teaching with mind and heart:

affect in the restorative school

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1.

INTRODUCTION

"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, Kohlberg, Vygotsky, 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 found 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 understandably unfamiliar, however, with *Affect Script Psychology* (ASP) which is based on the work of American psychologist and philosopher Silvan Tomkins. Those who have any acquaintance with it 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 Tomkins's work. But as powerful as the Compass of Shame is, there is much more to Tomkins's 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?

Marzano (2011) stresses the importance of the 'inner world' of the teacher, recognising that there is a relationship between how teachers think and their students' achievement. He recognises that the relationship is indirect – what teachers think affects their behaviour, and their behaviour then affects student behaviour which then affects student achievement. While I would agree with Marzano that what teachers *think* is important in terms of driving their behaviours, I would add that equally important is what they *feel*. As we shall see, what teachers *feel* will determine their behaviours just as much as, if not even more than, what they might *think*.

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, though, is *emotional labour.* It is not just cognitive work. It is not just instruction, and students are not just machines to be put together on an assembly line and topped up with knowledge. Rather, the success of the teaching and learning enterprise depends critically upon the quality of the relationship established between teacher and student. Such relationships – like all human relationships of substance – are built on *emotional* foundations. An understanding of these emotional underpinnings is essential to the work of the effective teacher.

Teaching is also *moral work.* All work involving people has this moral dimension. Teaching is work that is attempted by fallible and very human people as a service to other fallible 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. We are emotional beings. Teachers who understand themselves, their colleagues and their students can help ensure that the mini–society that is their classroom, and the society which is their school, will flourish. Affect script psychology provides us with a theoretical framework for developing these understandings.

Parker Palmer (1997) identifies these often-unrecognised emotional and moral dimensions to our work as teachers, and describes the necessity of truly knowing oneself as a pre-requisite for knowing and understanding our students:

> *"Teaching, like any truly human activity, emerges from one's inwardness, for better or worse. As I teach, I project the condition of my soul onto my students, my subject, and our way of being together. The entanglements I experience in the classroom are often no more or less than the convolutions of my inner life. Viewed from this angle, teaching holds a mirror to the soul. If I am willing to look in that mirror, and not run from what I see, I have a chance to gain self-knowledge—and knowing myself is as crucial to good teaching as knowing my students and my subject."* (Palmer 1997)

Further, he posits that this important knowledge about the "inner landscape of a teacher's life" comes into play in three aspects of teaching from one's identity and integrity – the intellectual, the emotional and the spiritual (Palmer 1997). He warns against ignoring any of these three paths to knowledge:

> *"Reduce teaching to intellect and it becomes a cold abstraction; reduce it to emotions and it becomes narcissistic; reduce it to the spiritual and it loses its anchor to the world. Intellect, emotion, and spirit depend on*

each other for wholeness. They are interwoven in the human self and in education at its best, and we need to interweave them in our pedagogical discourse as well." (Palmer 1997)

An understanding of Tomkins's ASP links these three paths to knowledge in a cohesive way that enables us to *'teach from who we are'* with integrity.

More and more, also, we are coming to understand and appreciate that beyond what we may teach students in the classroom, in the playground, or on the sporting field, it is the very nature of our schooling systems, the quality of the relationships our students experience with their peers and their teachers, and their experience of the learning process itself in schools that can have the most significant life-long consequences for the psychological, social and moral development of our students. These aspects of the 'hidden curriculum' in our schools will influence the ways in which they take their place in civil society and in the family groups that they form long after leaving school. Whether we as teachers give attention to these aspects of the 'hidden curriculum' of our schools and classrooms or not, we cannot avoid the reality that these experiential aspects of their schooling are significantly influential at a critical stage of the students' physiological, psychological and social development.

Advances in neuroscience in recent times are also confirming the importance of the emotional realm to the social development of our students and the critical role emotions play in their cognitive development. Immordino-Yang and Damasio (2007) identify that:

> *"...the neurobiological evidence suggests that the aspects of cognition that we recruit most heavily in schools, namely learning, attention, memory, decision-making, and social functioning, are both profoundly affected by and subsumed within the processes of emotion".*

The relatively new field of affective neuroscience is increasingly demonstrating the evolutionary links that exist between our emotional skills and capacities and the higher-order rational thinking, decision-making and executive function skills located in the pre-frontal cortex.

Affect script psychology provides a framework which addresses these biological bases of all human emotions and motivations that helps us better understand ourselves, our behaviour and our relationships at home, at school, at work, and in the broader community. It helps us understand why and how restorative practices works to change behaviour, and why restorative practices is so effective at repairing and rebuilding damaged relationships. It also helps us understand how our learning environments, and the relationship and cultures we establish and maintain within them, can affect the learning process at its essence.

Put simply, ASP is an accessible, informative framework for understanding human emotion, motivation and behaviour. It gives us the means not only to

understand a little better our personality and those of others around us, but also gives insights into how we can change those patterns of behaviour that may not have been serving us well. Facing life's struggles can be a little easier with an understanding of the factors and forces ruling our emotional world. Armed with an understanding of Tomkins's work, we can learn to recognize our emotional patterns and, if necessary or desirable, work to change those patterns into more life-giving, nurturing ones.

The nine basic emotional reactions (the affects) are as common to all of us as are our needs for oxygen, water and food. At the biological level, we all experience the same emotional triggers in response to positive and negative stimuli in our environment and to joys and troubles in our relationships with one another. At the same time, we understand intuitively that it is our unique life experience that finds expression in our individual emotional lives (our scripts). This is what makes each of us who we are – and how our stories colour and influence our emotional lives. We are the result of our unique personal narrative.

With these basic building blocks – of *affects* (the biological or physiological response) and *scripts* (the unique influence of our particular life experience, learning and socialization) – Tomkins's ASP provides insights into the way in which we humans function individually, with significant others, and in the many groups to which we belong. It helps us understand our emotional reactions as well as our desires and needs in the many different relationships that we form, and in the many stages of those relationships. It helps us understand us… and others. What could be more important?

For teachers, affect script psychology also gives profound insights into the learning process and the emotional dynamics of the classroom environment. While we spend much of our time thinking about the cognitive realm in schools - what objectives, outcomes and standards we are seeking - we actually live and love and teach each day in the emotional realm. It's a biological reality that we can recognise and better understand. ASP gives us access to this realm and enables us to design teaching and learning processes that can be truly effective - in academics and for life.

This book outlines how the insights of affect script psychology can have direct, immediate application to the moral, emotional work of teachers in schools, both in the area of behaviour and relationship management through restorative practices, and in the teaching and learning process in the classroom. I do not intend that by studying this material will teachers come to see themselves as 'pseudo-therapists.' It is not a teacher's role to engage in psychological interventions with their students. It is true, however, that everything a teacher does has an impact on his/her students' social, moral and psychological development as well as their intellectual growth.

Hattie & Yates (2013) call for teachers to see themselves as evaluators of

this impact, and as change agents purposely setting up the best conditions to impact positively upon their students' learning. The way we organise and administer our schools, the policies and practices we enforce, and the nature of the communities we build in schools, can all have significant influence over students' development of their life-long scripts. It is, therefore, essential that we try to understand these potential impacts and that we critically examine how we can, at best, encourage healthy, life-giving development, and, at worst, at least avoid contributing to damaging and harmful developmental consequences.

With some understanding of the dynamic of our students' (and our) emotional lives in school, it is hoped that we can design and maintain experiences of schooling which give our young people the best opportunities to grow and develop psychologically, socially and morally, and to succeed academically, developing the skills of the life-long learner.

2.

AN INTRODUCTION TO AFFECT SCRIPT PSYCHOLOGY

2.1 THE AFFECT SYSTEM & HUMAN EMOTION

The affect system in the human being is not located in a specific organ, but is rather an executive function of many different bodily systems. The affect system functions through the brain and central nervous system, the sensory organs and motor muscles, as well as aspects of the hormonal system. As a coordinated system of many parts, it has evolved to enable us to process sensory information, i.e. to make sense of the overload of information coming in to the body by focussing our attention at any time on only those stimuli most salient at that point.

The biological basis of the affect system, and the subsequent human emotions that arise from them, can be understood by analogy with the humble computer (Nathanson 1992). Computer systems consist of *hardware* (the silicon chips, components and connections), *firmware* (coded instructions that drive these physical components behind the scenes) and finally the *software* that we install and run on our computer in order to perform the myriad tasks we set the
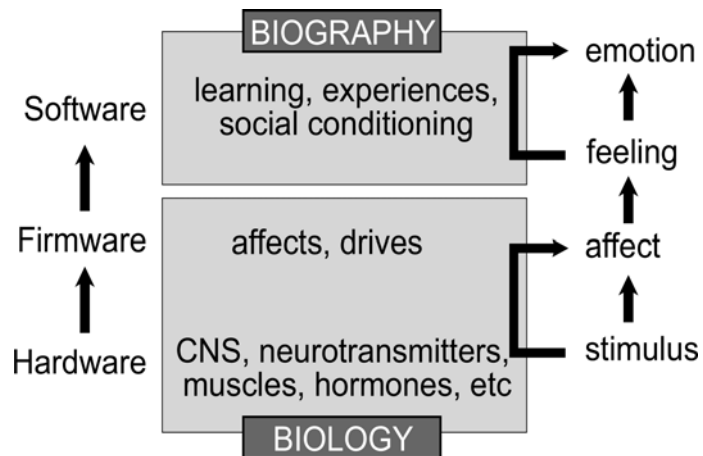

Figure 1 - The computer as metaphor for the human emotional system

machines each day.

At the hardware and firmware level, all computers are essentially the same. While there might be small differences between different manufacturer's models at this level, the hardware and firmware in each machine perform the same functions and serve the same purposes. At this level, all machines are very similar – effectively interchangeable. So it is with our emotional 'machinery' – we all have essentially the same 'hardware.' This hardware consists of the sense organs, the neurotransmitters and hormones that communicate information, the muscle systems and endocrine glands that respond and initiate information, and the central nervous system itself. At this level, we are all essentially the same, given exceptions where disease or injury has resulted in deficits. At the 'firmware' level we have the basic biological drives that we all share – the food drive, the drive to take oxygen into the body, the drives to expel waste products, and the sex drive. While these basic drives might find some slight differences in expression from person to person under their particular higher level cognitive functions, they are common to all of us at the biological level.

Similarly, our bodies' *affect system* operates at this biological level of 'firmware' – below our consciousness. The nine basic *affects* (explored in more detail later) are specific responses to particular stimuli that are sensed by the body's hardware. The firmware triggering of a particular *affect* results in a set of physiological changes of which we become aware as a *feeling.* The significant point here is that these affects – and the conditions that trigger them – are part of our 'firmware,' i.e. they are common to all of us.

A particular stimulus which causes an affect to be triggered is amplified by a physiological response on the face and in the body. The sequence is that the triggering of an affect produces a set of physiological responses and it is when these physiological changes reach our awareness that our attention is drawn to the initiating stimulus. The environmental stimulus of a sudden physical threat, for example, would produce a set of physiological responses in the body including a quickening heart rate, sweaty, clammy hands, and a pale, cold face as blood is redirected to the major muscle groups to prepare for a 'fight, flight or freeze' response. Our attention is drawn to the threat by our becoming aware of this amplified physiological response.

Functional MRI studies have confirmed that the brain areas associated with interoception (the sensing of body states) are particularly active when people feel emotions (Damasio et al, 2000) indicating that our awareness is drawn to the source of the *emotional response* by the *physiological response* we experience in the body.

This *stimulus, affect, response* sequence can be referred to as *a scene* – an *SAR scene.* Once a particular affect is triggered, however fleetingly, our conscious awareness of the physiological *response* appears to us as a *feeling.*

We become aware that we *feel* excited, or angry, or fearful, because of the physiological response that occurs as a result of the affect being triggered. Such *feelings* (the conscious awareness of an affect) then prompt the retrieval of memories of similar incidents in the past. Often, this retrieval of past memories occurs below the conscious level. We aren't necessarily actively *thinking about* these past events, they just rise in the mind to affect *how we feel.*

It is the mixing of the physiological response of this innate affect with the sum of all of our memories of experiencing this affect in the past which gives rise to an *emotion* (Nathanson 1992) as depicted in *Figure 1*. Where we can differ significantly from each other is at this higher level – that of our 'software.' This 'software' is the collection of experiences, learning, and social conditioning that is held in our memory – it is the personal narrative upon which our identity has been constructed. It is at this *software* level that we are all *emotionally* unique. While each of us may have exactly the same affect triggered in response to an external stimulus, our emotional response - how we feel - in this event may differ greatly, depending upon our unique experience and socialisation.

Whereas the affect system is *biological* – that is, we all share the same basic affects (and the physiological responses they initiate) – the resulting emotion that we feel is largely *biographical* in origin, due to the differences in our personal narrative to this point in history. Once our memories and experience become involved, the universality of the affect becomes the uniqueness of the particular individual's emotion. Tomkins referred to these emotional (biographical) responses – and what we then tend to do in response to these emotions – as *scripts* (as in the theatrical sense).

These scripts that follow from our emotional responses are unique in the sense that they are dependent upon our own life experiences, but there are often some basic commonalities among these scripts across individuals. The human condition is such that some key scripts, while not genetically determined, are almost certain to develop given the essential commonality of the human experience – particularly within our given family, societal and racial groupings. This is not surprising since the experience of growing up and living in these groups, which is the *biography* contributing to the development of the scripts, will have some essential similarities for all members of the family or society.

Tomkins defined nine fundamental affects that we have evolved to serve our needs to process stimuli (for a more complete treatment of affect theory and affect script psychology, see Nathanson 1992 or Kelly 2009, 2011). Of these nine, two are positive or pleasant affects, one is neutral, and the remaining six are negative or unpleasant affects. It is just part of the human condition that there are more negative (punishing) affects than there are positive (rewarding) affects.

Tomkins (2008) identified that affects 'make good things feel better and bad

things feel worse' and that this is how they direct our conscious attention to salient stimuli in the environment, by amplifying the stimulus into awareness and then engaging our biography to give the emotional experience more 'flavour' or 'depth.' The nine innate affects identified by Tomkins – and common to all of us – are listed in *Table 1*.

Table 1 – The Nine Innate Affects

Positive Affects	Interest–Excitement Enjoyment–Joy
Neutral Affect	Surprise–Startle
Negative Affects	Fear–Terror Distress–Anguish Anger–Rage Disgust Dissmell Shame–Humiliation

It is important to remember that nothing gets our attention – that is our conscious focus – unless at least one of the nine basic affects is triggered. This is how the affect system works to filter out all but the most salient stimuli at any particular point in time. Nathanson (1992) has likened this function to that of a spotlight on a crowded stage. Once the spotlight falls on a particular actor, our attention is drawn to that character over all others on the stage. In a similar way, the affect 'spotlights' only that stimulus which needs our immediate attention. The nine basic affects could therefore be imagined as a series or bank of spotlights, each with their own colour and intensity, firing separately or in sequence, but always driving our conscious attention in particular directions.

Seven of the nine basic affects are named after a range between two qualitatively different extremes. For example, the positive affect of *Interest–Excitement* ranges from mild interest at one end of the spectrum, to passionate and driven excitement at the more extreme end.

Six of the affects evolved to respond to *the rate of change* of the density of neural firing in the central nervous system. The relationship between the pattern of the information (the rate of change in density of neural firing) and the consequent affect triggered can be summarised as in *Figure 2*. The stimulus can either cause a steady, constant density of neural firing, an increase in the density of neural firing, or a decrease in its density. These are the three options, but there are variations in the rate that cause other distinctions, as seen below. It is worth noting at this point that the source of these stimuli can be either

external or internal to the person. Environmental stimuli can establish a certain density (or change in density) of neural firing in an individual but so can the internal process of cognitive thought in the upper cortex. We are all aware that thoughts can prompt emotional responses - some thoughts cause us to smile, others to react in fear. Whether the stimulus is internal or external, its associated pattern of neural firing can trigger these affects.

When the pattern of the stimulus causes a steady, but acceptable, increase in central nervous system (CNS) activity, the affect *Interest–Excitement* is triggered. This positive affect rewards our intent interest in something in our environment. It feels good to be interested, to be engaged. Physiologically, the response is to focus on the object of interest with what is recognised in infants as the "track, look, listen" response, i.e. with eyes focussed on the object, perhaps brows furrowed, head following any movement.
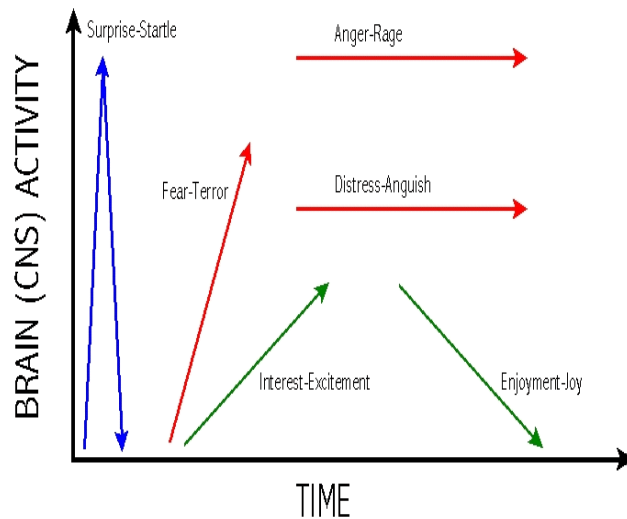

Figure 2 Relationships between Nature of Stimulus and Affects
(after Kelly 2009)

Of all the affects, it is probably *Interest–Excitement* which is triggered for us most often every day. The fundamental stimulus for this affect is novelty. We all go through our days moving our *Interest* from one object or task to the next. We don't often notice that we are *Interested* in something – we just are. It is usually only when that *Interest* has increased in intensity towards *Excitement* that we may notice our physiological response and that the affect leads to conscious positive feelings and emotion.

It is on the faces of infants that the physiological response to each of the nine affects can best be seen. Part of the social conditioning that becomes our *biography* is the skill we develop of limiting or masking the expression of affect directly on our faces. We will explore a little of this masking – and its consequences for our emotional and social lives – later. In the meantime, we

can use the faces of infants to demonstrate the facial response prompted by each of the nine innate affects. These facial expressions are a key part of the physiological response of which we become aware when an *affect* then becomes a *feeling*. Indeed, studies have demonstrated this link by examining the emotional responses of subjects asked to voluntarily express affects on their faces. Smiling, or making a distressed facial expression, leads to *feeling* happy or distressed respectively.

Interest–Excitement on the face of the infant looks like *Figure 3*. In this figure the young child is clearly focussed on the book, with brows down, and eyes fixed on and tracking the object. There is also a small (invisible) increase in the heart and respiratory rates.
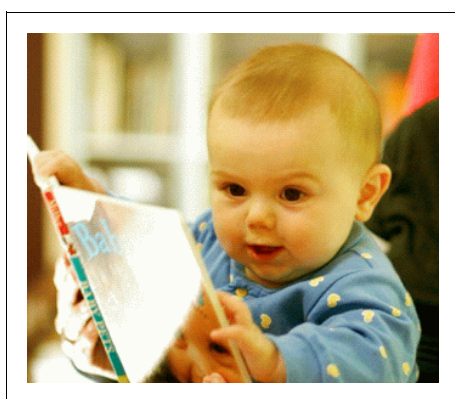
Figure 3 - Interest–Excitement

If, instead of a gentle increase in CNS activity, the rate of increase of the stimulus is too rapid to be comfortable, then the negative *Fear–Terror* affect is likely to be initiated, with the physiological response including all the features of an adrenaline rush – sweaty hands, eyes frozen on the threat, blood supply redirected to the major muscles. One could readily imagine that this *Fear–Terror* affect may have been the first to evolve in order to prepare for the fight, flight or freeze response in the face of an imminent threat. It is worth noting that only a small increase to the rate of increasing CNS activity which triggers *Interest–Excitement* is able to result in *Fear–Terror*. For many of us, there can be a fine line between risk–taking behaviour that *excites* us, and what might *terrify* us. Indeed, what *terrifies* one person may only cause *excitement* in others, and vice versa. This underlies the popularity of horror movies and ever more extreme roller coasters and thrill rides as entertainment, where the individual is 'playing' at the boundary between the affects of *Excitement* and *Fear,* usually with the sense that this oscillation is under the control of the thrill-seeker.
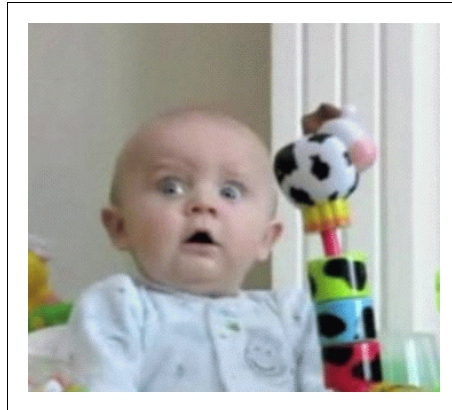
Figure 4 - Fear–Terror

In *Figure 4,* the infant displays *Fear–Terror* with the eyes wide open in a frozen stare. The face is cold and pale, the hair on the back of the neck stands up and there is a strong increase in the heart and respiratory rate to prepare for possible 'fight, flight or freeze.'

As shown in *Figure 5*, the *Surprise–Startle* affect is triggered by short, sharp stimuli and simply acts as a 'reset button' for the emotional system. As for each of the affects, the physiological response takes on the characteristics of the stimulus itself. For *Surprise–Startle,* this means that the physiological response is similarly brief in duration and sharp in nature. *Surprise–Startl*e can be followed by either positive or negative affect being triggered, but its major function is to grab attention and reset the system. As shown in *Figure 5,* the facial expression includes the eyebrows rising, eyes blink and then wide open,

Figure 5 - Surprise–Startle

and the mouth in an "O" shape. A vocalisation or sharp intake of air often accompanies the facial expression.

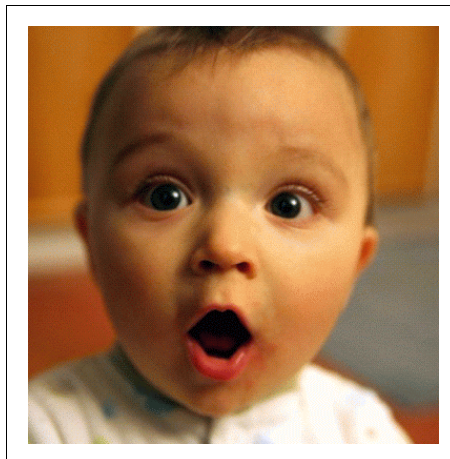A gentle decline in the intensity of the stimulus and the subsequent CNS activity, as can come about in reaching the denouement of a story, or the punch–line of a joke, gives rise to the *Enjoyment–Joy* affect, the second positive or rewarding affect. In the case of hearing a joke, the narrative that leads up to the punch line engages our *Interest* by slowly increasing the density of neural firing. We are trying to piece together facts hidden in the story in order to make sense of it. Once the punch line is delivered, this need to work things out disappears – it has been resolved for you, and CNS activity is dropping off. This reduction in CNS activity is inherently rewarding and hence the positive affect *Enjoyment–Joy* is triggered.

Figure 6 shows the facial expression resulting from *Enjoyment–Joy*. It is the most relaxed facial expression of all the affects. In genuine *Enjoyment–Joy*, the mouth is widened in a smile and the eyes are creased as the muscles around the eyes become involved.

It is the rate at which the reduction in CNS activity occurs in this affect triggering which determines where on the spectrum of *Enjoyment* through to *Joy* the response occurs. A gentle reduction can lead to mild enjoyment, or contentment, indicated by the smile. A rapid decrease, as in hearing the punch-line of a joke, can prompt the affect *Joy* and lead to a laugh.

Two affects result from steady state stimuli, both of which have lasted too long to be pleasant. In the first, a steady state unpleasant or punishing stimulus triggers the affect *Distress–Anguish* in which the incessant nature of the stimulus is reflected in the ongoing distress it causes. The physiological response which results could include rhythmic sobbing or wailing, again reflecting the incessant nature of the affect and stimulus. For many, modern life is a continuous experience of low level distress. We refer to this as the stress of
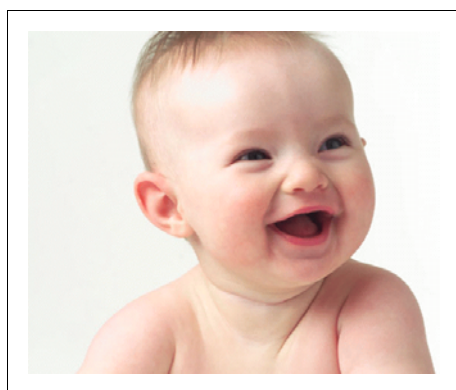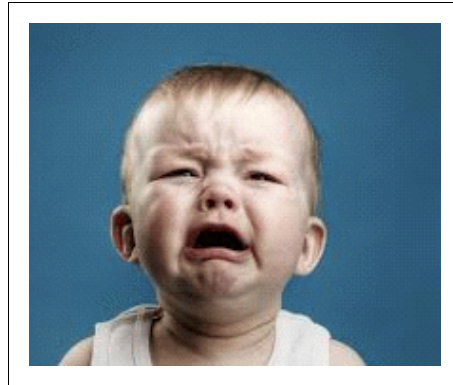

Figure 6 - Enjoyment–Joy

Figure 7 - Distress–Anguish

modern life, however, many authors have suggested that this 'stress' is simply the feeling that arises when the affect *Distress* becomes conscious for us.

The infant in *Distress* in *Figure 7* is showing the typical accompanying facial expression characterised by arched eyebrows, crying or sobbing, and the mouth with turned-down corners. Interestingly, the facial expression of *Distress–Anguish* is one that is often not effectively masked in adults, expecially at the *Anguish* end of the spectrum. The expression of the adult in *Anguish* looks remarkably similar to the infant in *Figure 7*. Perhaps the emotional intensity of the *Anguish* affect simply overwhelms our attempts to mask it.

If the stimulus is steady state, and of intolerable intensity, the affect *Distress – Anguish* can be transformed into the more active *Anger – Rage* affect. After all, being *Angry* is a more powerful position than feeling *Distressed* and may be a preferred mode of operating for some people. While there is shown in *Figure 2* a distinct gap between the level of CNS activity required to prompt *Distress–Anguish* and the level necessary to initiate *Anger–Rage*, the effective size of this buffer differs from one person to another. For some (those quick to anger) there is very little extra stimulus needed beyond *Distress* to cause them to fly into a *Rage*, while others may seem imperturbable even in the face of continually escalating negative stimuli.

In *Figure 8,* the infant displays the typical *Anger–Rage* response including increased muscle tension in the face, a reddening of the skin due to increased blood flow, a frown, and a scream of rage. In the adult, *Anger–Rage* is often accompanied not by such obvious facial displays and vocalisations, but rather by a clenched jaw or other tightening or tension in the facial muscles, as *Anger* is one particular affect whose expression we learn to mask as part of our socialisation.
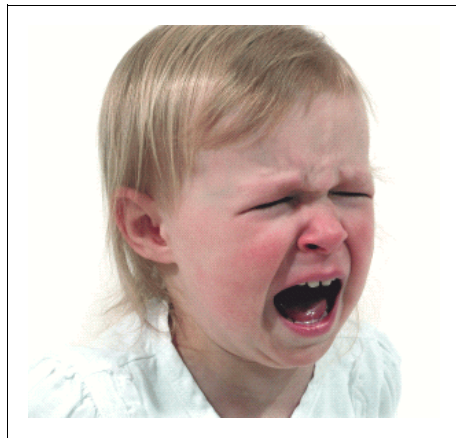
Figure 8 - Anger–Rage

Two further negative affects evolved presumably to protect us against an unbridled hunger drive that might otherwise encourage us to consume unsuitable food. The first, *Disgust*, is initiated when something we have tasted turns out to be rotten, and was originally to prevent us from eating tainted food. In the mild form, this affect might result in spitting food from the mouth. In more severe cases, where the food is already taken into the stomach, it will result in ejecting the offending food from the body by vomiting.

In *Figure 9* the *Disgust* facial expression involves a forward movement of the head, the tongue protrudes, pushing down the lower lip, and often a vocalisation such as "yuck!"

While this affect initially evolved in order to moderate the hunger drive and hence protect us from spoiled or poisonous food – that is, something that we have taken into the body expecting it to be "good" only to find it repulsive,
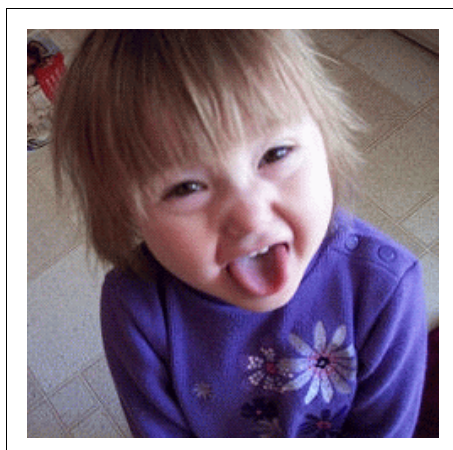
Figure 9 - Disgust
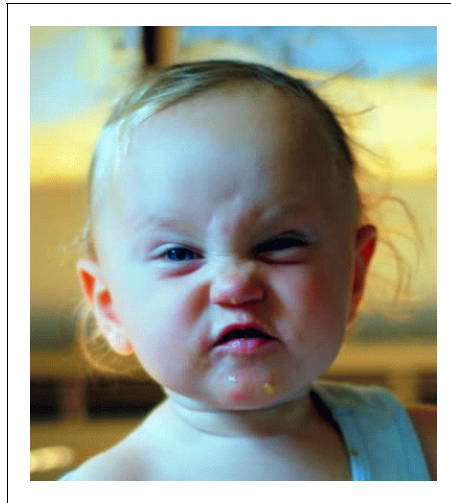
Figure 10 - Dissmell

from a psychological viewpoint, *Disgust* affect can also cause us to reject people we once considered good – but for whom we have now lost our 'taste.' A significant proportion of broken relationships and divorces are the result of one partner developing a *Disgust* for the other.

Tomkins coined the term *Dissmell* to describe the second of these negative affects. It is the instinctive response to something that smells rotten or repulsive, which causes us to "turn up our noses" at it. It therefore protects us against even trying food that may be tainted or poisonous. Imagine yourself smelling the carton of milk in the refrigerator only to find that it has turned sour. That physical reaction is the physiological response to the affect *Dissmell*. The facial expression for this affect is shown in *Figure 10* in which the head is drawn back, the upper lip wrinkled and the nose is raised and creased. A vocalisation of *"Eeewww"* often accompanies the facial expression.

While again this affect may have originally served to help us avoid even sampling spoiled or poisonous food, it can also prompt us to reject things or people before we have come to know them – which is perhaps the fundamental basis of most prejudices. In this psychological sense, *Dissmell* is the affect at the heart of prejudice and bigotry – it is effectively saying "I don't yet know you, but I don't like you." Both *Disgust* and *Dissmell* are distancing affects - they both create, or justify, a distance between the person and the source of negative affect. Within human relationships, people who have *Disgust* for the other cannot bring themselves to remain close to the perceived source of their negative affect. Couples therapists report that where one partner has developed *Disgust* for the other, the relationship is usually beyond repair (Kelly, 2011).

Where *Dissmell* is concerned, however, it is nearly impossible to form a relationship with the object of the affect in the first place.

The final affect, *Shame – Humiliation,* was also the latest of the nine affects to evolve. *Shame – Humiliation* is triggered by any impediment that occurs to disrupt our enjoyment of the positive affects, *Interest – Excitement* or *Enjoyment – Joy.* Note that despite its name, the *Shame – Humiliation* affect itself is not the adult concept of *feeling ashamed about something.* Returning to the spotlight metaphor, the affect *Shame – Humiliation* simply shines the affect spotlight onto something which has impeded positive affect. This is a *biological* process and it is accompanied by a *physiological* response – the muscles of the neck and shoulders lose tone, the face and head drop, perhaps a blush appears, as in *Figure 11*.

The purpose of this physiological response is purely to alert us to the fact that there has been an impediment to our ongoing positive affect. Recognising that there is an interruption to *feeling good* (positive affect) is of itself punishing. It feels bad to know that you're not feeling good! This is why *Shame – Humiliation* is classified as a negative affect. It doesn't feel good.

Nathanson (1992) aptly describes the universal physiology of the *Shame–Humiliation* affect response as follows:

"On the face, shame-humiliation affect is signaled by the blush, but it is also expressed by a visible slump as muscle tone in the neck and shoulders is suddenly decreased. The look we call "shamefaced" includes this slump plus a tendency to turn away from whatever had seemed so interesting only a moment earlier. Shame-humiliation produces what I call a cognitive shock. No one can think clearly in the moment of shame."

Figure 11 - Shame–Humiliation

A simple example of where *shame* affect might be triggered is when you're enjoying a chat and sharing a coffee with an old friend. The conversation is a source of ongoing positive affect for you both. In the sharing there is *Interest–Excitement* in the novel things you are discussing, and *Enjoyment–Joy* in simply being together. If, while you are eagerly regaling your friend with a story about your recent holidays, for example, she momentarily looks at her watch, the likely result is that *shame* affect will be triggered in you. There has been a momentary impediment to the *Interest–Excitement* and *Enjoyment–Joy* when it appears to you that she may not be as interested in hearing your story as you are in telling it. Neither of you has done anything "wrong" about which you should feel ashamed. There has simply been an impediment to your ongoing positive affect. The *shame* affect has been triggered to alert you to that. In response, you will feel a temporary slump, after which you'll either bring the story to a close or use renewed *Interest* in telling the story to work through the *shame* affect to continue, depending on the interpretation you place on the act of your friend glancing at her watch.

We may not be responsible for whatever has impeded our ongoing enjoyment of the positive affect, and hence cannot feel ashamed because of it. The adult (or childhood) concept of *feeling ashamed* is a product of our *biography* as well as our *biology*. When the spotlight of shame affect shines on some aspect of the self, or some aspect of one's behaviour, that falls short of expectations or social norms, then the physiological response of the shame affect is amplified by feedback from our *biographical* history of all those moments in which we have experienced shame, and we have the painful emotion *shame*. In that moment, the physiological response actually *amplifies* the shame affect. The face dropping — and likely also displaying a blush — makes conscious that the internal pain is now visible to others, adding to the level of discomfort experienced.

Figure 12 - Shame Affect in an Adult

As shown in *Figure 12,* the *Shame–Humiliation* affect triggered in the adult looks (and feels) identical to that in the infant. The significant difference for the adult is that the subsequent *emotional* response that ensues once the adult's *biography* is engaged is likely to be much more painful, simply because of the much larger pool of previous *Shame–Humiliation* experiences brought back through this magnification of scenes from the person's *biography.*

While shame – or more precisely the *emotion of feeling ashamed* – is often viewed negatively as an unhelpful emotional response, the affect *Shame–Humiliation* evolved to serve a very useful purpose, namely, to identify any interruption to our ongoing enjoyment of positive affect. Any reduction of positive affect is itself inherently punishing, but the amplification provided by the triggering of the *shame* affect ensures that we indeed notice when our *Enjoyment* or *Interest* has been interrupted.

As we shall see later, this is essential to proper functioning of relationships and critical to the learning process, even though it creates "cognitive shock" as Nathanson (1992) identifies. *Shame–Humiliation* is a valuable and important affect.

2.2 AFFECTIVE RESONANCE, EMPATHY & THE EMPATHIC WALL

In addition to being triggered by environmental stimuli and our own internal states and thoughts, affect can be triggered by affect expression in others, and this affective resonance is a large part of how we communicate non-verbally with other people. We are happy when we are around others who are happy, and we share the pain of those in *Distress.*

Anyone who has been stuck in a waiting room or aeroplane cabin in which a baby is suffering *Distress* and continually crying has experienced affective resonance, and has felt their own *Distress* rising in response to the unrelenting affect displayed and broadcast by the infant. Fortunately, positive affect is also contagious – as evidenced by the lengths people will go to achieve a smile from a baby. The smile itself is rewarding to the adult, since it triggers *Enjoyment–Joy.* It is a consequence of this that some of the most popular video clips on the internet are of babies laughing and giggling. It is nigh on impossible not to be drawn into the laughter.

The ability to *actually feel* what another person is feeling, through affective resonance, is a key part of empathy. Being able to empathise with others is generally considered to have both cognitive and affective dimensions. In the cognitive realm, the first step towards empathy is perspective–taking, i.e. being able to think through what the experience of the other person might be. This cognitive process draws on your own past experience of similar situations to

imagine what the other person might be feeling. The next step in empathising, though, is to actually *feel* what the other person is feeling through the process of affective resonance – that is, to have one's own affect triggered by the affect display and expression of the other person.

While being able to empathise with others in this way is a critical ability that enables us to form relationships and develop understandings about others, it is also important in some situations to be able to resist such automatic affective resonance. We oftentimes need to develop or erect an empathic wall such that the expression of affect around us does not automatically trigger that same affect in us.

There are numerous circumstances in life in which it would not be helpful or desirable for us to immediately respond in this affective way to the affect of others. Some of these are in professional situations in which we might need to retain a certain objectivity without getting caught up in emotional responses, but it can also be necessary in other relationships as well.

Just as being able to erect an empathic wall when appropriate is an important survival skill, knowing when and how to let down the wall at other times is also critical. In personal relationships, letting down the empathic wall is one key requirement for the development of intimacy.

2.3 SCRIPTS

The human brain is an expert pattern-recognition engine. When we look at the image in *Figure 13,* our pattern-recognition circuits immediately perceive the 'white square' which appears to obscure parts of the four black circles. Our emotional brain is similarly expert at recognizing patterns. In the discussion of the emotion of *feeling ashamed* above, we said that as we experience *Shame–Humiliation* affect later in life, our memories identify all previous examples of having this affect triggered, and that it is this flood of affect-laden
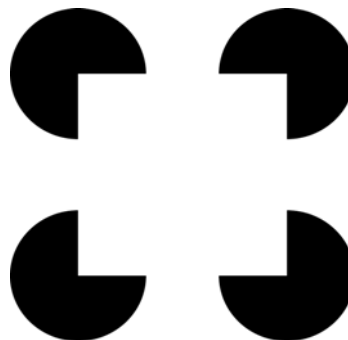
Figure 13 – The square illusion

scenes that come to mind that makes *feeling ashamed* so increasingly painful. Our emotional brains are expert in drawing on previous similar emotional *scenes* in order to interpret what is being perceived in the present.

The human brain is also expert at *learning,* by which I mean knowing and remembering things that help us in our daily living. Once we have mastered a skill through repetition – from simple ones such as tying a knot, through to complex ones like safely starting and driving a vehicle – we can do them as if they are second nature, as if they are *innate* skills.

These two abilities – *pattern-recognition* and *learning* – enable us to function effectively in daily life because they reduce the need to work through every new *scene* that we encounter 'from scratch.' We readily recognise patterns in the *scenes* we experience and we have learned ways of responding that have suited our purposes in the past. Tomkins (2008) notes that these two abilities provide an 'information advantage' for us that allows us to draw on our biography in order to know how to deal with a wide variety of *scenes* that we experience throughout a normal day, and even to predict what will happen as a result of those *scenes.*

This process of sub-consciously recalling previous similarly affect-laden *scenes* in order to develop 'rules' or 'guidelines' for how we should respond to particular *scenes* in the present, Tomkins referred to as our *scripting.* We develop *scripts* as a key part of our *biography*, which provide a distinct information advantage – these *scripts* enable us to know how to respond, they give guidance as to how we should feel, and they help us predict the possible outcomes of our actions.

Our *scripts* are the result of our biography – our conditioning, our learning and our experience. Tomkins says that it is through our *scripts* that the past (our biography) becomes present (influences our feeling, thinking and acting now). Our *scripts* interpret the past so that we can function effectively in the present.

Our *scripts* start to develop right from birth as soon as our pattern-recognition and learning abilities begin. One of the first type of *scripts* we develop are the *attachment scripts* which bond the infant with his/her primary caregivers, and which are critical to the formation of relationships for the individual later in life. These *attachment scripts* form through the early experience of the infant (Kelly 2011). When the baby is *distressed* from hunger or from needing changing for example, the appearance of the caregiver becomes associated with *scenes* of *distress* turning into *relief* (*Enjoyment–Joy* affect). This drives formation of a *script* which effectively says 'when I'm *distressed*, another person can be the source of relief from such negative affect.' Similarly, in this early period the appearance of the caregiver also gets associated with positive affect as the baby is nursed, cradled, and begins to interact with the caregiver, which can be triggers for *interest* and *enjoyment* affect. This adds to the *attachment script* that 'people can also be the source of positive affect.' In

all, the *attachment script* comes to maturity as 'Other people can help relieve negative affect and can be a source of positive affect' leading to 'I'm *interested* in , and *enjoy,* other people being *interested* in, and *enjoying,* me.' This *script* is the basis of all future relationships the individual will form.

Such *attachment scripts* are just one of many types of *scripts* that we develop. As well as *scripts* for physical skills such as dressing, shaving, safely crossing the street, and driving etc, we also develop *scripts* around how we deal with affect and emotion – both in ourselves and in others – and how we deal with situations, and other people.

In this way, the sum collection of all the *scripts* that we employ in interacting with other people will essentially define our personality, since they guide and control how we relate and respond to others. Someone whose *scripts* predominantly guide them to trust others, to always see the good in others, and to find the positive in most situations, will seem to others to be a positive and happy, genuinely interested person. That person's personality is constructed from his/her particular sets of *scripts.*

Affect Management scripts, as just one example of these sets of *scripts*, help us deal with the triggering of both positive and negative affect in its many forms. We all have *affect management scripts* which come into play when we find ourselves feeling angry, for example. Depending on our biography – that is, the conditioning that occurred within our family and society as we grew up – we might have *anger management scripts* that say something like: 'When I'm angry, I suppress that emotion at all costs, or bad things will happen.' Another person's biography – based on his experience of *anger* within his family – might prompt *scripts* such as: 'When I'm angry, I just lash out at whoever's nearest.' There is obviously an almost infinite variety of *anger management scripts* that could be developed, and it is this variety of *scripts* that makes us all unique in some way.

Just as our *scripts* are in many ways going to be unique to ourselves since no one has experienced *exactly* the same biography as we have, so the human condition means that most of our *scripts* are likely to share some general characteristics.

Tomkins (2008) identified that our *scripts* are usually unconsciously driven. We are usually not consciously aware of how the past *scenes* are coming to influence the present, other than to *feel* the affect associated with the conflated earlier *scenes.* Since the *scripts* are not usually conscious, except perhaps in the early stages when they are forming, it can be difficult to even recognise their influence on our feelings and our behaviour, and far more difficult to actually change them.

It is also accepted that the *scripts* we develop usually only serve as partial, or incomplete, guides. In this way, they require contextual information from the present *scene* in order to give complete guidance. This can make our scripted

responses to current scenes dependent to some degree on the circumstances of the moment.

Scripts, once formed, are persistent and can be very resistant to change, largely to their unconscious nature, but also due to the mind's belief that they have served us well in the past. If this is the way in which we have always reacted, to anger for example, then it becomes very difficult to even consciously decide to act in any other way. This is true even if it is apparent that the *script* is not achieving its purpose. *Scripts,* in this way, can become habitual.

Since our *scripts* are so resistant to change, we can actually force *scenes* to fit with our existing *scripts,* even in the process distorting the information in the current *scene*, if we have no alternative *script* into which the new *scene* would be a better fit. This somewhat erroneous process of pattern-recognition – in which we squeeze scenes into scripts that are not necessarily a good fit – is similar in many ways to our visual response to the image in *Figure 13*. Here, we "see" the white square that is not really there, and this mis-interpretation is remarkably persistent even in the face of the knowledge that it is an illusion. It is next to impossible to "not see" the square once our minds latch onto the image. Similarly, our mind's eye can sometimes "see" patterns in *scenes* which are not really there, and interpret the *scenes* in terms of *scripts* with which they are not a good fit.

The information advantage that the *scripts* provide us, however, means that we will rely on them even in cases where they may not be serving our best interests – if we were able to objectively make that judgement. We will usually respond to situations and circumstances in our usual scripted pattern, although a more reasoned deliberation might have resulted in a more successful response. Often we have responded in a scripted way long before we can even begin to think through what might be a better course of action.

In childhood and in adolescence, the students in our schools are developing, rewriting and re-developing, many of their *scripts.* One particular example of *script* redevelopment during this period would concern *attachment* and *commitment scripts.* The adolescent is in the process of refining their *attachment scripts*, for just one example, to move from an almost exclusive focus on members of their nuclear family, more towards their peers and potential romantic prospects. The process of schooling, hopefully, will also be encouraging them to also develop *commitment scripts* which focus on learning and discerning their possible future careers. Of particular interest to teachers would be *scripts* students have which relate to their social behaviour and affect management, as well as those that relate more directly to learning. As we shall see in later Chapters, the *scripts* that a student has can greatly influence their social and learning behaviours, and consequently their academic achievement. Teachers, in their daily work with students in the classroom and in all the other activities in which they meet, can help students to develop healthy, productive *scripts* in all aspects of their lives, not just in the academic sphere.

2.4 THE CENTRAL BLUEPRINT

At the heart of affect script psychology, and key to the functioning of an effective school, is Tomkins's *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, as well as *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 in order to be totally "free from fear and want," and so negative affect inevitably arises no matter how diligently 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.

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, the basic affect *shame–humiliation* 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.

While it is obvious that schools can take action to encourage students to meet the first two parts of the Central Blueprint, how or why *the inhibition of affect* should be minimised (the third goal) may not be immediately apparent. In many social settings, especially those with particular socialisation requirements such as schools, the expression of affect is inhibited for good reasons. As described above, affect is contagious. In a classroom or playground situation, as in many social settings, such affect contagion could cause serious problems. The negative affects are just as contagious as the positive ones.

Our patterns of socialisation, therefore, tend to cause young people to inhibit (or at least temper) the expression of affect. While it may be falling into disuse in modern times, the adage that 'children should be seen and not heard' reflects this socialisation. From the point of view of the Central Blueprint, however, minimisation of the inhibition of affect is essential in order to prevent affect from becoming backed–up. Backed-up affect—that is, affect which is not allowed expression—will find an outlet. *Anger* that is not allowed expression, perhaps in the classroom, will be turned on someone other than the 'cause' of the *anger,* for example on younger students in the playground. It is possible that some responsibility for the risk–taking behaviours of adolescence could lie at the door of backed–up affect. It is also likely that backed–up *rage* and *humiliation* could be a contributing factor to school shootings and other acts of extreme aggression.

The fourth goal of the Central Blueprint speaks to the power one has to maintain the other three goals in balance in one's life. The inability, for example, for someone to change circumstances that cause him unrelenting negative affect (i.e. prevent him from minimising negative affect) is a situation in which emotional harm is an inevitable result. This could speak to the need for schools to be vigilant and attentive to bullying behaviour among students. Such behaviour causes emotional harm way beyond the physical injury through preventing the student from achieving the aims of the Central Blueprint, particularly this last goal.

Let us now examine how schools can better encourage students to be able to 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.

3.

TWO KEY MORAL EMOTIONS – SHAME AND GUILT

3.1 DIFFERENTIATING SHAME AND 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, pro–social 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 magnify 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 previously triggered 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 then 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**") results in very different emotional experiences and very different patterns of 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 feelings of worthlessness and powerlessness. Guilt, on the other hand, is less painful because the object of concern or condemnation is just a specific behaviour and not 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 14* (Nathanson, 1992).

Figure 14 - The Compass of Shame (after Nathanson, 1992)

3.2 THE COMPASS OF SHAME

Nathanson (1992) has described four major libraries of scripts which we typically use to avoid dealing directly with an experience of *shame*. These scripts enable us to more or less successfully by–pass or otherwise diminish our experience of the painful shame emotion. 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:

3.2.1 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 perhaps by those quiet students who always seem to find a place in the playground apart from everyone else, or in the library at lunchtime. While some of these students will simply be quiet, shy individuals who enjoy their own company at times, some will be using the solitude as a way of dealing with chronic negative affect that they perceive threatens them when they are among the crowd.

Students who come to class unprepared, or without key pieces of equipment, are also operating from scripts at the Withdrawal pole of the compass. In these cases, where the constraints of the school environment might effectively prevent them from being able to physically withdraw from the class, they can still ensure that they can't participate if they don't have the necessary equipment or resources with them.

At the extreme end of this library of scripts are those students for whom truanting, or school–refusal, is the only effective way for them to avoid the painful negative affect of *Shame–Humiliation* associated with school.

3.2.2   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. Scripts at this pole tend to lessen the painful shame emotion by establishing or maintaining the connections with others through attitudes of submission or self-deprecation.

In schools, there are always students who 'play the loser,' and are prepared to be the butt of others' jokes, however seemingly lightheartedly, to simply be 'in the game' and connected with other students. At the more destructive end of the Attack Self spectrum of scripts are the self–harming behaviours sometimes encountered with young people in schools.

3.2.3   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 perceieved to be 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 with those aspects that are causing him pain. The risk–taking behaviour of adolescence is likely to be, at least partly, an Avoidance response to *shame* affect. The 'rush' that the student finds in high–risk behaviour brings a sense of potency and personal efficacy to ward off thinking about whatever has triggered the *shame* affect. It diminishes the 'feeling small' prompted by the *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 alleviates the negative affect of *shame* by diverting our attention to what we believe is a competent, positive image of ourselves so as to avoid the painful consequences of *shame* for the self.

In the extreme cases, most forms of addiction can be Avoidance responses to chronic *shame* affect. In the development of the addiction, the positive and negative affect associated with having or not having access to the substance of addiction overtakes and replaces the negative *shame* affect in what is often a downward emotional spiral.

3.2.4 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 ranges 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. Among young people, even the use of nicknames can represent a mild form of Attack Other script. Teachers and other adults in schools are best to avoid being drawn into using such nicknames for students, especially those that might be subtle put–downs, or ones whose origins are unknown. By using an established nickname for a student – even one that the student seems not to mind – the teacher can be unwittingly "buying into" and perpetuating someone else's Attack Other script.

At the more concerning end of the spectrum, 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. It makes the student feel more

powerful and in control to show that they are "bigger" or "better," or "stronger" or "smarter," than someone else.

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. The Compass of Shame responses enable us to ignore whatever it is that we would rather not admit is part of our self by denying or by–passing the painful shame emotion.

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 the triggering of *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. As I will suggest later, perhaps both responses can serve useful and healthy purposes in a social context at the appropriate moment and at an appropriate intensity. We shall also see how a restorative approach to dealing with wrongdoing and conflict can be used to encourage the transition from a shame–like response towards a more guilt–like response.

3.3 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" (Tangney, 2007) Thus, a shame–prone person is likely to anticipate shame in response to a range of potential

behaviours, and also likely to experience shame as a consequence of actually failing. The shame–prone person, then, has developed dominant scripts which make it more likely that they will evaluate *the self*, rather than *their specific behaviour*, in response to some potential or real failing or transgression.

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 tendency 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. Each of these responses which serve to lessen the negative feelings of shame can be mapped to either the Avoidance or Attack Other poles of Nathanson's Compass of Shame.

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. The Attack Self or Avoidance poles of the Compass of Shame are evident in these responses to the negative affect.

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 are specifically focussed on the bad behaviour rather than on any implications this behaviour may have for their self-image. This emphasises for the guilt-prone the negative consequences their behaviour might have for others and can encourage an empathic response, motivating people towards "righting the wrong." Guilt-proneness is also correlated with low measures of aggression and positively with other–oriented empathy, and with a preparedness to take responsibility for one's actions (Tangney et al, 2007). There is little need for recourse to the libraries of scripts described in the Compass of Shame when the whole self is not implicated by the failing or wrongdoing.

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. They conclude that "guilt–proneness 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). The supportive yet challenging environment created through the use of restorative practices in schools, as explored later, would assist people to make these necessary yet painful adjustments.

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. A more restorative school climate, on the other hand, encourages the student to first consider the consequences of their behaviours for others rather than to dwell on the consequences for themselves.

3.4 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. For a group of students whose shared identity is built largely around being the 'sports stars', for example, then one of their members being defeated in some competition of physical strength can lead to a shame-like response since the nature of their shared identity is threatened. For this group, Attack Other scripts are a possible way of re-asserting their threatened identity.

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. Such group-based guilt is more likely when the nature of the failing or transgression is unrelated to the shared identity of the group. In these cases, the behaviour can be condemned – or at least recognised as unacceptable – without the group identity being threatened. For example, if a group of students whose shared identity relates solely to their being musicians of a particular type, contains a member who begins engaging in bullying behaviour of students outside the group, it is unlikely that this behaviour would be felt as threatening the identity of the 'muso's' group itself. Instead, it is likely perhaps that those group members closest to the 'perpetrator' may feel vicarious guilt and this may prompt them to act to stop or limit the bullying behaviour in their friend.

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 denying or by-passing the 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.

3.5 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 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*). Similar 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).

Figure 15 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."

		Negative Emotion	Positive Emotion
attribution	internal, stable, global *the self*	shame	hubristic pride
	internal, unstable, specific *behaviours*	guilt	authentic pride

Figure 15 – Relationship between attributions for Shame, Guilt and the forms of Pride

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. In the fourth century, St Augustine of Hippo wrote 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 and his call to evaluate *specific behaviours* – both positive and negative – rather than the *entire self* is important in our encouragement of the *moral* development of our students. We shall see later that it is also critically important in guiding their *intellectual* development as well.

4.

AFFECT IN RESTORATIVE PRACTICES

4.1 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, or social–emotional learning. 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 both with 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 between the infant and the primary caregivers.

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 takes away 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 is likely to be *the default position* for the human condition (Tangney, 2011, *personal communication*) and those young people who later develop a predominantly guilt–prone approach to life's difficulties have made a successful transition from these early shame–based 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 tendencies toward 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 are therefore individual differences that matter to those responsible for working with and educating young people.

If parenting styles have an influence on the development of guilt–proneness (Berkowitz & Grych, 1998), then so would 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 repairing the harm that has resulted from conflict or wrongdoing, is more likely to promote guilt–like responses in student offenders, encouraging the development of guilt–like, other-centred scripts. When the student offender's energy is not consumed defending his *self* from condemnation, he is likely to be more open to repairing the harm his behaviour has caused for others.

4.2 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 16* below.

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).
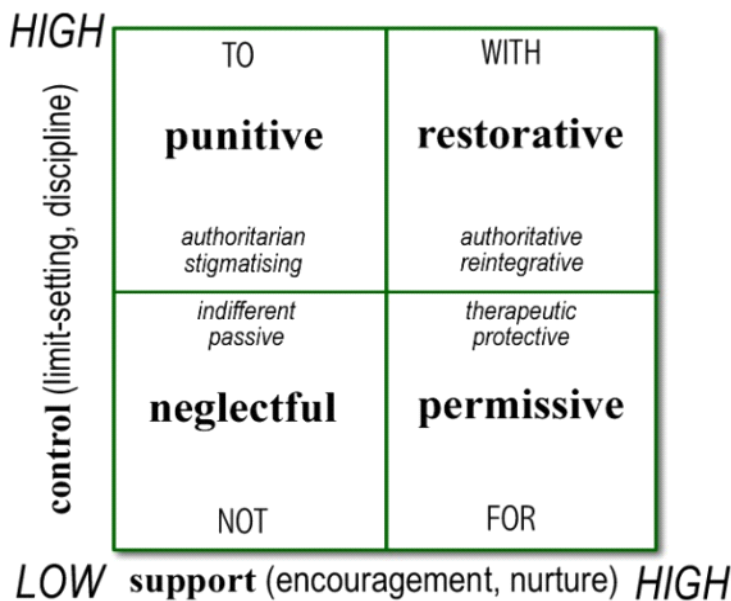
Figure 16 - The Social Discipline Window (Wachtel, 1999)

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) can result in a stigmatizing form of shame. It encourages the reinforcement of shame–based scripts with their associated Compass of Shame responses, in order to minimise, deny or avoid the painful shame experience.

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 affect interest 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.

4.3 PRO–ACTIVELY BUILDING COMMUNITY IN THE SCHOOL

One of the key 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 & Blader (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 investigations 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 only significant 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.

That this 'marginality,' or social ostracism, can cause emotional pain is well established. Recent functional MRI studies, however, demonstrate that this social pain actually registers in the anterior cingulate cortex in the brain as does physical pain from nerves throughout the body (Williams 2011). We can *feel* the pain of social exclusion through the same physiological mechanisms that alert us to physical injury or illness. Remarkably, Williams (2011) also reports that mild analgesic drugs such as paracetamol can somewhat diminish the feeling of the social pain of exclusion as effectively as they reduce physical pain. Developing a sense of belonging and significance among students in a school community is a prophylactic against the experience of this social pain, however, and surely in this case as in many others, prevention is far better than cure.

Schools can help build such a 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 three 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.

Either in ways that we might describe as pro–social or anti–social, students in schools are going to find ways of meeting their needs under the Central Blueprint. Obviously, it pays to encourage them to meet these needs in positive, pro–social ways, both for the sake of the school climate and for the students' own development.

4.4 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 his behaviour 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.

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 17.*
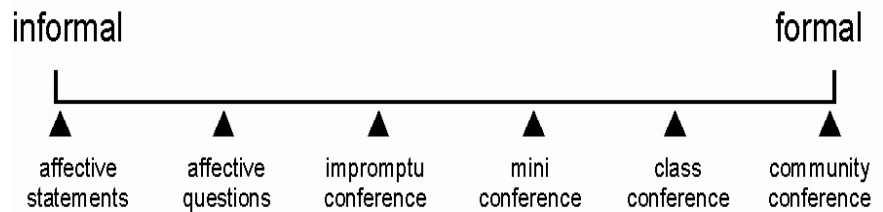
Figure 17 - The Restorative Continuum (after Wachtel 1999)

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 working towards 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 are involved, and they can be used with less preparation. Each involves 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 18 below*.

To the 'offender' (supporters)	*To the 'victim'* (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 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?
What do you think you need to do to make things right?	

Figure 18 – 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 and, as we shall see, from a shame–like response towards a guilt–like response.

The participants are likely to begin the process in a complex emotional 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 other emotions 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. Disgust and/or dissmell are likely to be present also. 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 shame and distress that the confrontation is causing for him at this point. In this moment the offender's energy is likely to be dedicated to attempting to diminish the painful Shame affect he is experiencing. It is unlikely that he is able to look anyone in the eye at this stage. The physiology of the Shame affect prevents it.

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 the 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 self–focus 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. At the very least at the cognitive level, the offender can usually go some way towards imagining the perspective of the victim – which is the first step towards empathy. It opens the way to move to the victim themselves for an exploration of the harm done as perceived by them.

The questions next put 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 process and trust in the skill of the facilitator to protect that vulnerability. These questions are also asked of 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 because 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 look like in practice. This can be a significant educative moment for the offender – seeing empathy modelled encourages him to move beyond the purely cognitive realm.

Affective resonance can then often complete the picture. Encouraged to let down the empathic wall that he has hidden behind up to this point in the conference – in an attempt at self-preservation – the offender can often suddenly both *see* and *feel* the pain of the vicitm. 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 repair 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, distress 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 potential 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 most significant in his life encourages him to move beyond himself and a focus on his own distress. Their modeling of concern for both him and the victim encourages an empathic response in the offender, and gives permission for the offender to make that step.

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. 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.

Overall, the trajectory of the emotional dynamics of the process is one which begins with participants mired in the negative affects of Fear, Distress, Anger and Shame, if not also Disgust and Dissmell and possibly self-Disgust and self-Dissmell. Through the open expression and sharing of these negative affects (according to the Central Blueprint) their power is diminished and the process acts to *metabolise* these negative affects through re-establishing some Interest in each other and in the outcomes of the Conference. The (even incomplete) reduction of negative affect is itself rewarding and this adds to the sense of relief that often comes after the pain of vulnerability and exposure during the process.

4.5 BEYOND THE CONFERENCE

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 script psychology 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 misinterpreted as volitional, intentional misbehaviour instead as actions motivated 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.

From an entirely different perspective, Marzano (2010) stresses the importance of teachers accessing their 'inner world' in order to be aware of their personal interpretations of student behaviour, since such interpretations have consequences in terms of the teachers' subsequent actions and their effects on the student. He encourages teachers to intercept and bring to awareness such interpretations so that their validity may be checked. Understanding affect gives a way of understanding and intercepting not only the teachers' interpretations of behaviour, but also insights into understanding the behaviour itself.

With an awareness of affect script psychology, teachers are able to begin to work to *respond* to the real needs of students, rather than to simply *react* to their behaviours according to the teachers' well-established scripts. As just one example, consider a situation in which either the teacher or student is caught up in the affect Anger. While the pure affect Anger is usually triggered by a steady-state stimulus of high density, it is also true that Anger can be a scripted response to Shame affect (as in Attack Other scripts of the compass). In fact, people can resort to Anger-based affect management scripts as the result of any negative affect being triggered. The negative affects of Fear, Distress, Shame, self-Disgust and self-Dissmell are all vulnerable, diminishing affects. In our

Western society, it has become considered unacceptable to be 'weak' and experience such diminishing affects. Many of us have therefore developed anger-based affect management scripts which are initiated when any of these 'weak' or 'powerless' affects are triggered. Anger is a much more 'powerful' negative emotion, so we readily trade the weak emotions for a show of anger.

Kelly (2011) suggests, when we encounter Anger in our colleagues, our students, or ourselves, that we should look to the moment before the Anger emerged – there we will most likely find some trigger for other negative emotions, especially Shame, Distress or Fear. In this situation, to react to the expression of Anger would be to *mis*-respond to the actual problem – the cause for the Shame, Distress or Fear. Teachers with an awareness of affect script psychology can learn to intervene when an expression of Anger (their own or their students') begins to prompt their own scripted reaction and, instead, look for the root cause of the behaviour.

Being aware of how affect drives our motivations, and being able to correctly identify and interpret these affect drivers, can enable teachers to de–escalate potential problems with student behaviour by seeing through the 'acting out' towards more fundamental factors that might be triggering shame, fear, distress or anger in students. To paraphrase Kelly (2011), if you don't understand what motivates you, then how can you understand who you are, and what you do?

5.

AFFECT IN TEACHING & LEARNING

5.1 ALL ATTENTION IS AFFECT

According to Tomkins's 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 ongoing enjoyment of these positive affects will trigger 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, as we have seen above. 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 – has its source in affect. Recall that no stimulus makes it through to consciousness without an affect spotlight first being triggered and a scene established. For students to give their attention to a piece of information or a question or a task it is necessary that an affect is triggered before the item is able to reach their consciousness. While in the classroom situation it would be hoped that this attention would be the result of the triggering of positive affect – particularly the affect Interest-Excitement – 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. There is ample scope for the negative affects to be driving attention in the classroom.

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's *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).

Marzano & Pickering (2011) echo our understandings outlined here about affect driving attention in proposing four questions students must unconsciously answer in the affirmative if they are to be engaged in the classroom, viz:

1. How do I feel?

2. Am I interested?

3. Is this important?

4. Can I do this?

Further, they identify that the first two questions relate to *attention;* the latter two to *engagement.* They acknowledge that no external information will make it to the student's consciousness unless the first two questions can be answered positively, that is, unless the student is experiencing relatively positive affect

(Question 1), and that the positive affect includes the affect Interest (Question 2). The third and fourth questions relate to the engagement that is then possible once the first two questions are affirmed. Clearly, as these questions suggest, engagement is not going to follow attention unless the work is seen to be valuable (Question 3) and also unless there is an expectation that it will be comprehensible (Question 4). These latter questions around engagement relate to a sense of purpose and personal efficacy in the student. As we will see later, this sense of personal efficacy can also be greatly affected by affect, particularly the affect Shame, and the nature of the student's shame management scripts.

5.2 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 has never been nurtured, 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 19*.
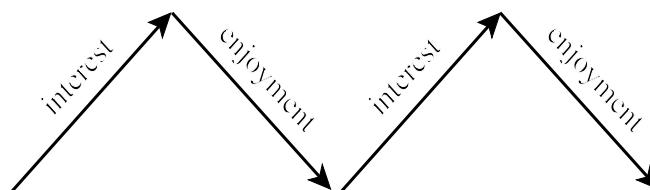
Figure 19 - the cycle of interest followed by enjoyment when the classroom is 'in flow'

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. I will consider such cases of chronic learning shame later.

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. Any of these inappropriate responses could initiate a shame spiral (as described below) since they would act as an impediment to the interest the student has in the teacher being interested in them. Such a negative or shaming response threatens the positive relationship that exists between student and teacher because it adds to the shame affect already triggered by the student's lack of understanding.

5.3 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 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 that is required would not be prompted. (Graesser, Lu, Olde, Cooper–Pye, & Whitten, 2005, and VanLehn et al, 2003).

In such complex learning, the fact that shame affect is triggered is simply an indication that something is not yet being understood. As information for the student this is vital input to the learning process, if the student and the teacher can correctly interpret the message before it becomes a Compass of Shame response. In this view, the triggering of the shame affect is not necessarily negative. It simply identifies that there is something the student needs to understand better and this is exactly 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 more clearly in order for the student to make progress in his learning.

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 affect shame–humiliation 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 then falls headlong into the physiological shame response. In that moment, there is cognitive shock – the student can't think clearly. They are unable to 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. The student also often incorrectly assumes that they are the only one not understanding something completely. This contributes to the sense of isolation brought by the triggering of the Shame affect.

In that moment of confusion, of cognitive shock, the student may engage the scripts of his biography and attribute the block to one of two possible 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 shame affect since it focuses on *behaviours*. 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 since it focuses on the perceived deficits in the *self*.

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, or using some other 'recovery strategy' that has worked in the past. In this case, the student's scripts encourage them to respond to shame in learning with a renewed Interest. 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 Boulton to refer to shame as a 'learning lamp' since without it the student can't readily 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. This, we believe, is one of the primary reasons that we evolved the shame affect. It is vitally important to us to identify what it is that we need to learn in any situation. The shame affect compels our attention to whatever this impediment might be.

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 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. At the

very least, it is likely that the student's *interest* in the work will be diminished as a pre-emptive strike against the potential for *shame* affect to be triggered.

5.4 COMPASS OF SHAME IN THE CLASSROOM

Teachers will most likely recognise the following behaviours as they present in classrooms, most of which we can now describe as being scripts from the libraries of the four poles of the Compass of Shame.

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 laptop. 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. The Withdrawal response to shame affect is evident in the student who finds any excuse to be late for class, or to leave early. When they may not be able to physically withdraw from being in the classroom, there are myriad other ways in which they can withdraw from being active participants in the lesson.

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. Some Attack Self responses can be seen in the overly-dependent student whose scripts have led him to be totally dependent on the teacher to the extent of monopolising his time. At the extreme end, he is the student engaged in self–harm in 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. While it is healthy and desirable for students to have keen interests outside the classroom situation, some will use an intense involvement and focus on their competence in some of these 'extra-curricular' areas as compensation for what they perceive as their total failure in the classroom. 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, as well as the outcome of unresolved and unexpressed negative affect that builds over time.

5.5   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 willfulness 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 mostly 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 shame response, triggered by the impediment to their own ongoing positive affect—their interest in being an effective teacher. This can then draw on past scripts the teacher has learned to lessen their own shame affect.

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. Regardless of the self-confidence, skilled performance and experience level of the teacher, the 'cognitive shock' which results from the triggering of shame affect when something goes wrong in the classroom makes it difficult for the affected teacher to process the situation more objectively and make better choices in terms of their own behaviour.

Marzano (2011), without indicating an understanding of the biological basis of this triggering of shame affect in teachers, calls for teachers to examine their interpretations (and misinterpretations) of student behaviour and to become aware of the 'inner world' at play in their interactions with students. He describes a process by which teachers can explore their own interpretations of behaviour in order to work towards the most positive outcome by reframing

their interpretation and basing their own subsequent behaviour on more positive readings of the causes of student misbehaviour.

The potential for shame spirals developing in the classroom would seem to be a particular risk with beginning teachers. In the first years 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 own 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 some understanding of affect script psychology 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 lesson seemed like an emotional nightmare from which only the sound of that much–longed–for bell could wake us.

With greater experience and an understanding of the affects at play in the classroom dynamic however, teachers can develop the ability to rapidly identify when their own shame affect is triggered, to allow the momentary 'cognitive shock' to pass, and to use their own interest affect to push through the shame affect by consciously examining their unconscious interpretation of the problemmatic student behaviour. Developing this acquired skill – based on a sound understanding of the emotional dynamic involved – enables teachers to reduce their reliance on the natural Compass of Shame behaviours in response, and allows them to re-interpret the students' behaviours and their response in more positive directions.

5.6 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 painful shame affect. 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 the student also. It is through the relationship that exists between the teacher and the student that this interest can be best expressed, and the negative affect most effectively reduced. In this way, teacher and student are following the Central Blueprint described earlier. Through the empathic intervention, the student is encouraged not to inhibit the expression of the negative affect involved in the learning shame and not to back it up or repress it, but rather to mutualise and minimise it. This recovery intervention enables the student to 'metabolise' the negative affect stripping it of its destructive power over the cognitive process.

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 himself 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. Over time, the repetition of this two-pronged attack on the disruption caused by the learning shame enables the student to re-script their automatic responses so that confusion in learning will not inevitably result in recourse to one of the Compass of Shame sets of scripts. The student is then scripting their own *resilience* in the face of future learning shame.

The sequence of complex learning through the shame spotlight can be summarised diagrammatically as in *Figure 20* below.
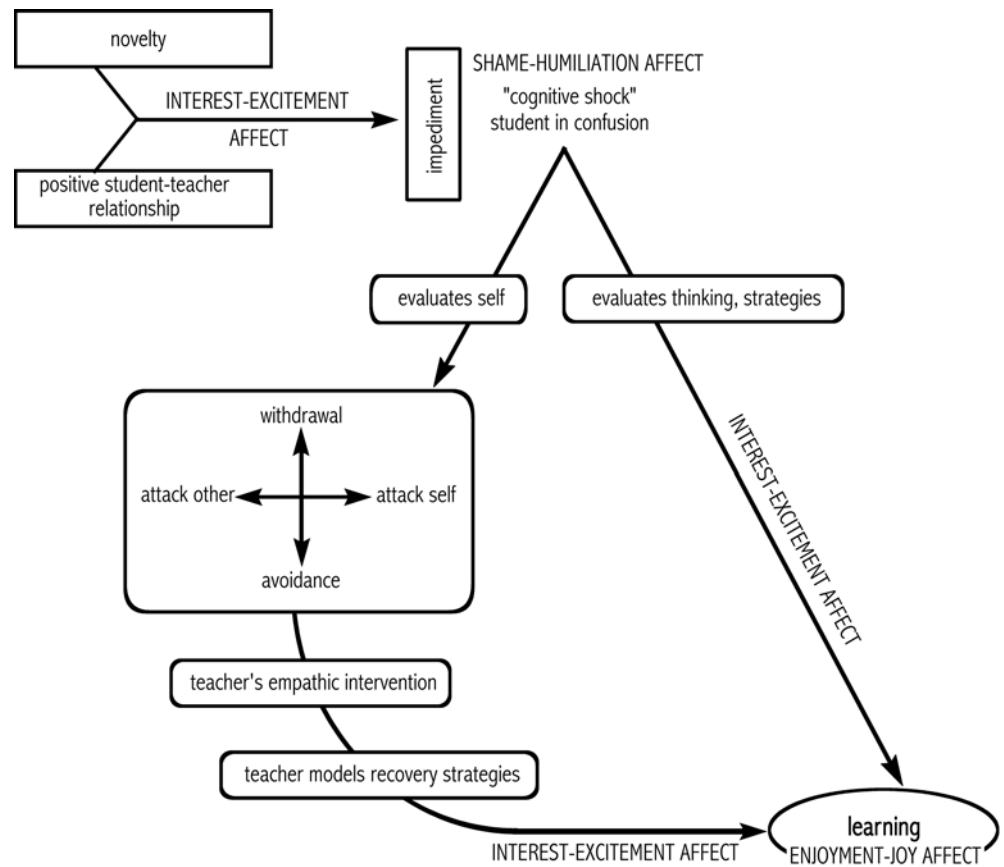

Figure 20 - the process of complex learning and recovery from shame affect

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 <u>learning</u>.

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. Of course, this empathic intervention will be most effective in the context of an established positive teacher–student relationship, where the students are already *interested* in their teacher being *interested* in them, and this *interest* can then be harnessed to help the students through the impasse. Such a positive relationship can be the foundation for the trust necessary to establish a culture within the classroom that values the inevitable triggering of shame affect for the information it provides when learning is blocked – a culture in which mistakes and confusion are valued as learning opportunities and one in which recovery strategies are developed and shared.

5.7   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 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 hopelessness. 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. Even once identified, overcoming these entrenched scripts in such students proves very difficult for any teacher. 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. To the student, this attests to what his shame–prone scripts have been telling him, namely that he is intrinsically deficient and therefore different from everyone else.

Perhaps the only 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.

5.8 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 less profound 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*.

5.9   ORIENTATION TOWARDS LEARNING

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 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).

5.10 SELF–THEORIES ABOUT INTELLIGENCE – MINDSETS

Ways in which teachers can encourage the development of more positive responses to the inevitable triggering of shame affect, and assist students to develop scripts involving greater resilience in responding to challenge, can be found in the work of Stanford University psychologist Carol Dweck (2012). Put simply, Dweck's work explains the *mastery orientation* and *performance orientation* outlined above, and can be understood as another example of the importance of separating evaluation of *the self* from evaluation of *behavior* in encouraging positive script formation.

Dweck (2012) describes two mindsets that students bring to their learning, with these mindsets arising from the students' self–theories about their intelligence. In a *fixed mindset*, a student believes that their capabilities are fixed since they are an integral part of the self, and the self by its very nature is perceived to be constant. This originates in a self–theory that intelligence is fixed, that is, that everyone has been born with a certain intelligence, and a certain set of abilities, and that these don't change much over a person's lifespan (referred to as an *entity theory*). The student can study and learn new things, but their basic intelligence and abilities stay the same. It's a matter of whether the student "reaches their potential" or not.

By contrast, a student with a *growth mindset* believes that their capabilities can be developed through effort and application, that is, through their behaviours. This is a view that their intelligence and abilities are more malleable than fixed and open to improvement through training and practice. In this mindset, the student's intelligence and abilities are not fixed, but open to improvement through the expenditure of effort and through using particular learning strategies (an *incremental theory*) (Dweck and Master 2008).

Figure 15, from Chapter 3, which summarised the *attributional differences* giving rise to the negative and positive emotional states, can now be updated to include the difference in self–theories about intelligence Dweck refers to as the different mindsets – as shown in *Figure 19* below.

		Negative Emotion	Positive Emotion	Mindsets
attribution	internal, stable, global *the self*	shame	hubristic pride	fixed
	internal, unstable, specific *behaviours*	guilt	authentic pride	growth

Figure 19 - Relationship between attributions for Shame, Guilt, the forms of Pride, and the Self-Theories about Intelligence.

In the fixed mindset, the student's intelligence is attributed to internal, stable and global factors – that is, it is an integral part of the nature of the self. In the growth mindset, the student's intelligence is instead attributed to unstable, specific factors (the student's behaviours) and is therefore considered changeable.

These mindsets can be understood fundamentally in terms of the *scripts* that students use in response to challenge in learning – especially when shame affect has been triggered. Fixed mindset (entity theory) students have developed *shame-prone* scripts which encourage them to evaluate *themselves* in the face of challenge. If they have failed at some task, or even just found the task very difficult, they follow scripts which tell them that this is because their ability or intelligence must be lacking. Their *interest* in their self–image of appearing intelligent or bright is impeded by this awareness. To deal with this triggering of shame affect, such students often find solace in Compass of Shame responses as ways of minimising the pain of the negative affect. Interestingly, Dweck's studies tend to suggest that the most common Compass of Shame responses to failure by fixed mindset students are forms of *Attack Self* and *Avoidance*. In the real–world classroom, most teachers would readily identify the Attack Self response, but may also add that the Attack Other script (where the teacher or other students become the object of attack) is also common.

Students with a growth mindset (incremental theory), on the other hand, will predominantly follow *guilt-prone* scripts which call for an evaluation of their behaviour following disappointment or failure. Such students do not experience the setbacks as an attack on their *self* – rather as an indication that they may not have studied hard enough, or employed the right strategies, i.e. they have evaluated *behaviours* to be the key reason for the failure.

Dweck's 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 with those

holding a fixed mindset. Similarly, students with a growth mindset in regard to social attributes have been shown to be more resilient psychologically when encountering the social challenges of transitions between schools (Yeager and Dweck 2012).

The differential outcomes from the two mindsets can be understood if one considers the behaviours that are reasonable within each mindset (set of scripts) when faced with a learning or social challenge. Those with a fixed mindset who believe that their ability is part of their self, and hence unchangeable, are more likely to rely upon more rigid Compass of Shame defenses 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. This is why fixed mindset students are likely to respond to failure with a Compass of Shame defence. They have developed these scripts over many years in dealing with what they see as attacks on the self. 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. For these students, failure doesn't mean that the self is faulty or inadequate, merely that they aren't yet satisfactorily prepared to tackle the problem in question. Growth–mindset students believe that their behaviour has let them down in not being prepared, not that their innate ability is inadequate.

Giving praise to students can be just as problemmatic as giving negative feedback. One study (Mueller and Dweck 1998) tested the effect of praising *intelligence* versus praising *effort,* with a third control group praised simply for the performance. The effect of the 'person' praise, that praising intelligence along the lines of "Wow, you got *x* right! That's a really good score. You must be smart at this." was to encourage a fixed mindset by conveying to them that intelligence is a fixed trait. This oriented the group towards performance goals and when asked what type of task they next wished to do, opted for an easier task (on which they could continue to demonstrate their 'intelligence'). The group praised for their efforts overwhelmingly requested a more difficult task from which they could learn more. On subsequent tasks, the effort–praised group demonstrated higher performance than the group praised for intelligence. They had maintained their motivation and had developed their skills further on the more difficult problems in the meantime. The intelligence–praise actually had the net effect of lowering the students' performances.

These results are echoed in Hattie's (2009) meta-analysis of approximately 50,000 educational research studies examining the effectiveness of feedback in subsequently raising student performance and achievement. Hattie examined feedback at four different levels: feedback on the *task itself,* feedback on the *process* a student employed, feedback on the *self-regulatory behaviour* demonstrated, and feedback reflecting on the *person.* His meta-analysis showed that feedback at the *process level,* and the *self-regulatory behaviour level* was

most effective in lifting student performance. Feedback on the *task itself,* or on the *person*, was shown to be less than effective.

These conclusions of Hattie's can easily be understood in terms of the mindsets that the different forms of feedback are likely to promote. Feedback on the *person* would encourage students towards a fixed mindset and shame-prone scripts in which they believe that their ability is fixed and is demonstrated through the success, or lack of, on the task. Dweck has demonstrated that this set of scripts focussing on the self is unlikely to lead to greater achievement as a result of the feedback.

Feedback at the *process level* and/or the *self-regulatory behaviour level,* however, would be likely to reinforce the belief that it is *behaviours* which have led to success or otherwise on a task, and to promote a growth mindset in which the student's scripts encourage them to change behaviours in order to succeed at higher levels in future. Positive feedback at the *process* or *self-regulatory behaviour* levels are likely to lead to the student attributing their success to their learning behaviours, encouraging an authentic pride in achievement.

In line with these findings, it has been shown that students' mindsets can be significantly influenced by messages that they hear on a daily basis from parents, teachers and other students (Dweck and Masters 2008). The practices which promote a growth mindset (guilt-prone scripts) include those which carefully separate dealing with *behaviours* from dealing with *the self. Figure 20* below summarises the messages that encourage development of either a growth or a fixed mindset.

In a more formal, directed way, Dweck also demonstrates that it is possible *to teach* students to change from fixed mindsets (shame-proneness) to growth mindsets (guilt-proneness) through a program of instruction about 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 the teacher modeling the study strategies themselves, the students in her studies have 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. This shame-promoting belief underpins much of the philosophy and practice of educational systems world-wide and is an unchallenged assumption in many classrooms.

Dweck demonstrates the power of teachers modeling their own positive responses and strategies when shame affect is triggered in their own learning as a means of assisting students to rescript themselves from shame-proneness

and default reliance upon the Compass of Shame responses (as described in Section 5.6 above).

Affect script psychology predicts such an outcome. Shame is triggered innately in all people by impediments to positive affect. If one removes the impediment, shame is reduced or eliminated and positive feelings return. The teacher who shares their affect openly with students is creating positive emotional connections with students by not hiding behind a Compass of Shame script and creating impediment. Furthermore, positive emotional connections increase the amount of interest–excitement and enjoyment–joy in people. The greater the positive affect in someone, the easier it is for that person to overcome and manage shame.

	Fixed Mindset (Entity Theory)	Growth Mindset (Incremental Theory)
Praising	For person: talent, intelligence, etc.	For process: effort, strategy, etc.
Portraying genius	As inborn and effortless	As achieved through passion and effort
Portraying challenge	As something poor students encounter	As a value and a way to learn
Portraying effort	As necessary for the less able students	As necessary for everyone
Portraying the brain	As static	As growing with learning

Figure 20 - Practices that promote a Growth Mindset vs a Fixed Mindset (from Dweck & Master 2008)

The power that teachers have to increase or decrease shame-proneness is magnified by the amount of time students spend in school from childhood through adolescence. A restoratively–oriented school which chooses to explore the power of affect script psychology in the classroom, as well as in the playground, could provide a powerful environmental antidote against the development of shame scripts in its students.

5.11 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's 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 long 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 also 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. 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.

In all that they do in the classroom, then, teachers have a critical opportunity and responsibility to help promote *guilt-prone, growth mindsets* in their students. How teachers present the learning opportunities they offer their students, how they frame the many tasks they set within lessons or for homework, and how they offer feedback on their students' performance can all help promote or discourage this positive scripting in their charges.

In framing tasks, either through the task description itself or how it is introduced to the students, teachers can express the belief that *all students can achieve,* and more importantly that for all students their achievement will be the result of *effort* – that is, *what the students do,* rather than *who they are.* In this way, the teacher is encouraging the reinforcement of *growth mindset, guilt-prone scripts.*

The distinction between the self and their behaviour is required also in giving students either positive or negative feedback. It is important in giving feedback in the classroom, on the sports field, and in every other area of student life. In all cases, feedback which *praises or criticises specific behaviours* – rather than persons or innate traits – helps to reduce the likelihood of the student making an undesirable global assessment of the self, either positive or negative, which would lead to reinforcing shame-prone, fixed mindset scripts.

It is important also in the stories that we relate to students and in the examples we might hold up to them or use as heroes or antiheroes – to portray a person's achievements (or transgressions) as a logical outcome of *their behaviours,* rather than being due to an *innate trait,* is to encourage growth mindset, guilt–prone scripts forming in our students, with likely positive consequences for future behaviour and performance.

The student will be more likely to see difficulties and setbacks that they might encounter as being related to changeable behaviours that are within their control. Praise or criticism of specific behaviours increases the chance that the student will approach future difficulty and challenge with resilience and as an opportunity to grow and to learn, rather than as simply confirmation of their belief that their ability (or personality) is fixed and beyond their control.

6.

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 to form guilt–prone scripts rather than shame–prone ones. It would be a school in which teachers and students are encouraged to follow the Central Blueprint, and to 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. It would also be a school in which students would be enabled to develop the social–emotional resilience to deal successfully with the many psycho–social challenges of adolescence and beyond.

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 potential 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 through the firm conviction among teacher and students that ability can be improved and developed through effort.

The affect shame–humiliation evolved presumably for just such a purpose – to provide essential information for our survival and growth. Without an understanding of affect and shame, however, the triggering of the shame–humiliation affect inevitably 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 as a critically important aid to the process of learning, both in the classroom and for life. An understanding of the critical importance of the messages we consciously and unconsciously give to our students on a daily basis, and the consequences that flow from these, will enable us to help ensure that our students' *"rights are respected, that their welfare is protected,* [and] *that their lives are free from fear and want."*

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