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Nicole Ortegon
Loyola University Chicago

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

TOWARD THE “BETTER THAN WELL” CULTURAL IDEAL: UNDERSTANDING CHANGING CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF ILLNESS AND WELLNESS AND NORTH AMERICAN PARENTING, PEDAGOGY, AND EDUCATION POLICY (19TH–21ST C.)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

NICOLE D. ORTEGÓN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Beginnings of a Journey

Unbeknownst to me at the time, the questions that would form the basis of my dissertation research began with a question on a comprehensive exam I completed nearly seven years ago:

> Periodization – or the identification of relevant historical periods – is a critical and sometimes controversy-strewn dimension of historical analysis. As historians look at the history of mental illness in the 20th century, what are the key periods they identify? Your essay should discuss what different periodizations are proposed in the literature, where there is consensus on key turning points or moments, and where there is considerable disagreement or differences in what is emphasized. (Comprehensive Exam, March 2010)

How have American conceptualizations of illness and wellness changed over time? How have various conceptualizations of illness and wellness affected parenting, pedagogy, and education policy in the United States? What might late twentieth to early twenty-first century conceptualizations of illness and wellness portend for the future of American education and society? These are some of the key questions that I have grappled with throughout my dissertation research.

I began my inquiry into these matters with an exploration of the secondary scholarship on the history of psychology and psychiatry in the United States through which a narrative of change began to unfold. Late nineteenth century psychiatry primarily endorsed a problem-focused, somatic-based approach to mental illness. The body was conceived of as the primary locus of illness and wellness. It was commonly

held that through physical hygiene individuals could discourage the onset of mental illness and ensure healthy brains and bodies. Correspondingly, if and when discussions on school hygiene occurred, they centered on the physical conditions of the school and sanitary reform. Moreover, a eugenics-based conceptualization of mental illness eschewed a prophylactic course of treatment and rooted mental illness in a paradigm of biological determinism. This ostensibly precluded opportunities for prolonged therapeutic intervention and effectively functioned to limit the professional purview of mental hygienists.

Over the course of the twentieth century, mental hygienists began to shift their focus from the corporeal body to the faculties of the human mind. With the passage of time, the mind came to be conceived of as a primary locus of illness and wellness and mental hygiene a primary means by which individuals could discourage the onset of mental illness and ensure healthy minds and bodies. By the 1930s, psychiatry principally endorsed a psychogenic-based approach to mental illness. An environmental-based approach to mental illness would come to supersede a eugenics-based approach to mental illness, paving the way for prophylactic courses of treatment, sustainable therapeutic interventions, and new professional opportunities for mental hygienists. The development of a “healthy” personality became thought of as a plausible means by which to actualize wellness, and personality adjustment became a primary focus of school hygiene. This historical narrative of a shift in emphasis from mental illness to wellness at the individual and societal level and its affects on late nineteenth to twentieth century American parenting and schooling has been well told and documented

by educational historians, as discussed in chapter two of my dissertation. It was also a fount of inspiration for my original research.

As I began to delve deeper into my research on the history of psychology and psychiatry in the United States, I encountered a set of ideas at once familiar and new. The secondary scholarship that I read was suggestive of a more recent shift beginning at the end of the twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first century: the transition from an emphasis on wellness to the “better than well” individual and society. The question of whether a “better than well” cultural ideal was evident in the context of early twenty-first century American parenting and schooling, how it may have manifested, or how it may have or might yet affect parenting and schooling in the United States was largely unanswered.

In seeking an answer to the first part of my question, I elected to analyze the contents of twenty-first century parenting books, education journals, and education policy. I concluded that there was evidence of a “better than well” cultural ideal within this corpus of documents. After rigorous analysis of my primary and secondary sources, I concluded that whereas physical and mental hygiene had previously been recognized as the primary loci of illness and wellness, emotional hygiene has been recognized as a primary locus of illness and wellness of the late twentieth to early twenty-first century. Body and mind have arguably been inseparable from the outset; that being said, emotional hygiene has been articulated as simultaneously of the body and mind, of affect and cognition, and representative of a plausible means by which to synthesize somatic and psychogenic-based paradigms of (mental) health.

In that which follows I investigate how various conceptualizations of emotional wellness and well-being have affected parenting, pedagogy, and education policy in the United States and their social and educational implications for the future of American education and society. I ultimately conclude that emotional wellness and empathetic competency have been coupled with “a better than well” cultural ideal. Whether phrased as empathetic competency, emotional intelligence, social and emotional competency, or social and emotional learning, the ability to monitor, regulate, and adapt one’s emotions has been positioned as a cardinal means of “betterment” or “optimization” across the corpus of literature that I examined and a viable pathway to actualizing a “better than well” cultural ideal.

Toward the “Better than Well”

The twentieth century’s history of the changing conceptualizations and fluctuating loci of mental illness and wellness in relation to parenting and schooling has been well documented by educational historians. In chapter two, I provide a detailed historical review of the paradigm shift from mental illness to wellness that occurred in North America from the late nineteenth to twentieth century and its affects on parenting and schooling of that era. In this introductory chapter, I provide a statement of the problem; description of my methods (and limitations); and summary overview of my major research findings.

Secondary scholarship on the history of psychiatry and psychology in the United States has signaled a recent, understudied shift beginning at the end of the twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first century: the transition from an emphasis on wellness to the “better than well” individual and society. I use the remainder of this

section to articulate the concept of a "better than well" cultural ideal and contemplate some of its social and educational implications. I use film analysis to illustrate characteristics of this cultural ideal and exemplify their application to education.

Scholars have examined the concept of "better than well" as it pertains to personhood. In his book, *Listening to Prozac*, Peter D. Kramer considers how the cultural phenomenon of "biological materialism" and perceived transformative powers of psychopharmaceuticals affect "the modern view of the self [and interpersonal style preferences]."[1] He examines how psychopharmaceuticals, namely Prozac, have been used "to replace a normal if unrewarded personality style with another normal style that is more comfortable or better socially rewarded," contemplating the ethical implications of that which he refers to as "cosmetic psychopharmacology."[2]

In regard to "cosmetic psychopharmacology," Kramer writes, "Prozac highlights our culture's preference for certain personality types," and "the hyperthymic position is well rewarded today:" "The success of Prozac says that today's high-tech capitalism values a very different temperament. Confidence, flexibility, quickness, and energy – the positive aspects of hyperthymia – are at a premium."[3] He argues that a contemporary (cultural) dilemma that people will increasingly encounter is "whether to broaden the definition of illness or to concede that" psychology and particularly psychopharmacology

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[1] Peter D. Kramer, *Listening to Prozac* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), x, 291.

[2] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac,* 322.

[3] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, 261, 271, 297.

are being invoked to facilitate the development of a "better than well" individual and society.[4]

In her book, *Bipolar Expeditions*, Emily Martin similarly discusses the concept of "psychological style," centering her analysis on the "manic" psychological style.[5] She examines how manic-depression – and mania in particular – has been differentially (re)interpreted and (re)valued over the course of the early twentieth to early twenty-first century. She argues that mania has been feared, desired, and feared and desired. In the context of a twenty-first century United States culture and (skills or market-based) economy, mania has been increasingly interpreted as a valuable resource or commodity

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[4] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, 322. The emergence of psychoanalysis and the introduction of psychotropic drugs have been described as two of psychiatry's greatest revolutions of the twentieth century; see Donna R. Kemp, *Mental Health in America* (California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2007), 15. Historians generally agree that Sigmund Freud and psychoanalytic theory left an indelible mark on twentieth-century psychiatry. As discussed earlier in this chapter, late nineteenth-century psychiatry primarily endorsed a somatic-based approach to mental illness. Porter, 2002 has argued that it was partly in response to the "dogmatism of the somatists [that] new styles of dynamic psychiatry [such as Freudian or psychoanalytic theory] were launched and won support," ushering in the psychotherapeutic turn and more psychogenic-based approaches to mental health (p. 187). The pharmaceutical revolution occurred in the mid to late twentieth century (Ridenour, *Mental Health in the United States*; Porter, *Madness*; Kemp, *Mental Health in America*; Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*; Engel, *American Therapy*; and Shorter, *Before Prozac*). The production of psychopharmacological drugs contributed to the advancement of the deinstitutionalization movement of the mid-twentieth century (Porter, *Madness*; and Kemp, *Mental Health in America*). Porter has argued that the "better than well" movement is partly attributable to the psychotropic revolution and its perceived capacity to provide people with life changing drugs that are capable of "reshaping personalities" (p. 207). Porter argues that this raises "ethical and political questions," "especially when the development, manufacture, and marketing of such drugs lie in the hands of monopolistic multinationals;" one can envision a psychiatry in peril of "becoming drug-driven, a case of the tail wagging the dog" (p. 207). Martin, 2007 raises concerns similar to those of Porter in her chapter entitled, "Pharmaceutical Personalities." The pharmaceutical revolution (in and of itself) is perhaps suggestive of a return to a more somatic-based approach to mental health. However, a union of psychotherapy and psychopharmacology is perhaps suggestive of a meeting of psychogenic and somatic-based approaches to mental health.

[5] Emily Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007).

in light of its perceived advantages where creativity, innovation, productivity, and profit are concerned.[6] A manic "psychological style" is in tandem with "a [*longstanding but intensified* American] cultural proposition about the necessity of continually improving the person."[7] Through a process of "optimization" or "psychological enhancement" by way of a controlled use of emotions an individual can "improve," becoming "better than well" or "better than normal," and "… *there are* [infinite] *higher degrees of life satisfaction, performance, and functioning*" to be pursued.[8]

Like Kramer, Martin argues that the "temperament" valued by (American) society has changed over time. In the nineteenth century, Benjamin Rush developed a "moral thermometer" intended to "regulate people's tempers" in concert with the dictates of the temperance movement.[9] In the context of the temperance movement, the "ideal temperature" might be characterized as "temperate;" movement toward that ideal was equated with self-improvement. By contrast, Martin argues that the "ideal temperature" of the twenty-first century is between "passionate" and "hot."

The "Better than Well" Cultural Ideal, Parenting, and Schooling

One question that warrants examination is how this apparent shift in ideal temperature might affect parenting and schooling and, by extension, children and childhood; how might it affect the quest for individual and societal improvement? Kramer

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[6] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 15-16.

[7] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 15.

[8] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 222-223. See Megan Boler, *Feeling Power* (New York: Routledge, 1999) on the capitalization and control of emotions (and, more broadly, emotions and education).

[9] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 178.

reflects upon how the episteme of "biological materialism" has influenced people's understandings of the self and human behavior, essentially "what makes people the way they are" and how they are constituted.[10] In particular, he examines "the impact of mood-altering drugs on the modern sense of self."[11] Through witnessing firsthand the alleged transformative powers of psychopharmaceuticals in regard to mood, personality, or interpersonal style, Kramer "had come to see inborn, biologically determined temperament where before I had seen slowly acquired, history-laden character."[12]

Kramer presents two scenarios, one "the science-fiction horror-story version of the interplay of drug and culture" and two the "Only slightly less nightmarish… prospect of free choice under pressure" in which the goal of so-called (self) optimization, particularly in a competitive context, "subjects healthy people to [the] demands" of temperament modification by way of chemical enhancement.[13] Although possible, Kramer intimates that such a scenario is unlikely in light of "society's aversion to prescribed medication" or "pharmacological Calvinism."[14]

Outside of the arguably fantastical scenarios that Kramer entertains, it is nevertheless critical to examine how the "better than well" cultural ideal influences parenting and schooling inside *and* outside of the realm of psychopharmacology.

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[10] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, x.

[11] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, xvi.

[12] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, xii.

[13] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, 273.

[14] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, 274. For an alternative argument, see Roy Porter, *Madness: A Brief History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and John Weaver, *Educating the Posthuman: Biosciences, Fiction, and Curriculum Studies* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2010).

Kramer argues that "preference" for the "hyperthymic personality" predates present-day pharmaceutical interventions, and present-day pharmaceuticals offer an alternative means by which to actualize the "hyperthymic" cultural ideal; Kramer's writing focuses primarily on this particular alternative means of actualization.[15]

Although arguably controversial, John A. Weaver's writings underscore an emphasis placed on productivity in relation to psychopharmaceuticals and their use by schoolchildren.[16] In particular, Weaver discusses the increase in attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) diagnoses and related prescription medications. According to Weaver, stimulant drugs are used to increase student productivity and particularly with regard to attention, concentration, and standardized test taking. The (potential) use of psychopharmaceuticals to actualize the "better than well" cultural ideal constitutes one potential facet of research.

Similar to her examination of mania, in "Attention!," Martin examines contemporary society's (re)valuation of ADHD and its perceived advantages and disadvantages. She argues that ADHD is differentially valued in the world of the child versus that of the adult. She writes, "We are creating a notion of an ideal child who is disciplined and attentive to adults. This child then ideally becomes an adult whose attention is creatively dispersed and fragmented." Hence, she argues that parents are faced with the question: "how do you guide children to pay attention" in childhood while

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[15] However, Kramer, *Listening to Prozac* does raise the question of how the "psychopharmacologic era" and "biological materialism" will fundamentally affect how people understand themselves and others, affecting "even those who never take medication" (p. 295).

[16] However, Weaver, *Educating the Posthuman* argues that certain medications function to create docile bodies or docile test takers, which contributes to a reduction in student "spirit, spontaneity, and creativity" (p. 53).

leaving intact their capacity for flexible and creative thought in adulthood?"[17] Martin's question allows for flexibility in regard to how parents (and schools) might respond to the aforementioned situation (for example, by way of biochemistry or otherwise).

Therefore, also warranted is an examination of the relationship between the availability of and demand for psychopharmaceuticals and the development and / or use of *non*-drug alternative means to achieve the "better than well" cultural ideal in the context of parenting and schooling. Historically, the "benefits" and "burdens" of psychology have been inequitably distributed across social groups.[18] Therefore, it is particularly important to examine the "better than well" cultural ideal in light of "cultural pressures for enhancement" and their potential affect on the use of pharmaceutical *and* non-pharmaceutical means to actualize the "better than well" cultural ideal in union with the question of how the "better than well" as a form of capital is possessed and activated across social groups through parenting and schooling.[19]

Author Annette Lareau recognizes the idiosyncrasies of parenting; however, she argues that it is nonetheless important to examine how social class (and race) influence parenting and how cultural logics of childrearing affect children's experiences with institutions such as the school.[20] Lareau argues that the differential valuation of cultural logics of childrearing can lead to the "*transmission of differential advantages* to

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[17] Martin, Attention!

[18] Boler, *Feeling Power*; and Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*.

[19] See Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions* on mood optimization and Boler, *Feeling Power* on the capitalization of emotion.

[20] Annette Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life* (California: University of California Press, 2003).

children."[21] She asserts that middle-class parents adapt their parenting strategies to the "current" norm more quickly than their working-class or poor counterparts, and the prospect of so-called declining fortunes only serves to advance a notion of urgency in regard to competition: "Worried about how their children will get ahead, middle-class parents are increasingly determined to make sure that their children are not excluded from any opportunity that might eventually contribute to their advancement."[22]

In this vein, it is important to examine how parents (and schools) are responding to (and influencing) the contemporary "norm" of the "better than well" cultural ideal (and the consequences this might hold for student "success"). I have introduced the argument concerning cosmetic pharmacology and how forces of pressure might induce people to meet the so-called new standard and / or desirable personality by way of medication. However, one might also consider the hyper-scheduling of children's activities, for example, in regard to efforts to actualize the "preferred" hyperthymic personality. Here, one might examine how class (and, relatedly, cultural logics of childrearing) might affect such "competition."

Tools that Measure Moods and Emotions

In the U.S. economic system, there is a premium on measuring and tracking any valuable resource, and that includes moods.
– Emily Martin, Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture

By the end of the Second World War, the idea of a connection between mood and employment-related (or economic) productivity was deep-seated in North American thought. In light of this perceived connection, Martin argues, "…*selections* are being

[21] Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods*, 5.

[22] Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods*, 5.

made among mood states."[23] For example, depression, commonly associated with diminished productivity, is being selected for elimination, while mania, commonly associated with heightened productivity, is being selected for controlled cultivation and optimization.

Similarly, author Megan Boler argues that "inscribed habits of inattention describe the selectivity of our attention."[24] "Inscribed habits of inattention" engender such questions as "how do we choose / learn which emotions in ourselves and others to notice and attend to?"[25] Mood charts constitute one technology employed in the surveillance, measurement, and management of moods. While predominantly used by individuals who are "afflicted by their moods and need to know them in order to control them by practicing mood hygiene," mood charts are increasingly being marketed to and utilized by individuals without (or who have not been not diagnosed with) "affective disorders," and mood charts are being used both in the home and in the school.[26]

According to Martin, it is conceivable that an increased awareness of mood could lead to an increased notion of personal responsibility or accountability in regard to mood hygiene for both children and adults. Such a sense of responsibility could influence individuals to change their "affective constitutions:" "It becomes thinkable to manage

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[23] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 191.

[24] Megan Boler, *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 16.

[25] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 16.

[26] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 191. See also Boler, *Feeling Power*.

and adjust moods and motivations [biochemically or otherwise] in directions that are apparently necessary for survival in the fierce economy of the present."[27]

On the notion of hygiene, Boler argues that the mental hygiene movement has been "reinvented" in the form of emotional intelligence (or emotional hygiene): "The definition of emotional intelligence focuses on self-control (delayed gratification), identifications of emotion in oneself and others, and managing other's emotions effectively."[28] Boler argues that the intelligence quotient (IQ) test that was developed in the early part of the twentieth century is presently met by an alternative measure, a measure of emotional intelligence or emotional quotient (EQ). Reminiscent of the notion of personality in the context of an environmentalist-based paradigm of mental health (as further discussed in chapter two), emotional intelligence is conceived of as malleable; its malleability is essential to its marketability. In light of its perceived malleability, emotional intelligence can be interpreted (and marketed) as improvable. Given the perceived connection between emotional intelligence and "success" in school and the workplace, how might children, parents, teachers, and etc. respond as potential target consumers?

On the potential advantages and disadvantages of the recording of moods, Martin argues that mood charts can enable the development of a standard metric by which to measure moods and potentially engender an increase in the surveillance, comparison, and management of moods. Alternatively, the individualization of mood

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[27] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 192.

[28] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 62.

charts can undercut "the depersonalized and abstract qualities of most charts."[29] Mood charts that separate measures of mood from measures of functionality can challenge the common associations made between illness or wellness and productivity. Historically, "sanity" versus "insanity" has been demarcated by a division between the "rational" and the "irrational." Martin argues that one potential advantage of mood charts for people with affective disorders in particular is that the recording of one's moods can be understood as a demonstration of rationality, challenging this historical divide. However, it is critical to examine how mood is differentially interpreted in relation to class, race, gender, and so forth.[30]

Transnational Implications

Mood charts (and other tools created to measure moods) encourage the surveillance and management of moods not only at the level of the individual or group but also at the national and global level. The creation of a common metric by which to measure moods or the use of a "standardized taxonomy of mood" enables large-scale data collection and comparative analysis.[31] As Martin writes, "The small-scale technology of the mood chart allows individual acts of surveillance to be collected into large-scale statistics that watch for the rising or falling of moods on a global scale."[32] If moods and productivity are perceived as linked, moods may be perceived to affect the "health" of national economies or the global economy. If the "better than well" cultural

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[29] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 194. See also Boler, *Feeling Power* on the generalizability and particularity of emotions, the individual and social elements.

[30] Boler, *Feeling Power*; and Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*.

[31] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 193.

[32] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 196.

ideal is associated with economic growth, how might countries respond to measurements allegedly indicative of falling moods, and what implications might this have for the institutions of family, schooling, and work?

Judy Moody: A Vignette

The following is an analysis of the 2011 film "Judy Moody and the NOT Bummer Summer" (and related novel and website) based on the best-selling children's book series "Judy Moody," created by Megan McDonald. With the school year coming to an end and the summer fast approaching, Judy Moody devises a plan "…to have the most way-rare, double-cool, NOT bummer summer ever."[33] During a "T.P. Club" meeting, Judy reveals her "uber-awesome plan" to her friends; she presents a chart entitled "The Judy Moody Mega-Rare NOT-Bummer-Summer Dare."[34] The chart is composed of "thrill points," "dare points," "loser points," and the "big fat total." Each completed dare is worth 10 points; bonus points are awarded for doing "something crazy," and loser points are allocated if the dare is not completed.[35] If she and her friends reach 100 points by the end of the summer, then they "just had the best summer ever."[36]

However, Judy's plans are dashed upon learning that two of her friends will be going away for the summer; Rocky is attending circus camp, and Amy is traveling to Borneo with her mother who is writing an article on a "lost tribe." Judy later learns that

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[33] Megan McDonald, *Judy Moody and the Not Bummer Summer* (Wisconsin: Candlewick, 2011), 6; and *Judy Moody and the Not Bummer Summer*. Directed by John Schultz. 2011. Beverly Hills, CA: Relativity Media.

[34] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 8-9.

[35] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 10.

[36] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 10.

her mother and father are traveling to California, leaving her and her brother “Stink” at home with their Aunt Opal who herself is a variation on a Nathan Rabin Manic Pixie Dream Girl.[37] In light of the situation, Judy revises her plan. She and her friends will use the dare chart; however, they will make it into a race, a thrill point competition.

The thrill point competition dominates both the film and the novel, each of which can be characterized as fantastical. A metric of “summer fun,” the chart enables the surveillance, measurement, and quantification of “fun” and the creation of a comparative unit of analysis. Throughout the film and the novel, the characters, by way of emails and postcards, update their friends on the number of thrill points that they have earned through various activities. Thrill points function as Judy’s principal source of motivation for virtually all of her summer activities; her focus is less on the activities themselves than on the attainment of thrill points, and her mood directly correlates with her success or failure at garnering thrill points.

For example, Judy and her friend attempt to cross a stream on a mock tightrope. Judy’s friend Frank is momentarily distracted by the music of an ice cream truck. Judy coaxes Frank: “C’mon! What’s more important? Ice cream or thrill points?” [38] This is but one example of Judy’s efforts to keep Frank focused on the competition and the importance of thrill points. At the other end of the tightrope, an image of “10 points” appears; Judy strives but fails to reach the numeric apparition. The tightrope activity itself was inspired by a postcard that Judy received from Rocky; Rocky is depicted walking a tightrope at circus camp, an act that Judy characterizes as “DEATH-

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[37] Nathan Rabin, *My Year of Flops: The A.V. Presents One Man's Journey Deep Into the Heart of Cinematic Failure* (New York: Scribner, 2010).

[38] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 46.

DEFYING."[39] In one scene of the film and the novel, Judy's friend Frank alludes to the ways in which Judy's constant obsession with thrill points frustrates their ability to have fun: "All your stupid points and dares and charts – they suck the fun out of everything."[40] In a subsequent scene of the film and the novel, Judy's Aunt Opal implicitly questions the importance (or lack thereof) of thrill points. However, an unequivocal "lessons learned" is essentially absent from the film and novel.

Through her grandiose fantasies, Judy elevates the level of competition and the possibility of "success" and "fame" or "failure" and "notoriety." For example, she envisions herself crossing the Niagara Falls on a tightrope: "Now high-flying, death-defying Judy-a-Rini will cross, um, Niagara Falls! One slip, and she'll fall to her doom."[41] Judy's rapid, dramatic mood shifts evince a similar polarity. To a certain extent, Judy's character can be said to embody the manic style, as described by Martin. Martin argues that life and death, mania and depression are simultaneously connected with the condition of manic-depression or manic style, educing both fear and fascination. Without risk there is no reward: the link between mania and the potential for grandeur are essential to its perceived value. Martin writes, "Living on the edge of death in a time when national leaders demand that we demonstrate an excess of life makes the manic person seem precisely in tune with what all Americans are now called upon to be."[42]

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[39] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 46.

[40] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 89.

[41] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 46.

[42] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 268.

In the film and novel, a mood ring is one of the tools used to measure Judy's moods. On the one hand, Judy exercises self-surveillance, as she uses her mood ring to monitor her moods; she vocalizes her moods both to herself and those around her. On the other hand, Judy's brother "Stink" monitors and vocally publicizes Judy's moods, moods that he discerns via observation of Judy's mood ring and her behavior. For example, Judy learns via email that her friend Amy swam with a shark, an activity worth "…like twenty thrill points, at LEAST!"[43] "Stink," who reads Judy's email alongside her, taunts his sister: "Whoa! You're gonna lose this race SO bad. Hey, look. Your ring is GREEN! Green with ENVY! Judy looked down at her mood ring. Sure enough, it was pulsing green."[44] "Stink" makes statements such as "Somebody's in a mood" or "Look out. She's in a mood." In the second statement, "Stink" alerts Aunt Opal to Judy's foul mood; the implication is that Opal should take Judy's mood into consideration prior to interacting with Judy, perhaps monitoring or modifying her own behavior toward Judy.

In the film, the state of Judy's mood is rarely depicted as "normal;" rather, her moods oscillate between the extremes of "worst" and "best." Martin argues that contemporary mood charts are more elaborate than their historical counterparts in that they allow for self-scrutiny to "be carried out at a finer level of detail."[45] One potential "effect of the detailed moment-by-moment scrutiny" is an increased focus on the "abnormal."[46] Although possible, Martin argues that it is unusual for people to mark their

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[43] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 72.

[44] McDonald, *Judy Moody*, 72.

[45] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 186.

[46] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 187.

moods or states as “normal;” and the space representative of “normal” on particular mood charts can be relatively minimal. She argues that it is particularly difficult for individuals diagnosed with mood disorders “to occupy the zero point.”[47] As discussed earlier, in one regard, mood charts enable individuals diagnosed with affective disorders to demonstrate their rationality and challenge the historical divide between rationality / sanity and irrationality / insanity. However, if it is difficult for individuals diagnosed with mood disorders to occupy the zero point, it might encourage the continued surveillance and adjustment (by way of medication or otherwise) of their emotional states in order to reach the zero point. Conversely, Martin argues that individuals who occupy the zero or “normal” point with relative ease are placed “orthogonal to the chart and out of reach of its demand for self-surveillance.”[48] However, in the scenario outlined by Martin, the “zero” or “normal” point would appear representative of the ideal state; what changes might occur, if the “normal” ideal was replaced with that of the “better than well?” Would the “better than well” become “normal” and / or the desired (or valued) end point; if so, how might this affect people in their quest to become “better than well,” and what ramifications might this hold for education and socialization?

In addition to the novel series and film is a website: judymoody.com.[49] Here, I focus on two elements of the website in particular: the mood meter and the teachers’ guide. Under “Way Not-Boring Stuff to do” is a depiction of a mood chart with the text “What does your mood ring say?” Users can click on either the image or the text to

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[47] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 187.

[48] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 188.

[49] *Judy Moody official website*. Accessed January 20, 2017. http://www.judymoody.com.

access a mood meter. Users can set the dial on the mood meter to a particular mood; moods are discerned by image (in the way of facial expressions), color, and text. The mood that the user selects changes the color of the mood ring on the mood meter and the website (an image of a mood ring is fixed on the top-right-hand-side of the website). Though interactive, the design offers users no means by which to personalize their mood meters, and users have only eight colors / moods from which to choose (see below). Such a design reflects Martin's as well as Boler's concern of reductionist understandings and broad-based categorizations of moods and emotions, as previously discussed.

Table 1. Colors and Moods in Judy Moody

Colors	Moods
Light Blue	Happy - Glad
Red	Romantic - In Love
Purple	Joyful - On top of the world
Dark Blue	Unhappy - Sad
Black	Grouch - Impossible
Green	Jealous - Envy
Amber	Nervous - Tense
Blue-Green	Relaxed - Calm

The website provides teachers with "A Guide for Classrooms Using Judy Moody." In the introductory letter, Judy is characterized as embodying several of the qualities associated with the hyperthymic personality: ambition, spunk, and resourcefulness. One of the curriculum connections listed is creative writing; under creative writing, one of the activities listed is mood ring writing. The teacher discusses with her / his students what it means to be in a "good" or "bad" mood. The students are asked to reflect on "things that put them in a good mood and things that put them in a bad mood." The teacher

records the students' responses on chart paper, labeling the good mood category "RARE!" and the bad mood category "ROAR!" Students are encouraged to come up with synonyms for good and bad. Students are also asked to write about their good and bad mood experiences on mood ring paper. One sheet of mood ring paper is for good moods and the other for bad. The paper is fashioned to appear like the center of a mood ring.

In the film, Judy's moods are often presented as polarized in a "worst" or "best" manner. The mood ring writing activity has a similar polarizing function with its primary focus on the broad-based mood categories (and separated spheres) of "good" and "bad." The activity fosters discussion on the meaning of moods. Although certain student responses are placed into the broad categories of good and bad, the activity offers a mechanism for personalization through its incorporation of personal narratives / experiences. Of course, a description of an activity alone cannot shed light on how precisely it would be implemented in a classroom, and the mood ring writing activity is but one example of how to integrate mood and emotion into the curricula. However, "explicit" in comparison to "hidden" emotional literacy curricula are increasingly being incorporated into schools; as such, it is important to critically examine such curricula for their potential "risks" and "benefits."[50]

Toward the beginning of this section, I argued that secondary scholarship on the history of psychiatry and psychology in the United States has signaled a recent, understudied shift beginning at the end of the twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first century: the transition from an emphasis on wellness to the "better than well"

[50] For a more detailed discussion on the potential risks and benefits of emotional literacy curricula see Boler, *Feeling Power*, 81-82.

individual and society. I used the remainder of the section to articulate the concept of a "better than well" cultural ideal and contemplate some of its social and educational implications. I used film analysis to illustrate characteristics of this cultural ideal and exemplify their application to education. In the section that follows, I discuss my research questions, followed by a discussion on methods (and limitations) and summary overview of my major research findings.

Research Questions

My primary research question was largely inspired by two issues foregrounded in prior studies: 1) the apparent paradigm shift from mental illness to wellness that occurred in North America from the late nineteenth to twentieth century and educational historians' interpretations of its affects on parenting and schooling and 2) the apparent paradigm shift from wellness to the "better than well" beginning in the late twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first century, as described in the secondary scholarship on the history of psychiatry and psychology in the United States.

The subject of my research largely sprang from the union of these two issues. My first question was whether there was evidence of a "better than well" cultural ideal with reference to early twenty-first century American parenting and schooling. If so, where and how did this evidence manifest, and how has (or might) a "better than well" cultural ideal affect parenting and schooling in the United States? To research this problem, I examined the following primary sources: American parenting books, education journals, and education policy – each of which I discuss in further detail in my methods section. Having dedicated the first part of this chapter to the statement of the problem, I proceed

with a discussion of my methods; this section is subdivided according to type of primary source: parenting books, education journals, and education policy.

Methods

In my study, I employed a conceptual historical research and history of ideas approach. In the conceptual historical research approach, one of the researcher's aims is to establish the developmental histories of the ideas relevant to one's study and to demonstrate the process by which those ideas did or did not come to exert influence on the social world (in particular time periods).[51] I also incorporated literary and discourse analysis into my study. The assumption of this method is that the analysis of the literature of an era facilitates one's understanding of that era and particularly "the ideas presented in the literature… in relation to other ideas" and action in the social world.[52]

The history of ideas approach has two primary emphases: internal (idea-idea) and external (idea-action). With regard to the internal (idea-idea) approach, the researcher endeavors to establish – via historical analysis – the developmental history of an idea and its influence on other ideas and conceptual frameworks. The external (idea-action) approach also focuses on the developmental history of an idea but is concerned with analyzing the impact of an idea on the social world in praxis. The internal (idea-idea) approach assumes that a relationship of influence exists between

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[51] Paul D. Leedy, *Practical Research: Planning and Design*, *Fourth Edition* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989), 133.

[52] Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio's Craft* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), 17. I also utilized a critical approach to language and discourse, demonstrating through document and discourse analysis the means by which language was employed to construct particular ways of conceptualizing "illness" and "wellness."

ideas and ideas, while the external (idea-action) approach assumes that a relationship of influence exists between ideas and actions.[53]

One critique of the history of ideas approach has been that it focuses on the continuity and homogeneity of thought across time to the neglect of "the displacements and transformation of concepts," "to the phenomena of rupture, of discontinuity."[54] In the second chapter of my dissertation, I examined how conceptualizations of illness and wellness have transformed over time, and my research did primarily focus on dominant conceptualizations of illness and wellness and processes of "normalization." One means by which to counter this limitation would be to analyze alternative or counter mental health movements, juxtaposing them with the mental hygiene movement, for example. However, to expand my analysis in this way would have created issues with regard to the scope and focus of my research.

Similarly, in chapter five, one of my goals was to examine changes and forces that helped shape the current landscape of American educational policy. For example, I focused on pivotal shifts in the development and usage of testing in American education from the 1950s through early 2000s that educational historians have argued contributed to the present state of educational policy that prioritizes test-based accountability (among other things). There are of course counter narratives or narratives of resistance that challenge this tale of an educational testing juggernaut; again, I had to give consideration to the scope and focus of my research. I use the remainder of this section to discuss my selection of primary sources.

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[53] Beringer, *Clio's Craft*.

[54] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), 4.

Parenting Books

For the purposes of my dissertation, I elected to analyze general parenting books; including all subgenres in my analysis would have been beyond the scope of my project.[55] I used The Bowker Annual Library and Book Trade Almanac in making my book selections. I focused my search on roughly the first decade of the 2000s. Specifically, I reviewed the 45th through 56th editions of the Bowker series – the bestsellers of 1999 through 2011. I reviewed the lists of nonfiction books that sold a minimum of 100,000 copies (50,000 for Trade Paperbacks). Among those books, I selected books whose titles contained words such as "parents" or "children."[56] I recorded the titles of those books and number of copies sold in a spreadsheet. I later cross-referenced the titles and searched for book titles that appeared on at least two of the annual bestseller lists. With regard to using book sales as a proxy for the distribution or circulation of information, one assumption is that people read that which they purchase; a second assumption is that people make practical use of the advice available through parenting or childrearing books; these assumptions speak to some of the limitations of my research. Another point of consideration is the multiplicity of avenues (outside of books) by which parenting or childrearing advice may be communicated (e.g., word of mouth and internet).

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[55] Natalie Danford, "Rasing 'em by the Book," *Publishers Weekly* 252, no. 9 (2005): 28-36.

[56] In the list that I was compiling, I also included books that were otherwise suggestive of parenting or childrearing-related content as well as bestsellers generally categorized as business self-help books but marketed as applicable to parenting.

Education Journals

To research the “better than well” cultural ideal with regard to American pedagogy, I analyzed education journals as primary sources – treating them as period documents. I employed the Journal Citation Reports (JCR), 2011 JCR Social Science Edition, Education and Educational Research, Thomas Reuters in my selection, taking into account the journal content as well as the journal impact factor and 5-year journal impact factor. The *Review of Educational Research* is ranked 3 by impact factor (3.169) and 1 by 5-year impact factor (5.464), and the *Journal of Teacher Education* is ranked 10 by impact factor (2.292) and 19 by 5-year impact factor (2.226). With regard to the *Review of Educational Research*, I searched for the term “well-being” in full text, returning 165 documents. Of those 165 documents, 65 of them met the date criterion of having been published during or after the year 2000. I read each available abstract for content. To be included, documents had to have well-being, affectivity, social and emotional learning, social and emotional competency, or otherwise closely related issue (e.g., intra and / or interpersonal relationships) as a key thread, based on my interpretation of the abstracts; documents that may have born some relevance to these issues but whose focus was subsumed by a specific issue were excluded (e.g., student homelessness, military, or refugee children). In the few cases in which no abstract was available, I examined the full text of the document. Book reviews were excluded. Of the 65 documents, 23 met the specified selection criteria, 5 of which I judged borderline relevant. I reviewed the full text of these 5 documents and ultimately determined that 2 of the 5 were relevant to the point of inclusion. Thus, in total, 21 documents from the *Review of Educational Research* were included in this study.

With regard to the *Journal of Teacher Education*, using the same criteria, my initial search returned 148 documents. Of those 148 documents, 44 met the date criterion. Of the 44 documents, 22 met the specified selection criteria, 8 of which I judged borderline relevant. I reviewed the full text of these 8 documents and ultimately determined that 4 of the 8 were relevant to the point of inclusion. Thus, in total, 18 documents from the *Journal of Teacher Education* were included in this study. Not unlike the parenting books, education journals may provide a window into the pedagogical theories of the time but not necessarily the practices of teaching and learning that are being enacted across American schools.

Education Policy

In the United States, education is principally a state and local responsibility. However, educational historians have argued that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) has had an unprecedented degree of federal influence on American public education.[57] In light of these circumstances, I elected to focus my analysis and discussion on federal education policy. NCLB is a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA).[58] Using the congress.gov search engine, I searched for "social and emotional learning" under "All Legislation," which returned 22 search results. I sorted the results by date of introduction (newest to oldest). I further

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[57] Daniel M. Koretz, *Measuring up* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008); Peter M. Taubman, *Teaching By Numbers: Deconstructing the Discourse of Standards and Accountability in Education* (New York: Routledge, 2009); and Diane Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

[58] For a detailed history, refer to chapter five.

narrowed my search by selecting “Education” as my “Subject – Policy Area,” which returned 16 results.

Of those 16 results, I searched for legislative bills containing “social and emotional learning” in their title. This narrowed my results to 4 legislative bills – the Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Acts of 2009, 2011, 2013, and 2015 – all of which proposed revisions to the ESEA of 1965. Two other legislative bills included among the search results were the Supporting Emotional Learning Acts of 2014 and 2015 – which I also included in my analysis. The other legislative bill that I analyzed was the Jesse Lewis Empowering Educators Act of 2015, as this was listed as a “Related bill” to the Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Act of 2015. Zero of the seven legislative bills that I examined were signed into law.

I also examined the successor to NCLB – the 2015 reauthorization of the ESEA of 1965 or the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). I consulted the websites of social and emotional learning advocacy groups including The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD). CASEL and ASCD had reviewed the ESSA in their efforts to demonstrate how state and local school districts might interpret and harness the ESSA to promote the integration of social and emotional learning into American education, particularly preschool and grades K-12. I subsequently analyzed the sections of the ESSA highlighted by the websites. Again, not unlike the parenting books and education journals, education policy does not necessarily reflect the inner workings of schools and classrooms across the nation.

Major Research Findings Summary Overview

My research has led me to conclude that in the context of the primary sources that I examined: wellness or well-being was largely conceptualized as relational; emotional hygiene was identified as a primary locus of wellness or well-being; and a "better than well" cultural ideal was evident across the early twenty-first century American parenting books, education journals, and education policy that I examined. Across chapters three, four, and five of my dissertation – whether phrased as empathetic competency, emotional intelligence, social and emotional competency, or social and emotional learning – the ability to monitor, regulate, and adapt one's emotions was positioned as a cardinal means of "betterment" or "optimization" across the collective body of primary sources that I analyzed. An extended summary of my major research findings is included in chapter six of my dissertation where I also examine some of the social and educational implications of my research.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARD THE "BETTER THAN WELL" CULTURAL IDEAL

Introduction

In the history of the United States, dominant conceptualizations of mental illness and wellness have been informed by scientific discourses situated in somatic-based and psychogenic-based paradigms – each affecting parenting, pedagogy, and education policy. From the late nineteenth to twentieth century, a transition occurred that resulted in a shift in emphasis from mental illness to mental wellness at the individual and societal level.[1] In this chapter, I provide an historical overview of the changing conceptualizations and fluctuating loci of mental illness and wellness from the late nineteenth to twentieth century, as they relate to parenting and schooling.

From the late nineteenth to twentieth century, children's bodies and minds became sites of growing contestation among scientific experts, educators, and parents. Children's physical and psychological development came under intense scrutiny in tandem with the child study movement initiated in the 1880s and championed in the United States by psychologist and educator G. Stanley Hall. The 1930s marked the beginnings of a "new," environmental-based approach to physical and psychological

[1] Jonathan Engel, *American Therapy: The Rise of Psychotherapy in the United States* (New York: Gotham Books, 2008); Donna R. Kemp, *Mental Health in America* (California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2007); Emily Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007); Roy Porter, *Madness: A Brief History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Barbara Sicherman, *The Quest for Mental Health in America, 1880-1917* (New York: Arno Press, 1980); and Nina Ridenour, *Mental Health in the United States: A Fifty-Year History* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press,1961).

health that underscored notions of treatment and cure rather than biological determinism and eradication, as proffered under a eugenics-based paradigm. This paradigm shift resulted in a reconceptualization of mental illness and wellness on a massive scale.[2]

A newfound focus on treatment and cure initially fostered interest in youth rehabilitation models, particularly in the domain of juvenile delinquency. Over time, emphasis shifted from rehabilitation to prevention and from a focus on the "abnormal" to the "normal." The field of (child) psychology came to advance the "normative paradigm" whereby psychologists increasingly focused their attention on "normal" developmental processes.[3] Focused on enacting preventive measures, psychologists thought it prudent to gain early access to children through the home, family, and school.[4] The increased attention allocated to prevention and the normative paradigm provided mental hygienists an entryway to North American public schools, fostering the transformation of

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[2] For a more nuanced discussion regarding the transition from eugenics to environmentalism with regard to mental illness and wellness, see Robert Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens and the B.C. Royal Commission on Mental Hygiene, 1925-1928," in *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings*, eds. Robert Adamoski, Dorothy Chunn, and Robert Menzies (Canada: Broadview Press, 2002), 385-413. Refer to Gerald Thomson, "'Not an Attempt to Coddle Children:' Dr. Charles Hegler Gundry and the Mental Hygiene Division of the Vancouver School Board, 1939-1969," *Historical Studies in Education* 14, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 247-278 and Theresa R. Richardson, *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) for discussions regarding temporal differences between the United States and Canada with regard to eugenics-based mental hygiene theories (and their degree of prevalence), the ways in which leadership (and politics more broadly) influenced the duration and extent of eugenics-based mental hygiene theories in the United States and Canada, and "The eugenicists' preoccupation with controlling the criminal classes, immigrants, and the working class [which] was [initially] shared by [environmentalist] mental hygienists." Thomson, "Not an Attempt to Coddle Children," *Historical Studies in Education* (Fall 2002), 276.

[3] Theresa R. Richardson, *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

[4] Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 25-26.

schools into centers of personality development and teachers into therapists.[5] It was also instrumental in the psychologizing or scientization of parenting, redefining parenting as a "scientific" enterprise and transforming it from a "natural" to a "learned" activity.[6] Parents, students, and teachers would be subjected to new modes of surveillance and regulation of the body and mind that they would adopt, adapt, and challenge.

Mental Health in the Late Nineteenth Century

Late nineteenth century psychiatry primarily endorsed a somatic-based interpretation of mental illness. The body was conceived of as the primary locus of mental illness and physical hygiene – including balanced nutrition, exercise, and rest – the principal means by which to counter mental illness and ensure healthy brains and bodies.[7] Parallel with a somatic-based interpretation of mental illness, discussions on school hygiene initially centered on the physical conditions of the school and sanitary reform.[8] The focus of school hygiene shifts over the course of the mental hygiene movement, as increasing emphasis is placed on psychogenic rather than somatic-based paradigms of mental illness and wellness – a discussion to which I return.

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[5] See Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*; Richardson, *Century of the Child*; Sol Cohen, "The Mental Hygiene Movement, the Development of Personality and the School: The Medicalization of American Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (1983): 123-149; and Sicherman, *Quest for Mental Health in America*.

[6] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004); and Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*.

[7] By contrast, during the twentieth century, mental hygienists increasingly began to shift their focus from the physical bases of mental health to examine "mental functioning." Sicherman, *Quest for Mental Health in America* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 331. The state of one's mental health was considered important with regard to its influence on one's physical well-being; a healthy mind was conceived of as necessary for a healthy body.

[8] Sicherman, *Quest for Mental Health in America*, 285, 331.

During the late nineteenth century, mental illness was perceived as increasing in both prevalence and severity. Mental health initiatives focused primarily on asylum care reform – though some also espoused concern with notions of the cause and prevention of insanity. Founded in the 1880s, the National Association for the Protection of the Insane and the Prevention of Insanity (NAPIPI) was one of the first organizations to undertake asylum care reform. The NAPIPI's reform movement was allegedly distinguished by its professed concern for "prophylaxis" – or protective or preventive treatment – and its hope to understand the etiology and prevention of insanity. That being said, prophylaxis essentially remained a goal in rhetoric, as the objective of asylum care reform "inevitably took priority."[9]

This rhetoric, however, was perhaps a prelude to the North American mental hygiene movement of the twentieth century. The mental hygiene movement influenced social and educational reforms nationwide – particularly as it was endorsed by powerful, influential philanthropists and funded through the Rockefeller Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund. In the following sections that compose this chapter, I examine the history of the mental hygiene movement in the United States and Canada where the movement was particularly prevalent.[10]

The Mental Hygiene Movement: Eugenics and Social Reform

In her book *The Century of the Child*, an historical analysis of the mental hygiene movement in a twentieth century United States and Canada, Theresa R. Richardson describes the mental hygiene movement as a conscious effort to establish "a science of

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[9] Sicherman, *Quest for Mental Health in America*, 12.

[10] Richardson, *Century of the Child*, 2, 5.

mental health" and to apply "science to social life."[11] In the early twentieth century, Clifford Beers established the (United States) National Committee for Mental Hygiene (NCMH) and Clarence Hincks the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH)[12] – though, arguably, the mental hygiene movement began to take shape as early as the 1890s.[13]

In his historical analysis of the (United States) mental hygiene movement, Sol Cohen argues that during the 1920s mental hygienists' objective was to remedy social maladies through "scientific intervention."[14] The eugenics movement also gained currency in the early 1920s and was presented as an alternative means of social amelioration through the employment of "science."[15] Following World War I, mental hygienists had a "brief flirtation with eugenics;" however, historians disagree with regard

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[11] Richardson, *Century of the Child*, 1-2; this goal is not inconsistent with nineteenth century psychiatry's primary objective to establish itself as a "scientific" discipline and "shed the unscientific dross which had gathered around psychiatry" Porter, *Madness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 184.

[12] Richardson, *Century of the Child*. The NCMH was established in 1909 and the CNCMH in 1918.

[13] See Sol Cohen, "The Mental Hygiene Movement, the Development of Personality and the School: The Medicalization of American Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (1983): 123-149. For a detailed historiographic analysis of the medicalization of education see also Stephen Petrina, "The Medicalization of Education: A Historiographic Synthesis," *History of Education Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (2006): 503-31; Mona Gleason, "Race, Class, and Health: School Medical Inspection and 'Healthy' Children in British Columbia," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19, no. 1 (2002): 95-112; and Margo Horn, *Before It's Too Late: The Child Guidance Movement in the United States, 1922-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

[14] Cohen, "Development of Personality and the School," 128.

[15] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the majority of psychiatrists became pessimistic of the possibility of the treatment and/or cure of mental illness; eugenicists and degenerationists utilized this dire prognosis to advance their (respective) causes; see Porter, *Madness*.

to the extent to which the principles of the eugenics movement influenced the mental hygiene movement.[16]

In his writings on children in a twentieth century English-Canadian society, Neil Sutherland argues that during the 1890s mental illness began to be conceived of as "preventable."[17] However, Sutherland's use of the term "preventable" takes on a peculiar meaning in the context of the eugenics movement. During the eugenics movement, mental illness was primarily conceived of as hereditary or biologically rather than socially determined. Sutherland argues that the mental hygiene movement was closely affiliated with the eugenics movement in the early 1900s. During this period, mental hygienists and eugenicists proffered the argument that if mental illness was biologically determined, then one means by which to "prevent" the spread of mental illness would be through prohibiting alleged mentally ill individuals from marrying and procreating (e.g., through forced sterilization). Social reformers defended this alleged scientifically based intervention on the grounds that it protected the nation and Canadian citizens (from mental illness) by way of quarantine. Although met with resistance, legislative control of individuals' reproductive rights was enacted for a time (e.g., in Alberta and British Columbia).[18] The policy and practice of sterilization was fortified through the employment of a rhetoric of fear.[19]

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[16] Cohen, "Development of Personality and the School," 128.

[17] Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 71-2.

[18] Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 71-5.

[19] Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens," 386: "By permitting the mentally unfit to immigrate, marry, and procreate, the people of British Columbia were committing 'a sin of omission' that would

In a similar vein, in *Normalizing the Ideal*, an analysis of psychology in relation to family and schooling in postwar Canada, Mona Gleason argues that during the early 1900s mental hygienists' and eugenicists' theories were largely aligned. Mental hygienists (of the CNCMH) invoked the alleged objective authority of science to validate their culture-bound interpretations of mental illness.[20] Gleason states that the "innately inferior" "tended to be those who acted outside, or in conflict with, the beliefs of middle-class reformers."[21] Like Gleason, author Robert Menzies intimates that the alleged scientific principles of eugenics were enacted against nonconformist immigrants, satisfying authorities' socio-political agenda:

> Eugenics offered authorities a powerful set of discourses through which they could attribute the problem of flawed citizens, not to the deficits and prejudices of prevailing political ideas and social programs, but instead to the intrinsic genetic, biological, and cognitive inferiority of alien and subaltern groups who simply had no place in a modern Canada. (Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens," 389)

Social reformers employed "science" to legitimate the screening of immigrants for so-called mental abnormalities; immigrants that posed an alleged threat of infection to the nation of Canada and its citizens were subject to rejection, isolation, and sterilization.[22]

The Mental Hygiene Movement:

Environmentalism and Social and Educational Reform

Following the early 1900s, psychologists (and mental hygienists) began to distance themselves from eugenics-based theories of mental illness; this separation

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condemn future generations to untold hardships and abet the propagation of 'human derelicts' who were 'a liability in peace and a menace in war.'"

[20] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 22.

[21] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 22.

[22] Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens"; and Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*.

was strategic.[23] Eugenics and hereditary-based explanations of mental illness limited psychologists' ability to expand their professional careers. A eugenics-based conceptualization of mental illness did not allow for the opportunity for sustained therapeutic intervention. Moreover, due to improved economic circumstances, psychologists were less obligated to remain affiliated with organizations that emphasized eugenics due to an increase in available funding. Hence, following the 1930s, an environmental-based approach to mental illness came into favor.[24] This transition from eugenics to environmentalism was due in part to a re-conceptualization of mental illness that underscored treatment or cure rather than exclusion or eradication.[25]

In addition to facilitating the development of alternative professional opportunities for mental hygienists and others in related fields, an environmental-based approach to mental illness functioned to refocus the mental hygiene movement on the amelioration and prevention of mental illness – particularly with regard to children – through means of personality adjustment. In the United States during the 1920s and 1930s mental

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[23] Porter, 2002 argues that it was "Partly in reaction against the pessimism of the asylum psychiatry and the dogmatism of the somatists [that] new styles of dynamic psychiatry were launched and won support." (Porter, *Madness*, 187).

[24] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 23-24.

[25] Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 73; and Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*. For a more nuanced discussion regarding the transition from eugenics to environmentalism with regard to mental illness, see Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens"; Thomson, "Not an Attempt to Coddle Children"; and Richardson, *Century of the Child*; refer to the aforementioned texts for discussions regarding temporal differences between the United States and Canada with regard to eugenics-based mental hygiene theories (and their degree of prevalence), the ways in which leadership (and politics in general) influenced the duration and extent of eugenics-based mental hygiene theories in the United States and Canada, and "The eugenicists' preoccupation with controlling the criminal classes, immigrants, and the working class [which] was [initially] shared by [environmentalist] mental hygienists" (Thomson, "Not an Attempt to Coddle Children," 276).

hygienists began to conceive of mental illness as a preventable, treatable, and curable personality disorder due to the perceived malleability of personality. As Cohen writes, "mental illness was not a 'disease' of the brain or of the nervous system."[26] Despite this newly formed conception of mental illness, psychiatry and related fields proceeded to employ a Western medical model approach to mental illness.[27] That being said, in time, this more recently adopted perspective on mental hygiene came to permeate American education, positing the school as the guardian of children's personality development.[28]

However, prior to predominantly attending to the mental state of children, mental hygienists in the early twentieth century (United States) focused their attention on juveniles; in particular, mental hygienists established a relationship between mental illness and juvenile delinquency.[29] In *Huck's Raft*, an historical analysis of American childhood, Steven Mintz provides an illustrative example of the ways in which the then current understanding of mental illness interacted with the juvenile court system. Mintz states that in 1924 teenagers Richard Loeb and Nathan Leopold murdered fourteen-year-old Bobby Franks. Clarence Darrow, Loeb and Leopold's defense attorney, through invoking the testimony of four psychiatrists regarding the perturbed mental state of Loeb and Leopold, enabled the two defendants to elude the death penalty. According

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[26] Cohen, "Development of Personality and the School," 126, 128.

[27] Thomas S. Szasz, "The Myth of Mental Illness." In *Perspectives on Abnormal Behavior*, ed. Richard J. Morris (New York: Pergamon Press, 1974), 4.

[28] Cohen, "Development of Personality and the School," 124; Richardson, *Century of the Child*, 2; and Sicherman, *Quest for Mental Health in America*.

[29] Richardson, *Century of the Child*; Sicherman, *Quest for Mental Health in America*; and Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 75.

to Mintz, that Loeb and Leopold were well-educated and from affluent families was critical in that it intimated that "any child, regardless of background, could suffer from a psychological disorder;" whereas prior to the 1920s theories regarding juvenile delinquency privileged explanations that underscored deficiency and deprivation.[30] Although Mintz's narrative suggests an expansion of mental hygienists' purview with regard to the alleged mentally ill (e.g., in terms of social class), others have argued that (Canadian) (child) psychology in particular advanced the "normative paradigm" through which psychologists began to increasingly focus their attention on alleged normal developmental processes – moving beyond the domain of the "abnormal."[31]

Transitioning from eugenics-based conceptualizations of mental illness, the re-conceptualization of mental illness in terms of personality "abnormalities" and later "normalities" enabled mental hygienists, among others, to argue that juvenile delinquents were capable of reform through means of personality adjustment. In *Before It's Too Late*, an historical analysis of the child guidance movement in the United States from 1922 to 1945, Margo Horn writes that during the 1920s the Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency was established through the Commonwealth Fund. According to Horn, "Intervention fulfilled the program's preventive mission; misbehaving youngsters were believed to be incipient criminals or predelinquents; treating them was

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[30] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004). Mintz characterizes this time period as the "revolt of modern youth," which was particularly relevant to the perceived decline in parental authority. Mintz subsequently argues that parents' perceived loss of authority with regard to parenting prompted them to increasingly pursue the advice of alleged experts on child rearing (e.g., psychologists) during the 1920s and 1930s (p. 219).

[31] Richardson, *Century of the Child*, 126.

expected to prevent the development of serious criminal behavior in adults."[32] Horn's articulation of the Commonwealth Fund's preventive mission can be contrasted with the use of the term preventable in the context of the eugenics movement, as previously delineated.[33]

The preventive mission regarding juvenile delinquency can also be contrasted with that regarding early childhood. In the 1920s, the NCMH began to focus its preventive agenda on children, rather than juveniles, following the logic that juvenile delinquency itself indicated a missed opportunity for preventive intervention.[34] The CNCMH's involvement with the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation (of the United States) facilitated the adoption of a child-focused research agenda due to the foundation's preoccupation with child-centered research.[35]

In an early twentieth century United States, mental hygienists understood parents and schools as two essential means by which to gain access to children, facilitating the early introduction of preventive measures with regard to children's mental states of being. To a large extent, mental hygienists focused their preventive agenda on public schools, particularly in light of compulsory education regulations that mandated that children attend school. In comparison to schools, mental hygienists perceived parents as problematic in light of the limited control that mental hygienists could exercise over

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[32] Horn, *Before It's Too Late*, 9-10. See also Richardson, *Century of the Child*, 78, regarding the development of differential juvenile/adult court proceedings; and Sicherman, *The Quest for Mental Health in America*.

[33] Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*.

[34] Horn, *Before It's Too Late*, 22-23; and Sicherman, *The Quest for Mental Health in America*.

[35] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 24.

parents to ensure that parents received the "proper" training in mental hygiene – yet alone that parents "properly" implemented that training with regard to their children.[36] In Canada, psychologists similarly focused on enacting preventive measures, also believing it prudent to gain early access to children through the home, family, and school.[37]

With regard to American public schooling, mental hygienists' perspective infiltrated nearly all aspects of the school, augmenting its purpose, pedagogy, and curricula.[38] The school's newfound mission was to ensure the "successful" development of children's personalities.[39] The primary objective of the school became to attend to the development of children's "healthy" personalities and the development of the "whole child;" this consequently affected teachers.[40] Percival M. Symonds' 1930s textbook for teachers entitled *Mental Hygiene of the School Child* provides an illustrative example of school reforms fostered by the mental hygiene movement.[41] Symonds writes, "It crystallizes newer curriculum tendencies which stress adjustment and integration of the personality as important goals of education;" this is demonstrative of the emergence of

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[36] Cohen, "Development of Personality and the School," 129; and Sicherman, *The Quest for Mental Health in America*.

[37] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 25-26.

[38] Cohen, "Development of Personality and the School," 129.

[39] Cohen, "Development of Personality and the School," 24.

[40] Sol Cohen and Lewis C. Solmon, *From the Campus: Perspectives on the School Reform Movement* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 129-130.

[41] With regard to mental hygiene textbooks for teachers, Cohen and Solmon (1989) notes that such textbooks were not put into production (and / or circulation) until the mid-1920s; production / circulation increased during the 1930s and 1940s (p. 28).

personality adjustment as one of the school's primary objectives.[42] Mental hygiene-based school reforms are also relevant with regard to school reforms of the progressive era (e.g., child-centered and child-interest-based teaching and learning).

Like the school, parents were affected by the mental hygiene movement's developing commitment to a "scientifically-based" preventive agenda with regard to children's mental health.[43] During the mental hygiene movement, psychologists, among others, redefined parenting as a "scientific" enterprise; this occurred in the United States and Canada. Writing with regard to their respective countries, scholars have delineated

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[42] Percival M. Symonds, *Mental Hygiene of the School Child* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1936), ix.

[43] In the United States and Canada, parents' responsibility for their children's mental wellness (and / or illness) was disproportionately allocated to the mother. A mother's parenting ability ("good" or "poor") was perceived as a critical factor in the "success" and / or "failure" of her child's development (Mintz, *Huck's Raft*; Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*; and Horn, *Before It's Too Late*). Despite the transition from eugenics to environmentalism in terms of conceptualizations of mental illness (and later mental wellness), one can argue that the notion of the "problematic mother" remained consistent across movements. The juxtaposition of Neil Sutherland's book *Growing Up* and Robert Menzies' chapter "'Unfit' Citizens and the B.C. Royal Commission on Mental Hygiene, 1925-1928" provides an illustrative example (Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens"; and Sutherland, *Growing up*). Sutherland examines child guidance clinics with regard to the foster placement and / or adoption of children. He argues that psychiatrists determined infants ineligible for adoption "if a psychiatrist or social worker concluded that the mother displayed 'low mentality' or 'inadequate personality,' or was promiscuous" (Sutherland, *Growing up*, 107). Menzies argues that mental hygienists that adhered to the principles of eugenics disproportionately selected women and mothers for sterilization over men and fathers (Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens," 403). Despite differential conceptualizations of mental illness, biological and social, the mother was cast as a "problematic" figure. Biological or social, the mother's "deficiencies" were conceived of as capable of being transmitted to her child; this is illustrative of the conflation of the biological and the social. Menzies argues that although individuals utilized eugenics-based theories of mental illness to defend their arguments for the sterilization of women, the underlying impetus for individuals' advocacy for the sterilization of women was their desire to institute social controls over female sexuality (Menzies, "'Unfit' Citizens," 403). According to Sutherland, psychiatrists argued that mothers' social "deficiencies" (e.g., promiscuity) functioned to render their children ineligible for adoption (Sutherland, *Growing up*). However, one can argue that the psychiatrists used a shared logic of hereditarianism in intimating that an "inadequate personality" (like a disease) is communicable and capable of being transmitted to the child by the mother (Sutherland, *Growing up*, 107).

the transformation of parenting from a “natural” to a “learned” activity.[44] Through their use of “science” to establish the parameters of “normal” and “abnormal” child development, psychologists and others positioned themselves as childrearing experts with specialized knowledge regarding the prevention of mental illness and promotion of mental health. This process has been referred to as the psychologizing or scientization of parenting.[45] Psychologists were able to establish another professional niche for themselves, expanding the parameters of their expertise to childrearing theory and practice. In a perhaps surprising turn, psychologists’ ability to increasingly invade life’s private domains was largely facilitated through mental hygienists’ gravitation away from biological determinism and towards environmentalism.[46]

The Mental Hygiene Movement: Mid-twentieth Century Rejuvenation

The psychologizing or scientization of parenting and corresponding portrayal of psychologists as childrearing experts that occurred in the earlier part of the twentieth century in the United States and Canada remained relevant for families of the 1940s and schools of the 1950s.[47] Educational textbooks and films are examples of media that were used to facilitate a rejuvenation of the mental hygiene movement in the mid-twentieth century. Mental hygiene textbooks designed for teachers were put into production and circulation in the mid-1920s; their production and circulation grew during

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[44] Mintz, *Huck’s Raft*; and Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*.

[45] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 26.

[46] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 42-43; see also Horn, *Before It’s Too Late*, 36-38.

[47] Brian Low, “‘The New Generation’: Mental Hygiene and the Portrayals of Children by the National Film Board of Canada, 1946-1967," *History of Education Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 540-570.

the 1930s and 1940s.[48] With regard to film, Brian Low, historian of child and family studies, analyzes the "cinematic microsociety" established through the National Film Board (NFB) of Canada. He argues that the NFB, through its portrayals of children (1946-1967), rejuvenated the mental hygiene movement and its notions regarding the institutions of family and school for post-World War II Canadian citizens.[49] Low credits first Government Film Commissioner John Grierson with founding the NFB.[50] He argues that through Grierson's studies in the United States, funded through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation, Grierson adopted the notion of a "'progressive democracy' in which citizens inevitably welcomed expert-led reforms to their institutional practices."[51] Low argues that Grierson, imbued by "American progressive philosophy," infused progressive ideologies regarding the family and school into his widely viewed NFB films.[52]

Directed by Stanley Jackson and produced by Tom Daly, the 1950s film *Shyness* is an example of an NFB training film intended for use by Canadian teachers.[53] *Shyness* reflects mental hygienists' notions of the "problematic" mother figure that originated in the earlier part of the decade (see footnote 43). A young girl named Anna is one of the film's main characters. In the film, Anna's "shyness" is attributed in part to her

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[48] Cohen and Solmon, *From the Campus*, 28.

[49] Low, "'The New Generation,'" 541-542.

[50] Low, "'The New Generation,'" 542.

[51] Low, "'The New Generation,'" 542.

[52] Low, "'The New Generation,'" 542-544.

[53] Low, "'The New Generation,'" 561.

overbearing mother. Anna is afraid to fail in garnering her mother's approval. Anna's fear is illustrated through her interactions with her mother in the context of her home; the audience witnesses Anna receive her mother's disapproving gaze. Moreover, in one scene, the image of Anna's mother and her mother's female companions dominates the screen; this image is juxtaposed with that of Anna, her timidity communicated through her body language. Though the film was created in 1953, the characterization of Anna's mother is perhaps eerily reminiscent of that of the mothers in the earlier part of the decade that mental hygienists portrayed as domineering and posing a threat to their children's (psychological) well-being. The emphasis given to the image of a group composed entirely of women intimates that all mothers (and perhaps women in general) were susceptible to the criticisms of the alleged experts of parenting, the psychologists.

Furthermore, in *Shyness*, in the context of the school, the teacher assumes the role of what Cohen has articulated as the "teacher-as-therapist."[54] In the film, the teacher is responsible for drawing children out from their shyness, for remedying what Cohen has referred to as the "shut-in-personality."[55] However, the means by which the teacher administers "treatment" to the child influences whether or not the intervention is helpful and / or harmful to the child. In the film, the audience witnesses Anna's physical education teacher "successfully" (albeit temporarily) alleviate Anna's anxiety, while fostering her confidence. Anna's physical education teacher observes Anna's interest in dance; she encourages Anna to lead her fellow classmates in a dance related activity. In leading the group in dance, Anna exhibits confidence. The physical education

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[54] Cohen and Solmon, *From the Campus*, 25.

[55] Cohen and Solmon, *From the Campus*, 25.

teacher's receptivity to Anna's interests is portrayed as facilitating Anna's development of a "healthy" personality; this is also relevant in terms of particular tenets of progressive education (e.g., child-centered, interest-based education).

The situation depicted in (the NFB film) *Shyness* is relevant with regard to the chapter of Symonds' mental hygiene textbook intended for use by American teachers entitled *Adjustment of the Teacher*. In this particular chapter, Symonds also underscores the importance of the teacher's mental hygiene with regard to that of her students: "The teacher and pupil are two poles of human relationship in the school situation."[56] Female teachers' conduct and authority, like that of mothers, became subjected to psychologists' alleged expertise, particularly after women had come to dominate the teaching profession.[57] In *Shyness*, the way in which the teacher's personality interacts with that of Anna's is critical to the teacher's ability to facilitate Anna's development of a "normal" and "happy" personality; perhaps not incidentally, the male narrator of the film gives sanction to the physical education teacher's efforts. Despite its having originated during the earlier decades of the twentieth century, the mental hygiene discourse regarding teachers' and schools' responsibility for children's personality development and by extension their mental health remains manifest in the film *Shyness* produced in 1953. My analysis of *Shyness*, in this respect, would appear compatible with Low's argument that the NFB, through its portrayals of children (1946-

[56] Symonds, *Mental Hygiene of the School Child*, 241.

[57] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*.

1967), functioned to rejuvenate the mental hygiene movement and its notions regarding the institutions of family and school for post-World War II Canadian citizens.[58]

The Mental Hygiene Movement:

Late-twentieth to Twenty-first Century Reinvention

Whereas Low describes a "rejuvenation" of the mental hygiene movement beginning in the mid-twentieth century, author Megan Boler articulates a "reinvention" of the mental hygiene movement beginning in the late-twentieth century. She delineates a shift in focus from mental to emotional hygiene. Boler argues that emotional intelligence (EI) is scientifically and popularly conceptualized as focusing on "self-control (delayed gratification), identifications of emotion in oneself and others, and managing other's emotions effectively."[59]

Boler underscores the similarities between emotional quotient (EQ) and the history of intelligence quotient (IQ) testing; she characterizes EQ as "a neoliberal variation of genetic discourses regarding intelligence."[60] Author Daniel Goleman has been credited with popularizing the concept of EI, particularly through the publication of his 1995 bestselling book, *Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ*. Goleman has argued that the concept of EI serves to broaden people's perspective on intelligence. He attributes this in part to the perceived malleability of EI, particularly in contrast to the genetic determinism historically associated with IQ; for Goleman, this distinction is the reason as to why EI can matter more than IQ. Boler writes, "The reader

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[58] Low, "'The New Generation,'" 541-542.

[59] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 62.

[60] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 64-65.

may think that Goleman is challenging the ideology of innate intelligence," but "he is not challenging genetic theories of innate intelligence quotient;" rather, "Emotional skills enable us to maximize the 'intellectual potential' we have won in the 'genetic lottery.'"[61] In other words, Boler argues that Goleman's acceptance of EQ is markedly distinguishable from a repudiation of genetic-based theories of IQ. Goleman has asserted that "all else being equal" (in terms of IQ), EQ can function as the ultimate selection criterion (e.g., among job candidates). Hence, EI is poised as marketable and subject to intervention, as it is perceived as both malleable and valuable.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, proponents of the mental hygiene movement sought to establish a science of mental health – whether somatic, psychogenic, or both – that could be applied to social life. Whether operating under a eugenics or environmental-based paradigm, this alleged science of mental health was invoked to satisfy various socio-political agendas (e.g., immigration control and personality development). Boler argues that Goleman and others privilege a neurobiological epistemology of emotions. Not unlike the relationship between an alleged science of mental health and its various applications to social life during the mental hygiene movement, Boler contemplates how an alleged science of emotions – regardless of its "authenticity" – may be invoked to further various agendas of social control.

One of Boler's aims is to question the extent to which EI "signals a parallel to standardized testing of IQ."[62] (Boler's comparison of EQ to IQ also raises questions regarding measurability – a topic to which I later return). This perhaps sheds light on her

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[61] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 65.

[62] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 64.

emphasizing Goleman's non-repudiation of genetic-based theories of intelligence and his location of explanations of emotions in neurobiology. However, even if one were to accept Goleman's argument that the concept of EI functions to broaden definitions of intelligence because of its perceived malleability in contrast to the genetic determinism historically associated with IQ, it bears remembering that both eugenics and environmental-based paradigms of mental health were invoked toward various ends of social control during the mental hygiene movement.

Though not exclusively, Boler connects IQ and EQ through drawing attention to the un-severed genetic-based theories of intelligence umbilical cord between the two. However, non-genetic-based parallels are essential to reflecting on the relationship between mental and emotional hygiene. For example, during the mental hygiene movement of the mid-twentieth century, it was precisely the conception of personality as malleable that enabled it subject to prevention and intervention through the home and school. Similarly, the perceived malleability of EI positions it as subject to prevention and intervention in the home and school; these same qualities transform EI into a marketable commodity.[63] There are other parallels.

For example, mental hygienists relied on compulsory education regulations to further their preventive mental health or "healthy" personality agenda. Relatedly, Boler points to compulsory educational curricula in emotional literacy, which she describes as "behavioral modification programs that employ sociabiological [sic] discourses to authorize which emotional behaviors constitute the good citizen" (e.g., optimism and

[63] For a detailed discussion on "emotional skills" in relation to capitalism, see Boler, *Feeling Power*, 58-78.

empathy).[64] As discussed earlier in this chapter, historians have documented the apparent transformation of schools into guardians of children's personality development, as it occurred in the mental hygiene movement of the mid-twentieth century. Boler points to the "increasingly overlapping ground of the private, internal space of emotions and the public workplace or school;" she writes, "No longer is the private space of family the only site expected to deal with emotion and its training."[65] One question that warrants consideration is how late twentieth to twenty-first century schools are (or are not) conceived of as guardians of children's emotional development or training. Another question that warrants consideration is how concepts of freedom and governance can be compared (or contrasted) between the mid-twentieth century mental hygiene movement and contemporary schools – an issue I address elsewhere.

Conclusion

I began this chapter with an historical examination of how changes in late nineteenth to twentieth century conceptualizations of mental health interacted with parenting and schooling over the course of the mental hygiene movement. Following an introductory discussion regarding mental health in the late nineteenth century, I examined the relationship between eugenics and environmental-based approaches to mental health and social and educational reform throughout the mental hygiene movement. I demonstrated how the primary focus and locus of children's mental health and hygiene changed across the mental hygiene movement and somatic and psychogenic-based paradigms of mental health. I delineated a shift in emphasis from

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[64] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 63, 76.

[65] Boler, *Feeling Power*, 69.

mental illness to mental wellness at the individual and societal level from the late nineteenth to twentieth century and concluded this chapter with an examination of the parallels between the concepts of personality and EI.

CHAPTER THREE

NOW I KNOW MY EQCS: AN EMPATHETIC-BASED APPROACH TO PARENTING

Introduction

Changes in childrearing advice spanning the twentieth century evince a familiar pattern, shifting in primary focus from “illness” to “wellness;” “abnormalities” to “normalities;” and “ameliorative” to “preventive” care.[1] In this chapter, I argue that the bestselling parenting literature of the early twenty-first century sustains this trend toward wellness, foregrounding emotional well-being. However, individual or group emotional wellness, in and of itself, is not positioned as the ultimate goal. Rather, independent and interdependent emotional wellness is depicted as essential to achieving empathetic competency. The ideal person is cast as emotionally-well *and* empathetically-competent, and empathetic-based parenting is presented as a critical pathway to the realization of this ideal.

The following discussion is based on my examination of a selection of bestselling parenting books from 2000 through 2011 as well as bestsellers generally categorized as business self help books but marketed as applicable to parenting.[2] I argue that this corpus of literature champions an empathetic-based approach to parenting that is cast as “developmentally appropriate;” distinguishes between “simple” and “complex”

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[1] For a detailed discussion regarding this historical shift, particularly as it pertains to mental health, refer to chapter two. For a detailed discussion regarding changes in childrearing advice over the course of the twentieth century, see Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, parents, and a century of advice about children* (New York: Vintage, 2003).

[2] For a detailed discussion regarding my selection criteria, refer to chapter one.

empathetic competencies; and positions mastery of empathetic competencies as the gateway to (personal, academic, and professional) "success." It also entails particular (gendered) behavioral prescriptions for children *and* their parents and endeavors to balance the extremes of authoritarian and permissive parenting.[3] I close this chapter with an examination of fear as an example of how parents regulate emotions to cultivate "success" in their children and the gendering of emotions.

Empathetic Competency as a Multidimensional Concept

The purpose of this section is to familiarize the reader with some ways of conceptualizing and discussing emotional competency and related concepts. My intention is to establish a shared lexicon with the reader that I refer back to throughout the chapter. It is not my intention to suggest that these definitions are exhaustive or the

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[3] The quest for achieving a balance between authoritarian and permissive parenting is not new. The push-and-pull relationship between parent-centered and child-centered parenting is well documented in Ann Hulbert's *Raising America* – an historical examination of twentieth century childrearing advice (Hulbert, *Raising America*). Hulbert contends that solutions to the "child problem" proposed during the nineteenth century became increasingly regarded as unsatisfactory at the turn of the century; the twentieth century marked "a new quest for the [discovery of] the child" and "how best to fulfill youthful potential, redefine parental power, and assure social progress"(Hulbert, *Raising America*, 26). Reacting to nineteenth-century notions of sentimentalism and responding to a general public's plea for science to reconcile apparent inconsistencies across childrearing advice, individuals endeavored to "professionalize" and "scientize" the "child problem" of the twentieth century. "Professionalizing" or "scientizing" the "child problem" promised but failed to deliver childrearing advice un-plagued by ambiguity and subjectivity, as the alleged scientifically-based childrearing advice that emerged was itself writhe with contradiction. As Hulbert writes, the "new authority figure" of "the child-rearing expert… did not present a single image of enlightened parenthood but… two basic models" (Hulbert, *Raising America*, 37): parent-centered and child-centered, authoritarian and permissive, "hard" and "soft." Historically, the relationship between the two models can be characterized as complementary and adversarial, marked by ambiguity and polarity. Hulbert argues that toward the end of the twentieth century both parent-centered and child-centered parenting camps claimed to espouse an authoritative approach to parenting that balanced the extremes of authoritarian and permissive parenting – each having received varying support and criticism over the course of the twentieth century. Where appropriate, I examine how the quest for authoritative parenting continues into the twenty-first century, as narrated through an empathetic-based approach to parenting more generally and a prescribed modulation of empathetic competencies in particular.

only or best way to conceptualize or discuss emotional competency and related concepts. Drawing upon this shared lexicon, I later demonstrate how notions of emotional wellness and a diverse spectrum of perceived empathetic competencies have manifested in the early twenty-first century bestselling parenting literature that I examined, fashioning a particular empathetic-based approach to parenting.

The "nature versus nurture" argument is historic among parenting debates; in this context, the debate centers on the question of the degree of biological versus social influence on child development and potential.[4] In terms of emotional wellness and empathetic competency, I argue that emotional contagion and emotional intelligence (EI) can be conceived of as correlates of nature and nurture. In the secondary sources on emotional wellness and empathetic competency that I examined, emotional contagion and EI were generally framed as cooperative (nature *and* nurture) rather than competitive (nature *versus* nurture).

One definition of contagion is an influence that is rapidly communicated or spread (e.g., an emotional state).[5] It is within this definitional framework that I examine the concept and phenomenon of emotional contagion. Through their studies of social networks, Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler argue that emotional contagion and, ultimately, empathy stem from humans' natural propensity to mimic and influence one another.[6] As they write, "Emotions spread from person to person because of two

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[4] Hulbert, *Raising America*.

[5] Mirriam-Webster's Online Dictionary (www.m-w.com).

[6] See Nicholas Christakis and James H. Fowler, *Connected: The Amazing Power of Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives* (London: Harper Press, 2011), for an in-depth examination of connection and emotional contagion with regard to social networks, spatiality,

features of human interaction: we are biologically hardwired to mimic others outwardly, and in mimicking their outward displays, we come to adopt their inward states."[7] Relatedly, in their writings on EI and leadership, Daniel Goleman, Richard Boyatzis, and Annie McKee argue that the human brain's limbic system – "our emotional centers" – is open loop in its design – meaning that its regulation or management "depends largely on external sources."[8] As they write, through "interpersonal limbic regulation," "our physiologies intermingle, our emotions automatically shifting into the register of the person we're with. The open-loop design of the limbic system means that other people can change our very physiology – and so our emotions."[9] Christakis and Fowler and Goleman et al. respectively elucidate a biological and (neuro)physiological dimension of emotional contagion and, ultimately, empathy.

Emotional contagion and empathy have also been characterized as having "simple" and "complex" social dimensions. Christakis and Fowler argue that (behavioral) "imitation can be either conscious or subconscious… cognitive (something we intentionally think about) and physiological (a natural biological process)."[10] Emotional contagion and connection are depicted as prerequisites to the development of EI, which

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and temporality. Christakis and Fowler argue that "one often overlooked aspect of all this sharing is that emotions spread not only to our friends but to our friends' friends and beyond – even when we are not present" (40).

[7] Christakis and Fowler, *Connected*. Christakis and Fowler argue that this form of mimicry and influence served evolutionary adaptive purposes; see Daniel Goleman, Richard E. Boyatzis, and Annie McKee, *The New Leaders: Transforming the Art of Leadership into the Science of Results* (London: Little, Brown, 2002), 6-8.

[8] Goleman et al., *The new leaders*, 6.

[9] Goleman et al., *The new leaders*, 7.

[10] Christakis and Fowler, *Connected*, 112.

is generally characterized by more "complex" empathetic competencies. "Cognizance" is essential to Goleman's conception of EI.[11] Goleman et al. specify four domains of EI: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, and relationship management.[12] Their model is premised on the rationale that prior to achieving social competence, one must achieve personal competence; personal competence is composed of self-awareness and self-management.[13] Essentially, they argue that an individual who is capable of reading and managing her or his emotions (of exercising emotional self-awareness and emotional self-control) is more equipped to read and "appropriately" respond to the emotions of others (exercise empathy) and manage relationships. Goleman et al. define EI as a learned ability in contrast to an innate talent. Defined as a learned ability, EI is presented as open to improvement, susceptible to intervention. EI's perceived malleability is pivotal to its marketability and popularization within the context of business and parenting literature.[14]

Writing with regard to the business sphere, Goleman et al. argue that EI competencies can uniquely contribute "to making leaders more resonant, and therefore more effective," "[a] fact [that] speaks to an urgent business need, one with great impact

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[11] Boler, *Feeling Power* attributes Goleman with packaging and popularizing the concept of emotional intelligence, particularly through his 1995 publication: *Emotional Intelligence: Why it Can Matter More than IQ*.

[12] Goleman et al. apply their EI competency model at the level of the individual, team, and organization.

[13] See Goleman et al., *The new leaders*, 39 (and Appendix B).

[14] Boler, *Feeling Power* discusses emotional intelligence (and emotional hygiene) as an outgrowth of the mental hygiene movement. During the mental hygiene movement, malleability came to be conceived of as a defining feature of "personality," EI's alleged predecessor. For a (historically contextualized) discussion regarding "personality," malleability, and marketability, see chapter two.

on financial results: helping leaders to lead more effectively."[15] From their perspective, EI competencies can distinguish "successful" leaders from "star" leaders (more so than technical skills or cognitive abilities alone). They contend that EI competencies become particularly important in distinguishing "good" from "outstanding" performance among people who have had to meet the same or similar technical and cognitive demands in order to attain their current positions: hence Goleman's argument as to why EI can matter more than IQ. Thus, EI can function as a leveraging mechanism or form of capital.[16] This makes it a marketable skill with broad appeal and, perhaps, contributes to the apparent popularization of an empathetic-based approach to parenting (and particularly in consideration of the historically mutually influential relationship between business and family).[17]

Babies and Toddlers and Cavemen, Oh My!

In what follows, I argue that the social and emotional acculturation of one's child is cast as essential among a parent's duties to her or his child. I demonstrate how an empathetic-based approach to parenting is construed as "developmentally appropriate," examining the relationship between emotional contagion and emotional intelligence (or "simple" and "complex" empathetic competencies) and "success" and contemplating an underlying evolution-informed logic. I elucidate how the perceived (social and biological)

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[15] Goleman et al., *The new leaders*, 38; Boler, *Feeling Power* attributes the increased focus on EI to the identification of emotions "as profitable to global capitalism" and "associated with success and corporate power" (58-59).

[16] This has important social and educational implications to be further explored in subsequent chapters.

[17] Hulbert, *Raising America*.

connections between a parent's and her or his child's emotional comportment are conceived of as pertinent to an empathetic-based approach to parenting.

In their respective parenting guides, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block* and *The Girlfriend's Guide to Toddlers*, Harvey Karp and Vicki Iovine make a tongue-in-cheek comparison between toddlers and caveman.[18] The caveman metaphor is premised on an evolution-informed logic whereby humans move from a more "primitive" to "civilized" state of being. Each argues that "civilizing" toddlers is among a parent's primary responsibilities. "Civilization" as a general goal is historically endemic to childrearing advice.[19] Particular conceptions of the "civilized" person and the focus of "civilizing" efforts appear more variable. The process of civilization, as discussed within the corpus of literature that I examined, centers on parents equipping their children with the social and emotional skills deemed necessary to survive and thrive in present-day society. Within this context, civilization is equated with one's capacity for empathetic competency, an empathetic competency that is both biologically and socially-informed and both "simple" and "complex."

"Civilization" and "Developmentally Appropriate" Empathetic-based Parenting

In concord with the majority of his colleagues, Karp argues that changes in parenting literature over time reflect a general movement away from corporeal punishment and verbal aggression – more "negative" approaches to parenting – to love

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[18] Karp's, 2008 publication is a revised and updated version of his 2004 publication: if and where appropriate, I indicate any substantial changes made to the text. *The Happiest Toddler on the Block: How to Eliminate Tantrums and Raise a Patient, Respectful, and Cooperative One-to Four-Year-Old: Revised Edition*. See also Vicki Iovine, *The Girlfriends' Guide to Toddlers: A Survival Manual to the "Terrible Twos" (and Ones and Threes) from the First Step, the First Potty and the First Word ("No") to the Last Blankie* (New York: Perigee, 1999).

[19] Hulbert, *Raising America*.

and reason – more "positive" approaches to parenting. However, he proceeds to state that "Unfortunately, while patient explanations and respectful words work well with big kids, this approach often flops when it comes to soothing stormy toddlers."[20] Karp therefore proffers a "toddler-appropriate" alternative. He argues that a toddler's "caveman-like" behavior is a reflection of her or his immature brain: "Toddlers have trouble being reasonable and rational (even on a good day) because, like early humans, their brains' language, logic, and patience control center is too immature."[21] Essentially, Karp argues that because toddlers think differently than older children and adults, they should be spoken to differently: hence the "Fast-Food Rule" (FFR) and "Toddler-ese."

The FFR is composed of two parts: "FFR Part 1: Whoever is most upset talks first; the other person listens, repeats back what they're told, and only then do they take their turn to talk" and "FFR Part 2: What you say to an upset person is not as important as the way you say it."[22] Karp argues that "big emotions" (e.g., anger or fear) interfere with an individual's ability to listen and be receptive to what another individual is saying. The logic behind the FFR is that it enables the upset individual to express her or his feelings and have those feelings acknowledged; she or he is thereby respected and understood and hence more inclined to listen and be receptive to suggestions. Successful employment of the FFR can be conceived of as a demonstration of EI. While Karp presents the FFR as an effective tool for communicating with toddlers, he argues

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[20] Harvey Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block: How to Eliminate Tantrums and Raise a Patient, Respectful and Cooperative One-to Four-Year-Old: Revised Edition* (New York: Bantam, 2008).

[21] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, xviii.

[22] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, 41.

that its applicability extends to older children, teens, as well as adults. A more explicitly "toddler-appropriate" dimension of Karp's approach to parenting results from the union of the FFR and Toddler-ese.

Indicative of the historical push and pull between permissive and authoritarian parenting, Karp argues that parents should be neither their children's buddies nor bosses but rather their ambassadors: "diplomats who skillfully build great relationships by using respectful words and setting clear limits."[23] Karp describes ambassadors as people who communicate with respect and literally or symbolically speak the native language. Through Toddler-ese, parents can speak "the language a toddler's immature brain can understand."[24] Toddler-ese is composed of "short phrases, repetition, and mirroring a bit of your child's feelings (using your tone of voice and gestures)."[25] Karp presents Toddler-ese as a developmentally-appropriate alternative to adult-style statements that rely heavily on reason and logic, appealing to the lesser developed, left side of a toddler's brain; whereas a toddler is right-brain-dominant, favoring "nonverbal" forms of communication: "tone of voice, gestures, and body language."[26]

Not unlike his perspective on adult-style statements, Karp lists empathy among the approaches he considers ineffective with regard to toddlers. Nevertheless, I would characterize Karp's approach to parenting as empathetic-based. Karp's "Toddler-ese" is

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[23] See Hulbert, *Raising America* for an in-depth historical analysis and discussion of the two approaches, particularly within the context of a twentieth-century United States; and Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, xx.

[24] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, 36.

[25] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, 67.

[26] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, 12.

essentially grounded in the same or similar biological and (neuro)physiological-based explanations of emotional contagion (and connection) discussed by Christakis and Fowler as well as Goleman, et al. For example, Toddler-ese is not unrelated to Christakis and Fowler's notion of "instinctive empathy:" "People imitate the facial expressions of others, then, as a direct result, they come to feel as others do. This is called *affective afference*, or the facial-feedback theory."[27] Karp's recommendation that parents mirror their toddlers may appear counterintuitive within the framework of emotional contagion (e.g., a parent mirroring an upset toddler). However, Karp emphasizes that parents should only mirror "*a bit* of your child's emotion."[28] Mirroring "a bit" enables a child to feel understood and respected, while the moderated intensity produces a calming effect.

While the emotional reactions of toddlers may or may not be considered demonstrative of "empathy" or "emotional intelligence" per se, Karp's childrearing philosophy requires that parents consciously utilize principles of empathy (e.g., understanding and respect) to illicit a particular response from their toddlers. Karp himself writes, "Your child can't help acting like a caveman, but you can… and must."[29] Like his contemporaries, Karp recognizes that parents have to process their emotions; however, equally, if not more important, parents need to ensure that they are cognizant and in control of their personal emotions so as not to harm their child through physical or verbal aggression. Other authors emphasize not burdening one's child with her or his

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[27] Christakis and Fowler, *Connected*, 39.

[28] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, 74.

[29] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, 30.

personal emotions and – relevant to particular perspectives on emotional contagion – not "transmitting" one's emotions to her or his child. Ostensibly, "successful" parents are portrayed as capable of exercising EI in a manner not unlike that delineated by Goleman et al.

In Tracy Hogg's parenting book, *Secrets of the Baby Whisperer*, she writes that "Baby whispering is a matter of respecting, listening, observing, and interpreting."[30] Respect is fundamental to her parenting philosophy, as she conceives of each baby as "a person who has language, feelings, and a unique personality – and, therefore, deserves respect."[31] She recommends that parents talk *with* rather than *to* their babies, having *two-way* conversations. Listening, observing, and interpreting therefore become essential parenting skills, given a baby's relatively limited communication abilities. Hogg argues that parents become role models for their children as early as infancy. As Hogg suggests, parents who communicate with their babies become role models of empathy. Unlike Karp's "Toddler-ese," Hogg's approach to parent-child (verbal) communication is based on adult-style statements and explanations – reflective of her conception of babies as people. That being said, she advocates that parents learn their baby's "language." The parental empathetic (or EI) competencies recommended by each author, however, are similar.

In both cases, in order to "successfully" communicate with their baby, parents first have to be aware of and in control of their personal emotions. Parents have to attune themselves to their baby's state-of-being and respond "appropriately" to their

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[30] Tracy Hogg, *Secrets of the baby whisperer: How to Calm, Connect, and Communicate with Your Baby* (New York: Ballantine, 2001), 2.

[31] Hogg, *Secrets of the baby whisperer*, 7.

unique needs, negotiating a critical balance between respect and control: "they have to slow *themselves* down before trying to calm their baby. Part of my job, then, is getting Mum and Dad to slow down, tune in to their baby, and – just as important – listen to their own inner voice."[32] In other words, Hogg argues that parents need to adjust their pacing to that of their baby's. Also critical of the alleged wild pendulum swings between permissive and authoritarian approaches to parenting, Hogg argues that parents need to respect their baby *and* themselves, respond to their baby's needs *and* the family's needs – to accommodate *and* acclimate their baby.[33]

Moreover, while toddlers are depicted as too "uncivilized" to (consciously) exercise empathy (or EI), early twenty-first century parenting literature underscores the importance of introducing children to and preparing them to cultivate social and emotional skills. Social and emotional learning is conceived of as fundamental to becoming "fully human." For example, Iovine writes that "empathy and sympathy are the jewels in the crown of gentility."[34] She describes toddlers as "raw and uncensored examples of our human nature" with "absolutely no veneer of civilization to make them more palatable to their fellow human beings."[35] Hence, among a parent's most pressing and challenging responsibilities is guiding her or his child into society, supporting "little

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[32] Hogg, *Secrets of the baby whisperer*, 10.

[33] Hogg, *Secrets of the baby whisperer*, 42; see also 50-51 for a discussion of the Wing It/Plan It continuum.

[34] Iovine, *The Girlfriends' Guide*, 112.

[35] Iovine, *The Girlfriends' Guide*, 2.

people [in] learn[ing] to join the community of big people" and "coexist" with their fellow toddlers.[36]

Temperament

On the whole, early twenty-first century parenting literature suggests that "effective" parent-child communication necessitates identifying one's own temperament as well as that of her or his child. The approaches discussed above are each intended to take into account temperament, harkening back to the idea of an alignment or relationship between parent and child emotional makeups. Research on *how* temperament and parenting are (directly and / or indirectly) related is ambiguous in its findings, underscoring the complexity of relations between the two.[37] Despite such ambiguity, temperament is commonly regarded as integral to the "success" or "failure" of parent-child interactions and emerges as a central topic of discussion in early twenty-first century popular parenting literature. Views of temperament have historically been grounded in physiological-based explanations.[38] Authors Samuel Putnam, Ann Sanson, and Mary Rothbart contend that such physiological-based explanations carried over to the twentieth century where adult temperament concepts were concerned.

By contrast, they argue that "early research on individual differences in children was dominated by social learning and psychoanalytic approaches" that "largely neglected ideas of temperament, focusing instead on the powerful impact of

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[36] Iovine, *The Girlfriends' Guide*, 14-15.

[37] Samuel P. Putnam, Ann V. Sanson, and Mary K. Rothbart, "Child Temperament and Parenting," *Handbook of Parenting* 1 (2002): 255-277.

[38] Putnam et al., "Child Temperament and Parenting."

experience."[39] During the 1960s, ideas regarding temperament gained ground within the context of (child) developmental theory and research. Then-pioneering research on temperament in childhood argued that any and all discussions of "appropriate" parenting necessitated the consideration of temperament and brought concepts such as "goodness-of-fit" and "difficult" and "easy" behavioral patterns to the foreground. Putnam et al. argue that "These insights led to the recognition that children differ in such qualities as responsiveness to parental socialization strategies, capacity to control their emotional reactivity, and capacity to bring pleasure or distress to their parents."[40]

Broadly defined by Karp as "how well a parent's temperament matches up with his child's,"[41] my research indicates that the concept of goodness-of-fit remains popular within the context of early twenty-first century parenting literature. One line of thought presented in the literature is that greater likeness in temperament between parent and child generally makes for more "palatable" parent-child interactions. A second line of thought presented is that temperament has a strong genetic component; temperament is generally described as hereditary and relatively stable. However, the parenting literature is careful to underscore the myriad examples of exceptions to the "rules" regarding goodness-of-fit, heritability, and stability. Moreover, the parenting literature emphasizes that temperament is not immutable – regardless of its presumed biological underpinnings – and temperament types are not inflexible or mutually exclusive. Rather, temperament types are intended to serve as guides that help parents to understand

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[39] Putnam et al., "Child Temperament and Parenting," 256.

[40] Putnam et al., "Child Temperament and Parenting," 255-256.

[41] Karp, *The Happiest Toddler on the Block*, 33.

their child's (unique) temperament and thereby how best to tailor their parenting strategy to that particular child.

This relates to a broader attribute of empathetic-based parenting: an approach to parenting that focuses on recognizing, respecting, and understanding the uniqueness of each child (while balancing the extremes of permissive and authoritarian parenting) – a kind of demonstrative empathy. Using temperament to inform one's approach to parenting requires that parents employ emotional intelligence competencies. Coupled with "tangible" empathy, parents need to be cognizant of and capable of managing their individual temperaments, recognizing and reflecting upon how their temperaments interact with that of their child's (and the implications this may hold for choice among parenting strategies).

Although each person's temperament is unique, particular (groupings of) characteristics have been used to define various temperament types. From its inception, research on temperament in childhood has called attention to two particular temperament types: "difficult" and "easy." Such research has received several critiques, two of which are as follows: 1) inconsistency among measures of constructs and 2) value-laden connotations with minimal, if any, regard to context.[42] Several temperament types have been described in the parenting literature – two of which might broadly be characterized as "easy" and "challenging." Despite the potential "positive" or "negative" connotations of "easy" and "challenging," one of the positions adopted within the parenting literature is that temperament types are not (necessarily) intended to project any particular (negative) value-laden connotations. Indeed, the parenting literature aims

[42] Putnam et al., "Child Temperament and Parenting."

to elucidate the potential advantages of all temperament types; and, again, the primary purpose of temperament type identification is presented as assisting parents in determining the "best" parenting strategy for each individual child.

Fear

In the corpus of parenting and business literature that I examined (and relevant secondary sources), fear consistently emerged as a central topic of discussion. I now turn to an examination of fear and parenting. I elucidate how the longstanding debate regarding the "appropriate" (or "inappropriate") usage of fear in childrearing has been represented by the bestselling parenting literature of the early twenty-first century. Fear, as a social construct, is neither intrinsically "positive" nor "negative" but culturally defined.[43] In that which follows, I begin by providing a brief overview of changes in the emotionology of fear with regard to parenting, as they occurred in the United States from the nineteenth to mid-twentieth century.[44] I transition to an analysis of "fear-as-

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[43] Peter N. Stearns and Timothy Haggerty, "The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850-1950," *The American Historical Review* 96, no. 1 (1991): 63-94. Boler, *Feeling Power* writes, "A study of emotions requires acute attention to differences in culture, social class, race, and gender. The dominant culture applies inconsistent norms and rules to different communities; likewise, each culture reflects their own internal norms and values with respect to emotional rules and expression, and variable modes of resistance to the dominant cultural values" (xiii); however, Boler argues that men and women have recognized "similar patterns of gendered rules of emotion" across cultural (and ethnic) contexts (xiii). See also Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (California: Shoemaker and Hoard, 2005).

[44] Short of being ensnared in a web of semantics, Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology" make a useful distinction between emotion and emotionology or "the emotional experiences of individuals and groups" and "the collective emotional standards of a society" (813). For an in-depth discussion on historical scholarship and the study of emotionology, see Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 813-836. For a discussion on emotionology and fear, see Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*, 73-76. Despite the conceptual utility of this distinction, other historians have underscored the indivisibility of the two or the interactive and mutually influential relationships between the physiological and the social, the

construct," particularly as it pertains to late twentieth to early twenty-first century popular parenting and business literature. Authors Peter Stearns and Timothy Haggerty articulate the following three facets of "fear-as-construct" with regard to parenting: 1) "ways in which fear could be used in dealing with children;" 2) "responses to fears children themselves expressed;" and 3) "the kinds of reactions to fear that children were supposed to learn in order to become successful adults."[45] My discussion primarily focuses on the first and third of these facets.

I argue that the popular parenting and business literature of the early twenty-first century is largely consistent with a broader historical shift toward the categorization of fear as a more "negative" than "positive" emotion, an emotion in peril of yielding more "harm" than "good." In my research, I have observed several recurring themes regarding fear and parenting that appear to span centuries of childrearing advice, such as: fear and discipline; fear and management; and fear and the "ideal," "successful" person. Where appropriate, I call attention to such issues and discuss how they have remained similar and / or how they have changed over time. Lastly, I discuss the gendering of emotions more broadly, examining fear and gender in particular. (Throughout this

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individual and the collective, the subjective and the societal norm. See Lutz and Abu-Lughod, 1990 for a discussion on discourses on emotion/emotional discourses and social (and power) relations. Although Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," acknowledge both the physiological and social dimensions of fear, they focus their analysis on fear as a cultural construct. See also Boler, *Feeling Power*. Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History,* examines fear as a social construct; however, she also emphasizes the importance of "the body" with regard to fear and the interaction between the physiological and the social, the individual and the society, and their mutual influence on one another: see, for example, 7-8, 289-290, 353-356. Bourke states that – for emotionologists – "the central focus is in the cultural rules determining the display of fear;" however, she writes, "the Stearns admitted that 'in the long run, emotionology, by shaping articulate experience, does influence actual emotional experience'" (75).

[45] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 64.

portion of my chapter I endeavor to consider fear in relation to empathetic-based parenting more generally).

Fear and Parenting: Then and Now

Arguably, fear has never been nor will it ever be bereft of its ambiguous nature, as a force with both "positive" and "negative" potential. The perceived advantages and disadvantages of fear have and will continue to vary by context and sub-context. That being said, historians have argued that particular uses of fear with regard to parenting have gradually transitioned from being regarded as appropriate and helpful to inappropriate and harmful.[46]

Through their historical analysis of parenting manuals and children's literature, Stearns and Haggerty examine changes in middle-class Americans' conceptions of the emotionology of fear from the second half of the nineteenth to mid-twentieth century.[47] Stearns and Haggerty write, "Excessive fear in children and deliberate efforts by parents to instill fear were deeply condemned throughout the modern era" and particularly where matters of discipline were concerned.[48] The costs of fear were perceived to outweigh the benefits of obedience.[49] By mid-twentieth century, the "ideal time for training children to control their own fears" had transitioned from childhood and adolescence to early childhood; hence, parents became the primary agents in the

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[46] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear." See also Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*; however, in her concluding chapter, Bourke discusses several potential benefits of fear; see, for example, 389-391. With regard to parenting, Bourke writes, "Obviously parents are acting correctly when they evoke fears in their children: crossing roads, playing with fire and touching electrical sockets are rightly taught to be scary" (389).

[47] Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology."

[48] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 63.

[49] Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*.

management of children's fears and their emotions more generally.[50] As parents replaced servants as their children's primary caregivers, parents were increasingly held responsible for the emotional well-being of their children; parents' – and particularly mothers' – behavior was increasingly scrutinized, as self-management of one's emotions became intricately linked with a child's emotional well-being.[51]

Whereas previously fear was conceived of as integral to character building, minimization or avoidance of fear and fearful encounters gained priority over the objective of mastery. Indeed, fear could represent a challenge to "good" character and harbinger of inaction and "ineffective" behavior – attributes that threatened "success." When fear was imminent, parents were responsible for providing their children with "assurances of love and support."[52] Yet, recognizing the inevitability of fearful encounters, staged encounters with fear were considered useful in preparing children – future adults – to "successfully" cope with fear.[53]

During the early interwar years, protecting children from fear gained preference over encouraging children to confront fear. Emphasis on a shelter-based approach to

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[50] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 63.

[51] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear"; Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*, argues that a shift in childcare responsibility began in the 1920s; prior to this shift, from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, servants were blamed for children's fears and discouraged from using physical or verbal threats that could result in "paralyzed obedience" (87). In their respective analyses, Stearns and Haggerty and Bourke discuss the notion of "maternal impressions" (biological and social) within the context of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Bourke argues that the advent of Behaviorism (1920s) resulted in a heightened emphasis on the influence of environment on behavior; parents' behavior (and, again, particularly mothers' behavior) came under intensified observation, as fear was interpreted as a learned (or conditioned) behavior.

[52] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 64.

[53] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 64; and Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*.

childrearing and the innocence of childhood continued through the 1950s, but an alternative perspective (that had previously surfaced) began to gain traction, as the Cold War gained momentum. Child experts and parenting manuals increasingly cautioned against parenting that was *too* permissive.[54] Children who received undue emotional protection would be inhibited from effectively responding to fearful events. Anxiety over the creation of "weak" children – and particularly "weak" boys – escalated. While both fathers and mothers were held responsible for the "proper" upbringing of their children, mothers endured a particular burden: as historian Joanna Bourke writes, "Crucial to all these admonitions was [concern] about 'over-protective' mothers and their 'emasculated' sons. Mothers who 'babyied' their children were creating timid and lonely adults." Yet, equally unsavory, was "the insufficiently maternal mother."[55] Mothers were charged with pursuing an elusive ideal: a perfect balance or authoritative parenting.[56]

On the whole, the authors of early twenty-first century, popular parenting literature that I examined purposefully distanced themselves and their approaches to parenting from the "old" ways.[57] A key element of this distancing entails a professed movement away from fear and particularly with regard to disciplinary measures (in accordance with the shift toward a condemnation of fear as an instrument of discipline (discussed above)). Bestselling author John Gray argues that successful businesses

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[54] For a detailed discussion on the perpetually shifting perspectives regarding permissive and authoritarian approaches to parenting, particularly across a twentieth-century United States, see Hulbert, *Raising America*.

[55] Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*, 105.

[56] Hulbert, *Raising America*; and Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*.

[57] James Dobson, B*ringing up boys* (Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 2001) challenges this trend.

embrace change and adaptability, enabling them to remain competitive in the free market.[58] Similarly, he argues that "if parents want their children to be able to compete in the free world, they must prepare their children with the most effective and modern approaches to parenting."[59] From Gray's perspective, the most effective and modern approach to parenting is the positive parenting approach.[60] Positive parenting is presented as love rather than fear-based, although Gray claims to endorse neither permissive nor authoritarian parenting. Gray argues that – in the past – fear was used to control children and motivate "proper" behavior with the goal of creating obedient children. By contrast, the positive parenting approach requires that strong wills be nurtured rather than subdued in order to create confident, cooperative, and compassionate children.[61] According to Gray, fear-based parenting is ineffective in contemporary society because children "are now more sophisticated and aware. They

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[58] John Gray, *Children Are from Heaven: Positive Parenting Skills for Raising Cooperative, Confident, and Compassionate Children* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999).

[59] Gray, *Children Are from Heaven*, xxiv.

[60] This emphasis on positivity dovetails with the business creed of positivity evident in the bestselling business literature of the past decade; for example, see Blanchard, Lacinak, Tompkins, and Ballard's (2002) *Whale Done!: The Power of Positive Relationships*. The Whale Done! philosophy centers on "catching people doing things right;" this concept emerges in the popular parenting literature that I examined as well. The Whale Done! franchise has since published two books – one explicitly directed at parenting and the other at schooling: *Whale Done Parenting: How to Make Parenting a Positive Experience for You and Your Kids* (2009) and *The Whale Done! School: Transforming a School's Culture by Catching Students Doing Things Right* (2012).

[61] While unique in its own right, Gray's argument is consistent with those presented in the majority of the late twentieth to early twenty-first century bestselling parenting literature that I examined in its movement toward positivity and away from parenting approaches based on fear and negativity – though some authors do argue that "love is not enough" more than others. An apparent exception is James Dobson's (2001) book *Bringing Up Boys* in which he seems to reprise some of the "older" ways of parenting – for example, consenting to a form of punishment (verbal or physical) "within reason." Dobson's writings generally provide interesting counter examples to the popular parenting literature that I examined).

recognize what is unfair and abusive and will not tolerate it. They will resent and rebel."[62] He describes today's children as more capable and sensitive than generations past and argues that they possess – if properly nurtured – an innate ability to judge right from wrong and desire to please and cooperate with their parents. Gray's portrayal of children as (increasingly) sensitive beings is not new, nor is his argument regarding rebellion.[63] A more compelling change is perhaps the emphasis on creating a cooperative over an obedient child. The Puritans provide a poignant comparison.

Early Puritan anxieties centered on the creation of a Godly society, survival of the Puritan culture, and religious salvation; these anxieties shaped Puritan understandings of the role of fear with respect to parenting.[64] In contrast with romanticized conceptions of childhood, Puritans conceived of children as adults in training. They believed that children were born with original sin, making the development of an awareness of sin within their children an essential parental responsibility. Parents who failed to instill the *fear of God* within their children did them a grave disservice and jeopardized their salvation. However, as historian Steven Mintz argues, "it would be a mistake to misrepresent the Puritans as unusually harsh or controlling parents, who lacked an awareness of children's special nature."[65] Puritans generally navigated away from harsh corporeal punishment, which they feared would engender resentment and rebellion among their children. Puritan communities encouraged parents to avoid punishing their

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[62] Gray, *Children Are from Heaven*, xxvii.

[63] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear"; and Mintz, *Huck's Raft*.

[64] For a discussion on the distinction between fear and anxiety, see Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*, 189-192.

[65] Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 10.

children from a place of anger and to provide their children with explanations as to the rationale behind a given punishment.[66] "Irrational" employment of both physical and verbal-based punishments was discouraged, and parents were instructed to "adapt correction to the child's age, temperament, understanding, and to the nature of the infraction."[67] Of course, not all parents adhered to these prescriptions, but this is essentially consistent across time and space – theory and practice are not one in the same. Indeed, the recurrence of messages championing the minimization or negation of punishment-based parenting may be indicative of the persistence of such practices.[68]

My point is not to suggest that seventeenth century and twenty-first century (United States) parenting advice is the same or even remarkably similar but rather to emphasize that the difference between the two has perhaps been overdrawn, whitewashing the complexities of the interactions between theory and practice and the ever-present push and pull between permissive and authoritarian parenting approaches. As authors Peter and Carol Stearns suggest, changes in emotionology over time are perhaps of a more subtle nature than initially conceived – although the "jury on emotional change… is still out."[69]

Essential to consider is the context within which emotionological change occurs. Consider, for example, the relationships among parenting, fear, and mortality. If one

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[66] Based on my findings, contemporary popular parenting literature would appear conflicted on this point in terms of the quality and quantity of explanations with which children should (or should not) be provided.

[67] Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 19; such "adaptation" is not unrelated to that previously discussed in this chapter in relation to present-day popular parenting literature.

[68] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear"; and Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*.

[69] Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology," 830.

contrasts Puritan society with contemporary society, one observes a distinct change with regard to how parents acquaint their children with the subject of death. High mortality rates were a reality of Puritan life; this, coupled with Puritan (religious-based) ideology required that children be familiarized with death (and the path to salvation) at a young age. The issue of how to "appropriately" familiarize children with the subject of death was debated throughout the twentieth century. Children were increasingly distanced from the realities of death on the basis of such factors as improved standards of living (which contributed to a reduction in mortality rates) and the secularization of society, which mitigated the *fear of God*. (Prior to the alleged secularization of society, there was a movement toward the view of a more benevolent God, which as well served to mitigate fear).[70]

The uncertainty characteristic of Puritan life perhaps influenced the importance Puritans placed on creating an obedient child. As Mintz writes, "Stoically accepting accidents as a fact of life, parents instead stressed safety through obedience and assumed that a child's well-being was best served by teaching a child the skills and rules necessary to function in the adult world."[71] Arguably, the emphasis that childrearing advice formerly placed on obedience has shifted to cooperation (or the interpersonal) with emotional well-being and empathetic competency the "skills and rules" conceived of as necessary to function in the adult world of the twenty-first century. In both the bestselling parenting and business literature that I examined, the "successful" negotiation of fear and risk was communicated as one of the keys to

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[70] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear"; Mintz, *Huck's Raft*; and Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*.

[71] Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 17.

"successful" adulthood. Before examining this negotiation, I briefly consider conceptualizations of risk in the late twentieth to early twenty-first century.

Author Nikolas Rose has argued that fulltime and lifelong employment used to constitute the "regulative ideal." Under this ideal, "*security* against risk was socialized."[72] By contrast, "perpetual insecurity" has become "the normal form of labour;" work has become a "vulnerable zone," and "the space of work can no longer be regarded as an automatic mechanism for the promotion of security."[73] Security against risk has become individualized. Individuals can no longer confidently entrust their security to the socialized benefit culture once associated with fulltime work and wages.

With the dissolution of this collectivized security, individuals become primarily responsible "for the management of their own securities [and risks] and that of their families."[74] As Rose writes, "Hence all individuals, not just the well-off, would benefit if they took *upon themselves* the responsibility for their own security [and risk] and that of their families."[75] Individuals desire to protect and maximize their lifestyle and that of their families; individuals become increasingly responsible for executing this duty in the presence of a declining socialized security.

One means by which individuals may achieve this desired security is through risk management or "the identification, assessment, elimination, or reduction of the

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[72] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 158.

[73] Rose, *Powers of freedom*, 158.

[74] Rose, *Powers of freedom*, 159.

[75] Rose, *Powers of freedom*, 159.

possibility of incurring misfortune or loss."[76] Rose argues that individuals live in a society of "uncertainty, plurality, and anxiety" and "a relentless imperative of risk."[77] In response to this relentless imperative of risk, individuals are called upon to be perpetually ready to respond to any given challenge at any given time. Preemptive action becomes the ideal and complacency the death knell of productivity, optimization, and security. Risk reduction is the threshold of security; beyond reduction is capitalization.

Fear and Risk

As previously argued, the contemporary bestselling parenting and business literature that I examined appears to support the general pattern of transition from the interpretation of fear as appropriate and helpful to inappropriate and harmful. An apparent second continuity is that if fear minimization and / or avoidance are not possible, the "proper" management or processing of fear becomes essential. Fear generally continues to be characterized as a negative emotion; and, as such, it has to be released or purged. The acknowledgement that staged fear can be used to prepare children for their inevitable encounters with fear – enabling them to become "successful" adults – persists as well; this notwithstanding, fear continues to be primarily conceived of with regard to its potential for diminishing one's capacity or limiting her or his potential. Over time, fear has been variously characterized as "advantageous" or "disadvantageous" to success in the business realm. With regard to the corpus of parenting and business literature that I examined, I argue that the perceived

[76] Rose, *Powers of freedom*, 261.

[77] Rose, *Powers of freedom*, 160.

disadvantages of fear cannot be separated from its perceived relationship to risk (and reward).

In popular parenting and business literature, fear is presented as a probable impediment to risk-taking, and risk (though not recklessness) is conceived of as necessary to the achievement of "success" in a so-called ever-changing world. Fear that hinders "productive risk-taking" can be conceived of as a form of "emotional baggage." Hence, the perceived need for fear awareness and management – awareness and management having been previously articulated as crucial dimensions of empathetic competency more generally. Spencer Johnson's bestselling book *Who Moved My Cheese* exemplifies this particular relationship between fear and risk.[78]

The story features four imaginary characters: Sniff, Scurry, Hem, and Haw who represent the "simple" and "complex" – the so-called universal – parts of ourselves. Sniff and Scurry are the mice, and Hem and Haw are the Littlepeople. Sniff, "sniffs out change early," and Scurry "scurries into action." Hem "denies and resists change as he fears it will lead to something worse," and Haw "learns to adapt in time when he sees changing can lead to something better." The cheese is a metaphor for "what we want to have in life" or that which we consider essential to our happiness, and the Maze "represents where you spend time looking for what you want."[79]

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[78] Spencer Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?: An Amazing Way to Deal with Change in Your Work and in Your Life* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1998). Not unlike *Whale Done!*, the Who Moved My Cheese franchise spurred the creation of two spin-off publications tailored to a young readership: *Who Moved My Cheese for Teens* (2002) and *Who Moved My Cheese for Kids* (2003).

[79] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 14.

The story emphasizes the importance of adaptability and flexibility in the face of change; such qualities are presented as necessary for survival and in order to remain competitive. Central to the story is a "release of negative energy" and movement away from fear.[80] Johnson establishes a connection between fear and change. Although change itself may precipitate fear, Johnson presents change in a positive light, while acknowledging that "not all change is good or even necessary. But in a world that is constantly changing, it is to our advantage to learn how to adapt and enjoy something better."[81] In the "Cheese story," fear prevents the characters from successfully facing – or risking – change and benefitting from it; the "truly successful" are able not only to face change but anticipate, monitor, and adapt to it.

Johnson argues that – in the face of change – "simple" is best; "complex brains and human emotions" occasion unnecessary complications; hence, the mice's triumph over the Littlepeople.[82] Upon having found their Cheese in Cheese Station C, the Littlepeople "hung up their jogging suits, put away their running shoes, and put on their slippers."[83] Conversely, their mice counterparts "took off their running shoes, tied them together and hung them around their necks – so they could get to them quickly whenever they needed them again."[84] The Littlepeople developed a routine that underscored their sense of comfort in having found their Cheese; this had enabled them

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[80] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 17.

[81] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 18.

[82] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 18; the alleged costs and benefits of emotions will be further discussed in the following section (and particularly with regard to gender).

[83] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 29.

[84] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 28.

to feel happy, successful, and secure. Hem and Haw's complacency prevented them from noticing what at first began as small changes until one day all of the cheese in Cheese Station C had disappeared. Sniff and Scurry, on the other hand, were prepared for the change and immediately went in search of New Cheese. Overcomplicating the situation and fearing the uncertainty of the Maze, Hem and Haw were at a stalemate. Haw finds redemption, learning "that you are rewarded… when you go past your fear and enjoy the adventure."[85] Johnson gives but a nod to the necessity of fear, as he writes, "some fear should be respected, as it can keep you out of real danger. But he realized most of his fears were irrational and had kept him from changing when he needed to."[86]

Earlier in this chapter, I introduced Stearns and Haggerty's third facet of "fear-as-construct" with regard to parenting: "the kinds of reactions to fear that children were supposed to learn in order to become successful adults."[87] What does the Cheese story teach about fear? Fear (or complacency) leading to inaction threatens one's survival and betterment. What does the Cheese story teach about change? Change is continual and requires constant (self) monitoring and adjustment; change rewards adaptability, flexibility, and adventurous spirit; and anticipating and preemptively responding to change is ideal. Change can lead to betterment and should be embraced. The "lessons learned" from the Cheese story strongly parallel Rose's conceptualization of risk in the late twentieth century. In a society defined by unceasing uncertainty, individuals are

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[85] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 72.

[86] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*, 72.

[87] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 64.

called upon to be perpetually ready to respond to any given challenge at any given time. Preemptive action becomes the ideal and complacency the death knell of productivity, optimization, and security. Risk reduction is the threshold of security; beyond reduction is capitalization. In other words, do not hang up your jogging suit; do not exchange your running shoes for slippers.

In the Cheese story, Sniff, Scurry, Hem, and Haw are all males; perhaps cognizant of this – prior to the telling of the story – the author writes that the four imaginary characters "are intended to represent the simple and the complex parts of ourselves, regardless of our age, gender, race, or nationality."[88] (Incidentally, the Who Moved My Cheese franchise developed two spin-off publications tailored to a young readership: *Who Moved My Cheese for Teens* (2002) and *Who Moved My Cheese for Kids* (2003)). Studies of emotions, however, as scholars such as Megan Boler argue, require "acute attention to differences in culture, social class, race, and gender."[89] This chapter does not fully meet this mandate; however, I use the remainder of this chapter to examine gender and emotion more broadly and, more specifically, gender and fear.

Gendered Emotions

Catherine Lutz characterizes emotion as an organizing category; she argues that "One important aspect of that category is its association with the female, so that qualities that define the emotional also define women. For this reason, any discourse on

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[88] Johnson, *Who Moved My Cheese?*.

[89] Boler, *Feeling Power*, xiii.

emotion is also, at least implicitly, a discourse on gender."[90] Like Lutz, Boler examines the common pairing of emotion and women. She discusses the common bifurcation of reason and emotion (and men and women), arguing that "The boundary – the division between 'truth' and reason on the one side, and 'subjective bias' and emotion on the other – was not a neutral division."[91] Both emotion and women have traditionally been relegated to the "negative" side of this binary division. (This is not to suggest that women did not actively resist this configuration). Dorothée Sturkenboom recognizes the common association – if not equalization – of emotionalism and womanhood and the common perception that women relate differently to emotions than men.[92] However, she argues that while "the concept of the emotional woman" is a staple of Western culture, it has undergone changes throughout history, challenging any single or monolithic narrative of the alleged emotional woman.[93] Through her historical analysis of eighteenth century (Dutch) "Enlightenment weeklies," Sturkenboom problematizes the "dichotomy between female emotionalism and male rationalism" and examines potential changes in the "genderedness of emotions."[94] Sturkenboom argues that male rationalism has not always been portrayed as the antithesis to female emotionalism. Essential to this discourse on gendered emotions is recognizing that emotions are

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[90] Catherine A. Lutz, "Engendered Emotion: Gender, Power, and the Rhetoric of Emotional Control in American Discourse." *An earlier version of this chapter was presented on the panel "Emotion and Discourse" at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, Illinois, Nov 18-22, 1987* (Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1990), 69.

[91] Boler, *Feeling Power*, xv.

[92] Dorothée Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions: Changing Perceptions in Dutch Enlightenment Thought," *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 1 (2000): 55-75.

[93] Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions," 55.

[94] Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions," 56.

elemental to both women and men; what then requires examination is how emotions become gendered, how the "genderedness" of emotions changes, and the implications the gendering of emotions may have in a particular context.

With regard to emotional intelligence, for example, Boler argues that despite women's historical association with emotion, the concept of EI, as popularized by Goleman, essentially ignores gender, curbing its association with weakness and femininity. Boler, as well as other scholars, argues that when valuations of characteristics change, this can precipitate a change in the "genderedness" of those characteristics.[95] With regard to emotional intelligence – arguably conceived of as an essential skill-set to "success" and "power" in present-day society – Boler suggests that a process of "de-feminization" has begun. She argues that EI is associated with men partly in light of its appraisal of self-control; self-control, historically associated with men, is construed as elemental to the successful employment of emotional intelligence. In the absence of self-control, emotions have historically been and are presently being characterized as problematic. This is perhaps pertinent to the tension one can observe in (recent and current) bestselling parenting and business literature between a heightened emphasis on emotions as well as the cognizance and control allegedly necessary to successfully execute emotional intelligence.

Gender, Emotion, and Differentiation

Prior to the 1800s, "the male" was commonly conceived of as the sole biological sex. Under this one-sex model, females were considered inferior variants of males "in

[95] Boler, *Feeling Power*.

which human perfection had not fully developed."[96] The two-sex model, popularized circa 1800, essentially came to replace the one-sex model. Under this two-sex model, females were no longer conceptualized as variants of the male sex; rather, there were two fundamentally different sexes. Sturkenboom argues that the shift from a one-sex to a two-sex model escalated sex and gender differentiation. One salient characteristic of the two-sex model was its emphasis on "harmonious" differentiation: "Women's emotions were presented as a necessary counterpart to the autonomy and purposefulness of men's actions."[97] This "complementary" relationship was commonly conceived of as essential to familial and societal stability, facilitating the maintenance or reproduction of the existing social order.

Within the context of the one-sex model, sex and gender were conceived of as existing along a "sliding scale" based on conduct and character:

> In women this was regarded as a positive development, as their imitation of manly behavior revealed an effort to attain a higher plane and to approach more closely to the human ideal. Men who started to display feminine behavior, on the other hand, were criticized because they threatened to lose their superior masculinity and to fall to the inferior level of femininity. (Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions," 66)

The one-sex model is problematic in its own right with its characterization of women as inferior and men as superior, but Sturkenboom argues that the advent of the two-sex model led to an unprecedented gender divide between females and males. While distinct from one another, society allegedly valued women and men equally, but "two fundamentally different 'natures' predestined women merely to feel, follow, give birth

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[96] Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions," 66.

[97] Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions," 69.

and care, and men to think, lead, create and organize."[98] Hence, "the androgynous space between the sexes" was largely evaded, and the more ambiguous figures such as the "man of feeling" were increasingly rejected. Although the third-sex model gained prominence both during and following the nineteenth century, it did not necessarily eclipse the two-sex model, especially where the Western tradition of heteronormativity remained dominant.[99]

Gender Differentiation, Fear, and Parenting

With regard to their examination of parenting manuals and children's literature, Stearns and Haggerty argue that "gender became less salient" by the twentieth century.[100] However, Stearns and Haggerty's argument is particular to young children: "the reevaluation of fear was also an important feature of the general revision of gendered differentiations in emotional standards. When expert attention moved to very young children, gender distinctions mattered less than when the encounter with fear had been seen as a longer process."[101]

In certain respects, husband and wife team authors Harry and Melissa Harrison's writings would appear to support the notion of a general movement toward less salient gender distinctions in that fear is discussed relatively similarly for both girls and boys across their advice publications series.

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[98] Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions," 67.

[99] Sturkenboom, "Historicizing the Gender of Emotions"; and Brown, *Girlfighting*.

[100] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 74.

[101] Stearns and Haggerty, "The Role of Fear," 86.

Table 2. Gender in the Harrison Parenting Books

Harry Harrison (2000): Father to Son	Harry Harrison (2003): Father to Daughter	Harry and Melissa Harrison (2005): Mother to Daughter
"Teach him never to be afraid to try new things" (p. 100)	"Convince her not to be paralyzed by fear. Or fear of failure" (p. 358)	"Teach her that the last reason not to try something is the fear she may not do it well" (p. 130)
"Teach him that the only way to conquer fear is to walk through it" (p. 209)		"Teach her never to be afraid to face and deal with financial fears" (p. 286)
"Teach him that there is nothing to fear but fear itself" (p. 305)		

Consistent with the literature on fear and parenting, fear is essentially cast as a "negative" emotion. Fear (or fear of failure) is depicted as a potential impediment to trying new things; fear can incite paralysis; one must move beyond fear. In this regard, Harrison's portrayal of the relationship between fear and risk is not unlike that of Johnson's: in their respective writings, fear is presented as a probable obstacle to "productive" risk-taking or risk resulting in "necessary" change and / or innovation.

Moreover, in particular instances, risk is explicitly encouraged. For example, Harry Harrison writes, "Teach her that great love and great achievements involve great risk."[102] The Harrison series appears to suggest that daughters may be in need of more persuasion and support to "bring them out of their shells" than sons, as a greater number of statements encouraging extrovert behavior appear directed at girls: "Early on, raise her to be adventurous."[103] Conversely, a greater number of statements

[102] Harry H. Harrison, *Father to Daughter: Life Lessons on Raising a Girl* (New York: Workman, 2003), 365.

[103] Melissa Harrison and Harry H. Harrison, *Mother to Daughter: Shared Wisdom from the Heart* (New York: Workman, 2005).

encouraging restraint appear directed at boys. For example, Harry Harrison writes, "Teach him there are times to stay between the lines. Like on highways."[104] Even a statement indicating that moderation is not always necessary appears tempered in its delivery: "Teach him that almost everything is okay in moderation. Including moderation."[105] This apparent disparity can be interpreted in various ways. One plausible interpretation is that such a disparity is motivated by gender behavioral profiling (e.g., girls are "naturally" more reserved than boys and therefore require more prodding). Such an interpretation speaks to a broader issue concerning how one's "positionality" influences how she or he is emotionally socialized (and how her or his emotional expressions are perceived and received).

For example, Lyn Mikel Brown examines the role of fear in girlhood and womanhood. She argues that girls are raised with a fear of rejection, the power of exclusion being so palpable as to will girls into supporting a limiting status quo, checking other girls (if you will) in order to secure their rank or place in a group for fear of being turned against by other girls. Brown contends that this kind of behavior is vastly different from that encouraged in boys; risk-taking and bold behavior is more likely to be encouraged and rewarded in boys.[106] Harrison's admonitions lend credence to Brown's arguments. Harry Harrison writes, "Keep in mind that little girls are not always chasing

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[104] Harry H. Harrison, *Father to Son: Life Lessons on Raising a Boy* (New York: Workman, 2000), 234.

[105] Harrison, *Father to Son*, 197.

[106] Lyn Mikel Brown, *Girlfighting: Betrayal and rejection among girls* (New York: NYU Press, 2003).

the ball. They're often running simply because everyone else is running."[107] Similarly, Melissa and Harry Harrison write, "Teach her early on not to let other girls define who she is" and "Be prepared: she will compare her clothes to other girls'. She will want to blend in, not stand out."[108] Brown's discussion is pertinent to the "mean girl" phenomenon that underscores relational aggression among women. Melissa and Harry Harrison's publication speaks to the "mean girl" concern. For example, they write, "Don't lose your marbles over mean girls and start calling moms, the principal, and the teachers. That's when your daughter quits talking to you;" and "Adolescent girls can be cruel. Be there for her when her feelings get hurt."[109] What are the social and educational implications of such gendered emotional socialization, particularly in a society where fear is not uncommonly conceived of as an obstacle to "success" and especially given fear's perceived relationship to risk taking and risk taking to "success?"

Conclusion

Based on my examination of a selection of the bestselling parenting books of 2000 through 2011 as well as bestsellers generally categorized as business self help books but marketed as applicable to parenting, I argued that in the context of an early twenty-first century United States the ideal person has been cast as emotionally-well *and* empathetically-competent. I found the parenting literature in question to endorse an empathetic-based approach to parenting positioned as a critical pathway to the realization of this ideal and, by extension, "success." My research: 1) supports previous

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[107] Harrison, *Father to Daughter*, 217.

[108] Harrison, *Mother to Daughter*, 205, 189.

[109] Harrison, *Mother to Daughter*, 216, 141.

studies demonstrating an historical shift from a focus on (mental) illness to wellness (as discussed in chapter two); 2) identifies emotional hygiene as a current locus of wellness or well-being; and 3) provides evidence of a transition from an emphasis on wellness to the "better than well." The "better than well" cultural ideal is evident in the parenting literature in various forms.

For example, the parenting and business literature that I examined designates emotional intelligence as a means for individuals to move from "good" to "outstanding." The secondary scholarship on the history of psychiatry and psychology in the United States that I discussed in chapter one was indicative of a cultural preference for the "hyperthymic" person. Author Peter D. Kramer contends that contemporary society values the "positive" qualities of the "hyperthymic" person: confidence, flexibility, quickness, and energy.[110] Similarly, author Emily Martin argues that present-day society prefers the "manic" psychological style; society distances itself from the "depressive" aspects of manic-depression, while embracing its "manic" aspects. She asserts that individuals perceive "optimization" or "psychological enhancement" as a means to continually improve upon the self. "Optimization" or "psychological enhancement" is achieved through a controlled use of emotions.[111]

In certain respects, the parenting literature that I examined epitomizes such cultural preferences. This is particularly apparent in my analysis of the relationship between fear and risk and risk and "success." Similar to the "negative" aspects of depression, fear is depicted as more harmful than helpful if it becomes an impediment

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[110] Peter D. Kramer, *Listening to Prozac* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993).

[111] Emily Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007).

to action or productivity, survival, security, and enhancement. Similar to the “positive” aspects of mania, (informed) risk taking and change are depicted as a form of capital worthy of embrace. Risk and change are perceived to reward anticipatory action, readiness, adaptability, flexibility, adventure, and optimization. “Appropriate” monitoring, regulation, and adjustment of parent-child emotions (especially fear) are conceived of as necessary to harness these qualities, particularly in a society characterized by unceasing uncertainty. The “better than well” cultural ideal is expressed as a synthesis of the “hyperthymic” or “manic” and empathetic intra / interpersonal styles.

CHAPTER FOUR

SYNTHESIS: EDUCATION'S WHITE WHALE?

Introduction

In chapter three of my dissertation, I examined two historically polarized approaches to parenting, child-centered or permissive parenting and parent-centered or authoritarian parenting and their arguably oft elusive synthesis, authoritative parenting.[1] Similar polarizations have been observed in education. For example, in the twentieth century, John Dewey endeavored to synthesize the historically polarized child-centered and curriculum-centered philosophies of education.[2] Despite Dewey's vision of an integrated philosophy of education, his arguments have commonly been misinterpreted or misapplied, inadvertently or in service of a particular social or educational agenda.[3]

In this chapter, I analyze scholarly articles (as primary sources) from two education journals as well as secondary literature regarding emotional well-being and education to examine two historically polarized purposes of education and two historically polarized pedagogical approaches: cognitive development and enhancement

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[1] See also Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century Of Advice About Children* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003).

[2] John Dewey, "The Child and the Curriculum," in *Classic and Contemporary Readings in the Philosophy of Education*, ed. Steven M. Cahn (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 1997), 274-88.

[3] Keohane, "A. S. Neill" for example examines what she interprets as a superficial resemblance between the educational philosophy of John Dewey and that of A.S. Neill, founder of Summerhill; Dewey, "Child and the Curriculum," 274. Mary Keohane, "A. S. Neill: Latter-Day Dewey?" *The Elementary School Journal* 70, no. 8 (1970): 401-410.

of well-being and cognition-centered and affect-centered.[4] I examine understandings of well-being, particularly as they pertain to education; similar to chapter three, I identify emotional hygiene as a current locus of perceived wellness and competency in education. On the basis of my research, I argue that contemporary education scholarship is suggestive of a potential synthesis of the purposes of education (cognitive development and enhancement of well-being) and pedagogical approaches (cognition-centered and affect-centered) that can be achieved through a relational pedagogy (as defined throughout the chapter).

The following discussion is based on my examination of 39 scholarly articles, 21 from the *Review of Educational Research* (*RER*) and 18 from the *Journal of Teacher Education* (*JTE*). I selected these journals on the basis of their popularity, selecting individual articles on the basis of their year of publication and content.[5] In contextualizing my discussion, I draw upon a special issue of *Research Papers in Education* (*RPE*) on emotional well-being in education policy and practice that endeavors to provide an interdisciplinary perspective. In introducing this special edition, Kathryn Ecclestone acknowledges "a deliberate bias in the papers towards perspectives from history, religious education, philosophy and sociology, which is intended to counter a policy and practice terrain dominated by behavioural psychology."[6] Ecclestone

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[4] Author Ruth Cigman, whose work I discuss, refers to this historical polarization as the "knowledge agenda" versus "enhancement agenda."

[5] For a detailed discussion regarding my selection criteria, refer to chapter one.

[6] Kathryn Ecclestone, "Emotional Well-being in Education Policy and Practice: the Need for Interdisciplinary Perspectives and a Sociological Imagination," *Research Papers in Education* 27, no. 4 (September 2012): 383-87.

qualifies this statement, contending that this special edition "does not confine itself to critical perspectives."[7]

Despite this qualification, I also draw upon literature from the field of positive psychology in contextualizing my discussion; this field was commonly used as a counter example or point of reference in this special edition and is relevant to the literature more broadly. Specifically, I examine Martin Seligman's *Authentic Happiness: Using the New Positive Psychology to Realize Your Potential for Lasting Fulfillment* and Shane Lopez and C. R. Snyder's *Oxford Handbook of Positive Psychology*.[8] Seligman has been credited as being a founder of the positive psychology movement, and the *Oxford Handbook of Positive Psychology* has been described as a seminal reference in the field of positive psychology. My particular selection of primary and secondary sources reflects my efforts to examine an eclectic mix of perspectives regarding the relationship between well-being and educational theory and practice, as articulated in contemporary teacher education and general education scholarship.

Drawing upon the secondary literature that I examined, I first delineate two broader contours of the discourse on well-being and education; specifically, I examine well-being in relation to the purposes of education and understandings of well-being in relation to education. I begin by considering the polarization and synthesis of two proposed purposes of education: cognitive development and well-being enhancement. I

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[7] Ecclestone, "Emotional Well-being in Education," 386.

[8] Martin E.P. Seligman, *Authentic happiness: Using the New Positive Psychology to Realize Your Potential for Lasting Fulfillment* (New York: Free Press, 2002); and Shane Lopez and Charles R. Snyder, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Positive Psychology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

draw upon *RPE* special edition contributor Ruth Cigman's essay in order to illustrate one means by which "knowledge" and "enhancement" have been placed in opposition to one another and one means by which a synthesis of the two might be achieved. I subsequently discuss the problem of an absence of a shared definition and understanding of well-being more generally and particularly with regard to education, as delineated in the secondary literature that I examined.

Following this introduction through secondary literature, I revisit the issue of the purposes of education, polarization, and synthesis with a focus on the cognitive-affective divide in education, as articulated in the primary sources that I examined. I argue that when considered collectively the current teacher education and general education scholarship that I examined is suggestive of a potential cognitive-affective synthesis.[9]

I subsequently examine how well-being is or has been understood in relation to education, as articulated in the primary sources that I examined. I argue that within this context well-being in education is principally conceived of as relational. I argue that the primary source literature that I examined emphasizes how a relational pedagogy can facilitate a cognitive-affective synthesis in education. I demonstrate that where contemporary education scholars have endeavored to recommend a means by which such a synthesis might be achieved, they have advocated for an education that is interactive and dynamic in nature. Of particular concern have been the relationships among teachers, students, and content in relation to social and educational outcomes.

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[9] In the context of the literature that I examined, the term "cognitive" can be used to refer to: cognitive development; cognitive processes or skills; content and subject-matter knowledge and its mastery and delivery; a technical view of teaching and learning; etc. Usage of the term "cognitive" can be context or author-specific.

The concept of relationship encompasses an individual's relationship with herself or himself as well as her or his relationships with others.[10] Critical as this may be, such interaction and dynamism needs to be examined in relation to a broader social and educational context; I introduce this issue toward the conclusion of this chapter, giving it further consideration in chapter five of my dissertation.

While the relational framework proposed by these primary sources expanded beyond the unit of teacher and student, affective teacher-student relationships were positioned as particularly critical to students' social and educational outcomes.[11] This emphasis on teacher-student relationships leads to discussions on changes in teacher education and professional development. The primary source literature that I examined identifies at least two veins of changes in teacher education and professional development that are intended to account for the purported increasing value placed on social and emotional dimensions of education – albeit not to the disregard of the cognitive realm. The first considers whether teachers should be trained in the delivery of SEL (social and emotional learning) programming in schooling – and, if so, how. The

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[10] Andrew J. Martin and Martin Dowson, "Interpersonal Relationships, Motivation, Engagement, and Achievement: Yields for Theory, Current Issues, and Educational Practice," *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 327-65. For a discussion on relationships with regard to school climate, see Amrit Thapa, Jonathan Cohen, Shawn Guffey and Ann Higgins-D'Alessandro, "A Review of School Climate Research," *Review of Educational Research* (2013): 1-29.

[11] Karen F. Osterman, "Students' Need for Belonging in the School Community," *Review of Educational* Research 70, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 323-67; Jeffrey Cornelius-White, "Learner-Centered Teacher-Student Relationships Are Effective: A Meta-Analysis," *Review of Educational Research* 77, no. 1 (March 2007): 113-43; and Debora L. Roorda, Helma M. Y. Koomen, Jantine L. Split and Frans J. Oort, "The Influence of Affective Teacher-Student Relationships on Students' School Engagement and Achievement: A Meta-Analytic Approach," *Review of Educational Research* 81, no. 4 (December 2011): 493-529.

second focuses on teachers' personal SEC (social and emotional competence) in relation to teaching and social and educational outcomes.

Purposes of Education

The secondary literature on emotional well-being and education that I reviewed problematized the following question regarding the purpose of education: is the purpose of education cognitive development *or* the enhancement of well-being? For example, Cigman, *RPE* special edition contributing author, argues that the "enhancement agenda" and the "knowledge agenda" in education have commonly been positioned in opposition to one another. More specifically, she charges that "according to enhancement thinkers" the point of education is "well-being *as opposed to* knowledge."[12] Cigman argues that from the perspective of enhancement thinkers:

> The point of schools *is* to enhance children's capacities to lead good twenty-first century lives (what children need); it is *not* to waste their time with equations, Hamlet and other useless knowledge (what schools provide). Here is the polarisation again. What should concern us primarily are the positive qualities needed for a flourishing life *as opposed to* proficiency in any subject discipline. This prompts a simple question: cannot educators have more than one concern, more than a single, all-encompassing aim? (Cigman, "Talk About Well-being," 455-456)

Conversely, Cigman contends that the knowledge agenda does not argue against "well-being as an educational aim, but well-being as an *overriding* educational aim."[13] She argues that proficiency in a discipline and well-being are intricately connected such that "Knowledge of poetry, as of the other arts, *necessarily* involves cultivation of the feelings;" "So knowledge for its own sake is not *distinct* from knowledge for well-being; rather, assuming that the first cultivates the feelings as it

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[12] Ruth Cigman, "We Need to Talk About Well-being," *Research Papers in Education* 27, no. 4 (2012): 449-62.

[13] Cigman, "Talk About Well-being," 456.

should, these are intimately, insolubly, linked."[14] Key to Cigman's assertion is the wording "as it should," raising the question of that which constitutes "successful" pedagogy. She suggests that hope for the dissolution of apparently polarized camps may be found in their agreement on "the baneful gulf between Life and Education."[15] However, Cigman proposes that the answer to this question is found in *ert* and *inert* knowledge as opposed to *enhancive* or *unenhancive* knowledge: the former the solution proposed under the knowledge agenda and the latter that proposed under the enhancement agenda.[16]

A critical takeaway from Cigman's writings is that the purposes of cognitive development and enhancement of well-being do not have to exist in opposition to one another but can be synthesized through adapting pedagogy to accommodate and emphasize both dimensions. Through my primary source analysis, I endeavor to understand how current teacher education and general education scholarship articulates and responds to this debate regarding the purposes of education. However, I first examine a second issue articulated in the secondary literature that I reviewed: the absence of a shared definition and understanding of well-being more generally and particularly with regard to education.

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[14] Cigman, "Talk About Well-being," 456.

[15] Cigman, "Talk About Well-being," 457.

[16] Cigman further contends that curricular diversity is essential for most if not all students to have opportunities to engage with subject matter capable of contributing to the enhancement of their personal well-being.

Understandings of Well-being and Education

It is perhaps implausible, and perhaps undesirable, for a common definition of well-being to be agreed upon. However, if well-being is determined to be a "legitimate" purpose of schooling, its definitions will likely influence pedagogy; curriculum development; and educational interventions, assessments, and outcomes.[17] Hence, as *RPE* special edition contributor Stephen Pett writes, "clarity about what understanding of 'well-being' is promoted in various interventions" is essential.[18] Perhaps unsurprisingly, educators have diverse conceptions as to what manner of well-being ought to constitute an educational aim. For example, some contemporary education scholars are apprehensive of the social and educational implications of that which they consider a reductionist approach to well-being. The issue of alleged reductionist versus complex understandings of well-being in relation to education is multifaceted.

One such facet is the distinction that some education scholars argue needs to be drawn between hedonic and eudaimonic well-being.[19] Positive psychology, for example, has been criticized for its alleged focus on positive emotions to the exclusion of negative emotions – a subject to which I later return.[20] Cigman wages a similar criticism against

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[17] Indeed, other scholars, such as Cigman, question "the legitimate role of schools in fostering well-being" and "the taken for granted assumption that well-being is a positive human condition, which schools can not only develop but enhance" (Eccelstone, "Emotional Well-being in Education," 386).

[18] Stephen Pett, "The Contribution of Religious Education to the Well-being of Pupils," *Research Papers in Education* 27, no. 4 (2012): 436-48.

[19] This distinction is elsewhere articulated as that between happiness and well-being or emotional well-being and well-being.

[20] For an alternative perspective, see Diane M. Hoffman, "Reflecting on Social Emotional Learning: A Critical Perspective on Trends in the United States," *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 2 (2009): 533-556: "In the SEL literature, emotional regulation is highlighted

that which she refers to as the enhancement movement. She argues that the enhancement movement seeks to promote positive emotions and to inhibit negative emotions, reducing the complexity of the human condition and understandings of well-being. Fellow *RPE* special edition contributor Beverley Clack is similarly critical of that which she perceives as science attempting to "eradicate ordinary, human suffering."[21] Cigman and Clack, among others, are essentially critical of what they perceive as the equation of well-being with positive emotions. Clack argues that well-being, and particularly emotional well-being, needs to be distinguished from what she refers to as the well-lived life. She writes, "For our purposes, the meaning of a life is not about the extent to which the individual maximises feelings of happiness [which Clack characterizes as transient], but the extent to which their life has a sense of meaning and purpose."[22] Indeed, from this perspective, the maximization of feelings of happiness may function as an obstacle to the "well-lived life," depending upon how such feelings of happiness are defined and realized.

In characterizing happiness as transient, Clack introduces another critical variable: temporality. Temporality has been used in distinguishing hedonic from eudaimonic well-being.[23] Hedonic well-being has commonly been understood in relation to pleasure and as ephemeral in nature. Conversely, eudaimonic well-being has

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as a key area of skill development, and although positive emotions are sometimes mentioned, the major concern is with the regulation of negative and disruptive emotions" (Hoffman, "Reflecting on social emotional learning," 542).

[21] Beverley Clack, "What Difference Does it Make: Philosophical Perspectives on the Nature of Well-being and the Role of Educational Practice," *Research Papers in Education* 27, no. 4 (2012): 497-512.

[22] Clack, "What Difference Does it Make," 507.

[23] Elsewhere articulated as happiness from well-being and emotional well-being from well-being.

commonly been understood in relation to flourishing and as enduring in nature. Clack writes that the well-lived life is "a lifelong project, not something that could be achieved once and for all through attaining a set of particular psychological skills."[24] Clack's juxtaposition of "a lifelong project" with "a set of particular psychological skills" is important to consider, as it relates to broader issues of understandings of well-being in relation to education.

For example, one critical concern of some contemporary education scholars is that a "reductionist" understanding of well-being, defined as hedonic, superficial, transient, and functionalist or utilitarian, will translate (or has translated) into school policies and practices that market well-being as a skill set or pre-packaged list of techniques that students can readily acquire.[25] I next examine the matter of understandings of well-being from the perspective of the secondary literature on positive psychology that I reviewed.

Positive Psychology

Seligman, a leading proponent of the positive psychology movement, writes, "For the last half century psychology has been consumed with a single topic only – mental illness."[26] Elsewhere in my dissertation, I have argued that a movement toward wellness predates the last half century.[27] However, Seligman's arguments and those of positive

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[24] Clack, "What Difference Does it Make," 503-4.

[25] Pett, "Contribution of Religious Education;" the Hoffman piece exemplifies such concerns and also raises the question of rhetoric in comparison / contrast to practice – also a subject to which I later return.

[26] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, xi.

[27] See chapters two and three of my dissertation.

psychologists more generally would appear to support my argument regarding an apparent transition toward a "better than well" cultural ideal: moving from illness to prevention and wellness to optimization and the "better than well" individual and society.[28] For example, Seligman writes, "Lying awake at night, you probably ponder, as I have, how to go from plus two to plus seven in your life, not just how to go from minus five to minus three and feel a little less miserable day by day," and "a new movement, Positive Psychology, shows how you can come to live in the upper reaches of your set range of happiness."[29] Criticisms that have been waged against positive psychology regarding its supposed exclusive focus on positive emotions and the maximization of feelings of happiness are perhaps understandable in light of this particular language.

However, some leading positive psychologists argue that positive psychology is intended to complement rather than supplant "traditional," "problem-focused" psychology.[30] Moreover, they argue that their field, grounded in science, moves beyond "just feeling better," a notion that they as well characterize as narrow and short-term. For example, Lopez and Snyder write, "Accordingly, positive psychology is not to be confused with untested self-help, footless affirmation, or secular religion, no matter how good these may make us feel. Positive psychology is neither a recycled version of the power of positive thinking nor a sequel to *The Secret*."[31] As will be discussed later, one of the supposed defining features of the "new" positive psychology movement is its

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[28] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*; Lopez and Snyder, *Oxford handbook*.

[29] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, xi-xii.

[30] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*; Lopez and Snyder, *Oxford handbook*.

[31] Lopez and Snyder, *Oxford handbook*, foreword.

"scientific-based" metrics. As will be demonstrated, the invocation of science and measurement that some positive psychologists argue validates their field is that which leads other contemporary scholars from fields outside of positive psychology to characterize positive psychology's approach to well-being as reductionist. There are also instances in which positive psychology and philosophy, for example, use the same language to articulate seemingly different understandings of well-being. The potentially ambiguous use of language is precisely the issue to which I now turn.

Seligman argues that positive psychology moves beyond the quest for hedonics or what he refers to as "the science of how we feel from moment to moment" or "happiology."[32] He writes, "A hedonist wants as many good moments and as few bad moments as possible in his life, and simple hedonic theory says that the quality of his life is just the quantity of good moments minus the quantity of bad moments."[33] Conversely, he argues that "Positive Psychology is about the meaning of those happy and unhappy moments, the tapestry they weave, and the strengths and virtues they display that make up the quality of your life."[34] Thus, although positive psychology focuses on what one might call enhancement, this particular conception of positive psychology would appear to run counter to that of the enhancement agenda, as outlined by Cigman.

Such a conception would also appear to challenge the more general argument that fields such as positive psychology have focused on positive emotions to the

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[32] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, 6.

[33] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, 6.

[34] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, 7.

exclusion of negative emotions and the maximization of feelings of happiness or just feeling better; in other words – a surface level focus on well-being that ignores the complexities of the human condition, meaning, and purpose.[35] Seligman would appear to argue in favor of a conception of well-being rooted in notions of human flourishing and pursuit of the "good life." Seligman argues that for those seeking to attain this level of well-being, there are no short cuts. Seligman's notion of no short cuts is similar to that used by some of the same education scholars who would argue that fields such as positive psychology endorse a reductionist approach to well-being that by extension reduces well-being to a skill set that can be readily attained through various educational exercises. Seligman has written that "Positive emotion alienated from the exercise of character leads to emptiness, to inauthenticity, to depression, and, as we age, to the gnawing realization that we are fidgeting until we die."[36] He argues that positive psychology does not ignore the so-called negative aspects of the human condition but rather equips individuals with a buffer against such disparaging forces.[37] Such seemingly overlapping rhetoric perhaps calls into question the possibility for synthesis rather than polarization.

However, some education scholars have answered "not necessarily" to this question, charging that the language employed in positive psychology (as well as

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[35] Leslie Huling-Austin, "What Can and Cannot Reasonably Be Expected from Teacher Induction Programs," *Journal of Teacher Education* 37, no. 2 (January-February 1986): 3-5; Cigman, "What About Well-Being"; and Clack, "What Difference Does it Make."

[36] Seligman, *Authentic Happiness*, 8.

[37] Seligman has also argued that the employment of particular emotions and strategies is in fact context dependent and requires reasoning on what is most appropriate at what particular time and place. This is more akin to the notion of empathetic competency discussed in my previous chapter.

various social and emotional learning programs) is essentially empty rhetoric. Relatedly, other education scholars have argued that despite espousing the rhetoric of human flourishing, positive psychologists have sought to measure well-being in a way that would appear inconsistent with such definitions.[38] *RPE* special edition contributor Pett has attempted to highlight the religious and philosophical underpinnings or undertones of positive psychology. Despite Seligman coming from a position of positive psychology, Pett interprets Seligman's conception of happiness as a philosophical rather than psychological view. However, this may lead one to question whether a synthesis is being proposed or whether positive psychology is to be subsumed by religion and

[38] Psychology's quest to define itself as scientific (and distinctive from philosophy) dates back to the nineteenth century. Initially, it was widely held that psychology could not be conceived of as a science. As Edward S. Reed observes, Kant "argued that the various claims about the nature of the human mind or soul are impossible to evaluate in this scientific manner," while Reed "objected to what he saw as an inadequate appreciation of the difficulties of accounting for intentional psychological states on the basis of sensory data." Edward S. Reed "The Separation of Psychology from Philosophy: Studies in the Sciences of Mind 1815-1879," in *Routledge History of Philosophy Volume VII: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. C.L. Ten (Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2005), 249. Similar debates regarding the complexity of well-being and its measurability (or lack thereof) ensued in the twentieth century and continue to ensue in the twenty-first century. In his critique of the historical amnesia that he argues pervades contemporary educationalists' writings on the "proper" role of emotions in education, *RPE* contributor Thomas Dixon states that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, science was commonly employed to separate emotions from intellect and encourage the displacement of emotions from the classroom. As he writes, "It is ironic that, as attitudes to emotion changed, gradually from the 1960s and even more markedly since the 1990s, it was to brain science, evolutionary psychology, business science, economics, social psychology and psychiatry that educators and policy-makers turned for the authority and the means to reintroduce the emotions into the classroom, those very emotions that a secularist and scientific ethos had done so much to detach from the intellect during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Dixon, "Educating the Emotions," 491). Reed argues that in the nineteenth century, "psychological theorists began increasingly to postulate unconscious processes and yet these same theorists claimed to want a psychological science that clung close to phenomena, and criticized earlier psychologists for their unfounded ontological assertions" (Reed, "Separation of Psychology from Philosophy," 268). Similarly, in the 1960s, Richard Y. Will wrote, "One possible reason for the neglect of this area [affectivity in teacher education] is its relative subjectivity in a day when objectivity of research is adulated" (Will, "Education of Teachers as Person," 471). In the twenty-first century, positive psychologists and particularly those who employ the rhetoric of human flourishing and the good life in their conceptions of well-being are being similarly critiqued by scholars for their apparent insistence on the measurement and quantification of well-being.

philosophy. Still other education scholars have problematized the potential utilitarianism or functionalism of positive psychology and various social and emotional learning programs, arguing that this runs counter to particular notions of well-being and the well-lived life. However, as I argue in the next chapter, one not only has to consider understandings of well-being in relation to educational interventions but also their relationship to the broader social and educational institutions within which they operate.

Similar concerns are articulated within the primary source education scholarship that I examined in terms of the so-called banking concept of education and prescribed educational content. “Cookie-cutter” educational interventions have been criticized for their inadequate attention to context, illusory short-cuts to well-being, utilitarianism or functionalism, and failure to require critical engagement with subject matter and understandings of the self in relation to others on behalf of students as well as teachers. Some education scholars have also observed instances in which a “complex” understanding of well-being is perhaps being endorsed in rhetoric only. Thus, it becomes essential to examine not only the rhetoric of well-being employed but also how such rhetoric is actualized in educational settings.

The Cognitive-Affective Divide in Education Scholarship

In the following paragraphs, I proceed to examine what I would characterize as a related discussion on polarization and synthesis with regard to cognition and affectivity in teacher education scholarship and general education scholarship. I begin with a brief historical introduction to the issue of the cognitive-affective divide in education scholarship. I then examine how the issue of polarization and synthesis is expressed through the primary sources that I examined in terms of cognition and affectivity in

education. The perceived relationship between cognition and affectivity is relevant to both purposes of education and understandings of well-being.

The Cognitive-Affective Divide in Twentieth Century Education Scholarship

Twentieth century education scholars have held conflicting perspectives regarding the relative weight that has been accorded to cognition and affectivity in education throughout time. Writing in the 1960s, for example, Richard Y. Will argued that cognition in teacher education has been prioritized to the neglect of affectivity, stating that the "relative weight given to either of these emphases is usually focused on the question of how students learn most effectively. The development of the individual's personal qualities is seen as an important but *incidental* by-product of these learning situations."[39] Conversely, Edwin W. McClain has argued that as early as the mid 1950s and early 1960s teacher education has increasingly recognized its responsibility to develop "teachers who are psychologically healthy persons," acknowledging that "concentration on cognitive development alone is not enough."[40] However, scholars past and present have been and continue to be united by a common question: what are the "proper" roles of cognition and affectivity in education?

For example, based on her 1980s study of preservice and inservice teachers' (pre)conceptions of teaching, Carol S. Weinstein argues that both preservice and inservice teachers' conceptions of teaching as well as their notions of that which constitutes a "good" teacher emphasize affective dimensions of teaching over cognitive

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[39] Richard Y. Will, "The Education of the Teacher as a Person," *Journal of Teacher of Education* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 471-475.

[40] Edwin W. McClain, "Personal Growth for Teachers in Training Through Self-Study," *Journal of Teacher Education* 21, no. 3 (Fall 1970): 372-377.

dimensions of teaching. Weinstein contends that this apparent understatement of the cognitive dimensions of teaching runs contrary to the perspectives of policy makers, educational theorists, and researchers. In examining the similarities and differences between preservice and inservice teachers, Weinstein has argued that while preservice teachers generally conceived "of teaching primarily in terms of positive interpersonal relationships," inservice teachers lent greater emphasis to "the importance of subject matter knowledge."[41] However, outside of this emphasis, "inservice teachers rarely referred to the academic or cognitive dimensions of teaching."[42] Therefore, Weinstein concludes:

> Attributes such as warmth, caring, and enthusiasm are obviously desirable; nonetheless, conceptions of teaching that omit cognitive concerns are incomplete and tend to diminish the importance of pedagogical and subject matter knowledge. Teacher educators must think about ways to convey the skills, understandings, and intellectual capacities necessary for effective teaching. (Weinstein, "Teacher Education Students' Preconceptions," 59)

Weinstein, not unlike other scholars, appears to appreciate the value of affectivity in teacher education. However, the specific language that she uses suggests that while affectivity in teacher education is "desirable," cognition is "necessary."

By comparison, Kevin Ryan, also writing in the 1980s, argues that the education system of the time was moving in the opposite direction of that which Weinstein outlines. Ryan makes a plea for "moral educators" to counter this alleged trend. As he writes, "Socrates believed that the role of education is to make people both intelligent and good. It is argued here that in recent years teacher education has been concerned

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[41] Carol S. Weinstein, "Teacher Education Students' Preconceptions of Teaching," *Journal of Teacher Education* 40, no. 2 (March-April 1989): 53-60.

[42] Weinstein, "Teacher Education Students' Preconceptions," 59.

with preparing teachers to deal with only one of those aims: to make people intelligent."[43]

With regard to her research on teacher induction programs, Leslie Huling-Austin – also writing in the 1980s – contends that while concern for the well-being of teachers is important, it is equally if not more important that the well-being in question is not superficial. As she writes, "A critical warning related to this goal is that it is important that new teachers be supported in ways that foster their development and improvement and not just be made to feel better regardless of their performance;" "just making teachers feel better, in and of itself, is not a sufficient contribution to justify the existence of induction programs."[44] Huling-Austin's concern regarding the notion of "just feeling better," however, is not exclusive to teacher education and teacher induction programs.

In the 1990s, Dwight Rogers and Jaci Webb argued that the development of an "ethic [of caring] should be the central activity of teacher education."[45] Similar to other scholars, these authors highlight that the then current reform efforts eschewed humanistic issues and focused on academic rigor. Teacher-student relationships or the relational facets of teaching and learning were largely neglected where teacher education reform was concerned.

Over the course of the mid to late twentieth century, one observes education scholars who would place the importance of affectivity in teacher education above that

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[43] Kevin Ryan, "Teacher Education and Moral Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 39 (September-October 1988): 18-23.

[44] Huling-Austin, "Teacher Induction Programs," 4.

[45] Dwight Rogers and Jaci Webb, "The Ethic of Caring in Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 42, no. 3 (May-June 1991): 173-181.

of cognition (and vice versa), scholars who would argue that both affectivity and cognition are (equally) important, and scholars who would argue that affectivity and cognition are necessarily inseparable from one another.

The Cognitive-Affective Divide in Twenty-first Century Education Scholarship

Contemporary scholarship on education as well problematizes the balance, if not polarization, of cognition and affectivity in education. I argue that the primary source literature that I examined demonstrates how a relational pedagogy can facilitate a cognitive-affective synthesis in education. I contemplate the constituents of a relational pedagogy, as articulated in the primary source literature that I examined.[46]

Michael Dale and Elizabeth M. Frye argue that teacher education has traditionally relied on the banking concept of education (to use Paulo Freire's words). In

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[46] For a discussion on the relationship between intercultural education and well-being, see Seonaigh MacPherson, "Teachers' Collaborative Conversations About Culture: Negotiating Decision Making in Intercultural Teaching," *Journal of Teacher Education* 61, no. 3 (2010): 271-286. MacPherson contends that the integration of higher numbers of underrepresented teachers is in and of itself an important strategy for "promoting intercultural education" "to assist all learners to realize well-being through education." However, for MacPherson, regardless of a teacher's "ethnic membership," a teacher's instructional style is critical. The intercultural teaching style, similar to the interpersonal teaching style, relies on student-teacher interactions or relationships and is dynamic in nature. MacPherson describes intercultural teaching as an integrative ability, combining "minding" decision-making (cognition) and "responding" decision-making (affectivity). She writes, "How much SEL competencies overlap with intercultural and intercultural teaching competencies is a question for further research" and "SEL theory might help explain this overlap. If learners' cultures are reflected and protected in schools, then they feel included and enjoy enhanced social and emotional well-being; in turn, research suggests that a significant relationship exists between social-emotional well-being and academic achievement, thereby implying that intercultural teaching indirectly promotes academic achievement. That said, cultural sustainability is an intrinsic good that directly affects well-being" (281-282). For a discussion on beginning teachers, multicultural competence, and classroom management, see Carol S. Weinstein, Saundra Tomlinson-Clarke, and Mary Curran, "Toward A Conception of Culturally Responsive Classroom Management," *Journal of Teacher Education* 55, no.1 (January/February 2004): 25-38. Weinstein et al. endorse CRCM or culturally responsible classroom management; one element of CRCM focuses on a commitment to build caring classroom communities. Weinstein et al. argue that teacher education reform has increasingly come to focus not only on subject matter competence and pedagogical knowledge but also on care.

the banking concept of education, the teacher deposits knowledge into the minds of her or his students. Dale and Frye argue that following this conception of teaching educational content is conceived of as fixed and certain; in essence, the teacher deposits prescribed content into the minds of her or his students. In Dale and Frye's words, "Control over the mastery of content knowledge and the 'effective delivery' of a piece of prescribed content dominate their conception of what teaching is."[47]

Moreover, they argue that the persistence of this method of teaching is partly attributable to a culture that defines vulnerability and humility as weaknesses rather than strengths. Dale and Frye clearly state that they are not promoting content ignorance among educators; however, they argue that "good" teachers conceive of themselves as lifelong learners, rather than all-knowing, infallible experts. A teacher as learner allows for "uncertainty;" she or he does not transmit prescribed content to her or his students. Rather, some allowance for "uncertainty," enables teachers to continue to learn from the content with which they engage and the students with whom they interact. This breathes life and movement rather than fixity and certitude into educational content and the educational experience.[48]

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[47]Michael Dale and Elizabeth M. Frye, "Vulnerability and Love of Learning as Necessities for Wise Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 60, no. 2 (March/April 2009): 123-130.

[48] See also A. Susan Jurow, Rita Tracy, Jacqueline S. Hotchkiss, and Ben Kirshner, ""Designing for the Future: How the Learning Sciences Can Inform the Trajectories of Preservice Teachers," *Journal of Teacher Education* 63, no. 2 (2012): 147-160. In their examination of the learning sciences and the reorganization of preservice teacher education, Jurow et al. describe the situated nature of pedagogy. They argue that teaching and learning is situated in "broad contexts" and "in moment-to-moment exchanges between and among people, as well as exchanges and interactions with physical and representational tools" (148). They "take the perspective that learning involves an in-the-moment negotiation of one's past and future" and recognize "the tension between structure and flexibility inherent in teaching" (150, 157).

Energized by their love for learning, teachers impart their passion for learning and teaching to their students, rather than dispassionately depositing prescribed content into the minds of their students. As Dale and Frye write, "When teachers view themselves as learners, there is a sense of vulnerability that their students are able to sense; they are open and more perceptive to subject(s) they are teaching and to students' needs."[49] Like Cigman, Dale and Frye raise the question of that which constitutes "successful" pedagogical theory and practice. And, while not the same, the love of learning that they promote (through a reappraisal of vulnerability and humility) is not unrelated to Cigman's call for "ert" or "lively" rather than "inert" or "moribund" forms of teaching and learning.[50]

Not unlike Dale and Frye's emphasis on the importance of teacher-student interactions in the construction of knowledge, Edward Pajak, writing with regard to clinical supervision, endorses an "ecological" approach to teaching and learning. He argues that a strictly standards-based approach to content knowledge and pedagogical skill inadequately accounts for the teacher or student as person. Pajak writes, "A major

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[49] Dale and Frye, "Vulnerability and Love of Learning," 129.

[50] Cigman, "Talk About Well-being," 458. See also Karl Hostetler, Margaret A. Macintyre Latta, and Loukia K. Sarroub, "Retrieving Meaning in Teacher Education: The Question of Being," *Journal of Teacher Education* 58, no. 3 (May/June 2007): 231-244. Hostetler et al. argue that meaningful teaching and learning is a question and project of Being. The apparent cognitive-affective divide resides in "The conflicts and entanglements teachers face between the 'technical' and their own sense of being" (237). To reconcile this perceived disparity, they recommend "adventurous teaching." Hostetler et al. argue that adventurous teaching entails: teachers not only allowing but advocating for uncertainty; abandoning uncompromising conventions; more risk-taking; relying more explicitly on students; flexibility; and dynamic responsiveness. Hostetler et al. also call attention to notions of temporality, as discussed earlier in this chapter with regard to education and well-being. Hostetler et al. recognize that such demands for flexibility and dynamism may pose a problem regarding reflexive over reflective education; hence, they underscore the importance of professional communities as a collective power that enables reflection.

limitation of standards, however, is that their emphasis on information and facts (what exists out there) can be entirely unconnected to who teachers and students are as human beings."[51] Thus, he argues for the adjoining of "the internal worlds of students and teachers" and "the external world of context."[52] Similar to Dale and Frye, Pajak argues that such a pedagogical approach starkly contrasts with a "technical view of teaching and learning as simply dissemination and accumulation of knowledge and skills."[53] Pajak alludes to a distinction between "technical" and "spiritual" dimensions of teaching and learning.

Relatedly, authors Karl Hostetler, Margaret A. Macintyre Latta, and Loukia K. Sarrooub argue that meaningful education necessitates understanding teachers as sentient beings. The cognitive-affective divide resides in "The conflicts and entanglements teachers face between the 'technical' and their own sense of being."[54] To reconcile this perceived disparity, they advocate for "adventurous teaching" (to use Cohen's words); "'adventurous teaching' includes teachers becoming advocates of uncertainty, abandoning rigid conventions, taking more risks, and depending on students more explicitly. For a host of reasons known all too well, teaching requires incredible flexibility and dynamic responsiveness."[55] Similar to Dale and Frye, Hostetler

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[51] Edward Pajak, "Clinical Supervision in a Standards-Based Environment: Opportunities and Challenges," *Journal of Teacher Education* 52, no. 3 (May/June 2001): 233-243, doi: 10.1177/0022487101052003006.

[52] Pajak, "Clinical Supervision," 240.

[53] Pajak, "Clinical Supervision," 239.

[54] Hostetler et al, "Retrieving Meaning in Teacher Education," 237.

[55] Hostetler et al, "Retrieving Meaning in Teacher Education," 237.

et al argue that “successful” pedagogy is informed by the positive qualities of uncertainty, risk-taking, vulnerability, flexibility, and dynamism.

However, within this pedagogical approach, Hostetler et al also recognize the potential for reflexive over reflective education and thus argue for the necessity of professional communities whose members generate a collective power that enables reflection. They also assert that “Meaning provides a ground to teach preservice and in-service teachers the value of treating students as individuals, of looking beyond impoverished conceptions of meaning in education to make their lives and the lives of their students more complex, complicated, and connected. This does not imply that their lives will be happier.”[56] Their position that social and educational enrichment through “Being” does not necessarily equate with increased happiness is relevant to matters of temporality and long-term versus short-term aims of education, as previously discussed. Their emphasis on complexity, complication, and connectedness is relevant to concerns regarding reductionism, as discussed earlier.

Authors Andrew J. Martin and Martin Dowson propose an integrated, relationally-based framework for examining student motivation, engagement, and achievement in educational theory and practice. In its entirety, the framework encompasses student-level action, teacher and classroom-level action, and school-level action. For the purposes of this chapter, I draw attention to Martin and Dowson’s delineation of connective instruction as an example of relational pedagogy. Three relationships compose connective instruction: the substantive relationship, the interpersonal relationship, and the instructional relationship. The three relationships respectively

[56] Hostetler et al, “Retrieving Meaning in Teacher Education,” 237.

represent "the connection between the student and the subject matter and substance of what is taught;" "the connection between the student and the teacher himself or herself;" and "the connection between the student and the instruction or teaching" or cognition; affectivity; and delivery.[57] Connective instruction is enacted and evolves through the relationships among the "what," the "who," and the "how" of teaching and learning. As such, connective instruction serves as an example of relational pedagogy and cognitive-affective synthesis – parts of the gestalt of teaching and learning.[58]

In the vein of emphasizing the importance of teacher-student affective relationships with regard to student outcomes, Martin and Dowson underscore that "the greater the connectedness on personal and emotional levels (also referred to as *relatedness* and *relational processes*) in the academic context, the greater the scope for academic motivation, engagement, and achievement."[59] Martin and Dowson describe relatedness as a self-system process. They argue that relatedness facilitates the development of intrapersonal energy. Interpersonal relationships and the activation of positive affect and mood facilitate the production of an intrapersonal energy that leads "toward motivated engagement in life activities."[60] Not unlike other education scholars, Martin and Dowson recognize positive relationships as "valued outcomes in their own

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[57] Andrew J. Martin and Martin Dowson, "Interpersonal Relationships, Motivation, Engagement, and Achievement: Yields for Theory, Current Issues, and Educational Practice," *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 327-365.

[58] See Jeffrey Cornelius-White, "Learner-Centered Teacher-Student Relationships Are Effective: A Meta-Analysis," *Review of Educational Research* 77, no.1 (March 2007): 113-143, regarding the gestalt of a positive, learner-centered teacher-student relationship.

[59] Martin and Dowson, "Interpersonal Relationships, Motivation, Engagement, and Achievement," 328.

[60] Martin and Dowson, "Interpersonal Relationships, Motivation, Engagement, and Achievement," 330.

right" but place the emphasis of their research on the role of relatedness in terms of its influence on academic motivation, engagement, and achievement.[61] Illustrative of a potential approach to a cognitive-affective synthesis, the concept of relatedness endorsed by Martin and Dowson recognizes the "interconnectedness of the social, academic, and affective dimensions."[62]

Author Richard D. Osguthorpe writes, "If there is a truism in education, it is that good teaching requires a teacher to be knowledgeable in content, skilled in method, and virtuous in disposition and character."[63] He argues that the first two "requirements" are "most often and easily connected to student learning;" they are expected of teachers.[64] However, the issue as to why we should desire teachers of "good" disposition and moral character is arguably more complex. Osguthorpe asserts that a "traditional" explanation as to why teacher preparation programs should involve cultivating teachers of "good disposition" and "moral character" is the "presumption of a relationship between the moral dispositions of teachers and the moral development of students."[65]

In contrast, he endorses an allegedly more "robust," less "controversial" rationale that transcends "any connection to the moral development of students."[66] He writes, the

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[61] Martin and Dowson, "Interpersonal Relationships, Motivation, Engagement, and Achievement," 331.

[62] Martin and Dowson, "Interpersonal Relationships, Motivation, Engagement, and Achievement," 331.

[63] Richard D. Osguthorpe, "On the Reasons We Want Teachers of Good Disposition and Moral Character," *Journal of Teacher Education* 59, no. 4 (September/October 2008): 288-299.

[64] Osguthorpe, "Teachers of Good Disposition and Moral Character," 288.

[65] Osguthorpe, "Teachers of Good Disposition and Moral Character," 288.

[66] Osguthorpe, "Teachers of Good Disposition and Moral Character," 288.

"rationale for moral character is comparable then to the reason we want teachers to be knowledgeable in content and skilled in method" – "because we want effective teaching."[67] Osguthorpe makes a perhaps subtle but notable distinction between the importance of teacher morality and character as it relates to the moral and character development of students and the importance of teacher morality and character as it relates to teaching and learning outcomes. Essentially, he argues that "good" dispositions make for "good" teaching. However, this line of argument in and of itself does not resolve questions regarding an absence of a shared understanding of "good" dispositions, "good" teaching, or how "good" dispositions may be used in teacher education and the classroom to produce "effective" teaching. Similar questions may be posed regarding social and emotional wellness and competency, particularly if they are conceived of as "requisites" for a "good" education.

Teacher Education and Professional Development

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that contemporary teacher education and general education scholarship convey the story of a historical cognitive-affective divide in education and its plausible synthesis through a relational, interactive, and dynamic pedagogy. In the following paragraphs, I examine this narrative of division and synthesis, as it pertains to teacher education and professional development. In contemporary discussions on teacher education and professional development, a recurring theme emerges – the bridging of the alleged cognitive-affective divide. As author Rudolf Van den Berg writes, "teaching and learning do not involve only

[67] Osguthorpe, "Teachers of Good Disposition and Moral Character," 296.

knowledge, cognition, and skills;" but "the emotional aspects of teaching."[68] In my research I have observed at least two veins of proposed changes in teacher education and professional development in response to the apparent increasing value placed on social and emotional dimensions of education. The first considers whether teachers should be trained in the delivery of SEL (social and emotional learning) programming in schooling – and, if so, how. The second focuses on teachers' personal SEC (social and emotional competence) in relation to teaching and social and educational outcomes.

In chapter three of my dissertation, I demonstrated that parents' personal emotional intelligence (EI) came under scrutiny when it became thought of as a valuable child attribute; the "health" of parents' EI was perceived to influence their children's (social and emotional) well-being and competence and thereby their children's social and educational "success." Similarly, contemporary education scholarship suggests that the "success" of teacher-student (affective) relationships, SEL programming, and academic achievement by proxy, may partly depend on a teacher's personal SEL skills and well-being or what others have referred to as SEC. Akin to the concept of EI, SEC teachers are said to be characterized by their high self-awareness, high social awareness, and self and other relationship management.[69] (The argument for the importance of self relationship management stems from the notion that one's relationship with one's self influences her or his relationships with others).

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[68] Rudolf Van den Berg, "Teachers' meanings regarding educational practice," *Review of educational research* 72, no. 4 (2002), 586.

[69] Patricia A. Jennings, and Mark T. Greenberg, "The Prosocial Classroom: Teacher Social and Emotional Competence in Relation to Student and Classroom Outcomes," *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 491-525.

Ostensibly, teachers' well-being in and of itself ought to be regarded as important. Arguably, such a notion is more in line with the argument of well-being for well-being's sake. Of course, this is not to suggest that the two, knowledge and enhancement, cannot or should not operate cooperatively. That being said, with regard to the literature that I examined, teacher well-being was framed as principally important in terms of its influence on teacher performance and teacher-student (affective) relationships and (in turn) students' social and (especially) educational outcomes. While some authors appeared to make the well-being unto itself argument, they ultimately adjusted their focus to teacher well-being in relation to teaching style and student outcomes. This suggests that (within this context) contemporary notions of teachers' well-being fall under a more utilitarian-based conceptualization of well-being.

The primary source literature that I examined suggests that teacher education and professional development programs are expanding to include teacher personal development, as it pertains to their profession.[70] In their discussion on the prosocial classroom model, Patricia A. Jennings and Mark T. Greenberg argue that changes in teacher education and professional development programs reflect a broadened educational agenda that encompasses both academic performance and personal development; this agenda seeks "to not only improve academic performance but also to

[70] Rudolf van den Berg, "Teachers' meanings regarding educational practice"; "Culturally Responsive Classroom Management;" Dan Liston, Jennie Whitcomb and Hilda Borko, "Too Little or Too Much: Teacher Preparation and the First Years of Teaching," *Journal of Teacher Education* 57, no. 4 (September/October 2006): 351-358; and Patricia A. Jennings and Mark T. Greenberg, "The Prosocial Classroom: Teacher Social and Emotional Competence in Relation to Student and Classroom Outcomes," *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 491-525. For a discussion on deans of education; personal and professional identity formation as relational; leadership and problem solving abilities as multidimensional (intellectual, emotional, social, and moral); and implications for professional development, see Shelley B. Wepner, Antonia D'Onofrio, and Stephen C. Wilhite, "The Leadership Dimensions of Education Deans," *Journal of Teacher Education* 59, no. 2 (March/April 2008): 153-169.

enhance students' social-emotional competence, character, health, and civic engagement."[71] I have suggested that contemporary education scholars have pointed to a relational pedagogy as a potential means by which to achieve such a synthesis. One may be inclined to accept Jennings and Greenberg's proposal for a broader, more inclusive educational agenda as evidence of this revolution. However, it is important to consider the motivations behind a desire to integrate the cognitive and affective dimensions of education. Some of the authors surveyed in this analysis make clear that their primary objective for better incorporating social and emotional competencies and well-being into education policy and practice is for the potential gains it represents in terms of academic achievement. Others state that the importance of healthy relationships and well-being are valuable in their own right but ultimately focus on how they can be used to improve academic achievement. This raises questions of reductionism and utilitarianism raised in the beginning of this chapter and the need to consider the specifics regarding how social-emotional educational interventions are implemented and to what end.

According to a recent report in Reuters, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is exploring the development of "engagement pedometers" for use in education.[72] Affectiva, Inc produces biometric bracelets that "send a small current across the skin and then measure subtle changes in electrical charges as the sympathetic nervous system responds to stimuli." Electrodermal activity research is not new; however, the

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[71]Jennings and Greenberg, "The Prosocial Classroom," 491.

[72] Stephanie Simon, "Biosensors to monitor U.S. students' attentiveness," Reuters.com, 13 June 2012, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/06/13/us-usa-education-gates-idUSBRE85C17Z20120613.

current proposal is to use biometric technology to measure student engagement based on students' emotional and sympathetic responses. Critics argue that measuring changes in students' psychological or physical arousal does not necessarily correspond to educational engagement. (One response to this is videotaping classrooms using this technology or otherwise complementing it with other observational data for context – to observe what is taking place when peak levels of engagement are registered). The supposed appeal of biosensors is their alleged 'universality, validity, reliability, and practicality.'

In the current context, such biometric devices are being marketed as tools for teachers' teaching and learning. However, in the ensuing era of measurement mania, it is perhaps not too far a stretch to imagine this technology being invoked to assess student and teacher performance, similar to research currently geared or purported to measure teaching effectiveness (based on student performance, among other considerations). This raises several issues related to questions of well-being – and particularly in relation to arguments regarding reduction and complexity. As previously argued, one of the characteristics most prized by positive psychologists is the alleged scientific grounding and measurability of their research; whereas other scholars have criticized such measurement as reductionist.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined two historically polarized purposes of education, cognitive development and enhancement of well-being, and two historically polarized pedagogical approaches, cognition-centered and affect-centered. My analysis of contemporary teacher education and general education scholarship disclosed the

potential for synthesis through relational pedagogy. A relational pedagogy focuses on the quality of interactions amongst students, teachers, and content and their collective influence on social and educational outcomes. Teacher-student affective relationships are construed as particularly critical to students' social and educational outcomes. Intra and interpersonal relationships are conceived of as linked to student social and educational outcomes, particularly academic achievement. The quality of intra and interpersonal relationships is conceived of as linked to emotional wellness and competency. The conception as to what constitutes "positive" intra and interpersonal relationships and emotional wellness and competency is debatable as is their "preferred" role in education.

It is not my position that the knowledge-enhancement and cognitive-affective divides are resolved in early twenty-first century teacher education and general education scholarship. Education scholars will continue to debate the importance of knowledge and cognition relative to enhancement and affectivity in education. Less debatable may be the necessary inclusion of both in education. However, the rationale and "how" of inclusion will remain debatable. There will continue to be concerns regarding "reductionist" understandings of well-being, defined as hedonic, superficial, transient, and functionalist or utilitarian and school policies and practices that market well-being as a skill set or pre-packaged list of techniques that students can readily acquire. There will also continue to be concerns regarding the "burden" of "unproductive" knowledge. However, where synthesis is imagined as plausible, it is by way of a relational pedagogy that provides for critical engagement with subject matter and understandings of the self in relation to others. Beyond the emphasis placed on the

intra / interpersonal style, a relational pedagogy also embodies characteristics of the "hyperthymic:" uncertainty, risk-taking, flexibility, dynamism, and energy.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL LEARNING AND THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Introduction

A comprehensive examination of the history of achievement testing and federal education policy in the United States is beyond the scope of this chapter. My intention is to provide some insight into the history of a debatable cultural preference for a "scientific" approach to American education and its implications for twenty-first century social and emotional learning (SEL) education policy. I also examine pivotal shifts, as defined by educational historians, in the development and usage of testing from the 1950s through early 2000s; related developments in federal education policy; the political milieu within which these changes occurred; and their implications for SEL education policy.

In his book, *Teaching by Numbers*, author Peter M. Taubman contends that a massive transformation has occurred in public education. He argues that we have arrived at a point where education and education reform are virtually inconceivable apart from the current language, policies, and practices of standards and accountability. As he writes, "So profound is the transformation that the terms in which and under which teaching and teacher education may now be discussed appear set and non-negotiable;" "few of us know how to turn back what has happened or can point to

alternatives."[1] Arguably, I could simply state that our education system has changed over time, list the various ways in which it has changed, and provide references to support my claims. However, if, as Taubman suggests, we have come to wear the blinders of the current language, policies, and practices of standards and accountability and can no longer put forward or imagine actualizing an alternative vision of education, then it becomes critical to: 1) Reflect on how we arrived at this point and 2) Appreciate that education as it exists today was not always so, nor does it have to remain so. Unshackled from any one way of visualizing education and education reform, we can contemplate SEL education policy and practice unfettered by real or imagined constraints. Indeed, educational historians have remarked that a number of the characteristics commonly conceived of as fundamental to American education in its present form are relatively recent from an historical perspective.[2]

In this chapter, I examine how conceptualizations of American education with regard to notions of quality, purpose, assessment, expectations, and outcomes (for example) have changed over time, particularly from the 1950s through early 2000s. One of the functions of this chapter is to compose an historical narrative that exemplifies how education in the United States has come to be characterized by particular conceptualizations of achievement testing, standards, accountability, and (global) competitiveness; mandates for "scientifically-based" research and results; and declarations of war on "mediocrity."

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[1] Peter M. Taubman, *Teaching By Numbers: Deconstructing the Discourse of Standards and Accountability in Education* (New York: Routledge, 2009), ix.

[2] Daniel Koretz, *Measuring Up* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Educational testing and measurement-driven reform have been in the vanguard of recent federal education policy initiatives (e.g., the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001). Educational testing is widely conceived of as a cornerstone of contemporary (public) schooling and (federal) education policy; I therefore pay particular attention to its developmental history in relation to changing conceptualizations of education, as articulated above. Lastly, I contemplate how the combined elements of this historical narrative or history of educational ideas have informed and / or may inform (federal education) policymakers' conceptualizations of SEL, their vision of the role of SEL in American education, and their approach to employing SEL as an instrument of education reform.

Before directing my attention to the history of educational testing and federal education policy in the United States from the 1950s through the 2000s, I begin with an examination of the nineteenth century origins of America's peculiar preoccupation with testing, measurement, and the promise of a "science" of education. I center my discussion on several key occurrences: the shift from public performances or exhibitions to written examinations as the primary means of educational assessment; the birth and expansion of the "science" of statistics in relation to education; and the resulting emergence of competitive, standardized testing.

The Road to Educational Testing, Standards, and Accountability

In his book, *Testing Wars in the Public Schools*, educational historian William J. Reese argues that "competitive examinations were central to the very establishment of

public schools in the pre-Civil War era."[3] Reese's argument is distinctive in that it locates and explicates the advent of "examination mania" in the context of a nineteenth-century United States.[4] Following historical precedent, schools of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were primarily assessed on the basis of "impressions" or that which could be seen and heard. Public performances or exhibitions were used to demonstrate student achievement, teacher competency, and philanthropic benevolence. As Reese writes, "How pupils collectively appeared, in an exhibition or parade, or how well some pupils declaimed, answered questions, or behaved at a fundraising event or May Day celebration: these signified how well schools, teachers, and pupils were doing."[5]

Exhibitions were widely conceived of as time-honored, cherished traditions capable of rendering accurate portrayals of social and educational outcomes. That being said, they were not met without criticism. Some criticized exhibitions for valuing theatricality over substance, memory and recitation over knowledge and understanding. Given that students were generally hand selected and prepared for questions ahead of time, others questioned how well these exhibitions represented the school in its entirety or allowed for meaningful comparison. Though initially met with resistance, such manner of scrutiny gained momentum over time.

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[3] William J. Reese, *Testing Wars in the Public Schools: A Forgotten History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 4.

[4] Other educational historians (e.g., Kamenetz, *The Test*; Koretz, *Measuring Up*; Sacks, *Standardized Minds*; etc.) have addressed the nineteenth-century origins of large-scale achievement testing in (United States) public schools; however, the issue did not constitute a primary focus of their research.

[5] Reese, *Testing Wars*, 19.

In the early nineteenth century, statistics was a nascent and burgeoning enterprise. In light of the growing "science" of statistics; influence of European education reform; and desire to remain globally competitive, American school reformers lobbied for written examinations and statistical evidence, as they sought "a more scientific and systematic approach" to school assessment.[6] School reformers demanded a clear distinction be made between exhibitions and examinations: "An examination, said the committeeman, was privately conducted and might consume a day or two of labor on the part of the examiners, while an exhibition was public and much less rigorous."[7]

Grueling, rhetorical battles on educational issues, such as discipline, would ensue between (Boston) school reformers and masters. In the summer of 1845, these events culminated in the development and distribution of the first major written examination. This exam embodied what would later become the hallmarks of standardized testing: "an examination bound by common procedures, administered under similar if not identical conditions, and evaluated as much as possible by the same metrics."[8] Despite the limitations of statistics; discrepancies between theory and practice; challenges of measuring and interpreting complex phenomena through testing; and coupling of testing with more traditional forms of assessment, competitive testing would have an indelible influence on education with far reaching, unforeseeable consequences. Educational testing is arguably here to stay, but it is far from static. In the following sections, I examine some of the key changes in the development and

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[6] Reese, *Testing Wars*, 55.

[7] Reese, *Testing Wars*, 44.

[8] Reese, *Testing Wars*, 132.

usage of American testing from the 1950s onward and their relationship to changes in thoughts on education. I later consider how these changes in thoughts on education have affected or may affect educational policymakers' treatment of SEL with regard to education in the United States.

Testing in the 1950s: Winds of Change

Contemporary large-scale achievement testing in the United States is generally characterized as externally mandated; standardized; high-stakes and used to monitor school-wide and statewide performance and changes in performance over time. Author Daniel M. Koretz argues that some of the key features that individuals associate with contemporary large-scale achievement testing are relatively new from an historical perspective. In the past, large-scale achievement tests were primarily used for diagnostic purposes; they were intended to identify relative strengths and weaknesses among students, schools, and school districts for purposes of instructional reform.

However, increasingly, the primary function of tests has shifted to holding individuals and groups accountable for educational achievement, as measured through testing, with high-stakes consequences for all. Moreover, student-student (or norm-referenced) performance comparisons have been largely supplanted by student-expectation (or criterion-referenced) performance comparisons – the "expectations set by policymakers or others."[9]

During the 1950s, however, testing was generally conceived of as relatively low-stakes and fundamentally used for diagnostic and informational purposes, as described

[9] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 48.

above.[10] The majority of tests in circulation during the 1950s were norm-referenced tests.[11] As Koretz states, tests "were not intended to provide summary evaluations of the performance of schools, districts, states, or nations, or to hold educators accountable."[12] This once prototypical use of tests began to change over the course of the 1960s.

In 1957, the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the first artificial space satellite. The successful launch of *Sputnik* was widely construed as an American failure of the Space Race. The United States government used this incident to exploit American fears of a Soviet or communist "threat" during the Cold War. America's self-proclaimed status as a leading nation on the global stage was allegedly placed in peril by the success of its competitors. One year later, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Authors Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr. argue that "The passage of this act legitimized broad-based federal aid to education for the first time," helping to establish a precedent for increased federal involvement in education reform. They suggest that the full impact of this federal act was largely unrealized until the mid-1960s

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[10] Koretz, *Measuring Up* indicates that some tests during this time period were higher-stakes than others (e.g., college-admissions and special placement tests).

[11] Koretz, *Measuring up* states that "in many quarters, norm-referenced reporting of performance on tests has an undeservedly bad name" (52). He proceeds to enumerate several reasons for this "undeservedly" poor reputation. For example, he infers that some people profess dislike for norm-referenced tests because they believe it contributes to maintenance of the status quo and mediocrity. In other words, their position is that "above average" loses much of its meaning if the average itself is allegedly unacceptable. Koretz acknowledges kernels of truth in this argument but overall characterizes it as oversimplified.

[12] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 48.

with the passage of the "more comprehensive and wider-ranging" Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.[13]

Federal Government Interventions of the 1960s: Seeds of Educational Change

Two federal government interventions were of particular relevance to forthcoming changes in the usage of testing characteristic of the 1950s: The passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) and the establishment of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).[14] The issue of poverty was at the forefront of national debate, particularly during the early years of the 1960s.[15] The ESEA composed part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty initiative. Established under the ESEA, the Title I compensatory education program was created to enrich the education of students, particularly those attending low-income schools. Policymakers demanded measurable, evidence-based assurance from the federal government that the federal funds were producing the desired results; in this instance, students' scores on standardized, norm-referenced achievement tests became the choice metric of measurement.[16] It was for this purpose that the 1974 Title I Evaluation and Reporting System (TIERS) was created.

Educational historians have in large part attributed the influence that Title I has had on contemporary testing to its demand for formal evaluation based on measurable

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[13] Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, *American education: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 268.

[14] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 54-55.

[15] Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*, 292.

[16] Peter Sacks, *Standardized Minds: The High Price of America's Testing Culture and What We Can do to Change It* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999), 74; and Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 55.

evidence in exchange for federal funding. As Koretz remarks, this was "the first time that federal legislation establishing a major social program required a formal evaluation."[17] Relatedly, author Peter Sacks writes, "By requiring that Title I schools be evaluated by means of scores, objective measures, and aggregate performance, the law effectively mandated states to employ standardized tests in order to receive several billions of dollars a year in federal funding" – though Title I was neither "a testing program per se, nor even a school accountability program."[18] (Elsewhere in this chapter, I give additional consideration to issues of funding and governance).

During the 1960s, the federal government also established the NAEP, "a periodic assessment of nationally representative samples of students."[19] The NAEP was purposefully designed for descriptive and informational purposes – not for accountability purposes. Neither the TIERS nor NAEP held test-results-based consequences for individual students or educators. Regardless, Koretz attributes the "sea change" in educational testing in the United States to these federal initiatives, as they "signified the beginning of a fundamental shift in the goals of testing, from diagnosis and local evaluation to large-scale monitoring of performance and, ultimately, to test-based accountability."[20]

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[17] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 55.

[18] Sacks, *Standardized Minds*, 74-75.

[19] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 55.

[20] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 55.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965: An Historical Perspective

President Johnson declared the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) the "'most sweeping educational bill ever to come before Congress.'"[21] In a recent publication, several educational historians shared their perspectives on the historical significance of the ESEA fifty years since it was first signed into law.[22] The ESEA has generally been portrayed as having revolutionized the role of federal government in education – though historians continue to debate the extent of this revolution and its sphere of influence. Scholars have observed that the ESEA and its reauthorizations have contributed less than 10 percent of total public education funding on average.[23] Educational historian Adam R. Nelson argues that despite this arguably modest contribution, the "federal regulations, priorities, and evaluations attached to this aid" have made its influence significant over state and local education policy.[24]

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[21] As cited in Adam R. Nelson, "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act at Fifty: A Changing Federal Role in American Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (May 2016), 358.

[22] For a discussion on the significance of this legislation with regard to black education, particularly in the South and, more specifically, the state of Mississippi, see Crystal R. Sanders, 2016, 361-367. Her argument supports the perspective that monetary incentives were essential to the ESEA's span and strength of influence, particularly with regard to southern states. She recognizes that funds were misused but argues that – ultimately – "[n]either black Mississippians nor federal officials accepted white perversion of the ESEA" (366). She writes, "For certain, the ESEA is a landmark piece of legislation despite efforts to weaken its impact" in light of its solidification of the involvement of the federal government in local schools and emphasis on marginalized children (367). At a basic level, this legislation underscored the rights of all children to a quality education and the importance of an educated populace to the health of the nation.

[23] Nelson, "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act at Fifty," 359. Kamenetz, 2015 claims that spending has not exceeded 7 percent (79). Anya Kamenetz, *The Test: Why Our Schools Are Obsessed with Standardized Testing-- But You Don't Have to Be* (Philadelphia: Public Affairs, 2015).

[24] Nelson, "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act at Fifty," 359.

Educational historian Douglas S. Reed also reflects on the relationship between the ESEA and changes in governance, as it pertains to American schooling. He challenges the alleged proverbial wisdom that as a result of the passing of the ESEA and its reauthorizations, the federal government has more control over education than local or state constituencies. Reed problematizes this interpretation on two fronts: 1) he argues that "it drastically overstates the ability of the federal government to control what goes on in schools" and 2) it inadequately accounts for resistance to this apparent change in power dynamics on the part of local and state governments.[25]

An argument has been made that between the 1960s and 1970s to the 2000s, the ESEA has shifted its primary focus from issues of educational equity to assessment and accountability, particularly through its 2002 reauthorization or the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001.[26] Reed argues that this has resulted in a shift from inputs to outputs-based educational reform.[27] He writes, "As the federal role shifted from inputs to outputs, it began to require that all schools – regardless of their resource base – hit the same test score benchmarks, or suffer profound consequences."[28] The expectation of equitable results within a similar time frame across diverse groups and in the absence of adequate attention to issues of resource inequity was indicative of this apparent shift in priorities from equity to assessment and accountability. Moreover, the shift from

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[25] Douglas S. Reed, "ESEA at Fifty: Education as State-Building," *History of Education Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (May 2016), 368.

[26] Nelson, "The Elementary and Secondary Education Act at Fifty," 359.

[27] Reed, "ESEA at Fifty," 369, 317.

[28] Reed, "ESEA at Fifty," 373.

inputs to outputs-based educational reform has led to the increased use of standardized assessments as the primary indicator of educational quality. Also, as Reed observes, by essentially equating learning with testing, "NCLB redefined the aims of public education at the federal level."[29] I discuss issues of federal aid; federal, state, and local control; inputs and outputs-based educational reform; and a focus on educational equity in contrast to assessment and accountability in further detail later in this chapter and specifically with regard to NCLB.

Testing in the 1970s: The Minimum-Competency Movement

The minimum-competency movement bourgeoned during the 1970s: "Minimum-competency testing was designed to ensure that all students reached an acceptable minimal level of mastery of basic skills," as determined by a pre-established cut score variable by state.[30] The movement itself began to wane as early as the 1980s. Despite its relative brevity, educational historians have argued that the minimum-competency movement has had an enduring affect on large-scale achievement testing in the United States.[31] Under this movement, tests were used for accountability purposes and accompanied by high-stakes consequences, particularly for students; statewide, mandatory testing programs became ubiquitous virtually nationwide; and students were held directly responsible for their test-based performance.[32] Accountability, as

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[29] Reed, "ESEA at Fifty," 373.

[30] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 56.

[31] Kamenetz, *The Test*; Taubman, *Teaching By Numbers*; and Koretz, *Measuring Up*.

[32] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 56. Koretz notes that "while the standards were sufficiently low that only a modest percentage of students failed, the consequences for those who did were severe" (56).

determined by test scores, became conceived of as a means to improving instruction – leading to measurement-driven instruction. Koretz characterizes the change "from using tests for information to holding students or educators directly accountable for scores [as] beyond a doubt the single most important change in testing in the past half century."[33]

Minimum-competency testing also signaled a movement from the use of norm-referenced to criterion-referenced test-based reporting. As Koretz indicates, while norm-referenced test-based reporting has "ebbed and flowed," criterion-referenced test-based reporting has not only survived but also continued to thrive – eventually becoming federally mandated (e.g., under NCLB).[34] As stated earlier, the shift from norm-referenced tests (NRTs) to criterion-referenced tests (CRTs) represented an important change in how achievement comparisons were reported. With NRTs, student performance is reported in comparison with student performance norms; with CRTs, student performance is reported in comparison with pre-established performance expectations. The use of state-set cut scores and state-determined definitions of proficiency has continued into the 2000s.[35] For example, under NCLB, proficiency levels (basic, proficient, and advanced) were allowed to be determined on a state-by-state basis; the tests themselves could also vary by state. State variance under federal statute is reflective of a longstanding history involving shared powers between federal and state levels of government in matters of education policy – the consequences and future implications of which are examined elsewhere in this chapter. Changes in the

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[33] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 57.

[34] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 57.

[35] Kamenetz, *The Test*, 90.

culture of testing beginning with the minimum-competency movement of the 1970s would come into full bloom with the enactment of NCLB.[36] Of course, other key changes and events occurred in the intervening years.

A Declaration of War on Mediocrity

We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur – others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments
– A Nation at Risk

Under the Ronald Reagan administration, the National Commission on Excellence in Education published a report entitled *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. Published in 1983, *A Nation at Risk* (ANAR) has been widely heralded as a harbinger of a "new" era of education reform characterized by standards, accountability, and high-stakes testing.[37] As with news of the successful launch of *Sputnik*, this report was used to exploit American fears of a declining education system and waning competitive advantage on the global playing field.[38] Authors Urban and Wagoner, however, denote a change in perceived rivals from "Communist nations" to "contemporary American political allies such as Japan, Korea, and Germany" –

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[36] Taubman, *Teaching By Numbers*, 28.

[37] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 58, 85-86; Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*, 319-321, 327, 335; and Sacks, *Standardized Minds*, 75-79.

[38] Kamenetz, *The Test*, 73.

countries that posed an alleged threat to America's economic prosperity in "the new world economy."[39]

ANAR became a catalyst for increased testing during and beyond the 1980s. In comparison to the difficulty-level associated with the tests administered during the minimum-competency movement, the newly developed tests were designed to be considerably more rigorous. The new band of tests would continue to hold high-stakes for individual students; however, educators and schools were increasingly subject to test-results-based consequences of both a rewarding and punitive nature. Score inflation began and continues to follow in the wake of high-stakes testing.[40]

In 1990, the Sandia National Laboratories conducted a study whose findings provided evidence of educational accomplishments that challenged ANAR's narrative of an American educational crisis. Later studies would also challenge ANAR's dire depiction of the state of American education, but policymakers and others would largely ignore this evidence, embrace the language of crisis, and the bipartisan rally for increased testing, standards, and accountability would continue.[41]

Testing in the 1990s: Aspirations and Miracles

In 1991, President George H. Bush drew upon the rhetorical stylings of *A Nation at Risk* (ANAR) in proposing a new educational program, *America 2000: An Education Strategy*. *America 2000* called for the voluntary adoption of national standards and

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[39] Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, *American Education: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 319.

[40] Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 58. See also Kamenetz, *The Test*, 28-32, 87-88.

[41] Kamenetz, *The Test*, 72-75; and Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*, 361-369.

national testing through (high-stakes) American Achievement Tests; voluntary rather than mandatory adoption was intended to demonstrate respect for the boundaries of federal, state, and local control over education. *America 2000* outlined six National Education Goals at least three of which were to be assessed using standardized tests. The policy also called for publicly accessible school, district, and state-level report cards as well as national college and university admissions testing; moreover, it encouraged employers to consider individual test scores in assessing prospective employees. Congress, however, did not authorize *America 2000*. Nonetheless, *America 2000* was reflective of America's continued increased reliance on testing and prescient of future developments in the nation's ongoing quest for higher standards and increased accountability in education.[42]

President Bill Clinton's *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*, an education proposal remarkably similar to Bush's *America 2000*, was enacted with the 1994 reauthorization of the ESEA.[43] Educational historian Anya Kamenetz attributes the significance of this reauthorization to its introducing "for the first time a set of universal, voluntary content and performance standards to be aligned with the first federally mandated tests" with high-stakes consequences.[44] Educational historians have argued that despite the change in presidential administrations throughout the 1980s and 1990s educational

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[42] Urban and Wagoner, *American* education, 324-325; Diane Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 95; and Sacks, *Standardized Minds*, 80.

[43] Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*, 325-326; and Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, 96.

[44] Kamenetz, *The Test*, 80.

policies remained largely consistent.[45] The calls for testing, standards, and accountability that reverberated throughout the 1990s would be more fully realized in the twenty-first century, particularly with the passage of NCLB.[46]

First, however, would come the "Texas Miracle" – the blueprint, for all intents and purposes, for NCLB. The Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS) accountability program was an outcomes-based educational reform endorsed by then Texas Governor George W. Bush. Schools were evaluated and ranked on the basis of graduation rates and test scores broken out by subgroup. This outcomes-focused reform reportedly produced immediate results that demonstrated a decrease in dropout rates, an increase in test scores, a narrowing of the achievement gap, and an increase in graduation rates. Evidence would later prove these gains a mirage. However, as with the empirical

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[45] Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*; and Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*.

[46] In *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice are Undermining Education*, Diane Ravitch argues that the standards movement was "hijacked" by the testing movement. Ravitch's argument is distinctive from other educational historians'; where other scholars have described the testing movement as an outgrowth of the standards movement, she argues that the standards movement was "hijacked" by the testing movement. In the 1990s, there was a movement to develop national curriculum standards. Ravitch argues that the standards for history, released prior to their completion, received heated criticism, particularly from Lynne V. Cheney, for their alleged political bias. The ideological conflict, perceived by some as irreconcilable in light of the nation's diversity, led to an impasse in the standards movement, as politicians became wary of "political suicide." Ravitch contends that with the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) American education policy transitioned to one based on test-based accountability. With the definition of standards left to each state, and each state being measured according to the standards it set, Ravitch argues that NCLB essentially "bypassed curriculum standards" (15). She writes, "The states seemed to understand that avoiding specifics was the best policy; that standards were best if they were completely noncontroversial; and that standards would survive scrutiny only if they said nothing and changed nothing" (19). Ravitch argues that this resulted in a reduction in the substance of education, a movement away from "meaningful" standards, curriculum, and content and a focus on that which could be measured. She writes that she does not take issue with testing per se; however she argues that "Tests should follow the curriculum. They should be based on the curriculum. They should not replace it or precede it" (16).

inaccuracies surrounding *Sputnik* and ANAR, the empirical evidence would largely fall on deaf ears, as Congress forged ahead, and NCLB was written into law in January of 2002.[47]

From No Child Left Behind to the Every Student Succeeds Act

Educational historians have highlighted the importance of bipartisan support in the passage of NCLB. They attribute this in part to the bill having reached Congress following the 9/11 attacks against the United States and Congress' desire to present a united front.[48] The bill contained two elements that otherwise may have resulted in its rejection: 1) the potential for increasing the role of federal government in state and local educational affairs and 2) the heavy emphasis on testing. However, it was precisely these qualities that allowed for an arguably weak compromise. Democrats were receptive to the bill given its prospect of federal intervention, while Republicans were receptive to its emphasis on accountability and choice.[49]

An incarnation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), NCLB had its own issues regarding federal, state, and local control. In order to receive Title I federal funds, states had to agree to participate in federally mandated annual standardized testing in mathematics and reading (and later science) for all students in grades three through eight.[50] Schools and school districts were expected to achieve

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[47] Kamenetz, *The Test*, 84-88; Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, 96; and Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 250.

[48] Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, 94; and Taubman, *Teaching By Numbers*, 28.

[49] Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, 94-95.

[50] Participation in the NAEP was also required for comparative purposes.

"adequate yearly progress" (AYP); those that failed to do so would suffer increasingly severe sanctions. States, however, could essentially design their own accountability systems with state-chosen tests, cut scores, and definitions of proficiency. Given the high-stakes attached to the test scores, score inflation and other means of "gaming the system" became increasingly problematic. As with the TAAS, test results were to be broken out by subgroup. As stated earlier, the expectation of equitable results within a similar time frame across diverse groups and in the absence of adequate attention to issues of resource inequity reflected a shift in the law's priorities from equity to assessment and accountability. Thus, in the absence of an even playing field, NCLB's intent to combat the "soft bigotry of low expectations" could and did result in some of the most "vulnerable" schools having to face some of the most punitive consequences.[51]

In response to the Great Recession of 2008, President Barack Obama proposed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 – signed into law that February. The Obama administration enacted its Race to the Top initiative – a competitive grant program for federal education funds made available through the stimulus package. While Race to the Top allowed for NCLB waivers, it did so at the behest of "other, more prescriptive testing policies and stricter accountability measures."[52] The more ambitious plans of the "Broader, Bolder Approach to Education" manifesto essentially fell to the

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[51] Kamenetz, *The Test*, 85-86, 88, 90; Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*, 350-352; Koretz, *Measuring Up*, 72-73; Taubman, *Teaching By Numbers*, 28-32; and Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, 97-98.

[52] Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*, 353-354. See also Kamenetz, *The Test*, 91-93. The Race to the Top initiative included teacher test-score-based evaluations and required any states receiving federal funds to eliminate "laws [that] restricted evaluating teachers or awarding tenure based on test scores" (93).

wayside.[53] This approach advocated for an inputs-based educational reform that appeared to be in greater alignment with the ESEA of the 1960s and 1970s in terms of its focus on equity. The Race to the Top initiative, however, continued in the vein of other outputs-based educational reforms in terms of its focus on assessment and accountability.[54] In 2015, President Obama reauthorized the ESEA of 1965, replacing NCLB with the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). I later examine the ESSA, particularly with regard to social and emotional learning.

However, I first examine seven legislative bills that preceded the ESSA but were never signed into law. (Each of the seven bills would have required that changes be made to the ESEA of 1965). I introduce the content of these congressional bills and consider their "place" within the broader context of my study and the historical narrative that I have assembled in this chapter regarding educational testing, federal education policy, and changes in thoughts on education. I similarly analyze the ESSA and contemplate the implications of my findings, which I elaborate on in my concluding chapter.

Social and Emotional Learning and the American Educational Policy Landscape

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[53] Urban and Wagoner, *American Education*, 353-354; and Kamenetz, *The Test*, 91-93.

[54] In this chapter, I do not focus on the Common Core State Standards Initiative, as it is technically a state-led initiative, and the focus of this chapter is on federal-level policy. However, adopting the Common Core standards was one means by which states could obtain federal funding through the Race to the Top (federal) grants; see Kamenetz, *The Test*, 91-93 and Reed, "ESEA at Fifty," 372. This is of relevance to issues of federal, state, and local control, as discussed throughout this chapter. Kamenetz, *The Test* draws attention to the fact that federal funds were awarded "to develop a set of new tests aligned with the Common Core" and that "[t]his was the first time federal money had gone to actually create educational assessments" (92). Reed, "ESEA at Fifty," writes "The result has been almost national uniform standards for the first time in U.S. history, although their implementation has been both incomplete and distinctly nonuniform" (372).

Between 2009 and 2015, seven legislative bills that specifically addressed social and emotional learning (SEL) were introduced to Congress (six through the House of Representatives and one through the Senate). Former (D) House Representative Dale E. Kildee (with 12 Democratic and 2 Republican cosponsors) introduced The Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Act of 2009 (ASELA of 2009) in support of evidence-based SEL programming to the 111th Congress on December 8, 2009 (H.R.4223). On the same day, the House of Representatives referred the bill to the House Committee on Education and Labor, and on January 4, 2010 the House Education and the Workforce referred the bill to the subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education. No subsequent actions were taken.

Following the ASELA of 2009, three similar bills were introduced to Congress; all four bills proposed amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA).[55] The ASELA of 2009 was the most inclusive of the four bills, as it proposed the inclusion of Title I grants to support evidence-based SEL programming whereas the other bills did not. The ASELA of 2011 (H.R.2437) used the same language as that of 2009; however, it was less inclusive in that it focused nearly exclusively on teacher and principal training in the social and emotional developmental needs of students.[56] The ASELA of 2013 (H.R.1875) was essentially the same as that of

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[55] The Jesse Lewis Empowering Educators Act (S.897) is a separate but related bill that essentially mirrors the Academic Social and Emotional Learning Acts of 2011, 2013, and 2015. Senator (D) Richard Blumenthal (with 2 Democratic and 0 Republican cosponsors) introduced S.897 in support of evidence-based social and emotional learning programming. On April 13, 2015 the Senate, after twice reading the bill, referred it to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions. No subsequent actions were taken.

[56] Former (R) House Representative Judy Biggert (with 14 Democratic and 8 Republican cosponsors) introduced The Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Act of 2011 (H.R.2437) in support of evidence-based social and emotional learning programming on July 7, 2011. On

2011, and the ASELA of 2015 (H.R.850) was essentially the same as that of 2013.[57] Introduced in January of 2015, the Supporting Emotional Learning Act (SELA) (H.R.497) would have amended the Education Sciences Reform Act of 2002 (ESRA) and the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA) had it been passed.[58] (A previous version of the SELA bill was introduced in 2014 (H.R.4509), which was essentially the same as that of 2015).[59] In the following paragraphs, I examine the findings made by Congress. I also examine the definitions of SEL that were proposed. Analyzed collectively, the

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the same day, the House of Representatives referred the bill to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, and on September 8, 2011 the House Education and the Workforce referred the bill to the subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education. No subsequent actions were taken.

[57] (D) House Representative Tim Ryan (with 13 Democratic and 2 Republican cosponsors) introduced The Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Act of 2013 (H.R.1875) in support of evidence-based social and emotional learning programming on May 8, 2013. On the same day, the House of Representatives referred the bill to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, and on July 8, 2013 the House Education and the Workforce referred the bill to the subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education. No subsequent actions were taken. (D) House Representative Tim Ryan (with 13 Democratic and 1 Republican cosponsors) introduced The Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Act of 2015 (H.R.850) in support of evidence-based social and emotional learning programming on February 10, 2015. On the same day, the House of Representatives referred the bill to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, and on April 29, 2015 the House Education and the Workforce referred the bill to the subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education. No subsequent actions were taken.

[58] On January 22, 2015, (D) House Representative Susan A. Davis (with 1 Democratic and 0 Republican cosponsors) introduced the Supporting Emotional Learning Act (H.R.497) to require training for teachers in social and emotional learning programming and for other purposes. On the same day, the House of Representatives referred the bill to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, and on April 29, 2015 the House Education and the Workforce referred the bill to the subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education. No subsequent actions were taken.

[59] On April 29, 2014, (D) House Representative Susan A. Davis (with 3 Democratic and 0 Republican cosponsors) introduced the Supporting Emotional Learning Act (H.R.4509) to require training for teachers in social and emotional learning programming and for other purposes. On the same day, the House of Representatives referred the bill to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, and on June 13, 2014 the House Education and the Workforce referred the bill to the subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education. No subsequent actions were taken.

ASELA and SELA legislative bills brought attention to the significance of intra and interpersonal relationships and relationship management to student success (in both school and life); the "teachability" of SEL skills; and SEL's multipurpose functionality.

The ASELA and SELA bills defined SEL as a set of interrelated competencies including: "self-awareness and self-management to achieve school and life success;" "social awareness and interpersonal skills to establish and maintain positive relationships;" and "responsible decisionmaking skills and behavior in personal, school, and community contexts."[60] The definition of SEL proposed under these legislative bills largely paralleled Daniel Goleman, Richard Boyatzis, and Annie McKee's definition of emotional intelligence (EI), including the four domains of self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, and relationship management.[61] The SELA defined "self-awareness" as "an individual's ability to accurately recognize… the individual's own feelings and thoughts" and "the influence of such feelings and thoughts on the individual's behaviors;" "self-management" was defined as "an individual's ability to… regulate the individual's own emotions, cognitions, and behaviors effectively in different situations" and "set and work toward personal and academic goals;" and "social-awareness" was defined as "an individual's ability to… take the perspective of and empathize with individuals from diverse backgrounds and cultures" and "recognize

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[60] See https://www.congress.gov/111/bills/hr4223/BILLS-111hr4223ih.pdf, 12-14; and https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr497/BILLS-114hr497ih.pdf, 5-8. The inclusion of the proposed definitions would require amending section 9101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 7801) and section 200 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1021).

[61] Goleman et al., *The New Leaders*.

family, school, and community resources and supports."[62] (The SELA also included a definition of "relationship skill").[63]

In chapter three of my dissertation, I argued that the early twenty-first century parenting literature that I examined promoted an empathetic-based approach to parenting composed of empathetic wellness and competency. Empathetic competency included the ability to identify and regulate one's personal emotions as well as the ability to identify others' emotions and respond "appropriately" – essentially self-awareness, self-management, and social-awareness as articulated above. In chapter four of my dissertation, I discussed how the concept of relationship encompassed an individual's relationship with herself or himself as well as her or his relationships with others. The ASELA and SELA bills similarly underscored the importance of empathetic competency and intra and interpersonal relationships to personal and academic or school and life success.

As previously indicated, there were strong parallels between the definition of SEL presented in the legislative bills and Goleman et al.'s definition of EI. In chapters two and three of my dissertation, I brought attention to Goleman et al.'s definition of EI as a *learned ability*. Similarly, the ASELA and SELA bills each emphasized the *teachability* of SEL. For example, the ASELA of 2009 declared, "Not only can these skills be taught,

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[62] See https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr497/BILLS-114hr497ih.pdf, 5-6. For purposes of clarity and concision, this specific set of definitions ("self-awareness;" "self-management;" and "social-awareness") is taken from the SELA; however, the ASELAs used language similar in meaning.

[63] See https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr497/BILLS-114hr497ih.pdf, 6. H.R.497 defined "relationship skill" as "an individual's ability to establish and maintain healthy and rewarding relationships with individuals from diverse backgrounds and cultures through communicating clearly, listening actively, cooperating, negotiating conflict constructively, and seeking and offering help when needed."

they can be taught by regular classroom teachers in schools of every type to students of every background."[64] Similarly, the SELA described SEL as "teachable skills."[65] The use of the word "skills" is relevant to questions of reductionism, as discussed in chapter four of my dissertation. The use of the phrase "schools of every type and students of every background" also raises questions regarding the "generalizability" versus "socio-cultural-specificity" of SEL. The "learnability" and "teachability" of SEL skills by "regular classroom teachers" is relevant to questions of potential changes in teacher education programs, training, and / or professional development, as SEL is increasingly considered a necessary component of "successful" teaching and thereby teacher preparation – also discussed in chapter four of my dissertation.

In chapter four of my dissertation, I discussed the possibility of an education for the purposes of knowledge and enhancement or a cognitive-affective synthesis. The language used in the ASELA and SELA bills also appeared to advocate for a multipurpose education: education for academic achievement; health and wellness; intellectual and emotional growth; productive workers; and engaged citizens. For example, the ASELA of 2009 stated that "Social and emotional skills form a foundation for young people's success not just in school, but as healthy and caring adults, productive workers, and engaged citizens."[66] Similarly, the SELA stated that SEL

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[64] See https://www.congress.gov/111/bills/hr4223/BILLS-111hr4223ih.pdf, 2.

[65] See https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr497/BILLS-114hr497ih.pdf, 3.

[66] https://www.congress.gov/111/bills/hr4223/BILLS-111hr4223ih.pdf, 2. The ASELA of 2009 also stated that "Social and emotional learning programming also results in reduced problem behavior, improved health outcomes, a lower rate of violent delinquency, and a lower rate of heavy alcohol use" (2). Language such as "problem behavior" perhaps speaks to concerns raised by scholars such as Boler regarding notions of social control and behavioral prescriptions.

"effectively boosts student academic success and fosters the very skills that are being utilized in the workforce;" SEL skills "provide a springboard for being a capable student, citizen, and worker." [67]

Of course, the bills also gave considerable emphasis to harnessing the benefits of SEL and applying them toward the arguably utilitarian ends of academic achievement, particularly academic achievement as measured by test scores.[68] For example, the ASELA of 2009 stated that "Academic outcomes resulting from social and emotional learning include greater motivation to learn and commitment to school, increased time devoted to schoolwork and mastery of subject matter, improved attendance, graduation rates, grades, and test scores," and "[t]hese positive outcomes increase in students who are involved in social and emotional learning programming by an average of 11 percentile points over students who are not involved in such programming."[69] The SELA also uses language indicative of the potential for a cognitive-affective synthesis in American education:

> In the United States, we have always placed an emphasis on developing academically rigorous curriculum, but unfortunately have not been as deliberate about imparting children with important social and emotional life skills. There needs to be a balance and integration between cognitive learning and social emotional learning. (https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr497/BILLS-114hr497ih.pdf, 2)

However, as discussed in chapter four of my dissertation, rhetoric does not necessarily translate into practice. Therefore, it is important to consider how SEL (standards and

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[67] https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr497/BILLS-114hr497ih.pdf, 3.

[68] For a discussion regarding the critique of utilitarianism, refer to chapter four of my dissertation.

[69] https://www.congress.gov/111/bills/hr4223/BILLS-111hr4223ih.pdf, 2.

programming) will be not only defined but also enacted and measured – a subject to which I return.

Social and Emotional Learning Under the Every Student Succeeds Act

To date, none of the social and emotional learning-focused bills introduced to Congress between 2009 and 2015 have been signed into law. However, in 2015, President Obama reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, replacing No Child Left Behind with the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). Advocacy groups for social and emotional learning (SEL) have reviewed the ESSA in their efforts to demonstrate how state and local school districts might interpret and harness the ESSA to promote the integration of SEL into American education, particularly preschool and grades K-12.[70] The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), for example, has argued that the new legislation allows for "A broader definition of student success," granting state and local school districts "more flexibility… in defining and assessing student success."[71] CASEL attributes this apparent increased flexibility to Title I revisions.[72]

Under the revised statewide accountability system, the state may include "any other indicator [of student quality and success] the State chooses that meets the

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[70] The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) are two examples of SEL advocacy groups.

[71] http://www.casel.org/federal-policy-and-legislation/.

[72] CASEL has observed other areas within the ESSA where the language may be interpreted in such a way as to advance the integration of social and emotional learning into American education (e.g., school improvement strategies, professional development, specialized instructional support personnel, and grants toward evidence-based and rigorously evaluated education innovation and research).

requirements of this clause" for all public schools in the state.[73] Among other requirements, indicators have to allow "for meaningful differentiation in school performance" and be "valid, reliable, comparable, and statewide."[74] Indicators are to be measured annually and the results broken out by subgroups of students defined as: "economically disadvantaged students; students from major racial and ethnic groups; children with disabilities; and English learners."[75] This suggested revision raises the question of that which defines student quality and success. CASEL underscores the potential for a broader definition of student success and the opportunity for states and local school districts to have more flexibility in defining and assessing student success. However, the requirements of the clause limit state and local school districts' choice of indicators to that which can be measured through valid, reliable, comparable, and statewide metrics. Educational historians have suggested that such requirements discourage the assessment of some of the arguably more important and complex dimensions of education.[76] This is relevant to the problem of reductionism, as discussed in chapter four of my dissertation and questions of educational assessment and measurement that I revisit in the concluding chapter of my dissertation.

Each of the proposed legislative bills sought for the inclusion of SEL-specific language; however, nowhere in the ESSA does the phrase "social and emotional learning" appear. The absence of this particular phrase does not preclude the ESSA

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[73] https://www.congress.gov/114/plaws/publ95/PLAW-114publ95.pdf, 35-36.

[74] https://www.congress.gov/114/plaws/publ95/PLAW-114publ95.pdf, 35-36.

[75] https://www.congress.gov/114/plaws/publ95/PLAW-114publ95.pdf, 35-36.

[76] Kohn, *The Case*; and Koretz, *Measuring Up*.

from addressing issues relevant to SEL.[77] That being said, as it is currently written, the strongest possibilities for SEL integration appear to lie within the sections of the ESSA with the least precise language. For example, CASEL's website directs its readers to Title IV of the ESSA – 21st Century Schools.

Section 4101 or the student support and academic enrichment grants (20 USC 7111.) states:

> The purpose of this subpart is to improve students' academic achievement by increasing the capacity of States, local educational agencies, schools, and local communities to – (1) provide all students with access to a well-rounded education; (2) improve school conditions for student learning; and; (3) improve the use of technology in order to improve the academic achievement and digital literacy of all students. (https://www.congress.gov/114/plaws/publ95/PLAW-114publ95.pdf, 168)

Section 4107 describes activities to support well-rounded educational opportunities; included are ''other activities and programs to support student access to, and success in, a variety of well-rounded education experiences" (20 USC 7117.).[78]

The ESSA's definition of well-rounded education includes ''any other subject, as determined by the State or local educational agency, with the purpose of providing all students access to an enriched curriculum and educational experience.''[79] Broadly defined or non-specific language such as "well-rounded education;" "other activities;" and "any other subject" perhaps presents states and local school districts with

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[77] For example, see section 4108 – activities to support safe and healthy students (20 USC 7118.). While the phrase SEL does not appear in this section, it does refer to SEL-related programs and activities. For example, "help prevent bullying and harassment;" "improve instructional practices for developing relationship-building skills, such as effective communication;" "high-quality training for school personnel including specialized instructional support personnel;" and "implementation of schoolwide positive behavioral interventions and supports… in order to improve academic outcomes and school conditions for student learning" (179-181).

[78] https://www.congress.gov/114/plaws/publ95/PLAW-114publ95.pdf, 178.

[79] https://www.congress.gov/114/plaws/publ95/PLAW-114publ95.pdf, 299.

opportunities by which to advance the integration of SEL into their educational programming through their interpretation of federal education policy. However, this scenario is hardly similar to explicitly identifying SEL as necessary to student success and integral to American education. The SELA, for example, declared that "Social and emotional learning should be included as a central component of our education system. Federal law needs to include language that prioritizes social and emotional learning for educators."[80] To purposefully position SEL as a central component of American education and use the language of federal education policy as a vehicle for its prioritization is fundamentally distinctive from the ESSA in its current form where advocacy groups for SEL search for the absence of precise language rather than the presence of SEL-focused language as a means by which to advance the integration of SEL into American education.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have endeavored to create a miniature historico-political portrait of American achievement testing and federal education policy in an effort to understand the (current and future) place of social and emotional learning (SEL) in American education. I began with an examination of pivotal shifts, as demarcated by educational historians, in the development and usage of educational testing in the United States from the 1950s through early 2000s. Those pivotal shifts included: the change from using educational testing for diagnostic and informational purposes to determining (test-based) accountability; the move from low to high-stakes achievement testing; the preferred use of criterion-referenced tests over norm-referenced tests; and the

[80] https://www.congress.gov/114/bills/hr497/BILLS-114hr497ih.pdf, 3.

movement from minimum competency testing to expectations of excellence for all – regardless of resource inequities.

In the methods section of chapter one of my dissertation, I discussed the history of ideas approach, noting that with respect to the internal (idea-idea) approach the researcher endeavors to establish the developmental history of an idea and its influence on other ideas and conceptual frameworks. It is my position that because testing is a cornerstone of contemporary American education policy, it is critical to examine its developmental history in order to understand how it has informed (or may inform) thoughts on education and contemplate its influence on educational policymakers' (and others') conceptualizations of SEL, their vision of the role of SEL in American education, and their approach to employing SEL as an instrument of education reform.

Some envision developments in SEL education policy "as a way to move away from a narrow focus on test scores, and to consider instead the whole child."[81] However, others are seeking ways by which to integrate SEL into the test-based accountability system. Within the next year, the NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) "will include questions about students' social-emotional skills," and PISA (The Programme for International Student Assessment) is likely to follow suit.[82] Kate Zernike of the *New York Times* reports, "It may seem contradictory, then, to test for those skills.

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[81] Kate Zernike, "Testing for Joy and Grit? Schools Nationwide Push to Measure Students' Emotional Skills," *New York Times*, February 29, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/01/us/testing-for-joy-and-grit-schools-nationwide-push-to-measure-students-emotional-skills.html?_r=1.

[82] Zernike, "Testing for Joy and Grit?;" and Tim Walker, "Experts: Keep Social and Emotional Learning Out of the Testing 'Quagmire,'" *NEA Today*, April 13, 2016, http://neatoday.org/2016/04/13/testing-grit-sel/.

In education, however, the adage is 'what's measured gets treasured;' states give schools money to teach the subjects on which they will be judged."[83] This is relevant to the history of an increased demand for measurement-based results, as discussed earlier with regard to Title I, formal evaluation, indicator requirements, and receipt of federal funding.

Tim Walker of the *News and Features from the National Education Association* reports that psychologist Angela Lee Duckworth of the University of Pennsylvania "who is widely credited with popularizing the concept of 'grit,' became alarmed at how the zeal for tests and accountability was infiltrating the emergent field of social and emotional learning."[84] Moreover, Duckworth is reported as having advised policymakers that "'the measures should not, currently, be used for broader accountability purposes.'"[85] However, the word "currently" does not rule out the possibility of future SEL-test-based accountability (for students, teachers, states, local school districts, and so forth).

The ASELA and SELA bills that I examined appeared to reflect the growing importance apparently being placed on empathetic wellness and competency, as discussed throughout my dissertation. As stated earlier, the definition of SEL provided within the ASELA and SELA bills is essentially equivalent to Goleman et al.'s definition of emotional intelligence. As such, SEL (or empathetic competency) may similarly be perceived of as a means by which to move from "good" to "outstanding," achieve

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[83] Zernike, "Testing for Joy and Grit?"

[84] Walker, "Experts."

[85] Walker, "Experts."

“optimization,” and / or actualize the “better than well” cultural ideal through a controlled and strategic use of emotions. As such, SEL education policy may be positioned as the latest means of fulfilling America’s continual quest to conquer mediocrity and become a leader among nations.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS, CONNECTIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

One of my primary research questions was whether there was evidence of a "better than well" cultural ideal in early twenty-first century American parenting books, education journals, and education policy. My research has led me to conclude that in the context of the primary sources that I examined: wellness or well-being was largely conceptualized as relational; emotional hygiene was identified as a primary locus of wellness or well-being; and a "better than well" cultural ideal was present across the early twenty-first century American parenting books, education journals, and education policy that I examined. I first review my major findings by chapter. I proceed to collectively reflect on the three groupings of primary sources that I examined, particularly with regard to the notion of a "better than well" cultural ideal. Lastly, I contemplate some of the social and educational implications of my research.

Major Research Findings: Parenting

The following findings are based on my analysis of a selection of the bestselling parenting literature of 2000-2011: The ideal person was cast as emotionally well and empathetically competent; emotional wellness and empathetic competency were crafted as dependent on "good" emotional hygiene and "quality" intra and interpersonal relationships; and empathetic-based parenting was portrayed as a critical pathway to the realization of this ideal. Empathetic-based parenting was depicted as

"developmentally appropriate;" composed of "simple" and "complex" empathetic competencies; and authoritative. It also entailed particular behavioral prescriptions for children and their parents. A "better than well" cultural ideal was particularly evident through the parenting literature's treatment of fear and risk and the positioning of emotional intelligence as a viable pathway from "goodness" to "greatness."

Major Research Findings: Pedagogy

The following findings are based on my analysis of 39 scholarly articles, 21 from the *Review of Educational Research* and 18 from the *Journal of Teacher Education*. I examined two historically polarized purposes of education, cognitive development and enhancement of well-being, and two historically polarized pedagogical approaches, cognition-centered and affect-centered. My analysis of contemporary teacher education and general education scholarship was indicative of the potential for synthesis through a relational pedagogy. A relational pedagogy was characterized by its focus on the quality of interactions amongst students, teachers, and content and their joint influence on social and educational outcomes. It was also described as embodying the characteristics of uncertainty, risk-taking, flexibility, dynamism, and energy or the "hyperthymic."

The quality of intra and interpersonal relationships was conceived of as linked to emotional wellness and competency; emotional wellness and competency were presented as critical influences on student social and educational outcomes, particularly academic achievement. The "successful" management of self and other relationships was identified as a potential means of social and educational "betterment" – although

the question of that which does or ought to constitute “betterment” remained under intense debate.

Teacher-student affective relationships were construed as particularly critical to students’ social and educational outcomes. This emphasis on teacher-student relationships resulted in discussions concerning potential developments in teacher education and professional development. One line of argument addressed whether teachers should be trained in the delivery of social and emotional learning (SEL) programming in schooling – and, if so, how. A second line of argument centered on teachers’ personal social and emotional competence (SEC) in relation to teaching and social and educational outcomes.

I inferred that education scholars would continue to debate the importance of knowledge and cognition relative to enhancement and affectivity in education but suggested that less debatable may be the necessary inclusion of both in education. However, the rationale and “how” of inclusion would remain subject to debate, as would “viable” conceptualizations of well-being and their “proper” place and function in teaching and learning.

Major Research Findings: Policy

The Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Act and Supporting Emotional Learning legislative bills underscored the potential importance of “quality” intra and interpersonal relationships and relationship management to student success (in both school and life); the “teachability” of social and emotional learning (SEL) skills; and SEL’s potential for multipurpose functionality. The ASELA and SELA bills appeared

indicative of the growing importance apparently being placed on empathetic wellness and competency, as discussed throughout my dissertation.

That being said, none of the SEL-focused bills introduced to Congress between 2009 and 2015 were signed into law. Moreover, the 2015 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) or the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), does not appear to position SEL as a central component of American education nor use the language of federal education policy as a vehicle for its prioritization. SEL advocacy groups are presently tasked with searching for the absence of precise language rather than the presence of SEL-focused language in their efforts to support states and local school districts in interpreting federal education policy in such a way as to advance the integration of SEL into American educational programming.

As articulated in chapter five, understanding the developmental histories of achievement testing and federal education policy in American education is critical to understanding how they have informed (or may inform) thoughts on education and how they have influenced (or may influence) educational policymakers' (and others') conceptualizations of SEL, their vision of the role of SEL in American education, and their approach to employing SEL as an instrument of education reform. As Taubman reminds us, we can remove the blinders that have arguably been placed on what should be our infinite, limitless visions of education and education reform. Lastly, given the similarities between Daniel Goleman, Richard Boyatzis, and Annie McKee's definition of emotional intelligence, SEL (or empathetic competency), as defined by Congress, may be positioned as the nation's latest weapon against "mediocrity" and means by which to "rise above" its global competitors.

Hyperthymia and the "Better than Well" Cultural Ideal

In chapter one of my dissertation, I argued that secondary scholarship on the history of psychiatry and psychology in the United States had signaled a relatively recent, understudied shift beginning at the end of the twentieth century and continuing through the twenty-first century: the transition from an emphasis on wellness to the "better than well" individual and society. Scholars such as Peter D. Kramer have highlighted America's cultural penchant for "certain personality types," and "the hyperthymic position is well rewarded today." [1] As Kramer has written, "today's" America "values a very different temperament. Confidence, flexibility, quickness, and energy – the positive aspects of hyperthymia – are at a premium."[2]

Similarly, author Emily Martin has argued that present-day society's preferred "psychological style" is in tandem with "a [*longstanding but intensified* American] cultural proposition about the necessity of continually improving the person."[3] She has also argued that by way of a process of "optimization" or "psychological enhancement" realized through a controlled use of emotions an individual can "improve," becoming "better than well" or "better than normal," and "… *there are* [infinite] *higher degrees of life satisfaction, performance, and functioning*" to be pursued.[4]

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[1] Peter D. Kramer, *Listening to Prozac* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 261, 271, 297.

[2] Kramer, *Listening to Prozac*, 261, 271, 297.

[3] Emily Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007), 15.

[4] Martin, *Bipolar Expeditions*, 222-223. See Boler, *Feeling Power*, on the capitalization and control of emotions (and, more broadly, emotions and education).

Elsewhere in my dissertation, I have discussed evidence of a “better than well” cultural ideal with regard to each grouping of primary sources that I examined: parenting books, education journals, and education policy. In this concluding chapter, I reflect on the connections among the three bodies of primary sources that I examined and the notion of a “better than well” cultural ideal. Across chapters three, four, and five – whether phrased as empathetic competency, emotional intelligence, social and emotional competency, or social and emotional learning – the ability to monitor, regulate, and adapt one’s emotions was positioned as a cardinal means of “betterment” or “optimization” across parenting books, education journals, and education policy.

As previously stated, scholars such as Nikolas Rose have argued that individuals perceive themselves as inhabiting a society characterized by “uncertainty, plurality, and anxiety” and “a relentless imperative of risk.”[5] In response to this relentless imperative of risk, individuals have been summoned to a state of perpetual readiness through which they are presumably equipped to respond to any given situation at any given time and where preemptive action is considered ideal.

Empathetic competency perhaps represents a means by which people may embrace such hyperthymic qualities as confidence, flexibility, and quickness. For those who consider themselves inhabitants of a society generally characterized by change and uncertainty, the perception of emotional control perhaps offers an apparent measure of confidence, as they endeavor to navigate the changing terrain of human conduct. Empathetic competency is perhaps also imagined as a means of preparing oneself (through a practice of monitoring and recognizing emotions in oneself and

[5] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 160.

others) to readily adapt (through emotional regulation) to the dynamism that characterizes human relationships. Education is after all a complex human enterprise.

Social and Educational Implications

Peter Sacks has described the "power that quantification, standardization, and the measuring of minds continues to have over Americans" as "near magical," and Alfie Kohn has suggested that "The quest for objectivity may lead us to measure students on the basis of criteria that are a lot less important."[6] As discussed in chapter five, under Title I, indicators of student quality and success must be "valid, reliable, comparable, and statewide." The Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning Acts that I examined all called for evidence-based social and emotional learning programming. According to Congressional findings, "These positive [academic] outcomes increase in students who are involved in social and emotional learning programming by an average of 11 percentile points over students who are not involved in such programming."[7] Diane M. Hoffman has argued that "In a climate of increased emphasis on standards and accountability, an emphasis on positive academic achievement outcomes purportedly associated with effective emotional learning may well be a major influence on educational policy making decisions to adopt SEL programming."[8] Would social and emotional learning programming otherwise be considered "unworthy" of adoption?

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[6] Peter Sacks, *Standardized Minds: The High Price of America's Testing culture and What We Can do to Change It* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999), 7; and Alfie Kohn, *The Case Against Standardized Testing: Raising the Scores, Ruining the Schools* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000), 4.

[7] https://www.congress.gov/111/bills/hr4223/BILLS-111hr4223ih.pdf, 2.

[8] Diane M. Hoffman, "Reflecting on social emotional learning: A critical perspective on trends in the United States," *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 2 (2009), 536.

In an arguably measurement-driven, evidence-based society how are the "intangibles" measured? Or, if such complex phenomena are somehow made "tangible," measurable, quantifiable – at what costs might this come? (This question speaks to the concerns regarding reductionism and complexity, as discussed throughout my dissertation but especially in chapter four). While I am not against educational testing per se, I do believe that the integration of social and emotional learning into American education will warrant a renewed consideration of educational priorities, purposes of education, and strengths and limitations of various forms of assessment.

Relatedly, if emotional wellness and empathetic competency are conceived of as elemental to American education, we should remain cognizant of whether the demands we place on students are in concord with our conceptualizations of emotional wellness and its role in school and life. Scholars such as Denise Clarke Pope and Peter Demerath have pointed out that the current system's preoccupation with high-stakes testing, high scores, high grades, and cutthroat competition may, paradoxically, function to the detriment of our well-being and perhaps foster "unethical behaviors."[9]

[9] Denise Clark Pope, *Doing school: How we are creating a generation of stressed out, materialistic, and miseducated students* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); and Peter Demerath, *Producing success: The culture of personal advancement in an American high school* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

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VITA

Prior to beginning her doctoral program in Cultural and Educational Policy Studies at Loyola University Chicago, Nicole D. Ortegón worked as an Education Outreach Specialist for Broader Urban Involvement and Leadership Development (BUILD). As an Education Outreach Specialist, Ortegón was part of BUILD's Building Futures education and career program whereby she supported Chicago's at-risk youth in realizing their personal, academic, and professional potential. While pursuing her doctoral studies, Ortegón taught as an adjunct professor of the history and philosophy of education at Loyola University Chicago. During that time she also worked as the Study Abroad Diversity Strategy Intern for Loyola University Chicago's Office for International Programs for nearly three years.

Ortegón completed her bachelor's degree with distinction in Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign and holds a master's degree of education in Technology and Education from the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Upon completion of her dissertation, Ortegón aspires to attain a tenure-track faculty position in the foundations of education at a college or university. The work that Ortegón has done on her dissertation will inform her research agenda, future scholarly work, and publications.