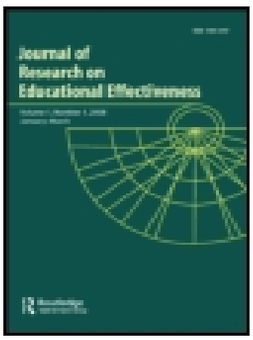

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INTERVENTION, EVALUATION, AND POLICY STUDIES

Never Again: The Impact of Learning About the Holocaust on Civic Outcomes

Daniel H. Bowen[a] and Brian Kisida[b]

ABSTRACT

Preparing students to be effective citizens is a longstanding goal of public education. Historical content provides illustrative opportunities for civic learning. Teaching about the Holocaust exemplifies this approach. Employing an experimental research design with 865 secondary school students, we analyze effects on civic outcomes from learning about the Holocaust through a school-sponsored trip to a Holocaust museum. We find that lessons about the Holocaust increase students' support for civil liberties and deepen historical content knowledge, but decrease religious tolerance. High school students and those from college-educated households drive increases in support for civil liberties, and these students are more likely to donate to human rights causes as a result of the intervention. Middle school students and those from less-educated households drive the negative religious tolerance effect. These findings suggest that history lessons can produce meaningful impacts on civic educational outcomes. However, a stronger educational foundation that comes with engaging with challenging political issues may be a vital prerequisite to avoid undesirable consequences.

KEYWORDS

civic education
Holocaust education
museum studies
randomized experiment

Introduction

Preparing students for the roles and challenges that come with sustaining a healthy democracy is a central goal of public education in the United States (Gutmann, 1987). Effective civic education prepares students to become engaged citizens of a free, democratic society and provides a foundation for understanding critical values, such as freedom, pluralism, and tolerance. However, dismal performances on the National Assessment of Educational Progress civics assessment in addition to recent political developments have fueled spirited discussions about school roles and strategies to fortify civic education (Hansen, Levesque, Valant, & Quintero, 2018; Kahlengerg & Janey, 2016; Pondiscio & Tripodo, 2017). The decline in youth engagement in community civic activities since the middle of the 20th century has accentuated the obligation that schools have regarding the provision of civic learning opportunities, especially for students who otherwise lack access to such

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educational opportunities (Feldman, Pasek, Romer, & Jamieson, 2007; Galston, 2004; Gibson & Levine, 2003; Levinson, 2010; Putnam, 2000; Torney-Purta, 2002).

Although there is not a universally accepted set of standards or objectives, civics education in the United States generally aims to improve students' understanding of the principles and functions of federal, state, and local government institutions; comprehension of the rights and responsibilities of citizens; and inclination to apply these lessons in their communities (Galston, 2004; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002). These educational opportunities have traditionally been delivered through formal curricula in civics courses, integrated into other school-subject areas, and enhanced with extracurricular and afterschool programs, such as student government and debate club (Bischoff, 2016).

A major challenge with civics education in the United States since the turn of the 21st century has been the disproportionate focus on subjects assessed for accountability purposes, such as math and reading (Brown, 2015; Hansen et al., 2018). As a result of these accountability pressures, school administrators have increasingly diverted resources from untested subject areas (West, 2007). This development has had adverse effects on civics education (Education Commission of the States, 2016; Levinson, 2012). Moreover, education researchers have lacked access to standardized civic educational outcome measures and, consequently, there is limited evidence on the efficacy of PK–12 civic education interventions (Campbell & Niemi, 2016; Feldman et al., 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008).

Advocates contend that civic education should include explorations of current and historical events that engage students in healthy discourse on challenging issues (Gould, Jamieson, Levin, McConnell, & Smith, 2011). Lessons about the Holocaust and the pattern of oppression and persecution leading up to and throughout World War II exemplify this pedagogical approach (Barr et al., 2015). These historical lessons allow students to examine a critical period in human history and learn about the consequences of prejudice, intolerance, and dehumanization; the fragility of human rights for marginalized peoples; how authorities can abuse official power; and the value and importance of individuals and groups protecting and promoting civil liberties, justice, and tolerance (Barr et al., 2015; Bromley & Russell, 2010; Carrington & Short, 1997; Doering & Pekarik, 1996; Lindquist, 2006; Shiman & Fernekes, 1999; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2017).

In this study, we investigate the causal impact of Holocaust education through a school-sponsored Holocaust museum field trip experience on civic-educational outcomes. Employing a student-level randomized controlled trial (RCT) with a sample of 865 middle and high school students, we find that civic-oriented lessons about the Holocaust have significant educational impacts. Specifically, instruction increases students' desire to protect civil liberties. This effect coincides with significant gains in historical content knowledge about events surrounding the Holocaust. Counterintuitively, students also exhibit negative effects regarding religious tolerance.

Effects vary substantially by demographics. Increase in support for civil liberties appears to be largely attributable to students from college-educated households, and these students do not demonstrate negative religious tolerance effects. Moreover, as a result of this educational experience, we find that students from college-educated households are more likely to donate to human rights charities, specifically the Anti-Defamation League and United to End Genocide. Similarly, high school students demonstrate increased support for civil

liberties and higher donations to the Anti-Defamation League. Conversely, students from less educated households and middle school students appear to drive the negative religious tolerance effect, and these students do not show increased support for civil liberties or pro-human rights charitable causes. We also find heterogeneous effects by race/ethnicity and gender, which we discuss later in this article.

These results indicate that Holocaust instruction, an archetype of civic education, can produce socially meaningful and policy-relevant effects. These lessons are vital in times of civil unrest, when marginalized populations are vulnerable and subject to persecution. Education policy makers and practitioners should consider these benefits when assessing the value that civic learning opportunities provide in the development of future citizens who will face the challenges of living in an increasingly diverse, democratic society. Finally, variations in effects across subgroups provide insights that can inform discussions pertaining to the delivery of these learning experiences in hopes of improving civic learning outcomes for all students.

Literature Review and Background

Holocaust education in the United States was rare prior to the 1980s but has become increasingly common in secondary schools. Its prevalence is largely attributed to the 1979 Presidential Commission on the Holocaust, chaired by Elie Wiesel (Ben-Bassat, 2000). The Commission's Report to President Carter included the recommendation that "the study of the Holocaust become part of the curriculum in every school system in the country" (President's Commission on the Holocaust, 1979, p. 12). Justified on the basis of preventing history from repeating, the commission concluded that "In reflecting on the Holocaust, we confront not only a collapse in human civilization but also the causes, processes, and consequences of that collapse" (p. 8). In response, educators expanded Holocaust curricula to encompass civic and moral learning in addition to history-based objectives (Ben-Bassat, 2000).

Sixty-five countries have included lessons about the Holocaust in their school curricula (Carrier, Fuchs, & Messinger, 2015). As of 2014, only five states had passed legislation mandating Holocaust education, but several states have begun the process of introducing and implementing laws that require Holocaust and genocide education (Ziv, 2016). Furthermore, former U.S. White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer's widely reported gaffe in April of 2017, wherein he referred to concentration camps as "Holocaust Centers," motivated the "50 State Genocide Education Project," an initiative that promotes Holocaust and genocide instruction for schools throughout the country (Ziv, 2017).

Civic Education

Studies show that schools can have considerable influence on students' civic learning and development (Campbell, 2008; Dee, 2004; Feldman et al., 2007; Galston, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2000; Neundorf, Niemi, & Smets, 2016; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, 2002). Moreover, evidence suggests that school-facilitated learning opportunities can compensate for disparities in civic knowledge and behaviors that are related to family-based socialization and socioeconomic status

(Campbell & Niemi, 2016; Neundorf et al., 2016). However, despite this promising evidence, there remains a strong need for investigations that examine the causal relationships between school-induced inputs and civic-related outcomes (Neundorf et al., 2016; Syvertsen, Flanagan, & Stout, 2007, Milligan, Moretti, & Oreopoulos, 2004).

From an instructional approach, achieving desired civic educational benefits through historical examples has great potential (Barr et al., 2015). Pairing historical and current events deepens students' understandings of complex issues which promote the growth and development of civic competencies (Barr et al., 2015). However, these instructional strategies pose challenges for educators. Without sufficient context and depth, these lessons can produce unintended outcomes, such as the development of simplistic, incorrect connections between past and present events (Boix-Mansilla, 2000; Brown & Davies, 1998; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2016). Consequently, whether social studies teachers should incorporate civic-oriented learning objectives in history lessons remains subject to debate (Elgstrom & Hellstenius, 2011; Gordon, Simon, & Weinberg, 2004; Novick, 1999).

Holocaust Education

As with research on civic education, there is limited empirical evidence on the impacts of Holocaust educational experiences, as well as concerns about instructional approaches. Existing studies are typically confined to descriptive analyses that do not clearly identify causal relationships (Gallant & Hartman, 2001; Schweber, 2006; Totten, 2012). Additionally, there remain concerns about teachers' ability to effectively teach about the Holocaust in ways that go beyond names, dates, and statistics. Moreover, teachers struggle with promoting deeper learning when incorporating shocking and traumatizing material (Lindquist, 2006; Novick, 1999; Schweber, 2006; Short, 1994; Stevick & Gross, 2010; Totten, 2000). Teaching students about the Holocaust poses considerable challenges for secondary school teachers (Bromley & Russell, 2010; Foster et al., 2016; Friedlander, 1979; Lindquist, 2006). Middle and high school teachers typically cover the Holocaust without delving into why or how these events took place (Totten, 2012). Without proper historical, sociological, and philosophical contexts, deeper lessons from the Holocaust may not become evident to students (Brown & Davies, 1998; Foster et al., 2016; Short, 2000; Wieser, 2001). Teachers also struggle with distinguishing the Holocaust from other historical instances of injustice (Lipstadt, 1995); classroom instruction and curricula tend to contain inaccuracies (Riley & Totten, 2002); and teachers often rely on online resources that are misleading or lacking in depth (Totten, 2012). Finally, there are concerns about whether and when teaching about the Holocaust is developmentally appropriate for students. Exposing students to mature subjects and discussions too early in their development is challenging and poses the risk of unintended consequences (Schweber, 2008).

Findings from investigations of Holocaust education are mixed. Descriptive analyses suggest that there are modest, positive associations between individuals' Holocaust educational experiences, levels of Holocaust content knowledge, and support for democratic and civic values (Starratt, Fredotovic, Goodletty, & Starratt, 2017). The implementation of an in-depth Holocaust education curriculum in Scotland produced modest positive effects on students' perceptions of minority groups, although it did not increase students' historical content knowledge about the Holocaust and its surrounding events (Cowan & Maitles, 2005, 2007).

Investigations of shorter-term Holocaust educational interventions, which are more common to U.S. secondary schools, are also generally positive, yet it remains unclear whether they have impacts beyond the acquisition of content knowledge (Ben-Peretz, 2003; Carrington & Short, 1997; Schweber, 2003). These findings have been corroborated with evidence from interviews with secondary school students who reported having learned a lot about the history and brutalities of genocide but struggled to see how these lessons applied to current events and rarely expressed changes in their civic views (Short, 2005).

Two studies on the impacts of Holocaust instruction with secondary school–level students have employed experimental research designs. Bickman and Hamner (1998) investigated the impacts of Israeli students' field trip experience to Yad Vashem, Israel's official memorial to Holocaust victims. This experience produced small to modest reductions in students' anxieties about the Holocaust (the majority of these students had personal connections to Holocaust survivors), but it did not increase content knowledge (likely due to ceiling effects; Bickman & Hamner, 1998). An RCT of the Facing History and Ourselves professional development intervention, a program that trained teachers how to integrate Holocaust lessons and complex social and civic issues, found that this professional development effectively strengthened teachers' self-efficacy for educating students about challenging subjects. This intervention also increased students' civic self-efficacy, tolerance toward those with different social or political views, and historical thinking skills. There was no evidence the program affected students' sense of civic responsibility, civic participation, and social or ethical awareness (Barr et al., 2015).

School Visits to Museums

School-sponsored museum visits are typically shorter-term educational experiences. However, recent research on school-sponsored field trips suggests that these educationally enriching learning opportunities produce meaningful impacts. Students randomly assigned to participate in a school-facilitated art museum field trip experience demonstrated significant increases in political tolerance, empathy, the ability to critically think about artworks, desire to engage in cultural consumption, and tour-related content knowledge (Bowen, Greene, & Kisida, 2014; Greene, Kisida, & Bowen, 2014; Kisida, Bowen, & Greene, 2018). School-sponsored field trips to science learning institutions similarly produce positive student benefits (Weinstein, Whitesell, & Schwartz, 2014; Whitesell, 2016). Moreover, these opportunities consistently produce more pronounced benefits for students from historically underserved groups (Bowen et al., 2014; Greene et al., 2014; Kisida, Bowen, & Greene, 2016; Kisida, Greene, & Bowen, 2014; Whitesell, 2016). Although the purposes, formats, and content areas of these experiences are very different than those of Holocaust museums and memorials, these studies show the potential for positive effects from students engaging in school-sponsored learning interventions in partnerships with cultural institutions.

The Intervention

We partnered with the Holocaust Museum Houston (HMH) and 15 schools to evaluate the impact of a Holocaust educational experience with a diverse sample of 865 students in 68 classrooms. The HMH opened to the public in 1996 and shortly thereafter began designing

opportunities for classroom teachers at all grade levels in response to the impediments regarding Holocaust education. The HMH is modeled after the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, providing numerous educational resources including guided tours that are provided by trained volunteers, professional development opportunities, and lesson plans. The HMH annually provides approximately 400 tours, and their comprehensive educational outreach has served over 500 schools, 1,300 teachers, and 40,000 students.

The HMH strongly recommends that the field trip experience take place in the midst or toward the conclusion of the classroom teacher's instructional unit. To get a better sense of the dosage of the intervention, we collected data from students participating in our study over the evaluation period to determine how much instruction about the Holocaust these students had received before and after the field trip experience. Prior to the field trip experience, the median student had engaged in four to five class periods of Holocaust instruction, which increased to six to seven class periods of Holocaust instruction shortly after the field trip. Therefore, the students involved in this study received about one school week's worth of classroom instruction prior to visiting the Holocaust museum, and the treatment was receiving an additional one to two class periods of post–school visit instruction in addition to the field trip experience.

The HMH's guided school tours primarily serve secondary school–aged students. These tours accommodate approximately 60 students at a time with as many as three museum-trained docents leading groups of 15 to 20 students. The entire museum experience lasts about two and a half hours and includes a tour of the permanent exhibit, memorial space, rotating galleries, and a 105-seat theater, which plays a 30-minute video entitled "Voices" that includes firsthand testimonies from Holocaust survivors who immigrated to Houston after World War II. The main permanent exhibition is called "Bearing Witness: A Community Remembers." The tour of this exhibit starts with showing students what life was like for Jews in Europe prior to and leading up to Hitler's rise to power. The major emphasis of this initial section of the tour is to show students the time frame and transition from Jews gradually losing civil rights, to forced segregation, imprisonment, and extermination. The experiences of responses of Holocaust perpetrators, bystanders, rescuers, and liberators are depicted through photographs, descriptive text panels, personalized testimony, short films, and artifacts. In addition to viewing the main permanent exhibit, students enter an actual 1942 World War II railcar, the same type used to transport millions of Jews to their deaths, and a Danish rescue boat that was used in 1943 to heroically rescue over 7,200 Danish Jews.

These tours stress the notion of agency and the fact that individuals are responsible for making moral choices in their everyday lives. Specifically, these tours emphasize the fact that at the peak of Hitler's Third Reich there were hundreds of millions of individuals in positions to make choices about their roles in the Holocaust; "People could choose either to be perpetrators, rescuers, upstanders, or bystanders" (HMH, n.d., p. 2). Attributing the atrocities of the Holocaust to the fact that most of these individuals chose to be bystanders, these tours stress that future tragedies may be prevented if people are willing to stand up for those who are victimized.

The HMH also provides classroom teachers with pre- and post-visit learning activities to help enrich students' overall educational experiences. These instructional materials are designed to address many of the aforementioned challenges with Holocaust education,

including guidelines from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum to assist with teaching and preparing students for the HMH field trip experience. These guidelines stipulate that teachers should avoid overgeneralizing Jewish and Nazis experiences and perspectives; avoid simple answers to complex history to avoid reductionism; contextualize the history being taught; avoid comparisons of suffering; translate statistics into people; strive for a balanced perspective by examining actions and experiences of victims, perpetrators, rescuers, and bystanders; and consistently reflect on and ensure the reinforcement of intended lesson plan objectives. Suggested post-visit activities include class discussions about aspects and moments of the museum tour that have special meaning to the students; conducting studies on modern-day genocide; and having students design service-oriented class projects that give students an opportunity to effect change through raising awareness, contacting political representatives, and collecting donations (HMH, n.d.).

Prior to the experimental component of our study, we documented the format and delivery of this experience by observing field trips and reviewing student and teacher tour feedback collected by the museum. These sources corroborate that a central component of the tour stresses the importance of taking agency and not being bystanders when witnessing the victimization of others. When asked to provide feedback, teachers indicated that they perceived such impacts, commenting that, "Each time I bring a group of students to the Holocaust Museum, I see students who become convinced that they have a purpose in life. Their education has been mixed with a sense of responsibility to help change things and themselves." Student feedback suggests that this objective is often achieved by humanizing historical events through firsthand accounts and records; for example, one seventh-grade student expressed, "I knew about the Holocaust—at least the numbers and dates that I learned in school—but I didn't know the details of what kinds of things happened to the people."

Additionally, student feedback reinforces that the tour was a much more visceral experience than education confined to the classroom; an 11th-grade female student expressed that "This trip to the Holocaust Museum has left more impact on me than anything else. I learned things here and viewed things that I wouldn't be able to get and fully understand in the classroom … I now have more respect for those who went through the suffering." An eighth-grade boy commented that "Before I got here I thought it would be just like class, but in reality it's like you're living the Holocaust. You feel the pain of the people in the camps."

Students also questioned their own prejudices; a sixth-grade student expressed that "My visit caused me to stop and think about whether I was discriminating in my own life." And an eighth-grade student reported that "After September 11th, I realized that I might be prejudiced against [Muslims], now I realize how bad feeling that way could be." Moreover, the tour's emphasis on the importance of being an "upstander" resonates with many students. As a sixth-grade student noted, "I learned a very powerful lesson yesterday, there is no such thing as being neutral. You are either helping or not. All the people who followed Hitler and all the people who simply stood by are just as much perpetrators as he was."

Some students also felt compelled to be upstanders who take preventative action against future afflictions. One fifth-grade girl reported that "If it were to ever happen again, I would stand up for whoever is being hurt …" An eighth-grade female expressed that "The Museum has opened my eyes. … Now I know that I should not

act on my prejudice and stand up for victims in my everyday life so that history will not repeat itself." Another 12th-grade female stated "I will be a bystander no more." These qualitative observations point to the kinds of changes we might expect to see in students as they learn from the experience. Students see firsthand the utter tragedy and horror of the Holocaust, they see the victims as human beings, they question their own prejudices, and they learn that they can have their own agency to stand up for justice.

Study Design

Admission to the museum was free for students in our study, and Title I schools received subsidies to help offset the costs of their visits, making the experience widely available to students throughout the region. School-sponsored tours were booked on a rolling basis before and throughout the school year, and the museum ensured that the supply of tours kept up with demand.

Similar to Bickman and Hamner's (1998) experimental research design, we randomized individual students based on the timing of survey administration. When the research team first visited each school to collect data from students in their classrooms, students were discreetly sorted into treatment and control groups based on whether their birthdays fell on odd or even numbers. If they were randomly assigned to the control group condition, they completed a survey measuring our outcomes of interest approximately one week before visiting the museum. During this same data collection visit, students in the treatment group took a separate survey that collected their student-level demographic information and included other unrelated questions to keep them occupied. Approximately one week after visiting the museum, we returned to the schools and students in the treatment group were given the outcome-based survey while the control group took the demographic-based survey. After data were entered, outcome-based survey responses were linked to student-provided demographic data with self-generated identification codes created from four survey items included on both surveys. Importantly, because individual students were not given the same survey twice, we can alleviate concerns about internal validity threats such as testing/retesting, priming, or framing. An overview of our student recruitment, randomization, and survey process is provided in Figure 1.

Our sample consists of school tour groups that had already booked tours and were willing to participate in the study. Participation in this evaluation was voluntary and did not, in any way, influence a school's ability to schedule a tour. While this strategy limits our ability to generalize findings beyond our sample, the randomization of treatment status within this sample of applicants ensures strong internal validity (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). Fifteen schools participated in this study (seven traditional public, three charter, and five private), which comprised 68 class sections with 1,652 student museum tour reservations. Of these students, 1,065 (64%) obtained parental consent to participate in the study, and 865 (81% of study participants) completed both surveys with subject-generated identification codes that could be successfully linked; 80.3% of treatment and 82.1% of control group students completed both surveys and had their responses successfully linked, a difference of 1.8 percentage points, which is not statistically significant.

Visualization of the Student Recruitment, Randomization, and Survey Process

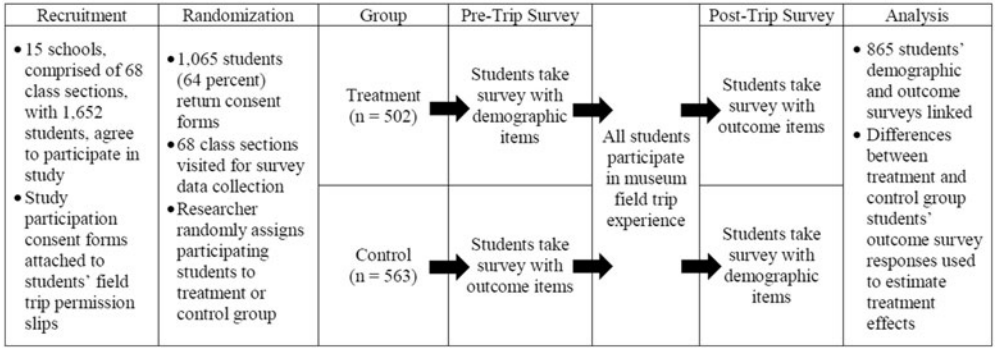

Figure 1. Visualization of the student recruitment, randomization, and survey process.

Table 1. Treatment/control balance of the analytic sample.

Characteristic	Treatment $n = 403$	Control $n = 462$	Difference
Average grade level	8.5	8.2	0.2
Percent female	53.8	58.3	−4.5
Percent college-educated household	56.0	53.2	2.7
Percent African American	13.8	13.2	0.6
Percent American Indian	1.3	0.7	0.6
Percent Asian/Pacific Islander	7.0	5.6	1.4
Percent Hispanic/Latino/a	52.1	53.8	−1.7
Percent White	22.8	21.5	1.3
Percent multiple racial/ethnic identities	3.0	5.2	−2.2

Note. The overall sample is disproportionately female (56%) due to the inclusion of an all-female school. Mean differences were tested using two-tailed bivariate regression model estimates with standard errors clustered at the school-class level. No differences were statistically significant.

The majority of students were enrolled in either 8th (45%) or 11th (17%) grade, which were the grade levels designated for social studies curriculum standards that cover the Holocaust and World War II. The racial/ethnic composition of the students closely reflected that of the region: A majority of the students were Hispanic/Latinx (53%), with a substantial proportion of African American (14%) and White (22%) students. Fifty-five percent of these students lived in college-educated households, defined as those with at least one parent/guardian who received a college education.

On average, the students in our sample had limited formal Holocaust-educational experience prior to the evaluation period. Only 14% of the students had previously visited a Holocaust museum or memorial. We also asked students about their religious identity to possibly further examine treatment effects with Jewish students based on the Bickman and Hamner's (1998) findings. However, there were not enough students in our sample who identified as Jewish to conduct such an analysis. Students were equally balanced across the treatment and control groups along gender, race/ethnicity, parental education level, and grade level, indicating that the randomization procedure had the desired effect of generating comparable treatment and control groups (Table 1).

Outcome Measures

We developed our outcome measures through interviews with museum administrators, staff, student and teacher feedback, direct observations of student tours, and theory and prior empirical evidence of Holocaust educational impacts. Our survey included seven different affective civic outcome domains, comprising items adapted from age-appropriate versions of well-established, validated instruments. These items assessed student opinions on desire to protect civil liberties over order (Davis & Silver, 2004), religious tolerance (Gallup's Religious Tolerance Index for Teens; Gibson & Bingham, 1982), "upstander" efficacy (Banyard et al., 2007; Slaby, Wilson-Brewer, & Dash, 1994), support for free speech (Gibson & Bingham, 1982), civic obligation (Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007), civil disobedience (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009), and empathy (Spreng, McKinnon, Mar, & Levine, 2009). While these measures were carefully selected, they were not developed to assess civic education impacts of a Holocaust education intervention with secondary school–level students. Therefore, we adapted some of these measures to make them age-appropriate. These adaptions required a refining process where

we piloted survey items with secondary school students to better ensure their age-appropriateness. We assessed students' historical content knowledge of the Holocaust and surrounding events with multiple choice and true/false items developed with a local school district's K–12 social studies curriculum and instruction department. An overview of these outcomes with their sources, survey items, notes regarding modifications, and Cronbach's alphas are available in Appendix Table 1.

We also incorporated a behavioral measure to assess students' willingness to financially support causes that are aligned with the objectives of Holocaust education. Research on individual motives to donate to charity find that both higher empathy and prosocial behaviors, components of altruistic personality traits, predict more charitable donations (Bekkers, 2006). Digging deeper into the other-oriented subscales of empathy reveals that empathic concern and perspective-taking are positively associated with motives for donating (Konrath & Handy, 2017). Because of this, it is plausible that the treatment group's experience, which includes perspective taking as a central goal, could induce them to donate to pro-human rights charities.

To examine treatment impacts on their willingness to support relevant charitable causes, students were notified that they would be compensated with five dollars, as a token of appreciation, for their participation in the study. When students reached the end of the survey, they were given the option to anonymously donate all or a portion of their five dollars to a specified charitable cause. Students were randomly assigned one of two charitable organizations to assess whether the Holocaust learning experience was more effective at galvanizing support for a particular type of human rights cause. The two charitable organizations were the Anti-Defamation League (with a description emphasizing their commitment to civil/human rights) or United to End Genocide (with a description emphasizing their commitment to ending modern-day genocide). To preserve anonymity and ensure that donation amounts were kept private, all students received a privacy envelope with their self-generated identification code containing the amount of money they opted to keep or a note of gratitude for their five-dollar donation, which they were instructed to keep sealed until they returned home from school.

Analysis

The experimental design of this study permits a fairly straightforward strategy for analyzing the causal relationships between our dependent variables and the treatment. Students who were randomly assigned to complete the outcome survey prior to the field trip experience compose the control group, and students who were randomly assigned to complete the outcome survey after the field trip serve as the treatment group. A recap of the recruitment, randomization, and surveying process, and how the survey timing is used to determine treatment status, is available in Figure 1. Treatment effects are estimated with the following regression model:

$$Y_{is} = \delta_0 + \delta_1 Treat_i + \delta_2 X_i + \varepsilon_{is} \quad (1)$$

where Y signifies the dependent variable of interest for student i, in school-classroom s. *Treat* is a dichotomous variable that identifies whether the student was randomly assigned to the treatment group; X is a vector of student-level demographics that includes gender, race/ethnicity, grade level, and an indicator for whether the student

had a parent/guardian who received a college-level education; and ε_{is} is the error term, clustered at the school-classroom level.

With such a diverse student population, it is possible that the treatment produces heterogeneous effects across subgroup classifications that have historically been correlated with differences in civic educational outcomes. Gender may moderate the treatment effect because prior research finds that males and females tend to differentially engage in forms of civic participation, with males more likely to participate when scenarios are more hostile (Hooghe & Stolle, 2004). Prior research also suggests that racial/ethnic identities can influence student perspectives of historical accounts (Epstein, 2000). Finally, an individual's educational environment and background has been shown to affect civic outcomes (Campbell, 2009). Students raised in households with parents and guardians who are more educated tend to receive more opportunities to engage in civic learning activities and discussions (Campbell, 2009; Torney-Purta, 2002). With regard to age and development level, Holocaust education scholars raise concerns that students might be exposed too early to the mature subject matter, which may cause unintended consequences (Schweber, 2008; Totten, 2000, 2012). Therefore, to investigate these potential moderators, we used treatment interaction terms with variables indicating gender, middle or high school level, race/ethnicity, and parental education.

Results

There are three statistically significant results for the full sample (Table 2). After receiving an in-depth Holocaust educational experience, students are more likely to prefer protecting civil liberties over efforts to maintain order, demonstrate higher levels of historical content knowledge about the Holocaust, and respond less positively on religious tolerance items. All other outcomes are not statistically significant. We examined charitable contribution effects separately by charitable option, as well as in aggregate.

There are several noteworthy findings from subgroup analyses that examine potential moderators (Table 3). First, content knowledge gains remain consistently significant and substantial across subgroups, ranging from effect sizes of 22% to 38% of a standard deviation. Female and male students exhibit significantly different treatment effects on the civic obligation and empathy scales, with male students demonstrating more positive treatment effects than females on both outcomes. However, it is worth noting that female students in the control group exhibited substantially higher levels of civic obligation and empathy, by 40% and 56% of a standard deviation, respectively, relative to their male peers, potentially making these differences at least partially attributable to ceiling effects. Female students appear to have driven the negative treatment effect on religious tolerance; however, as with civic obligation and empathy, control group female students responded much more positively on this measure, 43% of a standard deviation relative to male students. Male students appear to drive the positive effect on the desire to protect for civil liberties. Female students' desire to protect civil liberties is in the positive direction but does not achieve statistical significance.

Treatment effects also vary substantially by race/ethnicity. The largest treatment effect is the estimated impact on African American students' preferences for protecting civil

Table 2. Overall treatment effects by outcome.

Outcome	*n*	Treatment	Control	Difference	Effect size
Correct content knowledge (%)	851	63.5	56.6	6.89	0.28**
		(20.6)	(19.6)	(1.38)	(0.07)
Civil liberty over order (%)	851	71.2	67.7	3.60	0.17**
		(21.4)	(19.8)	(1.41)	(0.07)
Religious tolerance	852	2.33	2.41	−0.08	−0.18**
		(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.03)	(0.07)
Civil disobedience	851	1.22	1.16	0.06	0.05
		(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Support for free speech	851	1.59	1.56	0.02	−0.00
		(0.62)	(0.60)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Civic obligation	852	2.16	2.20	−0.03	−0.04
		(0.53)	(0.55)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Upstander	852	2.14	2.16	−0.02	−0.05
		(0.42)	(0.39)	(0.03)	(0.07)
Empathy	852	2.27	2.32	−0.04	−0.07
		(0.46)	(0.41)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Charitable donation	829	$1.96	$1.97	−$0.02	−0.01
		(2.14)	(2.05)	(0.15)	(0.07)
Anti-Defamation League	418	$1.87	$1.85	$0.02	0.03
		(2.14)	(2.07)	(0.21)	(0.10)
United to End Genocide	411	$2.06	$2.10	−$0.04	−0.06
		(2.15)	(2.04)	(0.21)	(0.08)
Giving maximum donation (%)	829	29.9	27.0	2.91	0.04
		(45.8)	(44.4)	(3.14)	(0.07)
Anti-Defamation League	418	29.0	25.7	3.31	0.08
		(45.5)	(43.8)	(4.37)	(0.10)
United to End Genocide	411	28.3	30.9	−2.60	−0.01
		(45.1)	(46.3)	(4.52)	(0.07)

Note. Differences are statistically significant with a two-tailed, null hypothesis test where $^{*}p < .10$, $^{**}p < .05$. The treatment and control columns report mean values intended to give a sense of how positive/negative students' responses were for ordinal-scaled outcomes. Survey responses for religious tolerance, civil disobedience, support for free speech, civic obligation, upstander, and empathy were coded such that the most negative response with regard to the item (e.g., "strongly disagree") was coded as 0, and the most positive available responses was coded as 3. Effect sizes are from regression model estimates and are in terms of standard deviations. Standard errors have been clustered at the school-class level.

liberties. Hispanic/Latinx students also experience a significant positive effect on the desire to protect civil liberties. Hispanic/Latinx and White students appear to exhibit a negative treatment effect with regard to religious tolerance. The Holocaust educational experience does not appear to influence White students' inclinations toward civil liberties, but this subgroup is the only one that demonstrates a greater support for civil disobedience.

There is evidence that the significant impacts on the desire to protect civil liberties and religious tolerance are moderated by differences in students' grade levels and whether students reside in households with at least one parent/guardian who went to college. High school students and those from college-educated households appear to drive the overall positive effect on the preference for liberty and do not exhibit any difference in religious tolerance. These students are also the only subgroups where the intervention generated a significant positive charitable-giving effect in terms of maximizing charitable donations. Conversely, middle school students and those from households without a college-educated parent do not demonstrate an increased desire to protect civil liberties compared to control group students, and these students seem to have driven the negative religious tolerance effect. When we disaggregate the charitable giving

Table 3. Treatment effect sizes by subgroup.

Outcome	Female	Male	Middle school	High school	African American	Hispanic/ Latinx	White	Parental college	Non-college
Content	0.32***	0.23**	0.27***	0.28**	0.38**	0.22**	0.35**	0.26***	0.30***
knowledge	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Civil liberty	0.10	0.26***	0.12	0.26*	0.59***	0.19**	−0.09	0.23**	0.11
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Religious tolerance	−0.26***	−0.07	−0.23***	−0.10	−0.27	−0.23**	−0.32**	−0.05	−0.32***
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.19)	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Civil disobedience	0.03	0.08	0.07	0.03	0.20	−0.02	0.29**	0.09	0.01
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.21)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Free speech	−0.00	−0.02	−0.05	0.10	−0.12	−0.02	0.08	0.08	−0.10
	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Civic obligation	−0.24***	0.21	−0.05	−0.04	0.03	−0.06	−0.09	−0.06	−0.01
	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.23)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Upstander	−0.08	0.00	−0.13	0.11	−0.32	−0.04	−0.16	0.01	−0.11
	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.12)
Empathy	−0.23***	0.14	−0.10*	−0.02	−0.24	−0.04	−0.32**	−0.14	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Total donation	0.03	−0.07	−0.06	0.09	0.06	−0.09	0.06	0.06	−0.11
	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.10)
ADL	0.15	−0.13	−0.04	0.19	0.22	−0.10	0.10	0.13	−0.05
	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.30)	(0.14)	(0.21)	(0.12)	(0.17)
UEG	−0.06	−0.06	−0.07	−0.09	0.09	−0.11	0.01	0.01	−0.11
	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.26)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Max. donation (%)	0.11	−0.05	0.02	0.08	0.16	−0.05	0.06	0.13*	−0.07
	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.10)
ADL	0.25**	−0.16	0.01	0.25*	0.23	−0.08	0.18	0.20*	−0.03
	(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.30)	(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.12)	(0.16)
UEG	−0.02	−0.01	0.02	−0.14	0.28	−0.07	−0.04	0.07	−0.07
	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Subgroup *n*	484	377	597	268	116	456	190	471	393

Note. Effect sizes are in terms of standard deviations, derived from separate regression model estimates with addition of a treatment interaction term and subgroup indicators. Standard errors are in parentheses and have been clustered at the school-class level. Differences are statistically significant with a two-tailed, null hypothesis test where $^{*}p < .10$, $^{**}p < .05$, and $^{***}p < .01$.
ADL = donations to the Anti-Defamation League; UEG = donations to United to End Genocide.

measure for high school students and those from college-educated households, it appears that the positive effect is largely driven by donations to the Anti-Defamation League, while donations to United to End genocide are not statistically significant.

The religious tolerance, civil disobedience, support for free speech, civic obligation, upstander efficacy, and empty dependent variables were constructed as indices, where each item response was standardized and averaged, and such that construct items received equal weight. Since survey items tend to vary substantially in terms of uniqueness and their factor loadings, we also constructed these outcomes via factor analysis to serve as a robustness check and examine the sensitivity of the construction of these outcome measures. When we reexamine the treatment effects with dependent variables constructed via factor analysis, we find only one very slight difference in terms of interpreting religious tolerance treatment effect. This treatment effect estimate slightly attenuates and goes from being significant at $p < .05$ to $p < .10$. Therefore, we believe this analysis provides additional confidence with our findings not being sensitive to how survey items are weighted in the construction of our dependent variables.

Discussion and Conclusion

Several intriguing findings emerge from this study. Teaching students about the Holocaust has significant, substantial positive impacts on the acquisition of historical content knowledge in the aggregate and across all subgroups we examined. This civic educational experience also increases students' preferences for civil liberties over granting authoritative power to maintain law and order, although this result was not robust across all subgroups. This finding is especially noteworthy, as instilling an appreciation for liberty is pivotal to the preservation of a free society against the threats of tyranny. These results are well aligned with the program theory behind Holocaust education.

The negative religious tolerance result is concerning. However, it is worth noting that differences do not reflect treatment students being more likely to exhibit intolerant positions as a result of their educational experience. Rather, both treatment and control students overwhelmingly endorse tolerant positions, with differences in responses largely reflecting different levels of agreeing and strongly agreeing with tolerant positions. Therefore, this result could be attributed to ceiling or framing effects. Teaching students about the Holocaust may induce deeper reflections on the notion of religious tolerance, and, as a result, students in the treatment group may see these survey items through a different lens.

The results by student subgroups illustrate additional policy implications regarding how students with different backgrounds may respond to learning about the Holocaust. Males demonstrated positive preferences for civil liberties, but we saw no evidence of treatment effects for female students. This result corresponds with persistent gender differences observed in adult populations, where women have been more reluctant to extend civil liberties to unpopular groups (Golebiowska, 1999). Females also exhibit a decrease in religious tolerance, civic obligation, and empathy. Related research has shown that empathy can have paradoxical qualities, wherein high levels of empathy for one's own group leads to less empathy for outside groups (Breithaupt, 2019). Prior research also suggests that while females are more likely to engage in social movement–oriented forms of civic participation, males are more inclined to participate when scenarios are more hostile (Hooghe & Stolle, 2004). Therefore, the prevalence of war and violence embedded in Holocaust instruction may induce these gender-based differences. At the same time, however, female students were more likely to donate to the Anti-Defamation League as a result of learning about the Holocaust, which demonstrates a positive response that avoids direct conflict. The negative findings for females may also be explained by ceiling effects. Control group female students exhibited significantly higher levels of pro-civic dispositions and, therefore, appeared to have had less room for growth on these measures. Additionally, while we treat civic obligation and empathy as distinct constructs, they are highly correlated.

There were also noteworthy differences by race/ethnicity. African American and Hispanic/Latinx students appear to drive the positive preference for civil liberties, while White students are the only group demonstrating an increase in support for civil disobedience. Historical and contemporary differences in racial/ethnic perspectives and relationships with institutional authority could explain these disparities (Tyler, 2005; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Racial/ethnic identity significantly influences student perspectives and conceptualizations of historical accounts (Epstein, 2000). It is plausible

that individuals from historically marginalized groups are more likely to identify with historical accounts of persecution. Consequently, protecting liberties as a means of deterring abuses of authority crystallizes more with these students. Meanwhile, students who are part of the dominant culture may be more likely to latch onto lessons about the negative consequences of being accomplices or bystanders. As a result, they may recognize civil disobedience as an effective strategy for empowered citizens to combat injustice.

Arguably, the most significant policy implication stems from our finding that student experiences vary substantially by household levels of parental education and grade level. Students with college-educated parents particularly benefit from these lessons, demonstrating greater respect for civil liberties and a higher probability of donating to charities that support human rights on our behavioral measure. The impacts on middle school students and those from less-educated households, however, are mixed. They demonstrate increases in historical content knowledge, but report lower levels of religious tolerance as a result of the treatment.

These differences in outcomes by parental levels of education and school-grade level could be attributed to students from college-educated households and high schoolers being better prepared to more effectively engage in this educational experience. A large body of work establishes that education levels enhance familiarity with democratic processes and norms (Dee, 2004; Gaasholt & Togeby, 1995; Jenssen & Engesbak 1994; Peffley & Sigelman, 1990). Moreover, studies have shown that background knowledge serves as a critical prerequisite for achieving higher-order learning objectives (Bailin, Case, Coombs, & Daniels, 1999; Facione, 1990; McPeck, 1981; Willingham, 2008). Research in political science finds that an individual's educational environment has a mediating effect on political tolerance, independent of the education levels of individuals themselves (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Berry, 1996), and living in a highly educated community accelerates political enlightenment (Campbell, 2009).

There is also reason to believe that lower levels of education cultivate negative responses when exposed to "others." Recent experimental survey work on attitudes toward immigrants and redistribution across six countries finds that less educated respondents tend to have higher levels of misperception and more negative views of immigrants, and these individuals are less likely to change their views when receiving an "informational treatment" that exposes them to anecdotal accounts that humanize the life and experience of a very hardworking immigrant (Alesina, Miano, & Stantcheva, 2018). This is an important consideration for interventions aiming to generate tolerance by exposing people to historical events and experiences that are unfamiliar and likely difficult to fathom. Mere exposure does not necessarily induce more tolerance; such exposure is conditional on having background knowledge and a mindset that aids an individual's ability to assimilate challenging information. Without this foundation, mere exposure may have polarizing effects.

Our descriptive data corroborate the notion that students from households with higher education levels and high school students were better prepared to discern lessons from the Holocaust. Examining the control group responses from these subgroups shows that they were more familiar with historical facts before the intervention. When comparing control group students, those with college-educated parents scored 40% of a

standard deviation higher on the Holocaust content knowledge assessment ($p < .01$). Similarly, high school students in the control group scored 39% of a standard deviation higher on the Holocaust content knowledge assessment than the middle school control group students ($p < .05$).

Domain-specific knowledge may be more necessary when teaching students about the Holocaust, where relevant applications and modern-day parallels are often not immediately apparent (Short, 2005). Students with college-educated parents also have more experience with deliberating political and controversial matters at home in addition to learning in classrooms where teachers are more likely to support and facilitate dialog on such issues (Flanagan, 2013; Levinson, 2012; Niemi, 2012). Therefore, the combination of having a stronger foundation of historical content knowledge, which likely serves as a vital prerequisite for higher-order Holocaust lessons, and having a wealth of experience with engaging in more challenging controversial and political issues may have been necessary ingredients for processing the Holocaust educational experience in a desirable manner. The positive results we find for high school students, who have likely had more experience learning about and processing challenging material, also aligns with this reasoning. While we are unable to answer this question definitively, this area is ripe for future research.

There are noteworthy limitations to this study. As with most experiments, ours was conducted in a localized, particular setting. Sampling restrictions limit our ability to generalize results with confidence, but our design allows us to infer causal relationships with great certainty (Shadish et al., 2002). Specifically, our sample was confined to classrooms with teachers who opted to provide their students this educational experience. These effects may not transfer into classrooms where teachers do not seek out this form of Holocaust instruction. Moreover, of the 1,652 students who we were permitted to recruit for this study, we were not able to collect data from 787 of these students (48%). This does not threaten the internal validity of our findings, but it does limit our ability to generalize findings to the students who were recruited but ultimately did not participate. While further investigation is necessary for examining the generalizability of these effects, this study still serves the critical role of rigorously assessing the possibility of causal relationships between enriching civic instruction and educational outcomes.

Another limitation of this study is that we were only able to assess short-term outcomes. The effects from this study could fade, materialize, or strengthen over time. Unfortunately, due to the sensitive content nature of the survey, we were not permitted to construct and collect identifiers to track students beyond the evaluation period. We are also limited by the fact that the exact outcome domains and instruments to measure civic outcomes among youth are underdeveloped. Finally, while we find that increases in support for liberty and historical content knowledge coincide, our research design limits our ability to determine the extent to which knowledge acquisition serves as a critical mediator for increasing liberty preference. Additional research is needed to further understand and measure the nature of Holocaust education impacts on civic outcomes, as well as civic education more generally.

Despite these limitations, the findings from this study demonstrate that using history lessons can serve an important purpose in the development and enhancement of civic educational outcomes. The heterogeneous effects by student subgroups should guide

educators and policy makers to further consider the moderating influence of students' backgrounds and experiences to foster effective civic learning outcomes for all students. We find that teaching students about the Holocaust, an extremely challenging subject for secondary school students, can play a vital role in the development of citizens who will protect civil liberties and defend oppressed populations. These dispositions are critical to the development of citizens capable of effectively serving as protectors of freedom and human rights in an increasingly diverse, and polarized, democratic society.

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Appendix Table 1

Outcome Domains, Source, and Survey Items

Historical Content Knowledge–School District Social Studies & Curriculum Department Multiple-choice questions; measured as percent correct.

- What is anti-Semitism?
- What is the name of Hitler's manifesto in which he outlines his ideology and plans?
- Which of the following was not a targeted victim group during the Holocaust?
- Which of the following statements is true about the growth of anti-Jewish policies after World War I and before the Holocaust?
- What was Kristallnacht?
- What country was declared as a homeland for Jews after WWII?
- How did many Nazi officers attempt to defend their actions during the Holocaust at the Nuremberg Trials?
- How many Jews do historians estimate were killed in the Holocaust?
- True/False: The Holocaust was the cause of WWII.
- True/False: Only Hitler and high-ranking Nazi officials really knew about and carried out the Holocaust.

Preference for Liberty Over Order–Davis and Silver (2004)[a] Students indicated option they agreed with more; measured as percent of pro-civil liberty responses.

- In order to get rid of terrorism in this country, it is necessary to give up some freedoms OR We should keep our freedoms above all, even if there's still some risk of terrorism.
- Being required to carry a national ID card would violate people's freedoms and right to privacy OR Everyone should be required to carry a national ID card at all times to show to a police officer upon request.
- The police should be allowed to arrest people of certain racial or ethnic backgrounds if they believe these groups commit to more crimes OR The police should not be allowed to arrest people based on their racial or ethnic backgrounds because it harasses many innocent people.
- The government should not have the right to listen to people's phone conversations or read their emails OR The government should be allowed to record people's phone calls and read their emails in order to prevent crime.
- People who participate in nonviolent protests against the government should be investigated by the police OR People have the right to meet in public and express unpopular views without being investigated, as long as they don't break the law.

Religious Tolerance–Gibson and Bingham (1982);[a] Winseman (2004)[b] Students indicated whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed, agreed, or strongly agreed. Cronbach's alpha = 0.64; items averaged and standardized.

- I always treat people of different religious faiths and beliefs with respect.
- Most religious faiths make a positive contribution to society.
- I would not have a problem with a person of a different religious faith moving next door to me.
- The only acceptable religious beliefs are mine (reverse-coded).
- People of other religious faiths should not be allowed to make public speeches in this city (reverse-coded).

Civil Disobedience–Graham et al. (2009)[a] Students indicated whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed, agreed, or strongly agreed. Cronbach's alpha = 0.69; items averaged and standardized.

- If I were a soldier and I disagreed with my orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty (reverse-coded).
- People should always follow the law, even if they think the law is unjust (reverse-coded).
- It is never ok to break the law (reverse-coded).

Support for Free Speech–Gibson and Bingham (1982)[a] Students indicated whether the speech should definitely not, probably not, probably, or definitely be allowed. Cronbach's alpha = 0.74; items averaged and standardized.

- Speech that upsets government leaders.
- Speech that upsets the majority of citizens.
- Protests against laws that are viewed as being unjust.
- Speech that government leaders believe to be dangerous.
- Speech that offends me.

Civic Obligation–Flanagan et al. (2007)[c] Students indicated whether they thought the specified action would be not important, slightly important, important, or very important to them as adults. Cronbach's alpha = 0.73; items averaged and standardized.

- Help your country.
- Work to stop injustice.
- Improve relationships between people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.
- Help those who are less fortunate.

(*continued*)

Upstander Efficacy–Slaby et al. (1994);[d] Banyard et al. (2007)[d] Students indicated whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed, agreed, or strongly agreed. Cronbach's alpha = 0.78; items averaged and standardized.

- I can make a difference in helping to prevent violence.
- People can be taught to help prevent violence.
- Even when I'm not involved and it's not about me, I can make a difference in helping to prevent violence.
- If someone is being hurt, I can intervene to prevent it.
- It is important for all members of a community to play a role in keeping everyone safe.
- Friends will look up to me and admire me if I intervene when someone is being hurt.
- I like thinking of myself as someone who helps others when I can.

Empathy–Spreng et al. (2009)[e] Students indicated whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed, agreed, or strongly agreed. Cronbach's alpha = 0.64; items averaged and standardized.

- I want to help people who get treated badly.
- It is never right to harm another human being.
- Compassion for those who are suffering is the most important consideration for my actions.
- I am not really interested in how other people feel (reverse-coded).
- It upsets me to see someone being treated disrespectfully.

Notes. [a]Items were developed for adults, pared for length, and edited for readability.
[b]Items were developed for students aged 5 to 12, used without change.
[c]Items were developed for 11- to 18-year-olds, pared for length.
[d]Both upstander/bystander scales were developed for research related to violence against women, pared for length, and edited for readability.
[e]Items were developed for undergraduate college students, pared for length.