preservice teachers. Participating teachers learned how to engage in student-centered teaching practices, gained an appreciation for student assets, and developed insights into the structural inequities their students experienced.

Transformative SEL requires explicit critical examination of the root causes of racial and economic inequities to foster the desired critical self- and social awareness and responsible individual and collective actions in young people and adults. Programs and approaches that focus on identity development and/or systematic efforts to integrate issues of race, class, and culture into the academic content can have greater utility to the degree that they advance aspects of identity that comport with transformative SEL. Although considerable attention is given to historically disenfranchised groups, meaningful and sustainable change requires transformations in the ways in which those experiencing relative privilege understand themselves and their role in ameliorating inequities in interpersonal and institutional contexts (Jost, 2015; Seider, 2008). The limited evidence on this seems mixed, at best. Project-based and youth-led action-oriented approaches

may have the greatest purchase, as they provide a context for children, youth, and adults to work together to synthesize and cultivate critical academic, social, and emotional competencies, to include an iterative cycle of action, reflection, and refinement of strategies they enact to realize collective well-being in the broader national and international contexts.

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