EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY, 2016
VOL. 13, NO. 6, 652–665
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2016.1196178

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Social-emotional development: From theory to practice

Tina Malti[a] and Gil G. Noam[b]

[a]Department of Psychology, University of Toronto, Mississauga, Canada; [b]PEAR Institute, Harvard Medical School and McLean Hospital, Belmont, USA

ABSTRACT

This theoretical article aims to introduce a new conceptual framework for the understanding and enhancement of child and adolescent social-emotional development (SED). We first elaborate on a taxonomy to classify core dimensions of SED and make a case for its importance. Next, we introduce our developmental approach to the study of SED and elaborate as to why there is a need to connect developmental theory and research systematically with the use of social-emotional assessment tools. We briefly describe the holistic student assessment (HSA) as an example of such a tool through which children, teachers, and caregivers report on dimensions of SED. The HSA generates individual, classroom, and school-wide profiles of SED. How such profiles can be used to inform intervention planning and implement developmentally sensitive strategies to promote SED and intervene psychopathology will also be discussed. We conclude with reflections on how our developmental approach to understanding and assessing SED relates to Bildung-Psychology as we argue for a renewed focus on the 'whole child' and a broadened view of educational attainment.

ARTICLE HISTORY Received 20 June 2015; Accepted 27 April 2016

KEYWORDS Social-emotional development; social-emotional assessment; school-based mental health; holistic student assessment (HSA); developmental intervention

Social-emotional development (SED) entails various dimensions of children's and adolescents' social and emotional development, and is widely recognized by researchers to be at the core of human development and growth (e.g., Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning [CASEL] 2013). As a result, there has been growing interest in deepening our understanding of SED and its enhancement in all children. There is also ample evidence on the importance of SED for academic achievement and mental health in childhood and adolescence (see Durlak, Domitrovich, Weissberg, & Gullotta, 2015). While much research on SED has been conducted and various evidence-based programs on

CONTACT Tina Malti tina.malti@utoronto.ca Department of Psychology, University of Toronto, 3359 Mississauga Road North, Mississauga L5L 1C6, Canada.

social-emotional learning (SEL) have been widely implemented, there are still significant gaps in the research-practice connection.

This theoretical article aims to address parts of these gaps and will use the existing evidence on the beneficial role of SED in positive and productive outcomes as a starting point to introduce a developmental approach to conceptualizing and enhancing SED in children and adolescents. We introduce a taxonomy that classifies SED along its core dimensions and then provide a brief overview of a new developmental model to conceptualize and analyze SED. Next, we explain why there is a need not only to better understand, but also to assess SED systematically in all children. A selective review of current measurement approaches to assess SED for different ages and developmental levels is given. We then introduce our own SED tool, which is a school-based assessment through which children, adolescents, teachers, and caregivers report on children's SED. We illustrate how SED assessments can be used to inform intervention planning and support the implementation of preventative and treatment strategies in a way that addresses the target child's developmental needs and strengths. We conclude with reflections on how a developmental approach to SED relates to Bildung-Psychology as we argue for a renewed focus on the 'whole child' and a broadened view of educational attainment.

A taxonomical description of SED's core dimensions

SED is an umbrella term that describes individuals' various interpersonal and intrapersonal skills in the domain of social and emotional development (see Malti, 2011). In the applied literature, a commonly used, related umbrella term is social and emotional learning (SEL; see CASEL, 2013). Here, we use SED because of our theoretical perspective on developmental processes that underlie the formation, growth, and change of social and emotional skills across childhood and adolescence. SED includes understanding, regulating, and expressing emotions in a way that is appropriate for one's age and development, as well as the ability to establish, maintain, and develop healthy relationships with peers and adults (Eisenberg, 2000; Malti, Häcker, & Nakamura, 2009; Saarni, 1999). As such, SED presupposes an active, autonomous, and responsible stance towards the self in an interconnected social world. SED is central to navigating challenges in social interactions in everyday life and to adapting flexibly to situational demands.

In an effort to create a more coherent framework, we have recently discussed central dimensions of SED from an integrative conceptual perspective and created a taxonomy to systematize its core dimensions. Accordingly, SED entails (1) an individual's understanding of emotional experiences in the self and others, (2) the ability to express emotions in an age-appropriate way, and (3) emotion regulation capacities. These dimensions reflect the view of emotion as a multi-layered concept that is inherently linked to one's experiences of their own emotional responses (including bodily functions and physiological regulation),

as well as responses to multifaceted social experiences and interactions (which involves both an understanding of others' emotions, as well as an age-appropriate expression of emotion). The first component, emotion understanding, is at the core of emotion theories (e.g., Saarni, 1999), as well as related theories on identity development. This is because an understanding of ourselves inevitably entails an increasing understanding of the other and the similarities and differences between his/her emotional experiences and our own (see Erikson, 1950–1963; Hoffman, 2000). The two last components, i.e., emotion expression and regulation of emotion, have been identified based on early theoretical accounts on ego/identity development and the description of temperamental dimensions that underlie the development of emotions, motivations, and behaviour (Block & Block, 1980; Malti, Sette, & Dys, in press; Noam & Malti, 2010).

While there is some agreement that SED components involve self-directed and other-oriented emotional skills, much more debate has evolved around the number of SED skills and subdimensions of SED. The literature has suggested various subsets of skills that are considered important for SED and its development across the lifespan (CASEL, 2013; Malti, 2011). In addition, numerous catalogues, lists, and classification schemes have been proposed to organize the various subskills that can be considered as parts of SED. For instance, the CASEL, has identified a set of five social and emotional learning competencies (see CASEL, 2013). These five core competencies, i.e., self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making, are interrelated and reflect a broad range of emotional, cognitive, and behavioural skills.

Thus, there is some consistency across the various attempts to describe the subdimensions of SED. Yet, there is less clarity about the existence of a set of core skills. Here, we argue that there are core skills that are necessary for any classification scheme, and that other less central skills are more interchangeable and can be flexibly used, depending on researchers' and practitioners' interests and needs (such as populations being served, availability of service structures, etc.). Thus, while it is important to identify subdimensions of SED, a first step to a fuller understanding of SED is to identify its core dimensions, as well as its structure and function. This core organizational structure can help identify central dimensions of SED, as well as various subdimensions that may be considered as part of SED.

Figure 1 shows a developmental taxonomy that we developed to provide a basic structure to organize core social-emotional skills along two continuous dimensions of self- and other- orientation, and over- and under-regulation of emotion and impulses. As can be seen, there are two core organizational principles to the structure and function of SED. The first is self- and other-orientation, an organizational principle to understand if the skill is (more) focused on the self (e.g., self-evaluative emotions), the other (e.g., other-oriented emotions such as sympathy), or both (social understanding requires an understanding of one's own and others' perspective) in a way that is adequate for the child's age

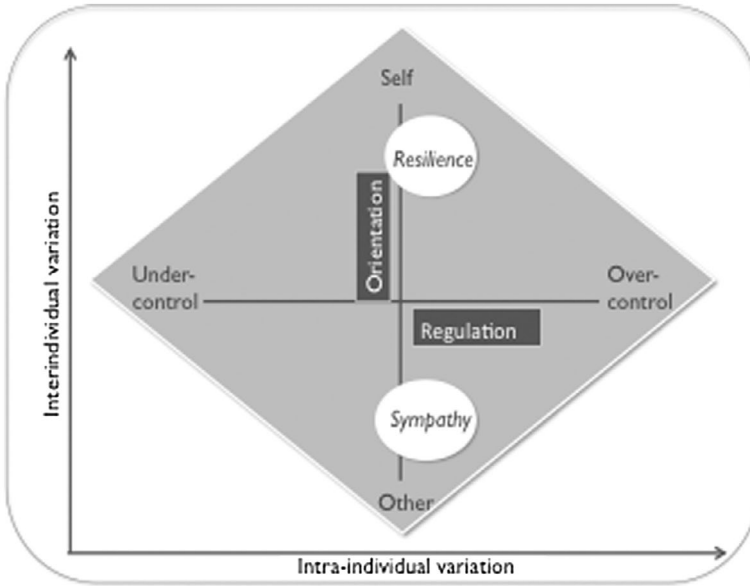

Figure 1. Taxonomy of social-emotional development.

and development. A balanced, age-appropriate development of self- and other-oriented skills is necessary to establish and maintain resilience (i.e., the ability to handle challenges) and being socially well adapted (i.e., the ability to express other-oriented skills and balance them with own needs in a responsible manner). This includes the core dimensions of emotion understanding and emotion expression. The second component, emotion regulation, is also a core dimension used to classify SED. Over- and under-regulation are organizational principles that help to identify the extent to which the individual is able to regulate and balance his/her own and others' emotions and impulses in a manner that is adequate for their age and development (Eisenberg, 2000). Central to this taxonomy is first, the integration of others' and self-perspectives that transcend one's own standpoint and ultimately lead to other-oriented sympathy (Malti & Ongley, 2014; see Hoffman, 2000), a core SED skill. Second, the taxonomy indicates that there is a basic human need to demonstrate emotional control and flexibility by regulating one's own emotions and impulses (see Block & Block, 1980) which leads to optimal resilience, the second core SED skill. In addition, there is both intra-individual and inter-individual variation in these two skills (i.e., they are subject to change), reflecting developmental processes of growth, decline, and transformation.

The importance of a better understanding of SED in children

Advancing our understanding of SED in children matters for several reasons. First, and most obviously perhaps, SED has been shown to be central for child

and adolescent mental health and can help protect against psychopathology and risk across development (e.g., van Noorden, Haselager, Cillessen, & Bukowski, 2015). It has been shown that many children and adolescents across the globe suffer from mental health problems or are at risk of developing them, including anxieties, depression, attention problems, and aggressive behaviour disorders (Malti & Noam, 2008). As such, understanding the potential effects of psychological protective factors at different times in development is important. A plethora of research has also shown that mental health problems negatively affect academic motivation and functioning (e.g., Masten et al., 2005; Oberle, Schonert-Reichl, Hertzman, & Zumbo, 2014). Thus, understanding SED can also help researchers and practitioners alike to understand how a child's strengths and risks at any given time in development are associated with mental health and academic achievement, and, as such, inform strategies that address developmental needs and challenges. This approach is likely to create more effective outcomes (Malti et al., in press).

Taking this line of argument one step further, developmental psychologists have not only studied bidirectional relations between SED and mental health but have also studied *how* children's SED can serve as a protective factor, preventing children from developing or maintaining mental health problems. For example, recent research has shown that the capacity of children to regulate their own emotions plays a fundamental role for their subsequent psychological adaptation in peer relationships (Rubin, Bukowski, & Laursen, 2011). Such findings are hardly surprising, as related psychological research has provided much evidence that both under- and over- regulation are associated with various mental health problems (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Eggum, 2010). Similarly, it has been shown that children's ability to feel and express other-oriented emotions, such as empathy, is positively associated with the developmental trajectories of prosocial behaviour and aggression and related behavioural problems (for reviews, see Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Knafo-Noam, 2015; Eisner & Malti, 2015). Given the well-documented role of SED in subsequent mental health outcomes, it appears important to (a) deepen our understanding of the dynamic processes underlying the links between various social-emotional skills, as well as with behavioural and emotional health, (b) utilize measures to assess SED in all children in a developmentally sensitive way, and (c) use these measures in contexts where all children can be reached to refine existing practices and make them more sensitive so that they fit the developmental needs and strengths of each child.

A developmental approach to SED

While much research on SED has been conducted and SEL programs have been implemented, many programs and assessment approaches still lack sufficient consideration of developmental theory and knowledge of both intra-individual and inter-individual differences in the various dimensions of

SED. A developmental taxnomony like ours is useful as it can inform practice by providing systematic approaches to the selection of SED subdimensions and related measurement choices. Vice versa, existing models on SED have often fallen short on translating their information into practice. Our own recursive developmental theory was developed over the past decade and attempts to provide a comprehensive model on SED (for a detailed overview, see Malti & Noam, 2008; Noam, Malti, & Karcher, 2013). One of its basic premises is that SED can be described as the leaves of a clover. The four leaves of the so-called 'Clover Model' —action, assertion, belonging, and reflection — describe the minimum dimensions required to understand the social-emotional skillsets and resiliencies of children and adolescents. An identification of these skills can be used to provide them with the right support and learning opportunities to engage and satisfy these needs.

Figure 2 depicts the Clover Model and the core developmental needs and strengths of individuals at each of the leaves. As can be seen, the action and belonging leaves reflect the central skills of emotion regulation, sympathy, and the related abilities to understand, communicate, and integrate emotions in one's self and in others. These self- and other-oriented dimensions of SED are at the core because they guide one's self- and other-oriented behaviour. In contrast, the two clover leaves of assertion and reflection are more strongly related to social-cognitive and motivational skills, most prominently perseverance (i.e., assertion), critical thinking, and high executive functioning (i.e., reflection).

The Clover model identifies measurable core dimensions of SED, such as emotion control and sympathy. Each of these dimensions are most typical in one specific clover leaf (e.g., high sympathy is expected to be part of the need to 'belong' because feeling with and for others creates bonds with them and often supports relationship quality and, as such, reflects a need to belong to others). We have elaborated in more detail how the various dimensions are associated with one core cloverleaf elsewhere (e.g., Noam et al., 2013). Importantly, each dimension can also occur in varying levels in other cloverleaves. For instance, the cloverleaf of belonging is characterized by high levels of sympathy, which is associated with a fundamental need to belong to (and care) for others. However, the cloverleaf of self-reflection can also (but does not need to) entail high levels of sympathy for others given the reflective, critical nature of this leaf. In addition to identifying these measurable core skills, the Clover Model assumes that SED skills are related to each other and associated with other life skills that are traditionally considered 'cognitive' skills in meaningful ways. For instance, emotion control is likely to be associated with the ability of attention allocation. The Clover Model assumes developmental plasticity and acknowledges that SED inherently varies across development and within any age group. For instance, the need to belong and the ability to feel empathic concern may remain relatively stable across childhood and adolescence, but its expression changes significantly with age and development. It may become

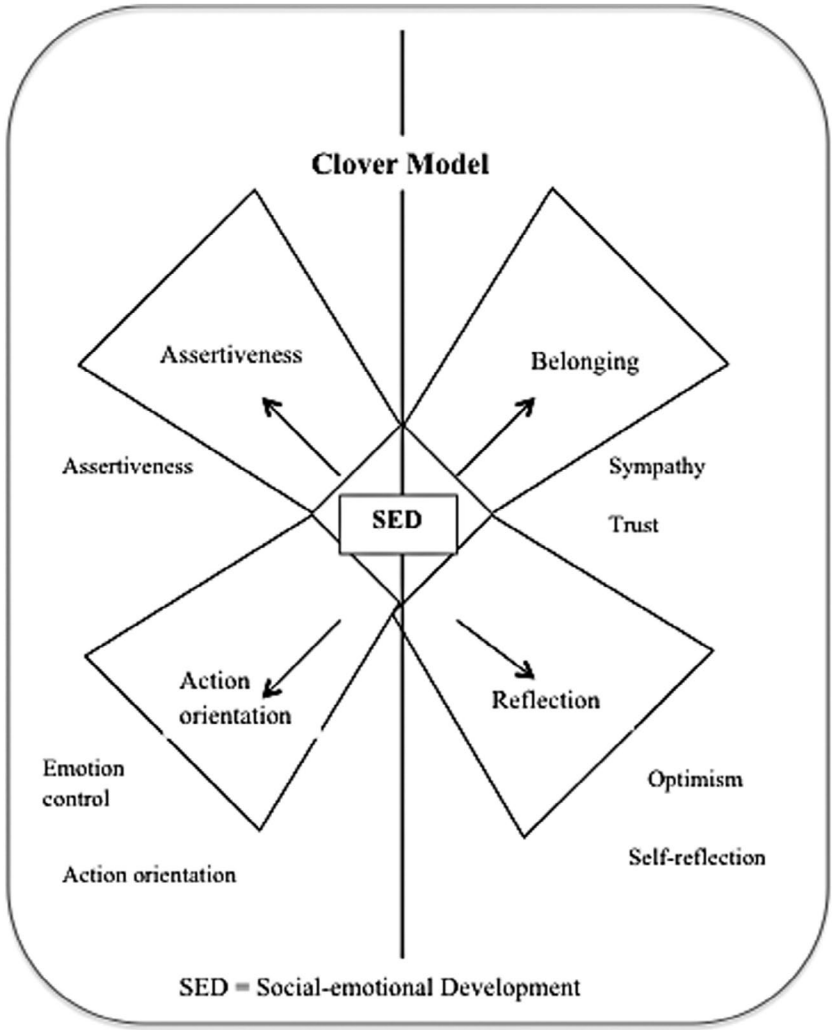

Figure 2. The clover model and dimensions of SED.

especially salient in adolescence, a time when peer relationships and group membership are important for identity formation and the development of a healthy balance between autonomy and interconnectedness. Importantly, the need to belong and the level of sympathy typically also varies substantially between children and adolescents of the same chronological age (Malti, Chaparro, Zuffianò, & Colasante, 2016). These within- and across-age variations in development are substantial when considering core dimensions of SED, and need to be reflected in any measurement approach that claims to be developmentally sensitive.

Measuring SED: From theory to practice

While it is clear that more research is needed to fully understand how development in the various subdimensions of SED occurs, how SED dimensions are interrelated over time, and how associated developmental needs change across time, assessing a core set of SED skills at any given time in development can substantially contribute to promoting their growth and learning. This is because educational practices that are rooted in an understanding of the normative and atypical trajectories of SED are more likely to fit the developmental needs of a child than practices that are not (Noam et al., 2013). Similarly to getting test scores from all children in schools, getting scores on SED skills can improve the planning and implementation of educational approaches and practices (Malti & Noam, 2008; Noam, Malti, & Guhn, 2012). More specifically, such tools can help practitioners choose the most effective strategies for promoting SED. For instance, if a tool reveals that a child has very low sympathy compared to his/her peer group and/or his/her age but relatively high levels of action orientation, intervention planning might involve the preparation of strategies that target the enhancement of sympathy in a developmentally sensitive way (i.e., strategies that are adequate for the child's developmental level), combined with the utilization of physical activity and action-oriented tasks that are likely to get the child engaged and enjoy these activities.

While SED assessment tools have been developed, there is a significant lack of consideration of knowledge that has been generated by theorizing and by developmental research in current discussions regarding assessment tools. Current discussions also neglect said knowledge in deciding if and how their use may add to intervention planning, implementation, and evaluation. In addition, the great majority of existing school-based assessments typically include questions either about strengths or risks only. Tools that are based in sound developmental theory and that include various components of SED are still relatively scarce. In addition, few of the existing instruments use multiple informants, and even fewer create individual, classroom, and school-based profiles for use in education planning. Lastly, information on developmental differences within and across grades is rarely considered comprehensively when making decisions about referrals and intervention strategies.

Nevertheless, several assessment tools for use in educational contexts have been developed (see Durlak et al., 2015). Three commonly used school-based instruments in childhood are the Devereux Student Strengths Assessment (DESSA), the Social-Emotional Assets and Resilience Scales (SEARS), and the Early Development Instrument/Middle Years Development Instrument (EDI/MDI). These instruments are strengths-based, mostly rely on other-reports, and do not assess risk factors. In addition, the EDI/MDI are population-level tools (Guhn & Goelman, 2011). Our own measure, the holistic student assessment (HSA) is rooted in our social-emotional developmental theory (Malti & Noam, 2008), and

its main goal is to increase an understanding of SED to help teachers and practitioners assess the strengths and risks posed by the particular developmental setup of the child. It is comprised of both teacher-reported and self-reported rating scales designed to assess and guide intervention planning, and evaluate outcomes related to social-emotional strengths and challenges of middle school students. In its original version, the self-report and teacher/parent- report version of the HSA includes 61 items that tap into SED, as well as related life skills. There are seven core dimensions of SED in the self-report version, and we have recently shown that these seven dimensions can be represented by 32 items (for a more detailed description of the psychometric properties of the HSA/9-18, see Malti, Zuffiano, & Noam, 2016). The SED dimensions include action orientation (clover leaf: action orientation, e.g., 'I like being active'), emotion control (clover leaf: action orientation), assertiveness (clover leaf: assertiveness), sympathy (clover leaf: belonging, e.g., 'I feel sad for kids who are sad'), trust (clover leaf: belonging, e.g., 'I trust other people'), self-reflection (clover leaf: reflection, e.g., 'I try to understand the world I live in'), and optimism (clover leaf: reflection, e.g., 'I have more good times than bad times'; this dimension is the one that underlies all clover leaves to more or less an extent and, as such, it is harder to associate with one particular leaf). The SED items of the HSA have been adapted for use in the early years, i.e., HSA/3-8 (i.e., 3- to 8 years of age), and parent- and teacher versions are currently being used in Canadian kindergarten classes, schools, and in research laboratory and clinical settings.

Using SED tools: planning and implementing interventions

SEL programs operate under the premise that the enhancement of SED in children and adolescents will result in corresponding decreases in their problem behaviours, such as aggression, bullying, and attention deficit/hyperactivity problems (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor & Schellinger, 2011). Simultaneously, researchers have emphasized that there is a need to use developmental tailoring to fit the developmental level and needs of children and adolescents (Malti et al., 2016; Noam & Hermann, 2002; Ollendick, Grills & King, 2001; Weisz & Weersing, 1999; see Greenberg et al., 2003). While much progress has been made in the design of developmentally tailored SEL interventions for children and adolescents (Durlak et al., 2011), the systematic implementation of such approaches, including the use of screening and/or assessment tools is still much less (systematically) commonly used to plan, implement, and monitor outcomes and developmental processes (Malti et al., 2016). We argue that SED assessment tools can be used to improve current educational and intervention planning and implementation practices in several ways.

In the following, we illustrate this idea further by briefly discussing examples of the applicability of the HSA tool in practice. As mentioned above, the results of the HSA generate individual, classroom, and school-based profiles of the

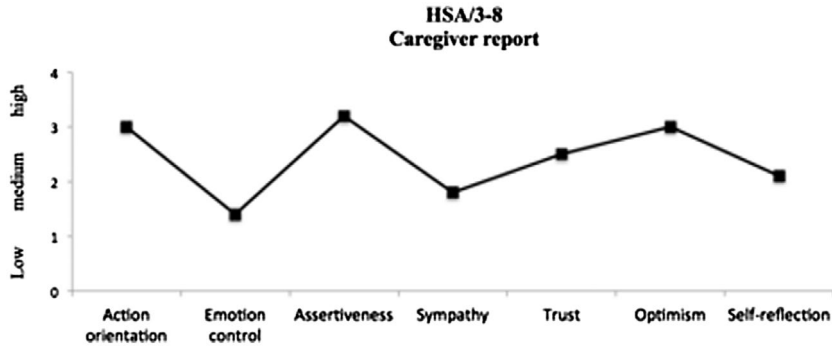

Figure 3. HSA/3–18 Caregiver report: sample profile for individual child.

social-emotional strengths and challenges of each student. These profiles summarize the individual (and/or group-based) results in an easy, accessible, and clear manner. For example, an individual profile summarizes the results of the HSA for a specific student and his/her social-emotional developmental strengths and challenges, as indicated by the level of each of the seven SED dimensions and related underlying Cloverleaf characteristics. His/her SED profile can be compared to his/her class average and/or other comparison data (e.g., all boys in a classroom, data of the entire grade in his/her school, etc.) as needed. A hypothetical individual sample profile for the HSA is illustrated in Figure 3. As can be seen, the mean scores of each SED dimension for a child, as rated by the primary caregiver, are shown. The profile highlights the social-emotional strengths and challenges for the child. In the example, the child exhibits relatively low levels of emotion control and relatively high levels of action orientation. This information can be used for intervention planning. For instance, a practitioner could use activities to promote this child's regulatory capacities and enhance emotion control by the use of strategies that are based in physical activities (which is part of an action orientation). In addition, one could compare this profile to the mean score of the classroom to see similarities and differences between the target child's score with a comparable peer group. Practitioners could use such a profile comparison to choose what dimensions to focus on when promoting SED in the classroom, what educational strategies to prioritize for some children, how to promote target skills, and with what intensity. Similarly, profiles for whole schools (or entire districts) can be generated when using SEL tools to inform principals about the level of SED in their school by classroom, grade, school, and district. Such group profiles can also help in the understanding of normative development of various SED dimensions (see Malti et al., 2016) and can potentially reveal differences and similarities between SED in a given school in comparison to larger populations. This is useful information for various reasons. An example would be to inform school principals and teachers about the SED in a classroom compared to other classrooms of the same grade or the SED

in the whole school compared to district-wide data. Lastly, the profiles can be utilized by policy makers to derive information on how SED varies within and across communities.

These examples illustrate that SED assessment findings can be used for various purposes. One of our aims is to inform the planning, selection and delivery of developmentally tailored intervention strategies at the individual and/or classroom level. Clearly, individual profiles serve as a 'map' for individual prevention and treatment planning, go beyond a traditional risk focus, and have great potential to become more developmentally sensitive and responsive to the particular child's needs. While some social-emotional skills are easy to observe and may be easy to detect in everyday interactions, other skills (e.g., sympathy) might be harder to see. Assessment findings can therefore support our diagnostic accuracy and help inform best practices.

SED and Bildung-Psychology

SED and Bildung are not the same, but they are inseparably related (see Spiel, Reimann, Wagner, & Schober, 2008). After all, SED entails the lifelong process of learning, transformation, and transcendence of knowledge, a key element of Bildung in its most genuine sense. This is because cultivating our minds involves not only our thoughts and abstract reflection, but ultimately an equal emphasis on educating our emotions, natural instincts, and regulatory capacities in everyday social interactions. SED describes processes that contribute to the development of the Bildung of an individual over the lifespan, leading to an educated individual and a mature self (Spiel, Reimann, Wagner, & Schober, 2010, p. 11). Developmental models of SED emphasize a risk-and-resilience perspective because socioemotional skills can serve as protective factors, buffer psychological, contexual, and/or biological risks, and, as such, stimulate growth (Masten, 2014; Schonert-Reichl & Hymel, 2007). Bildung goes far beyond pure knowledge transfer and the acquisition and differentiation of cognitive and motivational skills. Rather, cultivating a reflected and respectful way to treat our own and others' emotions and impulses is at the core of the humane treatment of each other and of civilization. As such, our attempt to describe the SED of individuals as a core process and goal of human development across the lifespan fits well into the notion of Bildung.

While our notion that SED is inherently linked to Bildung reflects common humanistic accounts of Bildung, more empirical work is needed to explore the interrelatedness of SED and the process of Bildung across the lifespan. By arguing that lifelong learning is a pursuit of knowledge, growth, and individual development, this account paves the way for research that explores the role of emotions, cognitions, and behaviours across development and maturity in an integrated, comprehensive way. As Christiane Spiel and colleagues noted in 2008, Bildung focuses on life-long learning which in its entirety constitutes

an individual's Bildung-career. SED undergoes life-long learning and change processes, and Bildung is not, and cannot, limit itself to changes in cognition and reflective thought, but inherently concerns individuals' emotions and social interactions in everyday life, and how they change in the dynamic interplay between cognition and affect.

Acknowledgement

We thank Akpene Kutuadu and Danah Elsayed, University of Toronto, for their editorial assistance with the manuscript.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

The first author was funded, in part, by a New Investigator Award from the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR); the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

References

Block, J. H., & Block, J. (1980). The role of ego-control and ego-resiliency in the organization of behavior. In W. A. Collins (Ed.), *Development of cognition, affect, and social relations: The Minnesota symposia on child psychology* (Vol. 13). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning. (2013). *CASEL school kit: A guide for implementing school wide academic, social, and emotional learning*. Chicago, IL: Author.

Durlak, J. A., Domitrovich, C. E., Weissberg, R. P., & Gullotta, T. P. (Eds.). (2015). *Handbook of social and emotional learning: Research and practice*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Durlak, J. A., Weissberg, R. P., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. B. (2011). The impact of enhancing students' social and emotional learning: A meta-analysis of school-based universal interventions. *Child Development, 82*, 474–450. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01564.x

Eisenberg, N. (2000). Emotion, regulation, and moral development. *Annual Review of Psychology, 51*, 665–697. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.51.1.665

Eisenberg, N., Spinrad, T. L., & Eggum, N. D. (2010). Emotion-related self-regulation and its relation to children's maladjustment. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 6*, 495–525. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.clinpsy.121208.131208

Eisenberg, N., Spinrad, T. L., & Knafo-Noam, A. (2015). Prosocial development. In M. E. Lamb (Vol. Ed.) & R. M.Lerner(Series Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science, Vol. 3: Social, emotional, and personality development* (7th ed., pp. 610–656). New York, NY: Wiley.

Eisner, M. P., & Malti, T. (2015). Aggressive and violent behavior. In M. E. Lamb (Vol. Ed.) & R. M. Lerner(Series Ed.). *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science, Vol. 3: Social, emotional and personality development* (7th ed., pp. 795–884). New York: Wiley.

Erikson, E. H. (1950–1963). *Childhood and society*. New York: Norton.
Greenberg, M. T., Weissberg, R. P., O'Brien, M. U., Zins, J. E., Fredericks, L., Resnik, H., & Elias, M. J. (2003). Enhancing school-based prevention and youth development through coordinated social, emotional and academic learning. *American Psychologist, 58*, 466–474. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.58.6-7.466
Guhn, M., & Goelman, H. (2011). Bioecological theory, early child development, and the validation of the population-level early development instrument. *Social Indicators Research, 103*, 193–217. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11205-011-9842-5
Hoffman, M. L. (2000). *Empathy and moral development: Implications for caring and justice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511805851
Malti, T. (2011). Developing life skills in youth. In Jacobs Foundation (Ed.), *Jacobs Foundation guidelines on monitoring and evaluating life skills for youth development* (pp. 8–23). Zurich: Jacobs Foundation.
Malti, T., Chaparro, M. P., Zuffianò, A., & Colasante, T. (2016). School-based interventions to promote empathy-related responding in children and adolescents: A developmental analysis. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*. Early online publication, 18 February, 2016. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2015.1121822
Malti, T., Häcker, T., & Nakamura, Y. (2009). *Sozial-emotionales Lernen in der Schule* [Social-emotional learning in schools]. Zurich: Pestalozzianum Verlag.
Malti, T., & Noam, G. G. (Eds.). (2008). Where youth development meets mental health and education: The RALLY approach. *New Directions for Youth Development, 120*, 1–194.
Malti, T., & Ongley, S. F. (2014). The development of moral emotions and moral reasoning. In M. Killen & J. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (2nd ed., pp. 163–183). New York, NY: Psychology Press. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203581957.ch8
Malti, T., Sette, S., & Dys, S. P. (in press). Social-emotional responding: A perspective from developmental psychology. In R. Scott, S. Kosslyn, & M. Buchmann (Eds.), *Emerging trends in the social and behavioral sciences*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.
Malti, T., Zuffianò, A., Cui, L., Colasante, T., Peplak, J., & Bae, N. Y. (in press). Children's healthy social-emotional development in contexts of peer exclusion. In C. Spiel, N .J. Cabrera, & B. Leyendecker (Eds.), *Handbook of positive development of minority children*. Netherlands: Springer.
Malti, T., Zuffianò, A., & Noam, G. G. (2016). *Toward developmental assessment in psychological intervention: Understanding every child's social-emotional development*. Unpublished manuscript.
Masten, A. S. (2014). *Ordinary magic: Resilience in development*. New York, NY: Guilford.
Masten, A. S., Roisman, G. I., Long, J. D., Burt, K. B., Obradović, J., Riley, J. R., Boelcke-Stennes, K., & Tellegen, A. (2005). Developmental cascades: Linking academic achievement and externalizing and internalizing symptoms over 20 years. *Developmental Psychology, 41*, 733–746. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.41.5.733
Noam, G. G., & Hermann, C. A. (2002). Where education and mental health meet: Developmental prevention and early intervention in schools. *Development and Psychopathology, 14*, 861–875. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0954579402004108
Noam, G. G., & Malti, T. (2010). Ego development. In I. B. Weiner & E. Craighead (Eds.), *The Corsini encyclopedia of psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 549–552). New York: Wiley. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470479216.corpsy0296
Noam, G. G., Malti, T., & Guhn, M. (2012). From clinical-developmental theory to assessment: The holistic student assessment tool. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence, 6*, 201–213.

Noam, G. G., Malti, T., & Karcher, M. J. (2013). Mentoring relationships in developmental perspective. In D. DuBois & M. J. Karcher (Eds.), *Handbook of youth mentoring* (pp. 99–116). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Oberle, E., Schonert-Reichl, K. A., Hertzman, C., & Zumbo, B. (2014). Social-emotional competencies make the grade: Predicting academic success in early adolescence. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 35*, 138–147. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2014.02.004

Ollendick, T. H., Grills, A. E., & King, N. J. (2001). Applying developmental theory to the assessment and treatment of childhood disorders: Does it make a difference? *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy, 8*, 304–314. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/cpp.311

Rubin, K. H., Bukowski, W., & Laursen, B. (Eds.). (2011). *Handbook of peer interactions, relationships, and groups*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Saarni, C. (1999). *The development of emotional competence*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Schonert-Reichl, K. A., & Hymel, S. (2007). Educating the heart as well as the mind: Why social and emotional learning is critical for students' school and life success. *Education Canada, 47*, 20–25.

Spiel, C., Reimann, R., Wagner, P., & Schober, B. (2008). Guest editorial: Bildung-Psychology: The substance and structure of an emerging discipline. *Applied Developmental Science, 12*, 154–159. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10888690802199426

Spiel, C., Reimann, R., Wagner, P., & Schober, B. (2010). Bildungspsychologie – eine Einführung. In C. Spiel, B. Schober, P. Wagner, & R. Reimann (Eds.), *Bildungspsychologie* (pp. 11–20). Göttingen: Hogrefe.

van Noorden, T. H. J., Haselager, G. J. T., Cillessen, A. H. N., & Bukowski, W. M. (2015). Empathy and involvement in bullying in children and adolescents: A systematic review. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 44*, 637–657.

Weisz, J. R., & Weersing, V. R. (1999). Developmental outcome research. In W. K. Silverman & T. H. Ollendick (Eds.), *Developmental issues in the clinical treatment of children* (pp. 457–469). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.