Affect and Emotion in a Restorative School

Graeme George

January, 2013

Affect and Emotion in a Restorative School

"There is no trust more sacred than the one the world holds with children.
There is no duty more important than ensuring that their rights are respected,
that their welfare is protected, that their lives are free from fear and want
and that they can grow up in peace." – Kofi Annan

Most teachers working with young people in schools have some familiarity with educational psychology - that is, they would recognise the names Piaget, Erikson, Kohlberg, and perhaps, Skinner. Those who have pursued higher studies would have considered behaviourist, cognitivist, developmental and constructivist theories, among others, at some stage in their careers. They may have seen some application of these theories to particular aspects of their work as teachers, in the design and evaluation of curriculum, in the design of assessment tasks, and perhaps in their understanding of the cognitive development of their students.

Many would be unfamiliar, however, with Affect Script Psychology. Those who have some familiarity may have been introduced to Nathanson's (1992) Compass of Shame through their involvement with restorative practices in the school setting. For most of us, this is how we first became introduced to Silvan Tomkins' work. But as powerful as the Compass of Shame is, there is much more to Tomkins' Affect Theory than that. Put simply, it's about understanding ourselves, our motivations, and our relationships with others. What could be more important for a teacher than these understandings?

Very little of educational psychology has direct application in understanding who we are as persons, and how we interact and form relationships with others, including our students. Again, little of traditional (or modern) educational psychology addresses the fact that a school is a complex human society in which each of its members lives emotional, flesh and blood lives.

Teaching is *emotional labour*. It is not just cognitive work. It is not just instruction, and students are not just machines to be topped up with knowledge. Teaching is *moral work* that is attempted by fallable and very human people as a service to other fallable and human persons still developing fully into the adults that they will become. Teachers have hopes, dreams, fears and disappointments, and so do their students. They are emotional beings. Teachers need to understand themselves, their colleagues and their students if the mini-society that is their classroom, and their society which is their school, is to flourish. Affect Script Psychology provides teachers with a theoretical framework for developing this understanding.

In this chapter, I will outline how the insights of Affect Script Psychology can have direct application to the moral, emotional work of teachers in schools, both in the area of behaviour management with restorative practices, and in learning and teaching in the classroom. I will assume the reader has a familiarity with the

basics of Affect Theory from Vick Kelly's Chapter.

At the heart of Affect Script Psychology, and key to the functioning of an effective school, is Tomkins' Central Blueprint for Motivation, in which we are believed to be happiest and healthiest when we are achieving the following, in a balanced way:

1. Maximising positive affect
2. Minimising negative affect
3. Maximising the expression of affect (or minimising its inhibition)
4. Maximising the power and ability to achieve 1-3 (after Kelly, 2009)

This Central Blueprint in many ways describes one of the key aims of school communities, not surprisingly because schools wish to have balanced, healthy, happy students (and teachers).

In affect terms, we would all hope that the predominant affects being triggered in the school environment were Interest-Excitement in the learning process and Enjoyment-Joy at being together with others of like mind and at achieving success either as students or teachers. Of course, students and teachers in a school cannot escape the human condition to be always "free from fear and want," and so the negative affects inevitably arise no matter how diligently the teachers and administrators work to prevent it. The high concentration of people in a school building or campus will predictably give rise to conflict from time to time, perhaps as Distress-Anguish bubbles over into Anger-Rage, or when Shame-Humiliation is triggered. The diversity of any school population can be a source of Disgust or Dissmell in the form of (conscious or unconscious) prejudice or discrimination. It would be the hope of all adults who work in schools that students never experience Fear-Terror while in their school, but the 'surprise quiz' or the sudden realisation of an incomplete homework assignment will inevitably trigger this affect at some level in students at times.

Of the nine innate affects, shame-humiliation was perhaps the last to evolve. Shame-humiliation is triggered by any impediment that occurs to disrupt our ongoing enjoyment of the positive affects, interest-excitement or enjoyment-joy. While we may experience scenes involving this affect as initiating the emotions of *frustration, disappointment, rejection, loneliness,* or feeling *ashamed, embarrassed* or *mortified,* this basic affect simply serves to shine a spotlight on an impediment to the former pleasant enjoyment of the positive affect. Nathanson (1992) identifies that, since the positive affects of interest-excitement and enjoyment-joy are often experienced through our communion with other people, the shame-humiliation affect is often experienced as an interruption to this pleasant communion or connection with others. It is therefore a particularly social affect, and this makes it of great interest to those who work in schools.

I begin to examine how schools can better follow the Central Blueprint by attempting to bring into alignment with Affect Script Psychology some recent psychological theory and research from just a little outside the area.

The Self-reflective Emotions: Differentiating Shame from Guilt

Shame and guilt are two members of a larger family of *self-conscious* emotions, so-called because they rely on the individual's ability to reflect on and evaluate the self by reference to a set of internal or societal standards. In much of the psychological literature the two terms are used almost interchangeably and are included in the group of 'moral emotions' as they are presumed to inhibit undesirable behaviours and encourage positive, altruistic, other-centred behaviours. In this way, "shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride function as an emotional moral barometer, providing immediate and salient feedback on our social and moral acceptability" (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek, 2007).

Affect Script Psychology tells us that, at the biological level, we all share the same nine innate affects. The affect *shame-humiliation*, for example, produces the same stimulus-affect-response (SAR) scene in every individual for whom there has been some impediment to interest or enjoyment. The same physiological response of a lack of muscle tone in the neck and shoulders - perhaps a blush - can be felt by all for whom this affect has been triggered. Similarly, all people in the very moment of shame affect are in a state of 'cognitive shock' - an issue that will be explored later in connection with the learning process itself.

Once we become aware - conscious - that shame affect has been triggered, memories of similar scenes are drawn upon which in themselves amplify the conscious negative feelings produced by the affect that has been triggered. We refer to this feedback loop, in which our biography has come to amplify and enlarge the initial physiological and affective response, as an emotional state. This emotional state is the end result of a vast array of memories of previous triggerings of shame affect. It is this emotional state that then determines which scripts will be played out in response. These *emotional states* of shame and guilt, both of which result from the affect shame-humiliation, will be our focus in this first section.

Perhaps the most useful, and commonly accepted, distinction between the emotions of shame and guilt was proposed by Helen Block Lewis (1971, cited in Tangney et al, 2007) and developed and extended through empirical studies by Tangney (Tangney, 1990; Tangney, 1994; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney et al, 2007; Tangney & Tracy, 2011). In Lewis's view, both emotional states result from evaluation against a set of standards, either personal or social, but the object of the evaluation differs in the two cases. It is proposed that a person is more likely to feel the emotional state of shame when they evaluate *the whole self* against a particular standard, but they would be more likely to experience the emotional state of guilt when they are able to evaluate *their behaviour* against the standard. For both, the initial trigger prompting this evaluation is the impediment to ongoing positive affect that has caused the shame affect SAR scene. It is their biography - the sum of all their previous experiences - which determines the object of their evaluation, and hence which of the two emotional states results.

Put simply, when people feel shame they feel badly about themselves, whereas when they feel guilt they feel badly about a specific behaviour. Empirical research supports that this differential emphasis on the self ("***I*** did that horrible thing") versus a specific behaviour ("I did that ***horrible thing***") leads to very different

emotional experiences and very different patterns of motivations and subsequent behaviour (Tangney et al, 2007).

Of the two emotional states, shame is the more painful of the two, since in shame the entire core self is at stake and hence shame is often associated with a sense of shrinking or of “being small” as well as worthlessness and powerlessness. Guilt, on the other hand, is less painful because the object of concern or condemnation is a specific behaviour rather than the entire self. Consequently, people experiencing guilt are not challenged to defend the self but rather are drawn to reflect on their specific behaviour and are more able to consider its consequences, especially for others.

> On the whole, empirical evidence evaluating the action tendencies of people experiencing shame and guilt suggest that guilt promotes constructive, proactive pursuits, whereas shame promotes defensiveness, interpersonal separation, and distance (Tangney et al, 2007).

Tangney & Dearing (2002) report that guilt has been found to be associated with motivation towards reparative actions including confessions, apologies, and undoing the consequences of the behaviour. In contrast, shame is associated with attempts to deny, hide or escape the shame-inducing situation i.e. to avoid dealing with the cause of the shame by recourse to what we would recognise as being the sets of scripts described by Nathanson’s Compass of Shame as depicted in *Figure 1* (Nathanson, 1992).

Nathanson has described four major libraries of scripts which we typically use to avoid dealing maturely with an experience of shame. These scripts enable us to by-pass the painful shame emotion.

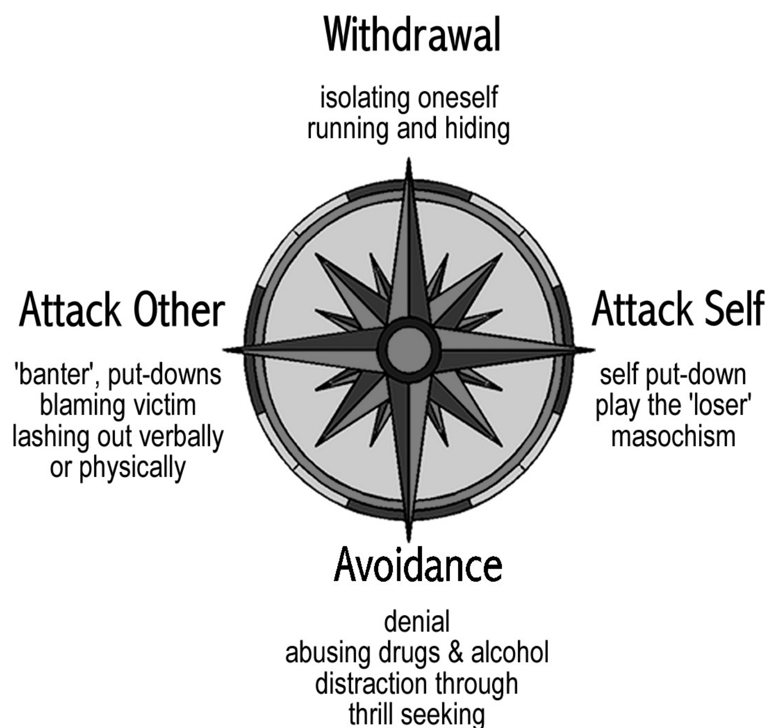

Figure 1 - The Compass of Shame (after Nathanson, 1992)

The Compass of Shame

At each of the four poles of the compass are sets of scripts – ways of behaving in response to the experience of shame – each of which range from the 'normal' through to more serious or pathological behaviours. The sets of scripts found at each of the four poles of the compass can be described as follows:

Withdrawal

At the Withdrawal pole of the compass are those scripts that alleviate the negative affect by severing the connection with others so as to avoid their presumed scrutiny and judgement. Indeed, physiologists have identified a number of biochemicals released in the body in response to the shame affect that result in the loss of muscle tone in the neck and shoulders, which causes the face to slump ('losing face') and breaking the connection with others. The resultant downcast face of the person experiencing shame is the typical shame response, breaking eye contact with those that they may perceive to be judging them.

The withdrawal scripts alleviate the negative affect by removing the person from the supposed glare of others. In the school setting, these scripts are being employed by the quiet students who always find a place in the playground apart from everyone else, or in the library at lunchtime. At the extreme end are those students for whom truanting, or school-refusal, is the only effective way for them to avoid the painful affect associated with school.

Attack Self

Sometimes, people respond to an experience of shame with scripts that range from self-deprecating humour through to masochistic, self-destructive behaviours. This is the set of scripts Nathanson describes as the Attack Self pole of the compass – where the person attempts to regain control of the situation by at least controlling the self-condemnation. In schools, there are always students who 'play the loser,' and are prepared to be the butt of others' jokes, however lighthearted, to simply be 'in the game' and connected with other students.

Avoidance

At the Avoidance pole of the compass is that set of scripts that draws attention away from the cause of the shame experience and onto some aspect of the self that is not defective, that restores some status to the individual. We all have numerous opportunities to deny or avoid shame by drawing attention to some aspect of the self that can be a source of pride – be it through enhanced body image, possessions, or achievements attained through risk-taking.

In the school setting, these scripts are evident in the 'class clown' who draws attention away from any aspect of school life that is causing him negative affect. They are also used by the student who builds his reputation or identity around one specific aspect of school life - be it sport, music or some other activity in which he feels competent and in control - to avoid dealing withthose aspects that are causing him pain. The risk-taking

behaviour of adolescence is likely to be, at least partly, a response to shame affect.

Another common way in which we avoid examining what the spotlight of shame has highlighted is the use of alcohol or drugs. Each of these scripts alleviate the negative affect of shame by diverting our attention to a competent, positive image of ourselves so as to avoid the painful consequences of shame for the self.

Attack Other

At the final pole of the compass is that set of scripts that enable us to feel better by shifting the blame or by making someone else smaller. This set of scripts range from seemingly harmless banter and good-natured teasing, through to malicious and hurtful insults and even physical aggression. In each of these scripts the painful experience of shame is lessened through making someone else the target in order to enhance our own status.

Much bullying activity in schools can be attributed to Attack Other scripts, as can most aggression between students. Particularly in high school, students are exquisitely tuned to detecting subtle changes in status among their group, and will often defend their position by recourse to Attack Other scripts.

The four sets of scripts described in the Compass of Shame are maladaptive because they don't enable or require us to examine and address what the spotlight of shame has highlighted about us or our behaviour. They are common responses to the experience of shame simply because, as Tangney (1994) has identified, acknowledging fault with, and addressing some defect of, the self is a daunting task. The self is who we are, and it is all we have.

It is important to note here that it would in fact be possible, if not likely, for a person to feel *both* shame and guilt over a particular transgression. Even in those situations in which a person predominantly evaluates *their behaviour* against the standards and finds it wanting (a guilt-like response) it is still likely that they will feel less than good about *themselves* (a shame-like response) (Kelly, 2012, *personal communication*). In this way it is difficult, from an Affect Script Psychology viewpoint, to imagine the "shame-free guilt" to which Tangney refers. Certainly, the guilt-like response has only been initiated as a result of a scene involving shame affect. To not have some level of shame-like response coassembled with the guilt-like response would appear unlikely. Additionally, experience in restorative processes attempting to address the harm which results from wrongdoing shows that, within a particular individual, shame-like responses and guilt-like responses can appear to *emerge at different times* in response to the same incident or behaviour.

Shame-proneness and Guilt-proneness

In addition to examining the actual experience of these moral emotions in the wake of wrongdoing or transgression, the psychological literature also explores the propensity of individuals to experience particular emotions across a range of situations, that is, their level of *"shame-proneness"* and *"guilt-proneness."* As an example, shame-prone individuals would be more susceptible to both anticipatory and

consequential experiences of shame, relative to others less shame-prone. Thus, a shame-prone person is inclined to anticipate shame in response to a range of potential behaviours, and also more likely to experience shame as a consequence of actual failures and transgressions. The shame-prone person's predominant scripts tend them to evaluate *the self*, rather than *their specific behaviour*, against their standards.

Empirical research on these emotional dispositions show significant differences between the experiences and outcomes for shame-prone and guilt-prone individuals (see Tangney et al, 2007 for a more complete review of the literature).

Shame-proneness has been shown to be positively correlated with the tendency of these individuals to focus egocentrically on their own distress rather than on concern for others. Shame-proneness is also positively correlated with anger, hostility and the propensity to blame factors beyond the self for one's misfortunes (Tangney et al, 2007). These shame-prone individuals are more likely to experience anger and to express this anger in destructive ways including both direct and indirect aggression.

Recent research also indicates that shame-proneness is related to a wide variety of psychological symptoms including low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, eating disorder symptoms, post-traumatic stress disorder and suicidal ideation (Tangney et al, 2007). Tibbets (1997) found a positive relationship between shame-proneness and intentions toward illegal behaviours. In one longitudinal study (Tangney & Dearing, 2002) shame-proneness assessed in the fifth grade predicted, in adolescence, risky driving behaviours, earlier initiation of drug and alcohol use, and a lower likelihood of practising safe sex.

Guilt-proneness, on the other hand, appears to be correlated with measures of perspective-taking and empathic concern (Tangney et al, 2007). People experiencing guilt seem to be specifically focussed on the bad behaviour which, in turn, highlights for the guilt-prone the negative consequences experienced by others and fosters an empathic response, motivating people to at least attempt to "right the wrong." Guilt-proneness is also correlated with low measures of aggression and positively with other-oriented empathy, and with a propensity to take responsibility for one's actions (Tangney et al, 2007).

Empirical research indicates that guilt-proneness is negatively correlated with antisocial and risky behaviour (Tangney et al 2007), self-reported criminal behaviour (Tibbets, 2003), and delinquency (Merisca and Bybee, 1994, cited in Tangney et al, 2007).

Children identified in the fifth grade as being more guilt-prone were, in later adolescence, less likely to be arrested, convicted and incarcerated. They were more likely to practise safe sex and less likely to abuse drugs. Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek (2007) report that these findings held even when controlling for socioeconomic factors such as family income and mothers' level of education.

Guilt-proneness, then, appears to serve a protective or inhibitory function not shared with shame-proneness.

This research leads Tangney & Dearing (2002) to conclude that guilt may be the *"moral emotion of choice."* Shame, for Tangney, offers little opportunity for redemption since it requires transforming a self that is defective to its core. In contrast, guilt offers multiple paths to redemption: the person may change the objectionable behaviour, or repair the negative consequences, or – at the very least – extend a heartfelt apology. Even in those situations where it may not be possible to make amends in any of these ways, people can still resolve to do better in the future. Since the focus of guilt is on a specific – and therefore changeable – behaviour, the individual can at least determine to avoid such behaviour in future (Tangney et al, 2007).

While putting forward fairly compelling evidence to consider shame as a largely undesirable emotional response, Tangney and Tracy (2011) agree with Nathanson (1992) that, in some specific situations, shame's painful focus on the self may in fact be helpful in order for the individual to be sufficiently motivated to examine some aspect of the self that would best be corrected. In these cases, the challenge would be to engage in the reflection necessary to perhaps revise one's fundamental values and priorities in the desired direction, without being diverted by defensive or denial reactions such as the scripts at the four poles of the Compass of Shame (Nathanson, 1992).

Similarly, Tangney and Tracy (2011) admit that guilt can also become a maladaptive response to transgressions or failure when an exaggerated or distorted sense of responsibility develops, when guilt becomes fused with shame, or when the individual is unable to find a successful path toward redemption. Most students of Affect Script Psychology would identify guilt as the coassembling of shame affect with fear - especially the fear of damaging the relationship with a significant other. Guilt, in this view, would be maladaptive if the fear is predominantly amplified in the emotional state hence preventing the other-centred focus often associated with the guilt response. This could be particularly likely in a school with a highly punitive discipline regime. Such an environment could amplify the fear affect experienced by the student swamping the more positive, other-centred motivations associated with a guilt response.

Group Shame and Guilt

While the distinctions between shame and guilt in response to personal transgressions have been explored here, Tangney (2007) also reports that other researchers have been investigating the capacity of individuals in groups to experience *vicarious guilt* or *shame* as the result of some transgression or failing of a member of the group. In their work, parallels between individual and vicarious shame and guilt have been found.

Group-based shame has been found to be most likely to result when *the nature of the shared identity* is threatened by one member's behaviour, leading to challenges around maintaining the positive group identity. If the impediment to ongoing interest or enjoyment is triggered by some characteristic central to the identity of the group itself, this is more likely to lead to a sense of vicarious shame. Group-based guilt, on the other hand, appears to be more dependent upon the *interdependence one feels with the perpetrator* (Tangney et al, 2007) - a sense of indirect responsibility for the behaviour of the individual.

As with personal experiences of guilt, group-based guilt has been found to have a greater association with empathy and a motivation to repair and make amends. The link between shame and anger in the personal case also holds for vicarious shame, reinforcing the negative nature of shame. While there is some suggestion from the research that group-based shame could encourage a motivation to improve the image of the group in a more proactive fashion than is found for personal shame (Tangney et al, 2007) it could also easily be imagined to lead to bypassing of shame similar in this group sense to that of the scripts described by the Compass of Shame in the personal case. Consideration of the behaviour of some groups in schools, and in wider society, would allow a ready identification of the playing out of dominant scripts such as Withdrawal, Attack Self, Avoidance and Attack Other.

Identification of some undesirable group behaviours in schools as being Compass of Shame responses can be useful if it allows teachers to address the cause(s) of the shared shame affect, rather than simply to respond to the group behaviour itself. Responding to the behaviour in these cases, without looking at possible shame affect triggers, would be treating the symptoms without going to the source of the problem. In most schools there are, from time to time, ongoing conflicts between groups or cliques of students. In most cases, these conflicts can be traced to group shame affect triggering an Attack Other set of scripts. Simply responding to the conflict itself without giving attention perhaps to the lack of understanding and empathy between the two groups, or to whatever else has been triggering shame affect, will likely ensure that the conflict will rise again at some point, no matter how effectively it is suppressed for the moment. A restorative approach to conflict, as described later, is one way of effectively getting to and dealing with the root cause of the conflict.

Hubris and Authentic Pride

The family of positive emotions we would refer to as pride are also affect-driven. Nathanson (1992) identifies the emotion of pride as being the result of scripts initiated when interest-excitement is followed by enjoyment-joy as in a job well done after the exertion of some attention. Put more simply, pride is felt whenever positive affect is associated with a sense of personal efficacy, of achievement. Shame, on the other hand, results from positive affect being blocked, sometimes by a perceived lack of personal efficacy.

In his discussion of the self, Nathanson (1992) hinted at the possible existence also of two forms of the emotion of pride – which he referred to as *authoritative* and *arrogant pride* - but largely constructed pride as the opposite of shame, along what he referred to as the shame-pride axis. More recently, this duality of the pride emotion has been increasingly explored by researchers and there appears to be an emerging consensus suggesting that what might now be referred to as *authentic pride* and *hubristic pride* are demonstrably different facets of the pride emotion (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek (2007) describe these two forms of pride, which they label 'alpha' pride and 'beta' pride, as pride in the self (alpha or *hubristic pride*) and pride in behaviour (beta or *authentic pride*). Similarly to the difference between shame and guilt, the distinction between these two forms of pride rests upon their relationship to an evaluation of the self versus an evaluation of one's behaviour. Authentic pride

attributes success to the effort made ("I succeeded because *I worked hard*") whereas hubristic pride attributes the same success to a more global assessment ("I succeeded because *I'm great*") (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

	Negative	Positive
internal stable global	shame	hubristic pride
internal unstable specific	guilt	authentic pride

Figure 2 - Relationship between Shame, Guilt and the two forms of Pride

Figure 2, above, summarises this difference (for both the positive and negative emotions) in terms of this *attribution of the causes.* In the case of both shame and hubristic pride, the cause is attributed to internal, stable (i.e. relatively uncontrollable) and global (the whole of the self is implicated) factors. In the cases of both guilt and authentic pride, however, the cause is attributed to internal, unstable (and therefore, controllable) and specific factors (a particular behaviour or achievement).

Recently, Tangney and Tracy (2011) have reviewed the research examining the links between these two forms of pride and personal and social outcomes and they have concluded that "hubristic and authentic pride elicit different social behaviours and have divergent effects on the personality, parallel to the distinct effects of shame and guilt."

They report studies that indicate that hubristic pride may underlie narcissistic aggression, hostility, interpersonal problems and other self-destructive behaviour, while authentic pride may promote positive achievement, contribute to pro-social investment and the development of a genuine and deep-rooted sense of self-esteem (Tangney & Tracy, 2011).

In considering the disposition of individuals towards the two forms of pride, Tangney and Tracy (2011) report divergent outcomes in terms of psychological symptoms which parallel those found for shame-proneness and guilt-proneness. They also linked authentic pride with greater other-centred empathy and hubristic pride with diminished capacity for this empathic concern.

They therefore conclude that *authentic pride* is the more moral, pro-social, achievement-oriented form of the emotion.

Thus the research on the negative emotions of shame and guilt, and on the positive emotions of hubris and authentic pride, seem to suggest that the key difference between the adaptive and maladaptive forms in each case is the object of the evaluation - that is, whether the person attributes the failure or success to some characteristic of the self in total, or to some specific behaviour of the self. The notion that it is important to

evaluate a person's behaviour separate from their worth as a person has a long history. St Augustine of Hippo wrote in the fourth century to his early monastic communities of the need to 'love the sinner, hate the sin' in attempting to bring a wayward brother back to the righteous path. For St Augustine, it was only through the loving support of his community that the fallen monk would have the strength to overcome the vice that afflicted him. His advice is reflected in a central tenet of the practice of restorative justice today.

Affect Script Psychology in Restorative Practices in Schools

Promoting Moral Development in the School Setting

The positive moral development of students would appear to depend upon three factors or approaches, (after Tangney & Dearing, 2002) namely:

a) the development and adoption of appropriate moral standards
b) the development of moral reasoning skills
c) the development of the capacity for appropriate and healthy moral emotions.

Of these, the first two are probably most commonly addressed in schools through specific programs that could broadly be labelled character education. Some of these specific programs have been described and evaluated by a number of researchers (see Benninga et al, 2006; Berkowitz, 2006; Berkowitz & Bier, 2005; Cann, 2002 and McGrath, 2007) and will not be explored here. See also the Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL) (at www.casel.org) for extensive materials on social/emotional learning programs in schools.

In schools that employ such specific programs aimed at development in this moral realm, it is worth considering that the success or otherwise of these programs is most likely influenced or mediated by, if not dependent directly upon, other issues outside the specific program such as the school culture or climate, the school's disciplinary style, the pedagogy employed in classrooms, and the quality of the relationships between students as well as between students and teachers. After all, students spend the majority of their time in school outside any formal character education program. This suggests that even in schools where character education programs form an explicit part of the curriculum, attention needs to be given to the totality of the experience of schooling for the students in order to best support the developmental aims of the programs.

It could be argued that it is in fact the total experience of schooling (what some have referred to as the 'informal' or 'hidden' curriculum of the school) that could be more influential in all aspects of moral development of students, but particularly important in the third dimension, the development of the capacity for healthy moral emotions. Certainly, some researchers have connected various aspects of this broader conception of the curriculum of a school, in particular the predominant disciplinary style of the institution, with the development of shame management styles in students, and consequent implications for anti-social behaviours such as bullying (Morrison, 2005).

Strategies from the literature to assist young people to develop guilt-proneness over shame-proneness tend to converge with both common sense and with the restorative approach to discipline and relationship-building, as well as with what was promoted by Baumrind (1971, cited in Berkowitz & Grych, 1998) as authoritative parenting. The common thread through all of these is the understanding that distinguishing between approval/disapproval of the self versus the behaviour is central to healthy development.

Consideration of the sequence of development of the infant into the child and on to the adolescent provides an important challenge to this separation of the self from the behaviour. It is widely accepted that the infant first identifies the sense of self around the second year of life. From that point forward, the child has not only a sense of the self, but also a vital relationship with the primary caregivers. As Kelly (2011) has eloquently described, it is in this period that the infant learns that people are the source of relief of negative affect (when they feed or change the baby) and that they can also be sources of positive affect (in play, etc). This realisation is a key learning that contributes to the development of attachment scripts.

It would also be in this period, however, that the inevitable impediments to that ongoing positive affect provided by the caregiver first begin to build scenes that will result in later script formation around shame affect. During this early formative stage, the infant is not yet able to separate their 'behaviour' from their 'self'. When we say "Alec, *that's a naughty thing* you did", Alec often hears the message "You're *a bad boy*" - conveyed as much through tone of voice, gesture and posture, as by the words used. That is, the negative affect prompted by the reprimand prompts a shame response in which the infant is not yet able to separate the behaviour from the self. In this way, shame-proneness could be considered *a default position* for the human condition (Tangney, 2011, *personal communication*) and that those young people who later develop a predominant guilt-proneness have made a successful transition from these early shame scripts to a more adaptive set of responses.

Even though research from longitudinal studies suggest that the tendencies or dispositions, either guilt-proneness or shame-proneness as well as the corresponding forms of the positive emotion of pride, may be well-established by middle childhood and that these dispositions, once formed, are remarkably stable over time at least through until late adolescence and early adulthood (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), there is evidence that the dispositions are still susceptible to change, even well into adulthood (Tangney, 2011, *personal communication*).

The weight of the empirical evidence in favour of guilt-proneness over shame-proneness, and authentic pride over hubristic pride, leads Tangney and Dearing (2002) to conclude that these are "individual differences *that matter*" in the light of their far-reaching implications for the individuals and the communities to which they belong. They should therefore be individual differences that matter to those responsible for educating young people.

If parenting styles have an influence on the development of guilt-proneness (Berkowitz & Grych, 1998), then so does the socialisation process of schooling and, in particular, the disciplinary style of the school. How the school community responds to conflict and wrongdoing is known to be influential in determining

the shame management style of its students (Morrison, 2005) and it could be suggested that this could also either encourage or discourage a move within its individual students from shame-proneness towards guilt-proneness. A punitive institutional style of discipline has been shown to be associated with management styles that centre on bypassing shame, encouraging recourse to the Compass of Shame scripts. A more restorative style of discipline, where the focus is first upon the harm done through conflict or wrongdoing, is more likely to promote guilt-like responses in student offenders, encouraging the development of guilt-like other-centred scripts.

Separating the self from the behaviour

The importance of separating the selfhood of the person from his/her behaviour has long been an emphasis in the practice of restorative justice where “behaviour is confronted with disapproval within a continuum of respect and support” (Braithwaite, 1989). This aim to separate the approbation of the behaviour from the potential condemnation of the offender himself finds expression in the adage that “the problem is the problem, the person is not the problem” and is explored more fully in Wachtel’s (1999) Social Discipline Window, as shown in *Figure 3*.

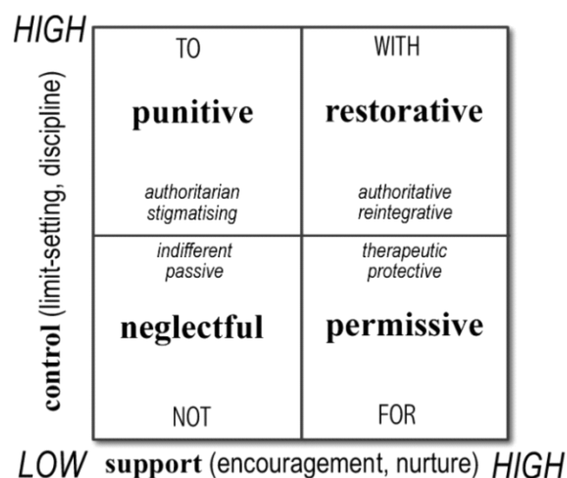

Figure 3 - The Social Discipline Window (Wachtel, 1999)

The Social Discipline Window summarises that working restoratively requires high control of behaviour (challenging people to high standards and expectations) while, at the same time, providing the necessary personal support and encouragement for them to meet these expectations (Wachtel, 1999).

Braithwaite’s (1989) work on reintegrative shaming in restorative processes is incorporated into the Social Discipline Window by recognising that punitive responses (holding people to high standards without the necessary personal support and encouragement) results in a stigmatizing form of shame. It encourages the reinforcement of shame-based scripts and recourse to the Compass of Shame responses.

The aim in any restorative process, according to Braithwaite, should be reintegrative shaming in which the offender experiences disapproval of his behaviour, but within the loving support and personal acceptance of his community of care. In the light of later work on shame and guilt as discussed above, perhaps this notion of reintegrative shaming could be better constructed as a process of encouraging the offender to move from

a predominantly shame-like response towards a more guilt-like response. The community of care draws upon the interest affect that already exists in the relationship with the offender, and encourages him to take interest in making things right in the wake of poor behaviour. Such reintegrative shaming (or encouraging the emotional shift from shame to guilt) is proposed to encourage the offender to move from an egocentric focus towards a more empathic, other-centred response to those he has harmed. The modelling of the offender's community of care extending empathy towards the victim of the wrongdoing encourages the offender to move towards a more guilt-like response, focussed on the needs of those who have been harmed, rather than turning inwards on the self in defensive responses.

Pro-actively Building Community in the school

One of the aims of any school is the building of a sense of community among its students, and between students and the adults in the school. For such cooperative relationships to best develop, according to Tyler (2000), individuals need to feel a high level of pride in membership of the group and a high level of respect within the group. A high level of pride in being a member of the group means that the student feels that *"It's good to be a student here!"* whereas a high level of respect is felt when the student believes that he *"has a place here at the school."* Other authors have used different pairs of descriptors for these key needs and the pair that most appeals is belonging and significance. For students to feel part of the school community, they must feel that they belong (i.e. they are *interested* in being part of the group), and that they are significant (i.e. they feel that others are *interested* in them being part of the group). After Kelly (2011), this is the basis of the relationships that form between students, and between students and teachers, when they become *interested* in others being *interested* in them.

That these twin needs are central to the students' sense of well-being and attachment to the group is borne out by the results of the investigation into the school massacres in the United States after the Columbine tragedy (Moore et al, 2002). In studying the characteristics of the student shooters across a number of cases, the common characteristic that could successfully be identified was a level of "social marginality" - i.e. the students' needs for belonging to the group and significance within the group were not being met, with tragic consequences.

Schools build this sense of belonging and significance for students through encouraging and enabling students to meet the requirements of the Central Blueprint. Kelly (2011) has reframed the Central Blueprint in relationships terms that could be paraphrased as follows:

1. We should come together to share and maximize positive feelings.
2. We should come together to share and minimize negative feelings.
3. We should come together to express our feelings in order to maximize our ability to do 1 and 2.
4. We should encourage and share the ability and power to do the above 3 things.

Following this blueprint helps create among students a sense of belonging and significance - by maximising the positive affect that binds people together in shared interest, and minimizing the negative affect that

isolates or separates them. All the usual ways in which schools build community - e.g. through team activities, sport and extra-curricular activities, parades, assemblies, rallies etc - are really attempts at encouraging a sense of belonging and significance through application of this central blueprint. As anyone working in schools with young people would be aware, if the school itself does not, through its activities and structures but mostly through its relationships, successfully encourage this belonging and significance among its students, the students will do it for themselves within sub-culture (or counter-culture) cliques that may or may not be conducive to school-wide harmony and cooperation.

When Things Go Wrong - Restorative Approaches to Addressing Harm in Schools

The traditional approach to school discipline (which reflected 'justice' as viewed by the criminal justice system) asks three questions in response to wrongdoing, namely:

- What happened?
- Who is to blame? and
- What do they deserve?

As in the adversarial criminal justice system, this approach leaves those who have been most affected by the wrongful behaviour without a voice, and without their needs being directly addressed as part of the 'solution.' It also doesn't effectively challenge the wrongdoer to be accountable directly to those he has harmed.

In contrast, the restorative approach starts from a different set of questions:

- What happened?
- Who has been harmed? and
- What needs to happen to repair some of that harm?

In this approach to dealing with wrongdoing the focus is on the harm that has been done and the obligation this brings, on the part of those responsible, to 'right the wrong' as much as possible. It is an approach that seeks to develop in the wrongdoer an understanding of the breadth and depth of the harm their behaviour has caused to others so that they can best try to make amends to those most affected. In this way, it is primarily an educative approach. It also ensures that those who have been most affected by the wrongdoing have the opportunity to be involved in working out what has to happen in order to move forward and puts the onus back on the wrongdoer to be truly accountable for their behaviour and to repair any harm caused to others.

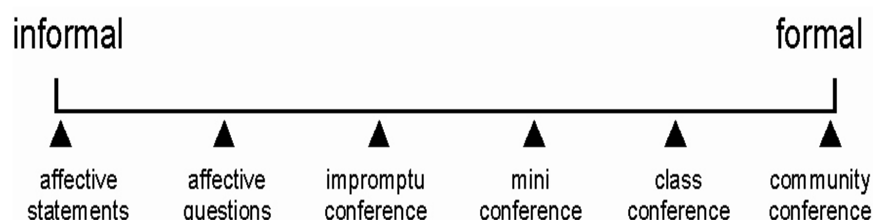

Figure 4 - The Restorative Continuum (after Wachtel 1999)

The restorative processes used to deal with the aftermath of conflict or wrongdoing in schools fall along a continuum from the very informal through to the most formal, as shown in *Figure 4.* Most of these processes are derivations from, or simplifications of, the community conference found at the highly formal end of the continuum. The community conference is a structured meeting designed to bring all parties to an offence together in order to have the difficult conversations necessary to find some way of repairing the harm done through the wrongdoing. It is a highly structured and regulated environment following a set of guiding principles that aims to ensure that the community affected by the wrongdoing has control of the 'solution' to the problem. Much has been written on the structure, purpose and process of the community conference. For an excellent detailed explanation, see Thorsborne and Vinegrad (2006).

Moving down the spectrum of formality, the class conference, mini-conference and impromptu conference each follow the aims and principles of the community conference, but each in turn requires less time, fewer people involved, and can be used with less preparation. Each involve those responsible for the harm coming together in a facilitated meeting with those most affected by the wrongdoing.

At the least formal end, are the posing of affective questions and the making of affective statements, both of which aim to encourage students to consider the needs of the other by bringing out into the open for discussion those affects or feelings resulting from particular behaviours.

For our purposes here, we can focus on the simpler processes that have been derived from the conference format - the more informal restorative processes in schools. It is towards this more informal process end of the continuum that most of the restorative work in addressing harm in schools resides.

Each of these more informal processes have the same overall aims as the formal community conference, namely to seek to address the harm that has resulted from wrongdoing by giving the victim a voice, and to hold the offender accountable directly to the victim for the harm they have caused. Each of these informal processes would usually be facilitated by a teacher or other adult who guides the process and ensures that the principles are followed.

The restorative principles which underpin the formal community conference are key to each of the restorative processes along the continuum, regardless of how informal the process might be. These principles are: respect for all concerned; the separation of the behaviour from the person; that everyone has a right to have their story respectfully heard; that all affected by the incident have an obligation to be involved in the outcome; that the needs of the victim(s) should prevail; and that the process is voluntary.

In each of the processes, the facilitator brings together at least the offender and victim (and often their supporters, as well as any other party involved) and takes them through the process based on a set of questions that derive from the community conference script. The questions are asked in the particular order given in *Figure 5.*

To the 'offender' *(and supporters)*	***To the 'victim'*** *(and supporters)*
• What happened? • What were you thinking about at the time? • What have you thought about since? • Who do you think has been affected by what you have done? In what way? • What do you think you need to do to make things right?	• What did you think when you realised what had happened? • What impact has this incident had on you and others? • What has been the hardest thing for you? • What do you think needs to happen to make things right?

Figure 5 - Questions used in most restorative processes. The terms 'offender' and 'victim' are in inverted commas because these terms are never used in restorative processes. They are simply used here for clarity and simplicity.

Both the nature of the questions, and the sequence in which they are asked, are considered essential to the process. It is this sequence which attempts to educate (from *educare: to draw out*) the student towards reparation and restoration.

The participants are likely to begin the process in a complex affect state. Both offender and victim are likely to be experiencing shame to some extent in the aftermath of wrongdoing and harm. The offender experiences shame because of responsibility for the wrongdoing, but the victim also often experiences shame because of the impediment to positive affect caused by the wrongdoing. For both, it is also likely that there will be anxiety about the process and about being brought together. Both can also experience fear and in the victim this might be coassembled with distress or anger in the form of indignation at the humiliation of the wrongdoing. There may be some interest prompted by the novelty of the situation, but it is likely that this would be overshadowed by the negative emotions felt.

The process begins with the offender being asked to say what happened. This is to encourage and enable them to take responsibility for their actions right at the start. At this stage of the process the offender may not express any remorse for his actions. Unless he is particularly guilt-prone rather than shame-prone, it is likely that his emotional state is more focussed on himself and the anxiety and distress that the confrontation is causing for him at this point.

The questions then move to ask about what the offender was thinking at the time, and what he might have thought about since. In framing these questions in a cognitive 'what were you thinking?' sense (rather than asking directly about motivations by using a 'Why?' question) the facilitator is trying to 'get around' the fact that most people aren't aware of why they did something, because the motivation for the why is usually based in affect, an area of which most people are unaware. In most cases, asking an offender in a school the why question will normally result in (honestly) shrugged shoulders. On the other hand, asking about what

they were thinking at the time often allows them to give some insight to the motivations without them directly addressing the issue. The second of these questions also gently prompts - or at least allows - the offender to perhaps indicate if they have at any time since the incident regretted their actions. Sometimes, this regret may only be because they were caught! Even so, it begins the next important stage of the process.

By asking the offender to identify who might have been harmed and in what ways, the facilitator is shifting the focus from the actions of the offender to the effects these have had on others. This is the beginning of a crucial shift in direction of the conversation towards exploring the harm that has been done, and the initial steps in encouraging empathy with the victim. It is also the point at which those offenders who are predominantly shame-prone might begin to step outside their own personal distress towards a guilt-like response. While the offender at this stage might only have a superficial or simplistic understanding of the harm, this question asks him to consider the experience of the victim. It opens the way to move to the victim themselves for an exploration of the harm done as perceived by them.

The questions put next to the victim:

- What did you think when you realised what had happened?
- What impact has this incident had on you and others?

attempt to allow the victim to describe the breadth and the depth of the harm they feel has been caused by the actions of the offender. This requires in the victim an openness to be vulnerable in the context of the restorative prcoess and trust in the skill of the facilitator to protect that vulnerability. These questions are also asked to any supporters of the victims (if present) and anyone else who is a party to the offence. If these others are present, the victim often experiences relief at hearing them speak by having their own experience validated and the mutualisation of the negative affect lightens their load a little.

Hearing the victim detail the extent of the harm and the pain the offence has caused is often a turning point in the process for the offender, as it provides for him much greater insight into the result of his actions. If the offender's supporters are present, their empathic outreach to the victim(s), which is common at this point, can also impact the offender. The supporters usually model for the offender what such empathy and compassion looks like in practice. It is at this point that an apology can often be given spontaneously. It is certainly at this point that the greatest potential exists for any move from a predominantly shame-like response to a predominantly guilt-like response in the offender. The offender is often keen from this point to try to make things right.

The question: "What has been the hardest thing for you?" directed to the victim, asks them to identify the most painful or upsetting consequence of the offender's action. By reaching for the most painful aspect of the harm the victim's answer to this question 'sets the bar' for any possible reparation or restoration.

The final two questions focus on what needs to happen to restore the harm, and perhaps to restore the relationship if one existed prior to the offence. The question is asked first of the victim, then of the offender, in this order so as to honour the needs of the victim as they perceive them, and to give them control of working out what needs to be done.

The overall emotional trajectory of the restorative process holds some similarities for both offender and victim. Both begin the process with shame, anxiety and, perhaps, fear. Both usually experience relief towards the end of a successful conference process. Whether this relief results in enjoyment or contentment or simply less fear, depends upon the particular situation and how fraught it was for them. The relief on the part of the victim is sometimes because the offender no longer seems as malevolent a force as he did before the restorative meeting. It is often because of the validation they have felt from others in the process. And it may have been influenced by an apology given by the offender.

For the offender, the involvement in the process of those people most significant to him (his supporters) assists in the process of separating condemnation of his behaviour from any possible condemnation of the self. The desire on the part of the offender to repair any harm done to the relationships he shares with these people significant in his life encourages him to move beyond himself and his own distress. Their modeling of concern for both him and the victim encourages an empathic response in the offender.

Experience (and research) tells us that what most victims seek from the restorative process is what has been labelled symbolic reparation - that is, what they feel to be a sincere and genuine apology - much more than what might be termed material reparation (van Stokkom, 2002). It appears that the symbolic reparation is more important to most victims because it might go some way to addressing the emotional harm they have experienced, and in the context of the restorative process, emotional harm is at the forefront. Certainly, the process does not go well if the victim assesses any apology from the offender as not being genuine. In the restorative process, a great deal of the communication that occurs is non-verbal communication - the tone of voice, the body language, the gestures, the posture. Interestingly, the 'quality' of the apology as interpreted by the victim is conveyed predominantly by these non-verbal means. As van Stokkom (2002) has identified, it is a shame-like non-verbal response on the part of the offender that most seems to indicate to the victim that any apology offered is genuine. This potential social role of the shame affect and its associated posture and body language has long been recognised, and some authors have even proposed it as the central reason why human beings feel shame - so that they can indicate appropriate deference within their social group.

From this we could conclude that a shame-like response assists in the symbolic reparation achieved in a conference or other restorative process, while a more guilt-like response is likely to be necessary for satisfactory material reparation. In this way, and for the benefit of the offender themselves given the differential life outcomes indicated in Tangney's work for those predominantly shame-prone, it could be suggested that the purpose and aim of the restorative process in terms of the offender is to move them from an initial shame-like response in which they might be able to express their remorse appropriately, towards a more guilt-like response by the end of the process. It would seem that without the guilt-like response, the move in the focus of concern from the offender to the victim would be unlikely to be achieved. If, however, there was no evidence of any shame-like response at all, it would seem unlikely that any apology offered would be accepted as genuine.

While this discussion has focused on the power of understanding affect in terms of the processes used in restorative practices in schools, it has not addressed the insights affect theory enables for teachers working with young people outside these (more or less) informal processes.

A significant benefit of understanding affect in working with young people is being able to understand what would otherwise be interpreted as volitional, intentional misbehaviour instead as actions prompted by particular affects. This is true of ourselves and our colleagues, as well as the students. Such insight can often prevent misinterpretation and miscommunication and can assist us in designing more effective strategies to lead students in our schools in their learning and development. To paraphrase Kelly (2011) says, if you don't understand what motivates you, then how can you understand who you are, and what you do?

Affect Script Psychology in Teaching and Learning in Schools

All Attention is Affect

According to Tomkins' Central Blueprint discussed earlier, in the classroom teacher and students alike are motivated to maximise positive affect and to minimise negative affect. Anything that acts as an impediment to our enjoying these positive affects will trigger the shame affect, and in a classroom situation, there can be many such impediments to ongoing positive affect. In such a public situation, we are not usually encouraged to minimise the inhibition of affect (the third requirement of the Blueprint) due to the socialisation we have experienced prior to coming to that point. With affect expression suppressed and shame affect regularly triggered, it is likely that our negative emotions will become evident from time to time in other ways - e.g. as frustration or annoyance on the part of the teacher, or by off-task and even disruptive behaviour by students. Off-task or bored students might very well find their own way to maximise their positive affect and minimise their negative affect in ways that the teacher would prefer not to happen in their class!

The socialisation that causes us - and our students - to suppress the unbridled expression of affect in public (such as in the classroom) is, on some levels, essential to our successful functioning in these situations. The affective resonance that could occur in a classroom of twenty-five people would play havoc with the purposes of the lesson. Even with such suppressed affect, every teacher knows the contagious nature of affect in a classroom, for example, in the last lesson on a warm summer afternoon.

Thus, Affect Script Psychology can give us some insights into the learning process by considering the affects at play in the complex social situation of the classroom. It is particularly important to consider the potential for shame affect and subsequent shame emotion to interfere with classroom goals, given the very public nature of everything that happens in a class. Things that might, in one-on-one situations, only elicit a minor shame reaction can be magnified seemingly exponentially by the feeling that it might be being observed and judged by twenty-four peers - or, in the case of the teacher themselves, by a room full of students not always sensitive to the frailties of their teacher.

Firstly, it is important to recognise that all ordinary attention - i.e. the attention of students to the work in the class that the teacher expects - is based on affect. Recall that no stimulus makes it through to consciousness

without an affect spotlight first being triggered and a scene established. While in the classroom situation it would be hoped that this attention would be the result of the triggering of positive affect, it is also true that negative affect gets our attention. Hearing footsteps behind you when walking alone in the dark at night certainly gets your fearful attention, as would the announcement of a surprise quiz at the start of a lesson.

That all attention is driven by affect is not intuitively obvious to us. Attention is such a commonplace thing in our lives. As Kelly (2011) identifies, much of the time interest is not a very intense experience so we don't necessarily become aware of it. We do not notice that we are interested. We just are. If we were not, then the object of our attention - whether it's reading a book, or doing some gardening, or watching a movie - wouldn't keep our focus. In the Prolog to Silvan Tomkins' *Affect Imagery Consciousness,* Nathanson (2008) points out that:

> Each of the nine innate affects is equally responsible for the attitude we call 'attention' and the universal sense that attention requires some form of effort or work leads us to claim that we 'pay' attention to a stimulus.

Further, he identifies that when we - or our students - have difficulty with paying attention, it always involves the affect system. Either the stimulus is insufficiently novel or significant to gain our interest - or some other stimulus is triggering another affect distracting us away from the task as, for example, if we are hungry or thirsty and hence in distress (Nathanson, 1992).

Affect in Simple Learning

In a productive, positive classroom in which students and their teacher are engaged in simple acts of learning, the repeating sequence of interest and enjoyment affects is somewhat similar to that of a parent and child playing a game of peek-a-boo. The affect interest is triggered in response to some novel stimulus, resulting in a pleasant increase in central nervous system activity. In the game, this is the result of the engagement of the child by the parent, and by the parent covering their faces so they can't be seen by the child. In the classroom, while working with simple lower-level learning tasks, this interest is the result of the teacher introducing something new - either by direct instruction or by some indirect pedagogy. The interest affect for students in the classroom would also be sourced from the positive relationship between the teachers and the students. Students are naturally interested in their teacher being interested in them. This is the basis of the teacher-student relationship, and why classes can be very difficult when that relationship either does not exist, or has deteriorated for some reason.

The enjoyment affect, which is triggered in response to a decrease in central nervous system activity, is brought about in the game by the parent removing their hands to reveal their face once again to the child. In the classroom, enjoyment is triggered when the students realise that they understand, and can therefore assimilate into their pre-existing knowledge framework, the new piece of information. This ongoing sequence of positive affect can be depicted in terms of central nervous system activity cycles as below in *Figure 6*.

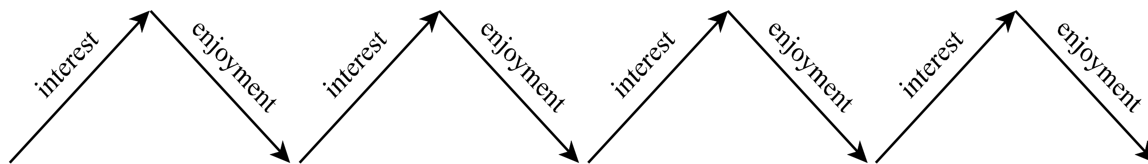

Figure 6 - a recurring sequence of interest followed by enjoyment

Of course, any impediment to this ongoing cycle of positive affect will trigger shame affect. In simple learning tasks, this shame affect can be quickly overcome by the teacher explaining the new point in a slightly different way, or reframing what it is that is being learnt, in order to recapture the student's interest and, hence, attention. Often, the most effective way to reframe what the student is thinking erroneously is for the teacher to acknowledge that the error is understandable, and to ask questions that bring the student back to the more correct interpretation. Acknowledging that the error is reasonable extends empathy to the student, relieving the pain of the shame affect. Asking questions enables the student to reconsider their position from a new angle. It also rekindles interest through the interest shown by the teacher.

This empathic response requires the teacher, though, to first notice that shame affect has been triggered in one or more of the students, often by correctly interpreting whatever behaviour the shame affect may have initiated. Since the affective response is usually in proportion to the intensity of the shame affect triggered, it is unusual for these minor glitches in the learning process to escalate beyond a quizzical look, or some minor off-task behaviour. That is unless, for a particular student, this has become a regular pattern of impediments presenting themselves and interrupting the learning process.

While it is important for the teacher to recognise that the shame affect in the student indicates that they have probably not understood a particular point the teacher was making so they can then take steps to overcome the impediment for the student, it is also important to recognise that the child's lack of understanding can also trigger shame affect in the teacher. The child's failure to understand something is an impediment to the flow of the lesson, and hence an interruption to the positive affect the teacher was enjoying a moment ago. If the teacher is not aware of this, they could themselves be drawn subconsciously to one of the four sets of scripts from the Compass of Shame, and respond in an inappropriate manner - perhaps with frustration, annoyance, or sarcasm, for example, as Attack Other scripts.

Affect in Complex Learning

In the case of more meaningful or more complex learning tasks, the potential for shame affect on the part of the student and/or the teacher is much more significant and the shame affect may in fact play a pivotal role in the learning process itself. More complex learning tasks in this description could include, for example, the difficult process of learning to read in the case of very young children, beginning to work with algebra in middle school classes, or studying and integrating complex concepts in physics or history at the Senior level. In each case, the stakes can be high because of the complexity of the task for the student and also because of the importance of mastering the material or the skill for later learning. In each case also, the experience of

failure along the way is almost inevitable. Indeed, recent research in learning seems to suggest that, for deep or complex learning to occur, failure (or confusion, impasse or disequilibrium) may be a necessary part of the learning process without which the higher-level thinking required would not be prompted. (Graesser, Lu, Olde, Cooper-Pye, & Whitten, 2005, and VanLehn et al, 2003).

In such complex learning, that shame affect is triggered is simply an indication that something is not yet being understood. As information for the student this is vital to the learning process, if the student and the teacher can interpret the message before it becomes a Compass of Shame response. In this view, the triggering of the shame affect indicates that something is not yet comprehended, that is, that there is something the student needs to learn. Of itself, this is not necessarily negative. After all, for the student to learn something is what the students and the teacher are there in the classroom to achieve. In this way, the triggering of shame affect, the focus of Nathanson's spotlight of shame, is identifying what has to be understood in order to make progress.

In a complex learning situation, the sequence begins as for the simple case above. The students experience interest in novel work, and in a positive relationship with a teacher that brings predominantly positive affect. When an impediment intervenes in the ongoing positive affect, that is, when there is some aspect of the new work that the student cannot grasp, the shame-humiliation affect is triggered. The spotlight of shame is identifying that a certain part of the new work is not yet making sense to the student. The student falls headlong into the physiological shame response. In that moment, there is cognitive shock - the student can't think clearly. They can't bring to bear the cognitive processing that might actually serve to unblock the impediment. The fact that they are potentially being observed by their peers can also serve to magnify the negative affect.

In that moment of confusion, of cognitive shock, the student may attribute the block to one of two causes. They may attribute the impediment to them not thinking clearly enough or deeply enough (i.e. to some behaviour on their part). This is a 'guilt-like' response to the shame affect. Alternatively, they may attribute the block to some deficiency in the self that will make it impossible ever to grasp this concept. This is a 'shame-like' response to the same affect.

The predominantly guilt-prone student is likely to attribute the current confusion to some temporary lack in listening or attention, or ability to see clearly what the teacher is saying. This student retains the interest in knowing what they now know they don't know - and maintains the belief that they will be able to know it by refocusing their efforts, and perhaps asking a question. The ongoing interest for this student is enough to push through the shame affect and, once they have sufficiently regained their composure, redouble their efforts to understand. If successful in taking interest in pushing through the shame affect, the resulting understanding leads to the positive affect of enjoyment as the new information is able to be assimilated within the student's existing knowledge and the student's equilibrium is restored. The student has worked around the confusion by applying cognitive skills essential to the deep or complex learning that is being acquired.

The confusion - the shame spotlight - has in fact assisted this student's learning by prompting higher-order thinking about the subject. This notion has prompted David Boulton to refer to shame as a learning lamp since without it, the student can't easily identify what it is that needs to be learned (Nathanson & Boulton, 2003). Other authors have quite rightly identified that being required to "reflect, problem solve and deliberate in an effortful manner in order to restore cognitive equilibrium" actually results in deeper understanding of complex material than would otherwise be achieved (Graesser et al, 2005). For these students, then, shame affect is being put to the service of the learning sought.

In contrast to the guilt-prone student, the predominantly shame-prone student would perhaps be more likely to make a more global evaluation of failure involving the entire self, prompting recourse to the Compass of Shame scripts in order to lessen the resulting negative feeling. This may be especially true if the student has regular experience of this situation without having the learning strategies to overcome the shame affect and return to successful, interested learning. For such students, eventually fear and anticipatory shame will prevent them from even attempting any work that they find challenging. If their prior experience of such work has been regularly and consistently coloured by shame affect, confusion, cognitive shock and negative emotions, it is clearly not in their interests to invest themselves in learning tasks of this type. It would contradict the Central Blueprint's aims of maximising positive affect and minimising negative affect for them. For them, anticipatory shame would be likely to result in some of the Compass of Shame responses as outlined below, well before the learning challenge is even presented.

Compass of Shame in the Classroom

Teachers will recognise the following Compass of Shame scripts as they present in classrooms.

The student who withdraws in the face of shame prompted by difficulties with learning shuts down - he's there physically but not involved in learning activities. He is the student who "doesn't care about school" and who passively avoids investing himself in tasks. He'll forget his books, or his pens, or his computer. He won't have his homework done. In fact, he'll proudly assert that he "doesn't ever do any work." Not investing himself in the tasks expected of him protects him from the shame he expects to feel when he can't succeed at them. At the extreme end of this behaviour is the student in school-refusal for whom the experience of school is unremitting negative affect.

The attack self response can be seen in the student who regularly puts himself down, because he gets in before others do it for him. He's the "I'm hopeless at maths" student, or the "I'm just dumb" student who has this excuse for not trying. At the extreme end, he is the student engaged in self-harm of various forms.

Avoidance scripts are evident in those students who build their persona around some other pursuit - the 'jocks' who see themselves only as athletes rather than students, the class clowns who are everyone's greatest friend. When these avoidance strategies won't dull the pain, these students are likely to engage in risk-taking behaviours, perhaps involving drugs or alcohol.

Students who deal with the pain of shame via attack other scripts tend to be most vocal in the classroom. By putting down other students, by ridiculing those who are trying to learn, these students regain a sense of power instead of the helplessness they feel in the shame emotion. “This is stupid!” is an attack other response to a task at which they believe they will not succeed. “He is/You are stupid!” is a more aggressive form of attack other. Sometimes the attack is directed at the teacher, but often at other students. Bullying or other physical aggression can be the end result of unresolved shame over learning.

Shame Spirals

A teacher who doesn’t identify the student’s Compass of Shame response for what it is, namely, an indication that the student has reached an impasse in their learning, is likely to experience shame affect of their own. Because we are rational beings, we tend to attribute wilfulness and reason to people’s behaviour even when affect is most likely to be the primary cause of that behaviour. A teacher faced with shame-bypassing behaviour on the part of students can easily misinterpret that behaviour as intentional, rational acting out when in fact it is almost unconscious behaviour on the part of the student. With this misinterpretation, the teacher is likely to respond to the student’s shame response with their own, triggered by the impediment to their own ongoing positive affect and drawing on past scripts to lessen their own shame. On a bad day, this will result in a shame spiral where Compass of Shame scripts in both the teacher and student feed off each other and increase each other’s triggering of negative affect. A predominantly shame-prone teacher with students who are also predominantly shame-prone, both unaware of how affect is driving their behaviour, is a recipe for extended shame spirals in which very little would be learnt, other than how to successfully “press the buttons” of all concerned.

This would seem to be a particular risk with beginning teachers. In the first year of teaching, the demands on a teacher’s attention can be overwhelming, especially in the light of their underlying need to demonstrate competence in what is, for them, the very public forum of their first classroom. Not only do they feel the eyes of their students upon them, but those of the school administrators, faculty heads, and colleagues, as well as those of the parents of their new charges. In the attempt to appear competent and in control, and trying to cognitively process the demands of the teaching content and other administrative needs, beginning teachers are often simply unable to effectively read affect-driven behavioural issues. The more experienced teachers in the school, usually unaware of the language of affect and shame, are often unable to assist the new teacher other than to try to verbalise for them understandings that are implicit (and often sub-conscious) in their more successful practice. It’s not surprising that significant numbers of beginning teachers decide to pursue another career after the experience of their first year or two of teaching.

Even thirty years on, recalling my own shame spirals in my first few years of teaching still brings a shudder of negative affect. With the benefit of hindsight and an understanding of affect theory I can see it for what it was, namely, an inexperienced teacher being drawn into negative self-evaluations by students who felt much more at home in their room than I did. At the time, though, each period seemed like an emotional nightmare from which only the sound of that much-longed-for bell could wake us.

Getting back on track

The only real path to prevent - or break out of - such shame spirals is through awareness of the affect at play and an understanding of the behaviours that enable the student to bypass their shame. The antidote to shame is empathy, and the teacher aware of shame affect can look beyond the behaviour to the root cause, often a cause that the teacher knows only too well through their own experiences of encountering confusion in their own learning, and in teaching.

Shane (1980) proposes that it is the extent to which the teacher is able to examine and deal with his own learning shame that determines how able he is to assist his students with theirs:

> One of the few helpful responses open to him is to share his experience of pain or feelings of cognitive shame that derive from similar situations. And this he can do in the process of exposing his methods of dealing with inadequacy.

By empathising with the confusion that the student is experiencing, the teacher lessens the pain of the negative affect. The student is then better able to think clearly, and the interest shown by the teacher in the student's learning sparks interest affect in them also. The task is then to rekindle interest in the subject by guiding the student's thinking, sharing with them recovery strategies that the teacher has successfully used in similar situations. By modelling such strategies - often by asking questions as much as by direct example - the teacher encourages the student towards the higher-order thinking required for understanding. This coaching in cognitive strategies is often described as an *apprenticeship model* of pedagogy, in which the teacher (the *expert* or *master*) inducts the student (the *apprentice* or *novice)* into the cognitive processes employed in the particular subject context in question. The modelling of cognitive strategies that work to overcome confusion is a key part of this *master/novice* relationship.

By taking this empathic route, the teacher strengthens the relationship between themselves and the student through the interest shown, and helps the student to develop their own set of coping strategies to get themselves back on track.

The sequence of complex learning through the shame spotlight can be summarised diagrammatically as in *Figure 7* below.

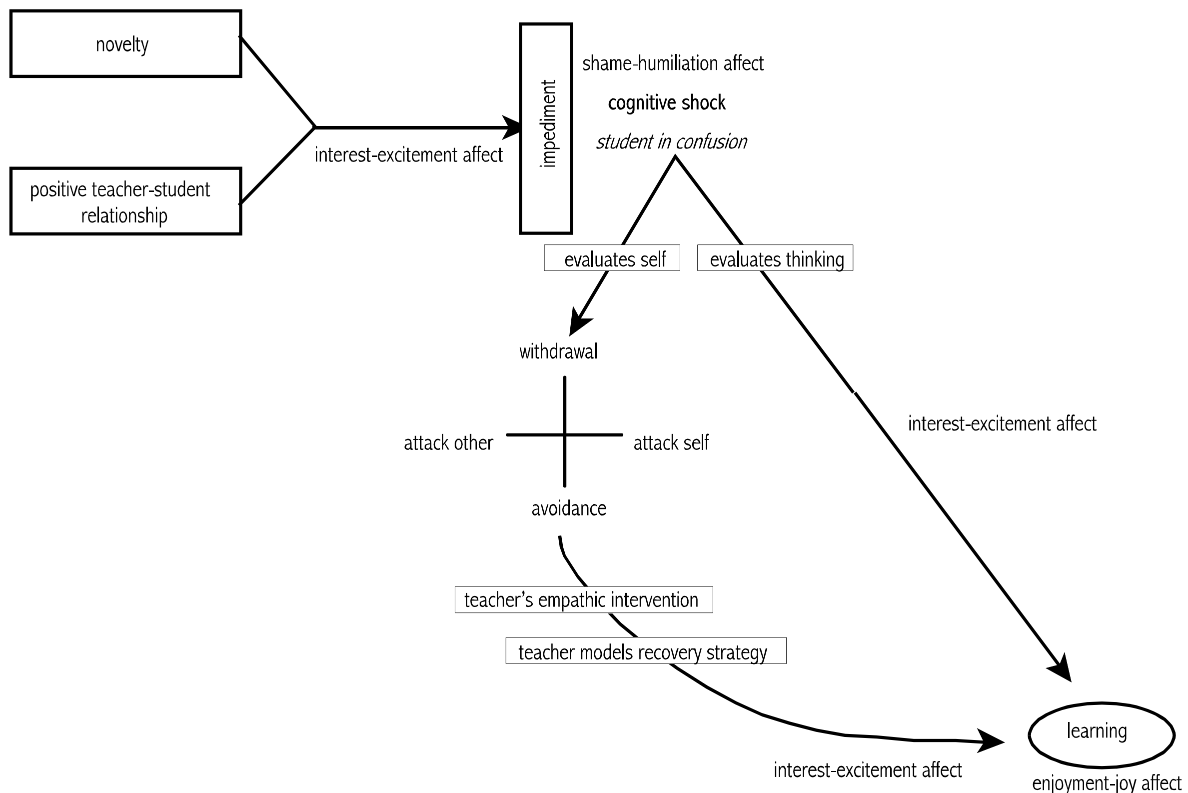

Figure 7 - the process of complex learning

Shane (1980) concludes that:

> What a teacher tries to communicate to his charges is that denial or flight from cognitive inadequacy is not appropriate, and that the way to deal with cognitive shame is to explore and acquire, to master and become competent. Thus, the byproduct of overcoming cognitive shame is learning.

Indeed, the byproduct of shame in this situation is learning, and the path through shame is empathy, 'colluding' with the student against the confusion that exists.

Chronic learning shame

Of course, all teachers encounter some students for whom learning experiences have been a regular source of unresolved negative affect. These students present as effectively 'learning-disabled' since their anticipatory shame affect acts to prevent their investment in learning activities as alluded to above. For them, it makes sense to avoid the shame they expect to accompany any learning experience by recourse, before the fact, to one of the sets of scripts on the Compass of Shame.

For these students, the nature of scripts themselves and the way in which the mind deals builds scripts serves to magnify the negative affect beyond what might be expected. Initially, when first encountering negative affect associated with a lack of success in learning, these scenes are organised in the mind as "negative learning experiences" and associated with emotional responses of frustration and hopelessess. At this stage, the scenes are associated by content - that is, they are all negative experiences in the classroom. Over time, though, these "negative learning experience" scenes get associated with all other scenes in which the student has felt frustration and hopelessness, such as on the playing field, in personal relationships, or a thousand

other pursuits. The negative emotion that wells up when the challenge of a new learning experience accesses this black pool of conflated scenes can be overwhelming for the student.

For many students 'learning-disabled' by shame, scripts at the Attack Self and Withdrawal poles of the Compass are effective ways of reducing personal negative affect in a manner that is seen as 'socially acceptable' within the classroom environment. These students are very much in danger of simply being overlooked in a busy classroom.

Once identified, overcoming these entrenched scripts in such students is very difficult for any teacher encountering them. *Making the tasks easier* in the hope of providing opportunities for the student to achieve success is a reasonably common tactic in attempting to deal with cases of chronic learning shame but, depending on the nature of the scripts operating for the student, this can sometimes only increase the feelings of helplessness as the student realises that the teacher has lowered their expectations of them. His sense of isolation from the rest of his class is only confirmed by the teacher presenting him with different work, or with lowered demands.

Perhaps the best way forward is to take the path of empathy as outlined above, and while building a relationship based on mutual trust, slowly re-build the student's capacity for learning through guided thinking and modeling of recovery strategies. Sharing the teacher's own strategies for dealing with cognitive shame achieves both ends - the mutual trust in the relationship is nurtured through this empathic sharing, and the student begins to see that particular strategies can indeed help them approach more difficult material. The Interest affect prompted by the interaction within a patient teacher-student relationship can be supplemented by growing Interest in learning ways of overcoming the obstacles previously thought insurmountable. The strategies described in the next section are also valuable in working with students with chronic learning shame.

Building resilience towards shame in learning

The learning process - particularly when it involves complex or deep learning - can never be free of shame affect. Learning inevitably involves failure, and failure inevitably triggers shame affect. Indeed, as stated above, it may be that such shame affect triggered by impediments to understanding is required for students to be prompted to undertake the higher-order thinking necessary to complex learning. To not encounter such impasses in learning might result in a more superficial understanding than that which is otherwise available to the student. It would seem from the above that the key to successful learning may lie in the students' initial response to the confusion wrought by the shame affect. The scripts that the students have formed over time to deal with the negative affect of shame-humiliation would seem critical at this point.

Ways of encouraging more positive responses to shame affect, and encouraging students to develop scripts involving greater resilience in responding to challenge, can be found in two different current approaches to understanding student motivation in learning known as *mastery orientation* and *mindsets.* These two

approaches both centre in some ways on the distinction identified earlier as important in behavioural terms, namely, the critical need to separate *evaluation of the self* from *evaluation of behaviour.*

Mastery Orientation

It has been proposed that classroom structures and pedagogy that encourage in students a *mastery orientation* towards learning, rather than a *performance orientation*, would assist in developing guilt-proneness over shame-proneness (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). These two different orientations towards learning or achievement goals involve different conceptions of success and different reasons for engaging in learning activities (Ames, 1992).

For students with a *mastery orientation*, effort and outcome are causally related, learning is valued intrinsically, and the focus is on personal improvement against self-referenced standards - i.e. the motivation is based on the belief that with effort, success will follow. These students therefore are more likely to attribute their success or failure to aspects of their behaviour, rather than to a more global intrinsic 'ability' they possess, and are hence perhaps less susceptible to being disabled by learning shame. They would be more able to push through the shame triggered in order to regain interest in their learning.

Students with a *performance orientation* on the other hand put more of a focus on ability and self-worth which is evidenced for them by doing better than others (or not doing worse than others). In this view, learning is seen to have a more utilitarian purpose and effort becomes a double-edged sword, especially if it doesn't result in outperforming others.

Students who have a mastery orientation towards achievement tend to develop a 'failure tolerance' since they recognise that failure is one way of learning more towards their goals, whereas those with a performance orientation are often motivated in their learning by avoiding failure at all costs (Ames, 1992).

A mastery orientation towards achievement would seem to encourage both authentic pride and guilt-proneness in students because of its inherent separation of the effects of behaviour from global qualities of the self (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). As Ames (1992) identifies, the nature of learning tasks, the pedagogy employed and the evaluative processes used to assess student work can all contribute to encouraging either mastery orientation or performance orientation in students.

Tasks which involve meaning for students and which offer a personal challenge can encourage a mastery orientation, as do those tasks in which students have a sense of control over the process or product. The ways in which students' work is evaluated and, in particular, the students' perceptions of the meaning of the evaluative information derived is important to the encouragement of the particular motivation towards learning (Ames, 1992). A focus on grades as a means of even incidental social comparison can encourage a performance orientation as students are enabled to compare their achievement primarily with that of others rather than against their own standards.

On the other hand, if grades are accompanied with an opportunity to somehow improve the standard of the work involved, this performance-ability focus is lessened and a mastery orientation is encouraged (Ames, 1992). In encouraging a particular orientation, it is not merely the availability of grades with which to effect social comparisons that is the issue in encouraging students to attribute levels of success to ability (the self) rather than to effort (the behaviour), but rather when this comparative information becomes emphasised and the significance of the linkage between effort and outcome is consequently de-emphasised (Ames, 1992).

Mindsets

The work of Stanford University psychologist Carol Dweck on the *mindsets* students bring to their learning can also be understood in similar terms. Dweck (2012) describes two mindsets as follows. In the *fixed* (or entity) *mindset,* a student believes that their capabilities are fixed since they are an integral part of *the self* and *the self* by its nature is constant. By contrast, a student with a *growth* (or incremental) *mindset* believes that their capabilities can be developed through effort and application, that is, through *their behaviours.*

Dweck (2012) identifies that people can bring different mindsets to different aspects of their lives, that is, they can have a fixed mindset with their academic learning, while bringing a growth mindset to their social development, and perhaps to their progress of learning to play a particular sport.

Her research demonstrates that holding a particular mindset has significant implications, especially for academic success in school. Those students who bring a growth mindset to their study demonstrate significantly greater improvement in their learning over time and develop their capacities and their resilience further in the face of academic challenge, compared to others with a fixed mindset. Similarly, students with a growth mindset in regard to *social attributes* have been shown to be more resilient psychologically when encountering social challenges of transitions between schools (Yeager and Dweck, 2012).

The differential outcomes from the two mindsets can be understood when one considers *the behaviours* that are reasonable within each mindset when faced with a learning challenge. Those with a fixed mindset who believe that their ability is part of their self and hence unchangeable are less likely to work hard in order to improve, especially in the case of receiving negative achievement feedback. For a student with a fixed mindset, failing at a task is evidence that *the self* is faulty - which is something to be avoided at all costs. With a growth mindset, on the other hand, a student assesses failure at a task as an indication that he needs to work and study harder, and perhaps use different strategies.

Yeager and Dweck (2012) outline that for these *fixed-mindset students* the world:

> ...is about measuring your ability, and everything (challenging tasks, effort, setbacks) measures your ability. It is a world of threats and defenses,

whereas, for *growth-mindset students*, their:

> ...world is about learning and growth, and everything (challenges, effort, setbacks) is seen as being helpful to learn and grow. It is a world of opportunities to improve.

An interesting aspect of Dweck's work (especially for classroom teachers) is that she demonstrates that it is possible to teach students *to change* from fixed mindsets to growth mindsets by instructing them of the brain's plasticity and by encouraging them to consider their abilities malleable and therefore open to improvement through specific study strategies (Yeager & Dweck, 2012). Through repetition of this instruction and modelling the study strategies, the students in her studies have apparently been encouraged and enabled to re-script themselves towards the more positive growth mindset. This is remarkable given the implicit and very wide-spread belief in academic circles that intelligence or ability *is indeed* fixed for individuals.

The Critical Importance of Language

There are reflections here between Dweck's mindsets, shame-proneness and guilt-proneness in Tangney's work, and the mastery orientation and performance orientation. The connection largely centres on the scripts that come into play for an individual seeking to maximise positive affect and minimise negative affect according to Tomkins' Central Blueprint, especially in the wake of the triggering of shame-humiliation affect. In each of these approaches, the distinction between *evaluation of the self* and *evaluation of specific behaviour* is central.

The language employed in restorative processes has been held to be important, in particular the avoidance of globalising language which serves to diminish the entirety of the person to a single label. The separation of the evaluation of the person's *behaviour* from the evaluation of the *self* has long been another critical aspect of restorative practices. What we have seen here is that this separation can be critical in the teaching and learning process as well as in managing behaviour.

The more negative outcomes demonstrated for the *shame-prone* student, for the student with a *fixed mindset*, or for the student with the *performance orientation*, all point to the need to extend this separation into our academic language as well. Teachers need to do this in order to encourage the development of healthy, positive scripts that students can use to deal with the inevitable shame affect triggered as part of the learning process.

This is important in giving students either positive or negative feedback. In both cases, feedback which praises or criticises specific behaviours that have led to the result achieved helps to reduce the likelihood of the student making an undesirable global assessment of the self, either positive or negative.

Conclusion

A school in which a restorative practices philosophy guides the development of the total experience of schooling for its students is likely to be one in which students learn and form guilt-prone scripts rather than shame-prone ones. It would be a school in which teachers and students can follow the Central Blueprint, and build a community characterised by empathy. It would be a school in which harm would be addressed in authentic ways which respect people while confronting unacceptable behaviours and challenging wrongdoers to make amends.

A classroom in which effort is recognised and celebrated, where authentic pride in earned outcomes is encouraged, and where an authentic relationship exists between the students and the teacher built on mutual trust is likely to be a classroom in which the demands of the Central Blueprint are being promoted. It would be a classroom in which the benefits of confusion and disequilibrium (learning shame) are explored and shared, and it is likely to be a classroom in which guilt-prone scripts can be developed, where students believe that effort can improve ability, and where students learn resilience against the negative side of learning shame. It would be a classroom in which learning shame is valued as an aid to greater understanding of ourselves, each other and the subject under study.

The shame-humiliation affect evolved presumably for just such a purpose - to provide essential information for our survival and growth. Most often, though, the triggering of shame-humiliation affect leads to negative emotions and recourse to destructive, maladaptive behavioural scripts.

An understanding of Affect Script Psychology enables teachers and other school personnel to restore this affect to its rightful, adaptive role.

References

Ames, C 1992, ‘Classrooms: Goals, Structures and Student Motivation’, Journal of Educational Psychology, pp. Vol 84, No 3, 261-271.

Benninga, JS, Berkowitz, MW, Kuehn, P & Smith, K 2006, Character and Academics: What Good Schools Do, viewed 3 November 2011, http://charactered.epsb.ca/documents_for_website/CharacterandAcademics.pdf

Berkowitz, MW 2006, Character Education as Prevention, viewed 28 October 2011, http://www.tanglewood.net/projects/teachertraining/Book_of_Readings/Berkowitz.pdf

Berkowitz, MW & Bier, MC 2005, What Works in Character Education, viewed 3 November 2011, http://www.characterandcitizenship.org/research/testwhatworks.htm

Berkowitz, MW & Grych, JH 1998, ‘Fostering Goodness: Teaching Parents to Facilitate Children’s Moral Development’, Journal of Moral Education, Vol 27, No 3.

Braithwaite, J 1989, Crime, Shame and Reintegration, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Cann, K 2002, ‘Do Schools have a Role to Play in Crime Prevention? Use of the Protective Behaviours Program in Schools as a Primary Prevention Strategy’, Paper presented at the Role of Schools in Crime Prevention Conference, Melbourne.

Dweck, CS, 2012, Mindset, Constable & Robinson, London, 2012

Graesser, A. C., Lu, S., Olde, B. A., Cooper-Pye, E., & Whitten, S. 2005, Question asking and eye tracking during cognitive disequilibrium: Comprehending illustrated texts on devices when the devices break down. Memory and Cognition, 33, 1235-1247.

Kelly, V 2009, A Primer of Affect Psychology, viewed 26 October 2011, http://www.tomkins.org/uploads/Primer_of_Affect_Psychology.pdf

Kelly, V 2011, Affect and Emotion in Restorative Practice, viewed 26 October 2011, https://www.rpiassn.org/practice-areas/affect-and-emotion-in-restorative-practice/

Kelly, V 2012, The Art of Intimacy and the Hidden Challenge of Shame, Tomkins Press, Philadelphia, 2012.

McGrath, H 2007, ‘Making Australian Schools Safer’, Australian Government, Canberra.

Merisca, R and Bybee, JS 1994, Guilt, not moral reasoning, relates to volunteerism, prosocial behavior, lowered aggressiveness, and eschewal of racism; Poster presented at Annu. Meet. East. Psychol. Assoc.; Providence, RI.

Morrison, BE 2005, ‘Restorative Justice in Schools’, in Elliott & Gordon (Eds), New Directions in Restorative Justice: Issues, Practice, Evaluation. Willan Publishing, Devon.

Nathanson, DL 1992, Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self, W W Norton & Company, New York

Nathanson, DL 2008, *Prolog to* Tomkins, S, Affect Imagery Consciousness, Springer, New York 2008

Shane, P 1980, Shame and Learning, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. Apr 1980: 50(2):348-55

Tangney, JP 1990, 'Assessing Individual Differences in Proneness to Shame and Guilt: Development of the Self-Conscious Affect and Attribution Inventory', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, vol 59, pp. 102-11.

Tangney, JP 1994, 'The mixed legacy of the superego: adaptive and maladaptive aspects of shame and guilt', in J Masling, R Bornstein (eds.), Empirical Perspectives on Object Relations Theory, American Psychological Society, Washington DC.

Tangney, JP 2001, 'Constructive and Destructive Aspects of Shame and Guilt', in Constructive Destructive Behavior Implications for Family School Society, American Psychological Society.

Tangney, JP & Dearing, RL 2002, Shame and Guilt, Guilford Press, New York.

Tangney, JP, Steuwig, J & Mashek, DJ 2007, 'Moral Emotions and Moral Behaviour', Annual Review of Psychology, pp. 58: 345-372.

Tangney, JP & Tracy, J 2011, 'Self-Conscious Emotions', in Handbook of Self and Identity, Guilford Press, New York.

Thorsborne, M & Vinegrad, D 2006, Restorative Practices in Schools: Rethinking Behaviour Management. Inyahead Press. 2006

Tibbetts, SG 1997, 'Shame and rational choice in offending decisions'. Criminal Justice Behaviour Vol 24, 234–55

Tibbetts, SG 2003, 'Self-conscious emotions and criminal offending'. Psychological Reports Vol 93, 101–126

Tracy, JL & Robins, RW 2004, 'Putting the Self into Self-Conscious Emotions: A Theoretical Model', Psychological Enquiry, pp. Vol 15, No2, 103-125.

Tyler, T & Blader, S 2000, Cooperation in Groups: Procedural Justice, Social Identity, and Behavioral Engagement. Psychology Press

VanLehn, K., Siler, S. A., Murray, C., Yamauchi, T., & Baggett, W. B. (2003). Why do only some events cause learning during human tutoring? Cognition and Instruction, 21(3), 209–249.

van Stokkom B, 2002, Moral emotions in restorative justice conferences: Managing shame, designing empathy. Theoretical Criminology, Vol. 6(3): 339–360; 026027

Wachtel, T 1999, ‘Restorative Justice in Everyday Life: Beyond the formal ritual’, Paper presented at the ‘Reshaping Australian Institutions Conference: Restorative Justice and Civil Society’, February 16-18, 1999, Australian National University, Canberra

Yeager, DS & Dweck, CS, 2012, Mindsets That Promote Resilience: When Students Believe that Personal Characteristics Can Be Developed. Educational Psychologist, v47 n4, 2012