University of Massachusetts Amherst

ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst

October 2021

CREATING THE EMOTIONALLY COMPETENT CHILD: THE EDUCATION OF FEELINGS IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Kathleen E. Hulton
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Recommended Citation

Doctoral Dissertations   Dissertations and Theses

CREATING THE EMOTIONALLY COMPETENT CHILD: THE EDUCATION OF FEELINGS IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Kathleen E. Hulton

**CREATING THE EMOTIONALLY COMPETENT CHILD: THE EDUCATION OF FEELINGS
IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

A Dissertation Presented

by

KATHLEEN E. HULTON

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2021

Sociology

CREATING THE EMOTIONALLY COMPETENT CHILD: THE EDUCATION OF FEELINGS IN AMERICAN
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Dissertation Presented

by

KATHLEEN E. HULTON

Approved as to style and content by:

_____

Janice M. Irvine, Chair

_____

Donald Tomaskovic-Devey, Member

_____

Sara Whitcomb, Member

_____

Jonathan Wynn, Department Chair

Department of Sociology

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation and my development as a scholar have been made possible by more people than it is possible to thank. Thank you to my advisor Janice Irvine for the ways you have taught me and supported me through the years. I am the thinker I am because of you, and I will be grateful to you forever for that. Thank you as well to my other committee members. Thank you to Don Tomaskovic-Devey for your insightful, calm (dare I say emotionally intelligent?) guidance and feedback. Thank you to Sara Whitcomb for providing valuable insights from someone with intimate knowledge of SEL.

Thank you to many faculty members at the University of Massachusetts Amherst who taught me and supported me, including Millie Thayer, Jill McCorkel, Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Ben Brucato, Jerry Platt, Dan Clawson, Amy Schalet, Agustin Lao-Montes, Barbara Cruikshank, Tony Paik, Mark Pachucki, Randall Stokes, and Jon Wynn. Special thanks to Robert Zussman for your steadfast belief in me as a thinker over the years and for some final hour encouragement and help thinking after a chance encounter at Stop and Shop. Thank you especially to Joya Misra for perfectly timed bursts of support throughout the years. At one point you asked me what I needed to finish, and I said a job, a laptop, and space to work and you somehow helped make that all happen!

Thank you to many teachers of the past who contributed to my growth as a thinker, especially at Bowdoin College and the University of Pittsburgh. In particular, I am grateful for exposure to ideas and ways of thinking in courses and other work with Julie McGee, Susan Bell, Sarah Dickey, John Marx, John Encandela, Iris Marion Young, Wynne Korr, Kathleen Blee, Carol McAllister, and Karen Peterson.

I have had the amazing good fortune of learning with and from some of the smartest, best graduate students in the Umass Amherst Sociology Department. You are too many to

name but thank you all for the ways you contributed to my growth and thinking, read my work, and made being here worth it. Thank you to Kat Jones, Brian Connor, Sharla Alegria, and Catherine Wilson for your help in thinking through the complexities of this project in its early days.

Thank you to all of the people in the Sociology Department at the University of Massachusetts Amherst who made Thompson Hall a good place to be and who supported me in many different ways throughout the years, including Juliet Carvajal, Sandy Hunsicker, Cindy Patten, Wesley Dunham, Alyssa Cote, and Kat Fabel. Thank you especially to Maureen Warner and Wendy Wilde for so many years of laughing with me, believing in me and grounding me. Thank you to Beth Berry for your tireless provision of motivation, discipline strategies, check-ins, writing groups, and editing. Thank you to Summer Cable for your kindness, support and for holding my hand through the last scary stretch. And for David Bowie too.

The final push of finishing my long-haul dissertation after a year and a half of teaching hundreds of students on my laptop and parenting seven children through a pandemic was not an easy task. I quite literally could not have done it without support from my friends. Thank you to Beth Edwards for a spark of inspiration at the perfect time. Thank you to Eve Ng, Cindy Conti, Armanthia Duncan, Brenda Abbott, and Sam Schenck for words of advice and encouragement. Thank you to Corinne Wohlford for being my partner in dissertation suffering for so long. Thank you to Sarah Miller and Laura Heston for, in the final hour, recentering me and being, as Elisa called you, "balm for the soul." Thank you to Brittnie Aiello for always grounding me and keeping it real. Thank you to Elisa Martinez and Vanessa Adel for sharing bacon and tea in the old days. Thank you to Elisa for your loving wisdom when I needed it most. Thank you to Vanessa Adel for consistently reminding me of myself and my worth. Thank you to Celia Oyler for zoom writing, interruptions to my

negative self-talk, and sage guidance. Thank you to Sofia Checa for the ways you showed up for me in this last month with iced tea, memes, tough love, structure, and even your house. Thank you to Amy Gaines for being my best friend, and for the ways you somehow simultaneously call out my bullshit while loving and accepting me as I am.

Thank you to my family. I'm sorry that I didn't get to finish this while you were still alive, Dad, but I can feel how proud you would be. Thank you Mom and Howard for your endless love and support of my education. Thank you to my children. You provided the inspiration for this dissertation, and also the motivation to finish it. And thank you most of all to Miriam, for more things that I could even begin to put into words. I love you and I am sorry that we both have had to handle so many feelings about this for so long.

ABSTRACT

CREATING THE EMOTIONALLY COMPETENT CHILD: THE EDUCATION OF FEELINGS IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER 2021

KATHLEEN E. HULTON, A.B., BOWDOIN COLLEGE

M.P.H., UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

M.A., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Janice M. Irvine

This dissertation provides a historical and cultural analysis of a school-based approach social and emotional learning (SEL) in the United States. Over the past two decades, SEL has risen from relative obscurity to become a formidable educational movement in the United States and around the world. Its core claim, that schools should be actively involved in the cultivation of children's emotional selves, has gained tremendous currency. I draw on popular and social scientific writing, state social and emotional learning standards, and SEL curricula to demonstrate the reconfiguration of emotion as central to the competence schools are supposed to develop. While American public schools have always addressed "more than academics," I show how contemporary SEL is built upon popularized social knowledge that sees emotion as a set of individualized, standardized, and measurable skills. I analyze the practices of emotional competence that comprise this understanding of emotion, as well as the pedagogical practices

employed to teach them to children. I argue that SEL signals the institutionalization of a new

definition of the competent self, one that rests on the abilities of individuals to identify, monitor,

regulate, and use feelings in prescribed ways.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

CHILDREN, FEELINGS, AND THE POLITICS OF COMPETENCE

As a farmer puts blinders on his workhorses to guide its vision forward, institutions manage how we feel.

-- Arlie Hochschild (1983:49)

On a chilly spring afternoon almost ten years ago, my six-year-old and her friend were running around the playground avoiding their younger siblings, who desperately wanted to join in on the fun. I cornered her and insisted that she include everyone in the game. Emaline paused, took a deep breath, looked up at me and said, "It makes me feel sad when you tell me I have to play with everyone, because I don't get to see Aiyanna very often, so today I want to play with just her." I fumbled for a response as she skipped off with her friend. What had just happened? This was a child who usually expressed emotion as wildly as possible – loudly and tearfully, often while writhing around on the floor. Now, here she was using calm and considered words to express her feelings and, importantly, get her way. She hadn't learned this at home. It turned out Emaline had been learning about her feelings at school. Once a week, the school adjustment counselor taught all of the kindergarteners and first graders "emotional expression, communication, coping strategies, ways to be inclusive, and peaceful problem solving."[1] As a sociology student keenly interested in the ways that institutions intervene with individual feelings, the realization that school was teaching my kindergartener how to identify and express her feelings was incredibly interesting (and a little alarming) to me. A dissertation topic was born.

Feelings Go to School

Emaline and her classmates are not alone. In fact, 50-60% of elementary schools in the United States report that they provide explicit instruction in emotion (Bridgeland, Bruce and Harihan 2013; Foster et al. 2005). There has been, as in other fields, an "emotional turn" in education (Schutz and Lanehart 2002). This preoccupation with feelings spans a broad range of topics, including issues from test anxiety and teachers' emotional health to the creation of emotionally safe school climates. I was, however, primarily interested in the parts of the turn to emotion concerned with *teaching* emotion. These efforts are not entirely new. Over the course of the twentieth century, several movements in schools, such as mental hygiene in the 1920s and affective education in the 1960s, drew on psychological and psychiatric knowledge in order to guide children's feelings.

Current attempts to educate emotion, however, differ in both scope and scale. These approaches draw on wide-ranging, multidisciplinary knowledges and practices that see emotional life as a set of skills crucial to virtually all areas of life. Their proponents believe that these skills should be taught to everyone, but especially to children. Many go further to suggest that schools should systematically develop competence with emotion with the same seriousness they do language and math literacy. In a 2013 *New York Times Magazine* article on the subject, Yale psychologist Marc Brackett stated, "It's like saying a child doesn't need to study English because she talks with her parents at home. Emotional skills are the same. A teacher may say, calm down! But how exactly do you calm down when you're feeling anxious? Where do you learn the skills to manage these feelings?" (as quoted in Kahn 2013).

This dissertation examines efforts to educate emotion in public schools in the United States. Contemporary approaches to schooling children's emotions are primarily concerned with developing *skills* seen as necessary for success in school, on the job, and in life. My

analysis traces this cultural reconfiguration of emotion as central to the competence schools are supposed to develop. I show how emotion is central to the understandings of competent personhood, and to the ways children are supposed to have agency and discipline themselves.

I use the emergent field social and emotional learning (SEL) to examine ideas and practices regarding children's emotions in schools. Over the past 25 years, SEL has become well-established in the United States and around the world. A Google search for "social and emotional learning" in 2021 yields more than 2.5 million results, including tens of thousands of articles in popular and academic sources, TEDx talks, and scores of products such as books, flashcards, programs, trainings, and curricula. There are university-based research centers for social and emotional learning at Yale, Harvard, Rutgers, and the University of Illinois at Chicago. National educational organizations such as Head Start, the Partnership for 21st Century Skills, and the National Research Council include emotional skills in their statements about education. A growing number of states have adopted learning standards for social and emotional learning (Dusenbury et al. 2015). Several major philanthropic organizations, including the George Lucas Educational Foundation and Peter and Jennifer Buffet's NoVo Foundation, have granted millions of dollars for the research and promotion of SEL. It has spread to many different countries around the world (Humphrey 2013; Torrente, Alimchandani and Aber 2015).

The Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL), founded in 1994, is the preeminent organization promoting social and emotional learning in the United States. It is an interdisciplinary group of researchers, policymakers, and practitioners aiming to establish social and emotional learning as part of preschool through high school education for all children in the country (Weissburg and Cascarino 2013). In the United

States, the CASEL definition of SEL is the most influential. It defines social and emotional learning as "the process through which all young people and adults acquire and apply the knowledge, skills, and attitudes to develop healthy identities, manage emotions and achieve personal and collective goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain supportive relationships, and make responsible and caring decisions" (CASEL 2021). Although this definition mentions adults, SEL most often refers to interventions for children and adolescents in daycares, preschools, schools, after-school programs, and community-based organizations.

Contemporary SEL initiatives target all children, not just those identified as at risk for problems. They include skills believed to be essential for the typical student. They address wide-ranging aspects of social life, many of which involve emotions, including: communication skills, working in groups, emotional self-control, self-confidence, self-reflection, assertiveness, appropriate expression of emotion, perspective taking, empathy, delaying gratification, active listening, the ability to plan and set goals, attention and focus, problem solving and conflict resolution. SEL has been implemented primarily in elementary schools, although there are efforts to bring it to greater numbers of older children and adolescents (Jones and Bouffard 2012). Leaders in the field have also called for its implementation in colleges, graduate schools, medical schools, and business schools (Conley 2015; Goleman 2015).

Overview of Theoretical Literatures

My analysis of social and emotional learning draws from social scientific scholarship on knowledge, childhood, emotional control, and the therapeutic. As someone with a longstanding interest in emotion, an analytic path seemed obvious when I began this dissertation. Arlie Hochschild's groundbreaking work on emotion, in particular *The*

Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling (1983), has inspired decades of insightful research on institutional attempts to regulate individual feeling. *The Managed Heart* was one of the first pieces of sociology I ever read. It inspired me to become a sociologist, and it has remained a favorite of mine since that time. Some elements of SEL certainly look, and probably feel, like exactly what Hochschild saw at United Airlines 40 years ago – children are encouraged to express and manage their emotions in ways that line up with organizational interests in the form of more compliant students, with less disruptions to learning and better scores on standardized tests. However, the more I learned about social and emotional learning, the more I realized that Hochschild's framework was inadequate for understanding these contemporary interventions into children's emotions. A framework emphasizing institutional constraint of otherwise freely feeling children like Emaline does not quite capture what is happening here.

Hochschild found that organizations provided institutional scripts for not only behavior, but also feelings. SEL provides emotional scripts too, but it does more than this. Social and emotional learning aims not primarily to control feelings, but to cultivate agency, skill, and intelligence to express one's "true" emotions. It aims to produce kinds of people who interact with their emotions in particular ways, not just in school or on the job, but throughout their entire lives. SEL asks children to engage their emotions in precise, intricate ways – to care about their feelings, to monitor their feelings, to be reflexive, to know their emotional selves, and to consider their emotional skills a lifelong project to be continuously refined and developed.

The literature on governmentality, neoliberalism and the therapeutic offers important insights that expose the limitations of the ways emotional control is usually conceptualized by the sociology of emotion. Nikolas Rose is one of the leading scholars who has extended Foucault's governmentality concept to consider late twentieth century

practices and techniques of governance. Rose has used the term *contemporary politics of competence* to refer to the demand that individuals demonstrate continual choice and personal responsibility in working on themselves. Incompetence at self-management has become a new form of social division and exclusion (Rose 1996:347). In his work, Rose acknowledges that emotions are involved in self-governing, but the point is not central toward his theorizing, nor does he provide conceptual tools for understanding how emotions matter to the politics of competence.

In the review of the literature that follows, I begin with an overview of scholarship on the historical and cultural construction of childhood in order to contextualize changing conceptions of children's emotions. I then review the sociology of emotional control and scholarship on the therapeutic and social control, two literatures that have, with a few exceptions, not been brought into conversation with one another. I argue that bringing together these two literatures allows for analysis of social emotional learning as a form of social control in the contemporary United States. I close with a brief discussion of insights from the field of Science, Technology and Society (STS) that I use to analyze social and emotional learning.

The Historical and Cultural Construction of Childhood

A key claim made by historical and comparative research on childhood is that it is not universal or natural, but a social and cultural category that varies over time and place, "distinct from biological immaturity" (James and Prout 1997:8). In *The Civilizing Process* (1939), German sociologist Norbert Elias noted that a central feature of modernity was the construction of adulthood and childhood as diametrically opposed. Elias's review of advice literature from modernizing Europe found many examples of this opposition, such as this note from a 1714 French advice manual urging readers to "Take good care not to blow your

nose with your fingers or on your sleeve *like children*; use your handkerchief and do not look into it afterward" (Elias [1939] 2000:146).

Historians offer convincing evidence of widely differing orientations to childhood in other centuries. An influential articulation of the historical construction of childhood, and extension of Elias's analysis, is found in French historian Philippe Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood* (1962). Ariès made the radical claim that "in medieval society the idea of childhood didn't exist" (Ariès 1962:125). Instead, childhood is a modern development that slowly emerged between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. According to Ariès, for most of history childhood was not understood as a distinct or special phase of human life. Its redefinition occurred through the rise of the institutions of the family and education, both of which segregated children from the rest of social life. It was at this time, argues British sociologist Chris Jenks (1996:65) that children "escaped into difference" as the category childhood came to be solidified and defined in opposition to adulthood.

This shift was facilitated by developments such as a decrease in infant mortality, changes to the European educational system that allowed for long periods of schooling, and the rise of the family and its isolation from other social relationships. Although these changes initially occurred only in upper classes, their associated ideas and practices slowly spread throughout the population in Europe (Ariès 1962). Compulsory schooling, which occurred in most places in the late nineteenth century, was particularly important to these transformations because it removed children from the labor market. This laid the groundwork for the emotional valuation of children in the twentieth century (Cunningham 2020). Sociologist Viviana Zelizer locates the emergence of the modern child in the period between the 1890s and the 1930s. At the time, the economically useful child of the nineteenth century became the "economically worthless but emotionally priceless child" of the twentieth century (Zelizer 1985:3).

This modern notion of childhood was not simply a result of institutional changes. It was also the result of the dissemination of new ideas portraying children as innocent, fragile, and in need of protection. In the late 1600s, philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke laid the groundwork for the ideas that would dominate Europe and North America over the following centuries. Rousseau emphasized that adults needed to devote concerted attention to children's development. In his widely read book *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Locke presented advice on the development of children, and arguments for considering childhood a vulnerable stage of life requiring protective care by adults. Children came to be seen primarily with regard to their future value as adult citizens, in contrast to previous understandings that emphasized children's labor in the family and community (Christensen and Prout 2005). Children, historically valued primarily for their economic contributions, came to be increasingly romanticized and valued sentimentally (Fass and Mason 2000; Zelizer 1985). The adoption of these sentimentalized ideas and their related practices was uneven, and never included all children. However, their growing acceptance by white, middle-class Americans is demonstrated by several developments that occurred over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including children's longer periods of residence in their parents' home, longer periods of schooling, and increased academic and popular interest in the stages of child development (Mintz 2004).

By the early twentieth century in the United States, the separation of children from the adult social world was further solidified with firmer laws regarding child labor and mandatory school attendance (Fass and Mason 2000). Ideas about the vulnerability and particularity of childhood fueled the establishment and growth of many institutions including schools, psychology, psychiatry, child welfare, and social policies specifically regarding children (Rose 1989). These ideas also were used to justify increased intervention into family life by public and private institutions (Hart 1991). In the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century, widespread enthusiasm for science provided the context for an explosion of scientific research on the child (Hogan 2005). Institutes for the study of children were established in the United States and Europe. New research approached childhood largely through the lenses provided by the growing fields of developmental science and home economics (Burman 2008). The field of developmental science exploded in the 1920s, as the collection of large amounts of data on children led to the establishment of institutionalized norms about children's posture, movements, speech, comprehension, vocabulary, and other behaviors (Rose 1989:147).

So, over the course of the last several centuries in the United States and Europe, a model of childhood as a distinct phase of life that is both formative and fragile rose to dominance. However, recent popular and scholarly work suggests that this model of childhood is undergoing change and upheaval. Beginning in the early 1980s, writers in popular psychology and elsewhere began to claim that childhood was disappearing. David Elkind's *The Hurried Child* (1981) and Marie Winn's *Children Without Childhood* (1983) sounded alarms that the innocent and safe childhood of past generations was being lost. In his well-known *The Disappearance of Childhood* (1982)*, cultural critic Neil Postman lamented the death of childhood. He cited wide-ranging phenomena, such as increasing rates of juvenile crime rates, the replacement of childhood games with organized sport, as well as convergences in child and adult music tastes, movies, and clothing styles.

Recent academic research on childhood is generally not as dramatic as Postman's claim about the death of childhood, but it does suggest the replacement of notions of children's fragility and innocence with a more complex picture. Art historian Anne Higonnet (1998), in her analysis of paintings and photographs of children from the eighteenth through the twentieth century, found similar contradictions in contemporary notions of childhood. Higonnet found that Romantic representations of childhood in the eighteenth

and nineteenth century portray innocent beings divorced from adult life. Social difference, inequality, and the potential for sexual pleasure are absent in portrayals of children from this time, projecting the idea of a universal state of childhood marked by passivity, innocence, simplicity, and separation from the complexities of the adult world. By contrast, in images of childhood at the end of the twentieth century, Higonnet found portrayals of childhood that challenged Romantic and sentimentalized notions of childhood, painting children as diverse, complex, active, and aware (Higonnet 1998). Children are no longer seen as innocent and dependent; instead, new representations portray them as more active, more knowledgeable, more troublesome, and more troubling (Prout 2000).

Many scholars claim that the lines between childhood and adulthood are blurring in paradoxical ways. Sociologist Steven Mintz (2004) says that children are more segregated from adult life than ever, and still free from work, and that a prolonged childhood is still sentimentalized. However, scholars suggest that contemporary children are increasingly knowledgeable about adult realities. They are active, knowledgeable consumers (Pugh 2009; Schor 2004). Juvenile offenders are more often categorized and charged as adult criminals (Feld 1998). Scholars claim the lines between institutions geared toward children and the adult world are blurring. For instance, while schooling initially provided a longer childhood, contemporary schools are increasingly tied to the work world (Fass and Mason 2000), and, for some children, to the penal system (Hirschfield 2008).

Emotions and Control

The sociology of emotions is a large and diverse field. Its unifying claim is that emotions are profoundly social. Sociologists see emotions as shaped by interaction, institutions, and culture, not as psychological or internal phenomena autonomous from social factors. Culture provides frameworks for the labeling, classification, categorization,

10

and interpretation of emotions. Social norms regulate their expression. Sociological work on emotion has focused on identifying these norms, why people follow them, and how individuals "work" on their emotions, as well as on the rewards and consequences of emotional conformity and deviance (Lively and Weed 2014). Arlie Hochschild's (1979) "Emotion Work, Social Structure and Feeling Rules" was an important early call for the sociological study of emotions. Her primary argument was that individuals do things with their emotions, a process she called emotion work, in reference to social norms she called feeling rules. Hochschild stressed that people do not only suppress emotion but instead do many things with their feelings, from suppressing to evoking to shaping and trying to change the degree or type of feeling. Individuals are taught social norms for experiencing and expressing feeling and, as with other social behaviors, are sometimes policed or sanctioned for failures to follow the rules (Hochschild 1979:561).

A sizable body of sociological work on emotion focuses on control. Most of this diverse work shares an understanding, often implicit, about emotions and social control. Put simply, society – whether in the form of institutions, organizations, norms, or ideas – constrains human emotion that would otherwise be more authentic or free. This idea runs throughout different kinds of work – from grand theory to small studies of emotion in organizations. In fact, this assumption lies at the core of much theorizing of modernity, whether it explicitly references emotion or not. The history of Western civilization is, among other things, the history of increasing control and regulation. While many social theorists imply the role of emotions in this historical story, Elias articulated it fully in *The Civilizing Process*. Elias's civilizing process starts with the wildly emotive Middle Ages, when, according to him, individuals expressed strong emotions freely and without shame. Elias drew on cultural products such as war hymns to show how medieval warriors delighted in extreme emotional outbursts that involved torture and plundering and killing.

He claimed that compared to modern society, the emotional culture of the Middle Ages allows "…the warrior extraordinary freedom in living out his feelings and passions, it allows savage joys, the uninhibited satisfaction of pleasure from women, or of hatred in destroying and tormenting anything hostile or belonging to an enemy" (Elias [1939] 2000:371).

Elias argued that the structural changes of modernity, particularly state formation and the creation of complex social networks, meant that the free emotions of the past required control through discipline and restraint. The differentiation of social functions necessitated more regulated and stable conduct. As individuals had increasingly complex interactions with many different kinds of people, they needed to attune to others and control themselves. This stable conduct was originally restraint imposed consciously and in the presence of others, but eventually reproduced within individuals. For Elias, the civilizing process included psychological changes to humans, including the gradual instilling of this complex and stable control (Freud's superego) within individuals. Simply put, earlier people were controlled by their emotions, but modern individuals control their emotions (Elias [1939] 2000:374).

Much sociological work on emotion and organizations tells a similar story, although this time attributing the control of emotions to capitalist organizations and the service economy. This work is often characterized by alarm about organizations' reach into the private feelings of individuals. For example, mid-century sociological classics referencing emotion were part of the larger twentieth century fears that industrialization, bureaucracy, and capitalism corrupted human life in dangerous ways. C. Wright Mills (1951) and William H. Whyte (1956) warned of the modern American corporation's demands on workers' personalities and feelings. In *Organization Man*, Whyte wrote about the increasingly subtle ways that organizations sought to influence the personal and emotional lives of employees. Referencing the tyrannical manager of the past, Whyte noted, "but at least it could be said of

him was that what he wanted primarily from you was your sweat. The new man wants your soul" (Whyte 1956:397). Given the context of Whyte's words, it is likely that he was including emotion when he spoke of the reach of capitalism into workers' souls.

The "faceless bureaucracy" with which so many mid-twentieth century sociologists were concerned was one in which spontaneous emotion was squashed. Hochschild (1983) extended this line of investigation, providing vivid ethnographic accounts of United Airline's attempts to direct flight attendant's feelings through trainings, organizational literature, and disciplinary actions against inappropriate expression of emotion. Gideon Kunda's (1992) ethnography of a tech corporation in the late 1980s argued that modern corporations attempt to control "minds and hearts" of employees. For all of these thinkers, organizational attempts to direct private inner experience represented deeper, more insidious forms of social control than had existed in the past. Because of its tremendous influence in shaping sociological inquiry into emotion, I will discuss Hochschild's work in some detail.

One of Hochschild's enduring contributions in *The Managed Heart* was the assertion that emotions be conceptualized as a kind of labor – thus opening the door to imagining the interplay between emotion and the social through the dominant lens sociology has used to analyze the interplay between labor and the social. If emotions are labor, in a capitalist economy, they are just as susceptible to exploitation and alienation as any other kind of work. Indeed, Marx appeared in the very first sentence of the first chapter of *The Managed Heart.* Hochschild evoked Marx's imagery of a nineteenth-century child laborer to highlight the parallels between the child wallpaper factory worker of the nineteenth century and the flight attendant of the 1980s. As Marx decried the exploitation of the boy's body and physical labor, Hochschild offered the idea, now widely accepted by sociologists, that "the flight attendant's sense that she 'should feel cheery' does more to promote profit for United than to enhance her own inner well-being" (Hochschild 1979:573). Hochschild convinced

13

sociologists to take seriously the institutional exploitation of workers' souls, and to consider how, particularly in a service economy, workers' smiles, moods, and ways of managing and expressing feelings all become fair game in the corporate pursuit of profit and thus "belong more to the organization and less to the self" (Hochschild 1983:198).

These ideas have inspired decades of important work about how workers' feelings are regulated, and often exploited, by organizations. However, several important lines of critique suggest problems with this framework, as well as its limitations for analyzing social and emotional learning in schools. For one, the literature on emotions and organizations relies too heavily on a framework of exploitation and alienation of feelings that would otherwise be more authentic or free. It largely ignores broader historical changes to how emotional life is conceptualized and practiced (Flam 2002; Illouz 2008; Wouters 1989). Emotional self-control has been a recurring theme in many cultural and institutional settings that predate capitalism (Hemphill 1998; Wouters 1989). Interventions into children's emotions are not only done with the purpose of managing children's emotions and behaviors in school, but to shape the ways they experience and express feelings in their lives more generally, now and in the future. Also, what is normatively bad for Hochschild isn't necessarily bad or experienced by people as bad. What is the line between the exercise of competence and repressive control? According to SEL (and much of psychology and pop psychology), emotional regulation, emotional health and the pursuit of self-interest are all the same thing.

The Therapeutic and Control

Sociological scholarship on emotion, then, offers important insights – namely, that emotions are deeply social, and that feelings are key to contemporary forms of social control. The importance of these theoretical contributions to sociology, and to my work,

cannot be understated. However, its conceptualization of what constitutes social control, and how it works, is limited. To further develop a conceptual framework for this project, I turn to another literature centrally concerned with contemporary forms of control. A number of the most influential twentieth century theorists of modernity share the observation that the rise of modern political and economic institutions has been accompanied by forms of social control increasingly located within individuals. In language strikingly similar to sociologists who study emotions in organizations, theorists like Michel Foucault and Nikolas Rose use the term "soul" to discuss parts of the human experience that are subject to increased control and regulation (Foucault 1990; Rose 1989). The concerns of this work on contemporary internal forms of power and control overlap with those investigated by sociologists of emotion, but the two literatures are not often brought into conversation with one another. I focus on a few key insights at the intersection of these literatures.

Michel Foucault is the theorist most associated with broadening notions of how power and control operate. One of his enduring claims was that contemporary forms of power often do not appear overtly repressive but operate instead through expert knowledge and claims about appropriate ways of acting and thinking (Foucault 1979). Power in this sense, found in disciplinary techniques of the body and scientific discourses and practices, produce particular forms of identity and ways of being people. In his early work, Foucault investigated how social institutions such as factories, hospitals, courts, and prisons have created individuals as different kinds of subjects over time. Later in his career, he turned to the study of technologies of the self, which he defined as the ways that individuals experience, understand, conduct, and act upon themselves (Foucault 1990:18).

For Foucault, these strategies, such as confession, letter writing, examinations, and psychotherapeutic techniques, are mechanisms through which individuals construct

themselves as subjects. In his 1978 lecture at the College de France, Foucault proposed that our understanding of government should include the everyday ways in which groups and individuals govern each other and themselves, which he famously termed governmentality, or "the conduct of conduct." Doing so allows for analysis of the ways that contemporary forms of power and control occur not only via direct control by formal institutions, but also through forms of expertise, seemingly separate from the state, that encourage individuals to act upon themselves (Rose 1989; Foucault 1991). Individuals shape their lives through choices about family, work, lifestyle, and personality. Government works by "'acting at a distance' upon these choices, forging a symmetry between the attempts of individuals to make life worthwhile for themselves and the political values of consumption, profitability, efficiency and social order" (Rose 1989:10).

The therapeutic is a form of expertise and area of social life that has been widely scrutinized through this theoretical lens. Scholars have treated the therapeutic as a broad cultural phenomenon that transcends any particular institution or space. While it comprises diverse traditions and frameworks, it is united by a focus on the self and an emphasis on introspection, insight, analysis of mental processes, and attention to inner feeling as ways to uncover truths about both the self and social life (Herman 1995:5, 305). Psychological meanings, explanatory frameworks, and practices have spread to more and more areas of social life. In industrial societies, they permeate all institutions, including schools and the family (Furedi 2004; Rose 1989; Nolan 1998), courtrooms, prisons, politics (Nolan 1998), the military (Herman 1995), popular culture (Schnog 1997; Illouz 2003), and the workplace (Cameron 2000; Illouz 2008). The therapeutic provides the dominant framework for understanding and responding to social problems (Herman 1995; Cloud 1998). In the twenty-first century, a wide variety of individuals hold therapeutic authority, from

16

psychologists and psychiatrists to social workers, teachers, prison employees, and even radio hosts and bloggers and TikTokers who dispense advice on social media.

No longer only for people identified as sick or mentally ill, therapeutic discourses and practices are virtually everywhere and inescapable. The entire population is, to varying degrees, in need of intervention. Governmentality theorists argue that the enormous power of the therapeutic lies not primarily in its status as a dominant cultural framework but as a set of discourses that provides techniques and practices by which individuals shape their own behavior and the behaviors of others. These discourses provide strong connections between government and seemingly private matters of individual feeling, behavior, and interactions.

The governmentality framework eschews the notion that the links between the social and inner life are primarily characterized by repressive external control, in which the government or institutions manipulate or exploit individuals who would otherwise be "free" or "have agency." On the contrary, therapeutic meanings help to inform programs and practices that aim to *encourage* individual autonomy and responsibility (Rose 1989, 1997; Rose and Miller 1992). In other words, therapeutic expertise aims to cultivate (professionally approved) agency. Scholars such as Nikolas Rose analyze the therapeutic as a form of government because of the ways therapeutic techniques incorporate the desire to self-regulate into the experiences and actions of individuals (Rose 1998:10). Importantly, individuals are encouraged to draw from psychotherapeutic traditions to "act upon their bodies, their emotions, their beliefs and their forms of conduct in order to transform themselves, in order to improve themselves and to live a better life" (Rose 1997:244). Individuals are urged, and sometimes required, to develop a relationship with the self that takes on "an 'enterprise form' to all forms of conduct," working on themselves in a variety of ways (Burchell 1993:275).

As political theorist Barbara Cruikshank puts it, individuals act "upon ourselves so that the police, the guards and the doctors do not have to" (Cruikshank 1999:234). Scholars have shown that these logics promoting individual responsibility and autonomy have come to dominate the scripts and practices of many institutional and cultural domains, such as public health (Petersen and Lupton 1996), unemployment (Dean 1999), self-help literature (Rimke 2000), self-help programs in women's prisons (Haney 2010; McCorkel 2013), development (Triantafillou and Nielsen 2001), empowerment and self-esteem (Cruikshank 1999), and education (Ball 2003; Hunter 1994; Hunter 1996).

Rose (1996) calls these developments the *contemporary politics of competence*. Individuals are supposed to take responsibility for themselves and their lives, constantly investing and working on themselves. People are meant to apply this stance toward education, job training, consumption, exercise, parenthood, diet, sex – virtually every aspect of life. Not only should one make continual, considered choices for one's own self-interest and self-improvement, but each individual's relative success or failure at doing so have come to be a major way that competence and incompetence are defined. Competent personhood is "thought to depend on the continual exercise of freedom, where one is encouraged to understand one's life, actually or potentially, not in terms of fate or social status, but in terms of one's success or failure acquiring the skills and making the choices to actualize oneself" (Rose 1999:87). These distinctions, according to Rose, create new lines of social division – distinctions between those who are *competent* and those who are not. Incompetence at self-management has become a new social dividing line, defining those who belong and those who do not (Rose 1996:346). In order to be included in social life, and in many communities, individuals have to at the very least be able to pass as responsible citizens capable of active choice and self-management (Rose 1996:337). Rose stresses that these forms of power do not replace other kinds of social control, but instead

18

have accompanied an increase in direct, coercive and carceral control. However, he suggests that the politics of competence shape even those who are most excluded from social life, even as these people are increasingly held responsible for their inability or unwillingness to manage themselves. The problems faced by those marginalized by a wide variety of social and economic factors come to be united in their focus on instilling in individuals the capacity for action: "they must take responsibility, they must show themselves capable of calculated action and choice, they must shape their lives according to a moral code of individual responsibility" (Rose 1996:346).

Many recent ethnographies and other research show that these discourses and related practices have become entrenched in American institutions and in how Americans understand their own lives. Even those most subject to widespread institutional failure and violence see their lives in these terms. In her research on the lives of previously incarcerated women, sociologist Susan Sered found that diverse institutional settings and the individual women she interviewed offered almost shocking consistency in their understandings of women's lives and suffering. Women facing physical abuse, sexual violence, poverty, homelessness, unemployment, addiction, serious health problems, chronic injuries resulting from assault, lack of stable housing, harassment by police, as well as the institutions in which these women act – all mostly identify the source of the women's problems in their own incompetence. Women use therapeutic language to locate the sources of their problems in themselves, their trauma, their emotional weaknesses, and their personality flaws. They adeptly pepper their life stories with psychological lingo; they tell Sered that they've realized their problems are in their heads, and that they need therapy. A woman without adequate housing reports, without a speck of anger or incredulity, that "my caseworker says I need to work on myself first" before working on finding housing (Sered 2014:123). Sered and Rose agree that vulnerable populations who

are disproportionately subject to other, more direct forms of institutional control are *also* subject to contemporary forms of therapeutic control and the politics of competence.

Children, Control, and Competence

In the previous section, I discussed how social groups subject to intense external regulation are also subject to therapeutic control and the politics of competence. Children fit this bill. A subset of the literature on childhood uses the insights about changing forms of control and regulation to understand contemporary childhood. Control is a defining feature of childhood, and many would agree with Nikolas Rose that childhood constitutes "the most intensely governed sector of personal existence" (Rose 1989:123). Although meanings and practices regarding children have changed in many ways, children have generally been considered incapable of citizenship and in need of external regulation (Kennedy 2006). Some historians have noted that although the latter decades of the twentieth century granted children earlier access to some parts of the adult world, these expanded freedoms have been balanced by increased adult attempts to control their time, bodies, and minds (Cunningham 2020). Some scholars have used the work on governmentality and self-government to analyze contemporary childhood. Scholars working from this perspective see strong parallels between the rise of the "competent child" and the significance placed on individual responsibility and self-reliance in what Rose (1999) calls advanced liberal approaches to government.

This body of work claims that new forms of childhood aim to produce the qualities of individualism and self-management in children who will work on themselves, maximize their lives, and grow to be the autonomous and rational workers and citizens required of advanced liberal societies with knowledge-based economies (Ailwood 2004; Bragg 2007). Sociologist Karen Smith has dubbed this model of contemporary competent childhood the

Athenian child. She extends sociologist Chris Jenks' work on the history of the social control of children.

Jenks argues that two contrasting models of control of childhood dominate the history of the regulation of children. He calls these the Dionysian and Apollonian models of childhood. Jenks shows that religious, political, and scientific discourses show two contrasting images of children, and different resulting ideas about their control (Jenks 1996:62). The Dionysian child, named for the Greek god of revelry, is characterized by wildness, self-gratification, and willfulness. This view of childhood is linked to explicit forms of control and attempts to squash child's potentially dangerous natural instincts through baptism, training, and strict control over behavior, by force if necessary. Jenks calls the modern, Western view of childhood, in which children are good, pure, angelic, and in need of safeguarding, the Apollonian model of childhood. Control of children under this model is through encouragement and guidance. Jenks makes explicit use of Foucault's disciplinary power to suggest that while children are no longer "beaten into submission," they are subject to ever-present, more subtle, less visible forms of regulation (Jenks 1996:65-70).

Smith's (2012, 2014) third model extends Jenks' work by suggesting a newer model of childhood characterized by agency and competence. Named for Athena, the Greek god of wisdom, who sprang fully formed from her father's head, the Athenian child is partially self-governing, and a partner in her own socialization (Smith 2012:190). Like the other models of childhood, the Athenian child is connected to particular forms of regulation, via participation and personal responsibility.

Children, then, are not exempt from the politics of competence. These scholars have noted that institutions such as the family and education appear more democratic than in the past, touting values such as open communication and negotiation (Cunningham 2020; Beck

1997). Children are seen as actors who should participate in their own governance, for example, in initiatives that include "student voice" in school government. Children are encouraged to create themselves as active participants and to "work on themselves" (Ailwood 2008). These developments, while certainly opening up new opportunities for children, also signify the opportunity for new kinds of control and potentially burdensome responsibilities for young people (Kampmann 2004:129-130). For example, Bragg, in his work on student voice initiatives, points out that these programs attempt to instill individualism, self-reliance, and self-management (Bragg 2007). Fendler's investigation of social skills curricula shows that the curricula construct children not as passive recipients but as active producers of knowledge who are participatory and engaged in the adult world (Fendler 2001). In addition, although many trends in contemporary child-rearing and education appear more democratic, they are also linked to forms of expertise which explicitly frame children's agency in instrumental terms with a bottom line focused on increased compliance or other goals that benefit adults and institutions (Fendler 2001; Dahlberg and Moss 2005).

Feeling, Competently

My work brings together literatures that have, with a few exceptions, not been brought into conversation with one another. Most of the dominant sociological work on feeling has remained impervious to the challenges posed by Foucault, Rose, and others to the frameworks that understand the relationship between society and individuals as primarily one of repressive control. Likewise, almost no work on changing forms of governance under neoliberalism has considered emotions as a central site for the exercise of this power. Karen Smith's notion of the Athenian child that I discuss above is one of the most useful concepts for thinking about the ideas and practices of childhood promoted by

social and emotional learning. Like the broader literature about contemporary forms of control and the politics of competence, however, emotion is absent from Smith's framework regarding the ways children are asked to regulate and govern themselves. There are, however, a few scholars who have considered the intersection of emotion and the politics of competence.

Sociologist Elaine Campbell extends some of Foucault's key concepts to more seriously consider emotion. For instance, she suggests that the concept "rationalities of rule" is broader than often interpreted and suggests a more inclusive understanding that refers to "all manners of governmental technologies and apparatuses that render practicable how to think, how to act, *and* how to feel" (Campbell 2010:39). She defines emotionalities of rule as the favored and promoted sensibilities toward feeling which are cultivated through governmental practices (Campbell 2010:52). Sociologist Allison McKim, in her ethnography of a mandated community drug treatment program for women, also works at the intersection of control and emotion. The subjectivity that the therapeutic practices aimed to produce was not the responsible and autonomous one she sees in the work of Nikolas Rose. Instead, this program drew on therapeutic insights and popularized feminist ideas to try to impart the qualities of an emotional, introspective, liberated woman (McKim 2008).

Sociologist Eva Illouz has perhaps most fully explored the intersection of these literatures. She (2008) argues that, over the course of the twentieth century, psychological ideas made emotions and particular ways of managing them increasingly important to social competence. Illouz's analysis of emotions in the workplace diverges significantly from the one offered by Hochschild. For Illouz, the "triumph of the therapeutic" (Rieff 1966) is tremendously important to considerations of contemporary emotional life, as psychological institutions and professionals explicitly construct healthy versus pathological emotions,

define positive versus negative emotions, provide the emotion norms and cultural repertoires to label and act upon specific emotions, and finally they provide techniques of emotional self-monitoring and emotion management in various social spheres. As a result, psychological ideas about emotion have created new forms of social mobility, new ways to succeed and fail at relationships and at life, as a result of the ability or failure to "do" emotion in particular ways (Illouz 2008).

Some scholars have extended Bourdieu's famed habitus concept to capture the centrality of individual agency and action to the creation and reproduction of particular kinds of feeling selves. For Bourdieu, the central tasks of sociology were to uncover the extremely hidden structures of our social world, as well as to outline the mechanisms that contribute either to their maintenance and reproduction or to their transformation. Habitus is a concept Bourdieu used as part of his overall project to avoid seeing action as either mechanical behavior without agency or deliberate pursuit of conscious intention (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:121). Bourdieu argued that exposure to social conditions leads to the internalized necessary means for operating within those conditions. Bourdieu's habitus is thus the embodiment of life experience, a set of durable dispositions that is formed and re-formed by a person's interactions with the social and material worlds. Habitus is corporeal, and "the way people treat their bodies reveals the deepest dispositions of the habitus" (Bourdieu 1984:190). It is a tool for understanding the ways in which humans are social at a very deep, individual level, and mental schemata are the embodiment of objective social divisions.

Some sociologists build on Bourdieu to claim that contemporary life is characterized by a new kind of *emotional habitus*. Sociologist Anne Kane (2001) derived the term from bringing Bourdieu into conversation with Elias and sociologist Thomas Scheff. An emotional habitus provides an individual a disposition regarding emotions, a sense of what and how to

feel, labels for their feelings, schemas about what feelings are and what they mean, and ways of figuring out and understanding what they are feeling. As sociologist Deborah Gould puts it, one's emotional habitus contains "an emotional pedagogy, a template for what and how to feel, in part by conferring on some feelings and modes of expression an axiomatic, natural quality and making other feeling states unintelligible within its terms and in some sense unfeelable and inexpressible" (Gould 2009:34). Emotional habitus shapes the ways which one's emotions are bodily and verbally expressed and used in turn to negotiate social interactions (Illouz 2008:214).

Emotional habitus is shaped by the field(s) in which one operates and reproduced through and potentially transformed through practices such as enactments or imitations of feelings and statements about what is normative (or not) regarding feelings and their expression. For Illouz, what unites diverse therapeutic practices and frameworks is a common emotional style characterized by a preoccupation with certain emotions and techniques (scientific, linguistic, ritual) to understand and intervene in them. The emotional habitus of therapeutic culture is woven into the fabric of various institutions by the professional practice of psychologists, their role in corporations, and the wide range of popular culture media which popularize psychological meanings, as well as techniques to understand and act upon emotions. Emotional habitus is learned and embodied from early childhood through social practices and interactions, while "culture provides for people an emotional habitus, with a language and set of practices which outline ways of speaking about emotions and of acting out and upon bodily feelings within everyday life" (Burkitt 1997:43).

STS Insights

A final literature guides my thinking about social and emotional learning. Science, Technology and Society is an interdisciplinary field that investigates the institutions, practices, meanings and outcomes of science and technology, as well as their interactions with the social world (Felt et al. 2016:1). STS is focused on knowledge. It asks how individuals and collectivities, from scientists to states, know things. STS also asks how the construction of knowledge comes to shape social institutions, identities, and relationships (Felt et al. 2016:19). This is important to my work because while the norms governing childhood are based on science, unlike past norms derived from religion or philosophy, they are not the products of simple objective inquiry, nor are they neutral in their effects.

STS conceptualizes science not as a system of ideas or beliefs produced by a discrete social institution but as a set of practices, from preparing and conducting experiments to interpreting data to writing up and presenting their findings (Amsterdamska 2008: 205). STS also eschews linear thinking and issues of causality when conceptualizing the relationships between knowledge and society, focusing instead on how ways of understanding the world and expectations for living are coproduced (Felt et al. 2016:9). Key to the STS framework is that scientific knowledge doesn't reflect nature but instead is a tool for handling and making sense of the world. As such, the usual preoccupation with whether scientific knowledge is true or false is less important than analysis of the social processes of the production, dissemination and use of this knowledge. For STS, theories, methods, perceptions, practices and institutional arrangements are all mixed together (Law 2016:33). Increasingly STS finds its objects of inquiry scattered throughout contemporary societies, wherever people are engaged in creating and using knowledge (Felt et al. 2016:22).

In a 2011 edited volume, sociologists Camic, Gross and Lamont urge scholars to use insights from science and technology studies (STS) to evaluate *social* knowledge. They define social knowledge as descriptive information and analytic statements about individuals, groups, organizations and other collectivities, as well as the conceptual and material tools used to produce this information about the social world (Camic, Gross and Lamont 2011). In the twenty-first century, social knowledge is everywhere. From economic reports and forecasts and demographic information to statistics on marriage, employment, crime, substance use, housing, religiosity to psychological evaluations and educational test results, our world is saturated with social knowledge (Camic, Gross and Lamont 2011:3). As Camic, Gross and Lamont point out, social knowledge is increasingly not made in established academic disciplines, but in interdisciplinary, nonacademic contests and also not only in places that *say* they are engaged in knowledge production but in settings where that knowledge is being used and applied (Camic, Gross and Lamont 2011:14).

Many scholars have made the point that the boundaries between specialized psychological knowledge and "pop" psychology are porous, and that both address individuals using common language and meanings (Illouz 2008). Although practitioners may go to great lengths to make distinctions between formal and informal knowledge, these distinctions must be questioned and even put aside by scholars wanting to identify cultural continuities beyond the established social divisions of knowledge. By this I mean that scholars need to be careful to take the socially constructed boundaries, such as the one between "scientific knowledge" and "popular knowledge" as seriously as actors whose careers depend on those distinctions. Acknowledgment of the porous boundaries is particularly important in the analysis of a field like SEL, in which some of the most dominant, foundational writings and curricula in the field draw heavily from scientific journalism, particularly the work of Daniel Goleman. Social and emotional learning

27

encompasses social scientific knowledge, science journalism, some well-researched

practices, some not well-researched practices, and some programs produced by profit-

seeking corporations. In addition, SEL advocates have also worked to purposefully connect

research and practice. For example, in a 1997 edited volume *Emotional Development and*

Emotional Intelligence: Educational Implications by SEL leaders Peter Salovey and David

Sluyter, the theoretical or scientific chapters are followed by several-page essays written by

an educator suggesting how the contributions of that chapter can be implemented in the

classroom. I address how this STS lens informed my data collection and analysis further

below.

Research Design

I address the following research questions:

1) How has social and emotional learning developed and spread through education discourses and policy in the United States over the past 30 years?

2) According to social and emotional learning theory and practice, what constitutes the emotionally competent child?

To address the first question, I draw on education policy and content analysis of

academic and professional literatures on social and emotional learning. I use these to map

the development of ideas and practices emphasizing emotional competence from 1990 to

the present. Although the term "social and emotional learning" was not coined until 1994,

1990 marked the appearance of the term "emotional intelligence," the most influential

concept to the development of SEL. I contextualize this intellectual history with information

about the institutional formation of the field of social and emotional learning gathered from

sources including documents published by CASEL and other organizations, newspaper and

magazine articles, and websites. Focusing on the past 30 years allows analysis of initial theorizing about the incorporation of these new ideas about emotional competence into education, as well as analysis of the ways that SEL thinking and practices have evolved since then. I also document the spread of social and emotional learning into state learning standards, which began in 2004.

To address the second question regarding what constitutes the emotionally competent child, I focus on the ideas and practices of emotional competence in SEL. Here, the concept of emotional habitus is useful, as I am interested in the emotions with which SEL is most preoccupied, as well as the practices regarding emotions that it promotes for knowing and regulating oneself. I use content analysis of eight social and emotional learning curricula, the state learning standards for social and emotional learning, as well as approximately 60 key SEL publications to address these questions. I supplement these data sources with additional data from public talks, websites, training videos, and SEL program promotional materials.

Data Selection

In this section, I explain the criteria I used to select my four primary sources of data: 1) academic writing on SEL and emotional competence; 2) writing on SEL and emotional competence for educators; 3) educational policy on social and emotional learning; and 4) SEL curricula.

I identified influential academic writing on social and emotional learning. I wanted to gather these data because at the start of my research social and emotional learning was a new field and I wanted to gain an understanding of the development of its key themes and ideas. Academic and professional literatures provide detailed information about the ways SEL researchers and advocates conceptualize emotion and emotional competence. Many of

the founders of the field published academic journal articles. I used these data to learn about the development of some of the theories that informed SEL. To identify influential academic writing on social and emotional learning, in June 2014, I searched Google Scholar and Web of Science Social Science Citation Index databases to identify the academic articles and books about social and emotional learning that had been cited the most times. Through these searches, I identified the 50 most widely cited articles, book chapters and books about social and emotional learning. I included work that focused on social and emotional learning for the general population of children in kindergarten through 12th grade in the United States. I excluded work on social and emotional learning in other countries and pieces about SEL for children with emotional or behavioral problems, or for infants, preschoolers, college students or adults. The final group of 50 articles included theoretical pieces, program evaluations and meta-analyses. In 2019 I repeated these procedures to include ten additional newer articles.

For the second source of data, I identified the fifteen most widely circulating trade publications for educators and searched their contents for articles on SEL between January 1990 and July 2014. This prescriptive writing for educators provides information regarding the ideas and practices of social and emotional learning. I defined an education trade publication as a periodical aimed at educators containing articles about educational practices for implementation in schools. These education publications feature firsthand accounts of classroom and school practices. They define contemporary pedagogical trends and keep educators current on teaching practices. I considered publications for teachers as well as those for other school personnel such as administrators, counselors and school psychologists. I chose the fifteen publications using subscription data from World CAT, a bibliographic database itemizing the collections of more than 72,000 libraries in 170 countries. For each item in this database, World CAT provides data about the number of

libraries reporting that they own it. I used the number of libraries that subscribe to a trade magazine as a measure of its reach and popularity. I identified the 15 education trade publications that were subscribed to by the most libraries. The 15 publications were: *Education Week*, *The Education Digest*, *Young Children*, *Principal Leadership*, *School Administrator*, *Educational Leadership*, *Childhood Education*, *Professional School Counseling*, *Phi Delta Kappan*, *Instructor*, *NEA Today*, *The American School Board Journal*, *Principal*, *The Clearing House* and *Contemporary Education.* To identify articles about SEL, I searched these publications using the following search terms: social and emotional learning, social emotional learning, emotional competence, emotional intelligence, emotional literacy and emotional skills. I included all articles, book reviews and editorials that were substantially (more than just a sentence or two) concerned with the teaching of emotional skills to students in schools in kindergarten through grade 12. Of the 15 publications, 11 had at least one article that fit these criteria. In total, I collected 95 pieces of writing from these 11 publications for analysis. I repeated these procedures in 2019 and added an additional 20 articles.

The third major data source I used is educational policy on social and emotional learning. These data provided vital information about the most influential and dominant SEL ideas and practices. I examined attempts by CASEL to include language promoting emotional competence in drafts for the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and other federal education policy. I also analyzed state learning standards regarding emotional competence. SEL has been included in some states' educational policy in the form of learning standards. Learning standards have become the primary focus in education reform over the past two decades. Since the 1990s, states have developed these standards, composed of grade-specific knowledge and skills children should acquire in different subjects. As I show in Chapter 3, the distillation of what the emotionally competent

child should feel and do with their feelings is laid out incredibly specifically in these standards. As products of multiple organizations and actors working to define what an emotionally competent child should know and be able to do at various ages, these data were one of the most valuable.

To identify which states had social and emotional learning standards, in March 2015 I searched each state's department of education website for SEL standards. I noted whether each state had learning standards regarding emotional skills. In the five years following 2015, there was an explosion of states that adopted social and emotional learning standards. In 2020 and 2021, I repeated my survey of all state department of education websites to determine whether they had social and emotional learning standards. As of July 2021, 28 states had social and emotional learning standards for at least some grades kindergarten through Grade 12. I included all of the standards that had to do with emotions in my analysis of standards, but I concentrated my analysis on standards for elementary-aged students, commonly defined in the United States as kindergarten through Grade 5. I also collected and analyzed literature and implementation guidelines that accompany the standards.

The fourth major data source consists of eight social and emotional learning programs used in schools. These data sources provided the richest data about what the practices of emotional competence are supposed to look like in the classroom. The SEL curricula provided detailed information about the specific expectations for emotional competence as well as the practices that teachers and other school personnel are supposed to use to impart the behaviors and knowledge believed to comprise emotionally competent functioning. In my analysis of the curricula, I also focused on the emotional vocabularies children are taught to imagine themselves, their feelings, their interactions and their relationships with others. I identified practices of emotional awareness, expression,

regulation and communication in the curricula, as well as the pedagogical practices used to develop them in children.

Leaders in the field have estimated that there are several hundred programs and curricula available for teaching at least some subset of social and emotional skills (CASEL 2012). As with my analysis of the standards, I only analyzed SEL curricula for elementary students. SEL for middle- and high school students is becoming more common, but the bulk of SEL theorizing, research and product development has been for preschool- and elementary-aged children. I excluded curricula used only for preschoolers because I am primarily concerned with public education, which begins in kindergarten for the majority of children in the United States.

I chose to limit my possibilities to programs that SEL leaders promote as exemplary programs. I did that not because I believe these programs are necessarily "better" but because they are well-regarded in the field and their use is widespread. As an organization in SEL, CASEL's publications are incredibly influential. This was especially true earlier in my research when I was collecting these data. In 2013, CASEL published a guide to social and emotional learning programs. This document, *The 2013 CASEL Guide: Effective Social and Emotional Learning Programs – Preschool and Elementary School Edition*, updates and expands upon an earlier 2003 document. I used this guide as a starting point for selecting programs because CASEL is an accepted authority on social and emotional learning. Its 2013 guide was downloaded from its website more than 150,000 times. As a document prepared by the leading organization in the field, the guide represents what SEL leaders define as the most well-researched, effective examples of SEL programs. This guide identified 23 multi-year programs for the general population of students that, according to CASEL, constitute "well-designed, evidence-based SEL programs with potential for broad dissemination to schools across the United States" (CASEL 2012). CASEL reports that these

33

programs were chosen from an extensive review of the field using multiple methods

including calls for nomination of programs, major literature reviews, and reviews of

national reports and databases of school-based programs.

To choose a selection of the 23 programs, I used a variety of criteria. Four of the

programs are only for preschoolers, so I immediately ruled those out. Of the remaining 19,

my first choice was to include the two newest programs, MindUP (2009) and RULER (2004).

These programs explicitly draw on recent work in psychology and neuroscience about

emotional intelligence and the brain, so I included these even though their adoption is less

extensive than other programs that have been around for decades. The primary criteria I

used to choose which programs of the remaining 17 to include were: 1) how widely adopted

the program is in the United States and 2) how focused the program is on the explicit

teaching of emotional skills. To assess how widely adopted each program is in the United

States, I used self-reported data on adoption, either from the programs' websites or from

the SAMSHA National Registry of Evidence-Based Programs and Practices. I excluded three

programs (Competent Kids Caring Communities, Raising Healthy Children and Social

Decision Making/Problem Solving Program) because they were not widely adopted in the

United States, each being confined mostly to one state or region at this time. I ruled out

three programs (4Rs, TRIBES and Responsive Classroom) because they are not primarily

programs that explicitly teach emotional skills, and one program (Steps to Respect) that is

primarily a bullying prevention program developed by the same organization of another

program I did include. Of the remaining programs, all of which are widely adopted

programs used nationwide, I decided to choose the six programs focused most on emotion.

Through examination of the promotional materials and websites of these nine programs, as

well as analyses of them in the academic literature, I chose the six programs that most

extensively teach emotional skills. These six programs are I Can Problem Solve, The

Incredible Years, Open Circle, Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS),

Resolving Conflict Creatively (RCC) and Second Step. The eight programs I analyzed are

summarized in Table 1.1.

Program	Year First Developed	Program Developer	Developer Type	Location	Grades	Extensiveness of Program
I Can Problem Solve	1971	Research Press Publishers	For-profit publisher	Champaign, IL	PreK-5	59-83 lessons
The Incredible Years	1986	Incredible Years	For-profit educational program developer	Seattle, WA	PreK-2	64 lessons
MindUP	2009	The Hawn Foundation	Non-profit philanthropic organization	Basalt, CO	PreK-8	15 lessons
Open Circle	1987	Wellesley Centers for Women, Wellesley College	Non-profit, college-based research center	Wellesley, MA	K-5	34 lessons, plus additional supplementary lessons
Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS)	1980	Channing Bete Company	For-profit health publisher	South Deerfield, MA	PreK-6	40-52 lessons
Resolving Conflict Creatively	1985	Morningside Center for Teaching Social Responsibility	Non-profit nonviolence organization	New York, NY	PreK-8	16 lessons
RULER	2004	RULER group, Yale University	University emotional intelligence center	New Haven, CT	K-8	16 lessons on anchor tools, 75 feeling word lessons
Second Step	1987	Committee for Children	Non-profit social program developer	Seattle, WA	PreK-8	22-28 week-long lessons spread across 5 days/week

Table 1.1 Social and Emotional Learning Programs

A final source of data consists of websites, promotional materials and other public

documents produced by social and emotional learning organizations and program

developers. I used these data to understand the public-facing dominant meanings of social

and emotional learning. I analyzed the websites of major SEL organizations: CASEL,

philanthropic foundations funding SEL and school districts undertaking district wide SEL initiatives. I located 200 video clips ranging from a few minutes in length to more than an hour, including promotional videos, teacher training videos, homemade videos about SEL by teachers and students in schools across the country, and recordings of SEL conference presentations and interviews with SEL leaders. In addition, I attended four public talks on social emotional learning or emotional intelligence, which took place in university settings between March 2012 and January 2014.

Data Procedures

I used the STS framework to guide my analysis. I was particularly focused on the widespread and dominant ideas and practices I came across throughout the field. Because STS recognizes the complex feedback loops in knowledge production and utilization, I systematically collected textual data on the methods, meanings, practices and institutional arrangements in social and emotional learning. I began analyzing data soon after its collection and used that analysis to guide the collection of further data. Data analysis consisted of description, analysis and interpretation (Wolcott 1994) in order to understand the meanings of emotional competence, its practices, and the techniques used to develop it in children.

I read all data sources multiple times to make interpretive judgments and develop coding schemes. In the process of analysis, I looked for systematic patterns and connections across data sources. To handle these data manageably, I used NVivo 12 to organize, sort, retrieve, search, and code all data. I developed coding schemes for recurring and diverging themes that emerged in the data. I grouped information first within broad themes, and then within more specific codes within the larger themes. In the analysis of the academic and professional discourses, I made comparisons over time. In the analysis of the curricula, I

compared across programs and approaches to look for patterns and differences in the ways that emotional competence is conceptualized, operationalized and taught to children.

Because I am dealing here with programmatic literature that describes and advocates particular practices or approaches, it is important to observe that what teachers or other educators really do in classrooms may be different. Program implementations can and do diverge considerably across contexts. For my purposes, what people actually do "on the ground" is outside of the scope of this project.

Overview of the Chapters

SEL signals the institutionalization of an expanded notion of competence, one that depends on an individual's ability to interact with her feelings in prescribed ways. "Emotional competence" is a relatively new concept that refers to many different skills with feelings. It encompasses diverse abilities such as identifying one's emotional state, regulating moods, controlling impulsive behavior, empathizing with others and preventing distress from interfering with learning. Competent selfhood, effective communication and successful relationships are all increasingly seen as dependent upon how skilled individuals are at identifying, expressing and managing their emotions.

Social and emotional learning initiatives aim to develop these skills via intentional, scientifically researched methods with goals for the production of emotionally competent selves. Once reserved for children with identified behavioral or emotional problems, current social and emotional programs are generally directed at the general population of students.

This dissertation examines the teaching of emotional skills to children in public schools in the United States. My analysis traces the cultural reconfiguration of emotion as

central to the competence schools are supposed to develop. I show how emotion is central to the understandings of competent personhood, and to the ways children are supposed to have agency and discipline themselves. Schools and childhood are among the last institutional spheres in which these shifts have happened. Childhood has historically been one of the most regulated times of human existence, but also the last to be subject to the broad influence of the therapeutic. While therapeutic logics and practices came to dominate many other cultural and institutional domains, schools were still characterized by clearly defined power differentials, external control and institutionally approved unidirectional anger in the 1980s (Stearns and Stearns 1986).

However, this has changed in recent decades. Social and emotional learning constructs children as competent and responsible subjects, and this construction is based upon the cultivation of their selves to engage their emotions using professionally created practices of knowing, monitoring, expressing and regulating feelings. This is noteworthy because it introduces therapeutically sophisticated norms and ways of imagining and engaging the self to children. It says that all children should use these practices. The emotional style of being reflective, measured, self-knowing and self-regulated has been codified into learning standards and the characteristics school districts try to attain in their students.

In Chapter 2, I trace the historical development of the field of social and emotional learning. The rise of SEL appears paradoxical because it has happened at a time when seemingly nothing about other trends in education suggests that SEL should have enjoyed the successes that it has. It is counterintuitive that focus on the whole child or emotions would coexist in the age of standardization, accountability, and testing. However, this seemingly paradoxical rise has been accomplished through the transformation of emotional life into this dominant framework emphasizing standards and measurement. In other words, SEL may seem like it doesn't fit current educational trends, but its methods and

approaches very much do. In so doing, field leaders are rewriting emotional life to open it up to new forms of categorization and measurement, and with them, new forms of normality and deviance.

In Chapter, 3 I examine the "downstream" (Epstein 2008) articulation of the ideal emotionally competent child by examining state standards for social and emotional learning. These standards lay out standardized, rationalized expectations and prescriptions for how children should engage with their emotions and the emotions of others. In these standards, I show that in the codification of norms and practices of emotion into state standards, "emotional competence," "social competence," and "responsible citizenship" are conflated and seen as dependent on emotions.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I analyze social and emotional learning curricula, with a focus on their attention to emotional skill. The first of these two chapters focuses on the SEL practices for knowing, monitoring, and reflecting on emotions, and the second on SEL practices of regulating and working on one's emotions and one's emotional self. In both chapters, I analyze the practices of the skills that children are taught, as well as the pedagogical practices used to impart them. I show what SEL practices are, and how they attempt to cultivate a responsible self with emotions firmly at the center. Pedagogical practices attempt to cultivate a responsible child actor who is deeply invested in the practices of knowing, assessing, monitoring and regulating emotions. Nikolas Rose claimed that the practices of therapy worked to carve a "psy-shaped space" between brain and behavior. I show how SEL practices attempt to construct this "psy-shaped space" in all children as part of their everyday experience in school, using practices from a wide variety of psychological and neuroscientific traditions, particularly popularized versions of them.

Notes

[1] Emilie Woodward, Email Communication, September 22, 2016.

CHAPTER 2

THE RISE OF SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL LEARNING

> We are talking about a whole new vision of education that says that
> educating the heart is as important as educating the mind.
>
> -- Linda Lantieri, SEL Founder

Education correspondent Anya Kamenetz reported for NPR in 2017 that, increasingly, "people in education agree on the importance of schools paying attention to stuff other than academics. But still no one agrees on what to call that 'stuff'" (Kamenetz 2017). There has been a huge rise in attention to the nonacademic over the past several decades that transcends many fields and goes by different names. Through her interviews with people in related fields, Kamenetz provides a brief overview of terms and approaches for this "stuff," including character, grit, noncognitive skills, 21st century skills, agency, growth mindset, soft skills, resilience, and social and emotional learning. Kamenetz reported that there was lack of consensus about terms and definitions. However, when it came to the term social and emotional learning, she wrote, "Nobody I spoke with hates this term" and that most people "seem to be using social and emotional (or social-emotional/socioemotional) learning as a catchall" (Kamenetz 2017).

The notion that schools should teach children more than academics is not new. Current attempts to go beyond academics are consistent with the general, longstanding interest in using schools to educate positive neighbors, contributing citizens, and productive workers. In fact, the establishment of public schooling in the United States was fueled by the belief that schools should not only transmit knowledge but shape citizens. Historian Carl Kaestle (1983) illustrates this point with the 1862 words of the Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction stating that the primary goal of public education is "to make good

citizens. Not to make precocious scholars…not to impart the secret of acquiring wealth…not to qualify directly for professional success…but simply to make good citizens" (Kaestle 1983:98). At the turn of the twentieth century, progressive education reformer John Dewey (1902) argued that elementary schools, rather than focusing only on the acquisition of trades, should focus on children's inner "habits of the mind," which he deemed the foundation of democratic participation. Other proponents of progressive education at the time such as Felix Adler and Maria Montessori proposed versions of this idea that educators need to understand the "whole child."

This chapter is a history of social and emotional learning. SEL is an interdisciplinary field that includes practitioners who promote, research, and disseminate knowledge. It also has been called an "umbrella term" that refers to anything that involves skills that are not strictly academic, as the anecdote from NPR illustrates. I approach social and emotional learning as a knowledge culture and give multifaceted examples of the ways in which it has emerged and developed. But within this diverse field, the reach and power of one organization, the Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL), is undeniable. As such, I also provide key moments in the history of this influential organization and I focus on the vision of social and emotional learning it promotes. As the authority on SEL in this country, CASEL has been successful in the dissemination of its version of social and emotional learning into school districts and state policy.

In this chapter, I show the rise of a set of ideas and organizations that defined a new domain in the quest to address social problems through intervention into individuals – in this case, into children's emotions. In the middle of the twentieth century, a framework rose to dominance in the United States that saw interventions into the behaviors of children in school as the way to address multi-faceted social problems. In the1960s, social scientists of
the War on Poverty strived to impart the social skills of White middle-class culture to Black

children in poor urban neighborhoods. Over the rest of the century, schools drew on

knowledge practices from social science in order to intervene in children's behaviors and

skills in the name of preventing disease, pregnancy, and drug use, among many other issues.

These interventions were usually aimed at behaviors and interactions and were directly

related to the issue at hand. For instance, in the 1980s, children were taught how to

navigate interactions with friends in order to avoid peer pressure as a way to address drugs

as a social problem (i.e., "just say no").

This chapter demonstrates how these school-based interventions into children in

the name of bettering society have developed and changed in the last forty years. In

particular, I show the rise of a new model in which the target of intervention has migrated

increasingly inwards. In the last quarter of the twentieth children, institutions intervened

directly to develop a wide array of skills and competencies of some populations of children

– in particular, poor Black and Brown children in failing urban schools, or children

diagnosed with psychological disturbances. However, increasingly, all children are

considered in need of this kind of intentional cultivation of the skills believed to be

necessary for social life.

In this chapter, I show the increasing significance of emotion in school-based

programs aimed at the cultivation of children's skills. I show the rise of a model focused on

the development of skill and competence, and then an increasing emotionalization of that

competence and its related practices. Emotional competence is individualized and is seen as

something that needs to be cultivated in children in order for children to have successful

relationships with others.

This movement inward has been shaped not only by therapeutic knowledge

practices, but by trends in education toward standardization, accountability and testing.

Advocates of social and emotional learning have often presented SEL as in opposition to these trends. Coverage of SEL in educator trade magazines have titles like "Learning to Read the Heart" (Novice 2002) and "Finding the Heart of Your School" (Cohen, Shapiro and Fisher 2006). However, especially in the most recent decade, SEL has also been subject to these trends. In a 2010 interview, emotional intelligence guru Daniel Goleman echoed a line used by many in the field, stressing, "so this is not touchy-feely, this is very hard science now" (Edutopia 2010, 5:47). Sheldon Berman, a nationally known SEL advocate in the 2000s similarly describes social and emotional learning as "…core social skills that give students the experience and knowledge and talent to work effectively with others. This isn't about being nice. This is serious work" (quoted in Boss 2011).

Historical Context and Antecedents

Social and emotional learning emerged at the intersection of related ideas and knowledge practices aimed at a variety of social problems at the end of the twentieth century. Its roots are in the progressive education movement, interventions of the War on Poverty, prevention science, psychology and neuroscience. These ideas and practices shared a fixation on the behavior of individuals and groups. A foundational tenet of American liberalism is the idea that scientific knowledge holds the key to solving social problems (O'Connor 2002).

The period after World War II saw an explosion of new social scientific methods, an emphasis on individual psychology, and a fascination with culture and personality. The vast expansion of resources and institutional infrastructure devoted to research fueled this "behavioral emphasis" in social sciences (Herman 1996). Well-endowed institutes such as Carnegie, Rockefeller, Russell Sage and the Ford Foundation funded a new frontier of social research and intervention aimed at addressing social problems via knowledge about

individuals and groups (Lageman 1989). The study and amelioration of social problems

became more about altering individual behavior and less about addressing structural

inequality (Herman 1996). Knowledge from the burgeoning fields of psychology, social

psychology and sociology reinforced the idea that major social problems could be fixed

without conflict and without major economic change (O'Connor 2002:104). In this section, I

trace some of the strands of the knowledges that were foundational to the development of

social and emotional learning later in the century.

Early attempts by schools to address "more than academics" went by names such as

character or moral education. The religious bases of these programs diminished and were

replaced with ideas and practices from the growing fields of psychology and psychiatry

(Beane 1990). In the early part of the twentieth century, the mental hygiene movement

posited that the application of new psychiatric knowledge could address the widespread

personality maladjustment they saw at the root of most, if not all, social problems (Cohen

1983:127). In the 1920s and 1930s, mental hygienists fought for the incorporation of

knowledge from psychiatry and developmental psychology into schools and teacher

training. According to educational historian Sol Cohen, the mental hygiene movement was

enormously successful at incorporating psychiatric norms and categories into educational

theory and practices. Mental hygienists were particularly successful in integrating a

psychological conception of "personality development" into American education (Cohen

1983).

Later in the century, the affective education movement of the 1960s and 1970s,

which grew out of humanistic psychology, argued that attention to children's feelings was

necessary to successful education. Its basic premise was that emotions could be harnessed

for better learning, and that children would learn more deeply if information was conveyed

to them in emotionally moving ways (Beane 1990). Affective education promoted

experiential approaches for building a student's internal personal skills, self-knowledge and feeling recognition (Miller 1976). Chief proponents of humanistic psychology such as Gordon Allport, Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers contradicted dominant ideas of the time that people were easily manipulated pawns of society and the family. They argued people could, and should, exercise self-determination (Herman 1992:90). Humanistic psychology espoused the idea that an important human need was "to feel good about oneself, experience one's emotions directly, and grow emotionally" (Herman 1992:88). The development of a clear self-concept and positive self-esteem was recognized as a crucial aspect of a fulfilling life. While most early advocates of humanistic psychology worked from the perspective of therapists for individuals, these ideas and their related practices soon spread to many different organizational settings, including schools.

Social Problems and Poverty Knowledge

The American liberal welfare state was built on a conception of social life focused on individualized, psychologically oriented behavior science. In the 1960s, under the administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, there was an amplification of these trends. What was perhaps most significant about this time was not only the explosion of new knowledge, but its increasing integration with the state and policy. Over the course of these administrations, the government relied on social science in new ways to craft approaches to problems such as juvenile delinquency, crime, unemployment, poverty and racism. Most social scientific knowledge at the time, particularly that which was incorporated into these approaches, addressed social problems by locating their origins in individual behavior rather than economic and social inequality. The programs and practices that emerged from this knowledge tended to focus more on ameliorating the individual harms of racism and poverty rather than the ways that American institutions created them.

In the early 1960s, officials purposefully worked to include social scientists in policy making, particularly around issues of juvenile delinquency, crime, and poverty (O'Connor 2002). In 1961, Kennedy established by executive order The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and began an unprecedented level of federal involvement in areas that policymakers had started to call "the inner city" (Hinton 2016:32). Later that year, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 sought to address problems of "youth unemployment, poor housing, poor health, inadequate education and the alienation of lower-class communities and neighborhoods" (Hinton 2016:33). In one example of programs to emerge from this anti-delinquency legislation, it provided funding for preschool "for the culturally disadvantaged" that evolved into Head Start, and by 1965 community action agencies had enrolled 200,000 children in preschool.

The theories of delinquency and crime at the time were rife with contradictions. While not entirely individualistic, even sociological thinking often resulted in interventions into individual behavior. For instance, the work of sociologists Lloyd Ohlin and Richard Cloward was very influential in the development of the juvenile delinquency programs of the Kennedy administration. Ohlin and Cloward thought crime among urban Black and Latino youth stemmed from lack of resources for youth and punitive responses to their everyday behavior, not individual character traits. These factors led to failure in school and employment, making it more likely that poor Black and Latino youth would engage in criminal behavior. Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) "opportunity theory" sought to change the relationship between young poor Black Americans and the social institutions around them in order to break community pathologies they believed perpetuated poverty. They argued that the way to reduce delinquency was to change "opportunity structures" and strengthen the institutions surrounding poor Black and Latino youth with increased opportunities for

education and training. However, in practice, the anti-delinquency initiatives policymakers went on to develop based on these ideas targeted the behavior of individual children and teenagers much more so than they did institutions (Hinton 2016).

The administration of Lyndon B. Johnson developed and expanded these focuses declaring an "unconditional war on poverty" in January 1964. On August 20, 1964, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the most ambitious social welfare program in U.S. history, providing $1 billion to fight poverty. As many historians and other analysts of this time have argued, the War on Poverty must be understood in relation to the racial and economic politics of the time. It was launched at the height of the Civil Rights movement, a time of demonstrations, marches, and enormous racial tumult. The Civil Rights movement brought to popular conscience the idea that racism was bad, but it also accentuated White middle-class fear of changes to the racial order.

Policymakers and public figures spoke of widespread threat to the social order caused by large numbers of angry Black people in American cities. Former Harvard president and social commentator James Conant used the term "social dynamite" to capture the dangerous potential of urban Black anger, saying that the "...building up of a mass of unemployed and frustrated Negro youth in congested areas of a city is a social phenomenon that may be compared to the piling up of inflammable material in an empty building on a city block" (Conant 1961). The phrase was picked up by the popular press to convey the urgency of the situation. In this context, the War on Poverty was not merely an effort to reduce poverty or suffering, and certainly never a project to radically transform society or reduce inequality. Instead, the policies to address poverty and social unrest of the time were fueled by White, middle class fear about urban disorder and the behavior of young Black and Latino young people (Bobo and Charles 2009).

The political rhetoric of 1960s, therefore, spoke of the harms of racial inequality, but the policies and the programs of the time were dominated by discourses that placed most of the blame for racism and the solutions on the shoulders of poor Black people. The harms of racial inequality and poverty, so the analysis went, were manifest in individual traits that can be transmitted through generations, reproduced through individual behavior. These ideas were articulated most clearly in the "culture of poverty" concept which dominated academic and political discourses of the time and shaped most interventions of the War on Poverty.

This understanding of poverty had been built and disseminated by social scientists over the previous decades. The phrase "culture of poverty" was first popularized in social psychologist John Dollard and sociologist E. Franklin Frazier's studies of Black southern migrants and reinvigorated by Oscar Lewis's 1950s studies of Puerto Rican and Mexican Poverty (Dollard 1937; Frazier 1939; Lewis 1959). The gist of this work on culture of poverty argued that poor people remain poor because they are caught in a vicious cultural cycle, and that the related pathological behaviors of this culture of poverty reproduced poverty in the next generation. In 1944, sociologist Gunnar Myrdal described Black poverty as a "vicious cycle" perpetuated by economic inequality, cultural exclusion and the psychological impact of racism. Myrdal challenged genetic theories of racial inequality with a framework he called "pathology," a term he borrowed from medical science, to describe the effect of social ills on individual behavior. He argued that cultural exclusion and the pathologies it fostered could be disrupted if Black Americans acquired "the traits held in esteem by dominant white Americans" and assimilated into the White middle-class mainstream (Myrdal 1944).

These ideas were widely disseminated and used to shape policy during the War on

Poverty, particularly in the controversial Moynihan Report, which sociologists Doug Massey

and Robert Sampson in 2009 dubbed "most famous piece of social science never published."

In March 1965, an assistant secretary of labor of the Johnson administration, sociologist

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, circulated an internal document to his colleagues entitled *The*

Negro Family: A Case for National Action. It was written as input in the conversations in the

Johnson administration about how to address race following the Civil Rights Act. The memo

was leaked to the press and met great controversy and criticism. Historian Daniel Geary

argues that the report's controversy stemmed partly from its multiple explanations for

Black poverty which opened it up to different interpretations and justifications for different

policy outcomes (Geary 2015).

Moynihan's report summarized the social scientific insights of the previous few

decades. He argued that ending segregation in the south was not sufficient to end Black

poverty. Moynihan tried to persuade the federal government to attack economic and other

inequalities in the Black population by working to address male unemployment and low

wages paid to Black workers (Gans 2011). He drew on decades of demographic and social

science studies and was particularly influenced by Myrdal's conception of Black pathology.

Black poverty was more intractable than White poverty because of the legacy of slavery and

persistent discrimination and segregation. A combination of racism and cultural deprivation

had produced a "tangle of pathology" in Black urban families and communities. As a result,

Moynihan argued that for vast numbers of the black urban working class, the fabric of

conventional social relationships had disintegrated (Moynihan 1964). These "pathological"

behaviors helped to reproduce poverty in the next generation. The report also endorsed the

idea that poverty could be alleviated through strategic interventions in Black communities

and families. Deficient parents and neighborhoods had spawned "antisocial behaviors."

Officials advocated federal policy to enhance the stability of the Black family, job programs

for black men, and argued that unless national programs stimulated education and skills

training, existing problems would be transmitted and likely worsen from one generation to the next (Hinton 2016:38).

Although Moynihan and the social scientific thinking on which he built this report identified racism and poverty as root causes, his attention was mostly focused on the instability of Black family life, the proliferation of female-headed families, and illegitimacy. Consistent with the other moves at the federal and state levels at the time, the Moynihan Report continued the trend of addressing poverty and other social problems by monitoring and regulating individual behavior. It was in this context that schools emerged as a key location for these interventions.

Social Skills in School

The direct antecedents of social and emotional learning were school-based programs aimed at changing individual behavior in order to address social problems. Importantly, for the most part, these programs intervened into outward behaviors, but by the end of the twentieth century, interventions into feelings were increasingly seen as one of the most effect ways to address behaviors. Education was seen as a way to expose poor Black and Brown children in cities to White middle-class norms and sensibilities and many interventions targeted the habits and norms of these children. The number of social skills programs exploded during this time. This section focuses on a small subset of these interventions. These programs were united by the understanding that social life depended on skills that schools should deliberately teach.

Many of the educators and psychologists who founded social and emotional learning in the early 1990s spent the several decades before that developing and working in school-based programs aimed at social skill development and the prevention of problems such as

51

drug use and AIDS. These efforts went by many different names, such as youth development,

social development, social skills, life development, and social competence. While early programs were focused on subsets of children deemed lacking in social skills, these programs would later be reframed as something that all children need.

One of these programs is sometimes identified as one of the origins of social and emotional learning. In 1968, the Yale School of Medicine's Child Study Center, in collaboration with the New Haven School System, piloted a new program in two low-income, predominantly Black elementary schools. These schools were considered the worst in New Haven, characterized by low attendance, low staff morale, poor academic outcomes, angry parents, and tense interactions between students, staff, and parents (Haynes 2007).

The program was funded by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and the Ford Foundation (Comer 1989:266). Yale psychiatrist James Comer ran the program. He and his colleagues sought to apply insights from behavioral science and child development to improve relationships and mental health in the schools (Comer 1980; Haynes, Comer and Hamilton-Lee 1988). The program included the intense involvement of psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers in the day-to-day functioning of the schools, in order to integrate "mental health principles with the functioning of all school activities" (Haynes, Comer and Hamilton-Lee 1988:13). In 1975, Comer and his colleagues drew up a formal program based on their experiences, the School Development Program (SDP), in order to disseminate it to other schools. This program is still in existence and, according to its website, has been implemented in more than one thousand schools in the United States and a handful of other countries (Yale School of Medicine 2013).

Comer's program was initially directed at poor Black students. Consistent with the dominant culture of poverty framework of the time, SDP developers identified the cause of poor Black children's failure in school as cultural. These children's families and

neighborhoods, they argued, did not provide them with the social skills of mainstream society, which were key to academic success. Detailing his work in New Haven in an article in *Scientific American*, Comer wrote that a child from a poor Black family may arrive at school "without ever having learned such social skills as negotiation and compromise" (Comer 1988:45). SDP developers believed that these social skills could be taught to children to "improve self-concept and enable children to negotiate more successfully mainstream American society" (Haynes, Comer and Hamilton-Lee 1988:14).

In the mid-1970s, they developed an additional curriculum, *A Social Skills Curriculum for Inner-City Children*, to address this problem that they called "social misalignment." This curriculum included wide-ranging social skills such as how to take care of the body, how to write invitations and thank you notes, how to write checks, how to vote, and many others (Comer 1988:48; Comer 1989:279). Of these efforts, Comer later wrote that it was the social skills curriculum that led to the "most dramatic improvement in academic achievement" (Comer 1989:280). Although their program was initially aimed at poor Black children, by 1980 Comer wrote that many middle-class White parents did not teach social skills adequately and that the curriculum could, and should, be used for all children (Comer 1980:209).

In the 1980s, New Haven was a center of research and development for social skills education. It was also one place in which the idea that deficiencies in social and emotional skills were at the base of social problems was turned into a set of practices to be integrated into an entire school district. In 1990, it became the first school district in the United States to institute a district-wide initiative aimed at the social development of all children. The Department of Social Development was created to focus on the social and emotional development of all students in grades kindergarten through high school. The logic behind

the establishment of this department claimed that single-issue approaches to problems such

as violence, substance, abuse, dropouts, and teen pregnancy were ineffective. This would later become one of the central claims of social and emotional learning – that deficiencies in social and emotional skills were at the base of almost all social problems, and that intervention into these skills was more effective than problem-specific intervention. The initiative was modeled on Comer's Social Development Program. It instituted the formation of mental health teams in schools, composed of mental health workers, school staff, and parents (Shriver and Weissberg 1996:37). It also included 25-40 hours of classroom instruction per year for each grade level in issues such as self-monitoring, problem-solving, and communication skills.

Several of the people who would later create social and emotional learning worked together in New Haven, including two of its most prominent figures, Roger Weissberg and Timothy Shriver. Weissberg was a professor in the Yale psychology department from 1982 to 1992. Between 1987 and 1992, New Haven hired him as a consultant in the design, implementation, and evaluation of its social development program. He worked closely with Timothy Shriver, a member of the Kennedy family through his mother Eunice Kennedy Shriver, who had been a public school teacher in New Haven in the 1980s. In 1990, Shriver became the supervisor of the newly established Department of Social Development. Weissberg and Shriver collaborated during this time to develop and evaluate several social skills programs for children in preschool through high school (Shriver and Weissberg 1996; Weissberg, Shriver et al. 1997).

On a national level, there were similar moves toward programs and approaches that addressed broad sets of skills and development that were increasingly seen as more effective than problem-specific prevention programs. In the late 1980s and 1990s, school-based prevention programs targeting specific social problems began to face widespread

criticism in popular and academic discourses. The widely used Drug Abuse Resistance

Education program (D.A.R.E.) came under fire as several well-publicized evaluations found that it did not decrease drug use. In 1986, the National Institute of Mental Health recommended that school curricula include "social competency building" programs as a way of preventing social, behavioral, and health problems in children. In 1986, the William T. Grant Foundation funded Weissberg and another future SEL leader, Maurice Elias, to co-chair a collaboration to identify what worked in effective prevention programs. Over the course of eight years, this group reviewed hundreds of programs aimed at reducing problems such as drug use, teen pregnancy, antisocial behavior, academic failure, alienation, rebelliousness, low school commitment, favorable attitudes towards drug and alcohol use, association with drug-using peers, and early first use of drugs.

This group argued that effective programs shared a focus on the development of something they named "social competence." The group adopted the name the W.T. Grant Consortium on the School-Based Promotion of Social Competence. The group defined social competence as skills in "1) self-management 2) decision-making and problem-solving 3) communication and 4) resisting negative and limiting social influences" (The W.T. Grant Consortium on the School Based Promotion of Social Competence 1992:130). This group saw social competence as a set of teachable skills such as assertiveness, self-discipline, impulse control, cooperation, communication, problem-solving and resisting peer pressure.

They also stressed that young people do not only need to learn about these skills, they need to see them modeled and to practice them, as well as receive feedback and reinforcement for using these skills and for using them correctly (Hawkins and Catalano 1992). This group thought that prevention work with youth was at a turning point in its ability to be effective thanks to "increasingly sophisticated conceptualizations of the skills needed for competent behavioral performance and of the conditions needed to facilitate the

development and expression of those skills" (The Consortium on the School-based

Promotion of Social Competence 1996:268). They argued that social competence could provide a framework for all school-based efforts to prevent social problems and promote healthy behavior. They wrote that schools should have an overarching "competence" framework and offered the unwieldy name for such efforts "Comprehensive Health and Social Competence and Problem Prevention Programming" (Weissberg, Caplan and Harwood 1991; The Consortium on the School-based Promotion of Social Competence 1996:280). Writing in the early 1990s on social competence increasingly occurred in anthologies on prevention, particularly drug use prevention.

Emotions were not absent in this writing on the ideas and practices of social competence in the 1980s and 1990s. They had nowhere near the level of prominence they do today, however. The W.T. Grant Consortium argued that a curriculum to build social competence should teach skills such as identifying and labeling feelings, managing feelings, delaying gratification, controlling impulses, and reducing stress, but this was a relatively small part of their overall message (The W.T. Grant Consortium on the School-Based Promotion of Social Competence 1992:136). Emotion was also on the agenda in the New Haven Social Development Program, containing specific goals related to feelings for each grade level, and including direct lessons in regulating emotion. For example, children used flashcards to identify and distinguish among feelings. Children in kindergarten through third grade were taught skills related to self-awareness, while fourth through sixth graders learned lessons in empathy, impulse control, and anger management (Defalco 1997). However, these early precursors to social and emotional learning were a) limited to a few school districts around the country and b) nowhere near as sophisticated or complex in the practices of knowing and managing emotions as the interventions of today.

Conceptual Underpinnings: Emotional Intelligence

"...so, to put emotions at the center of aptitudes for living..."

Daniel Goleman[1]

Work promoting social skills in schools provided one important strand in the development of social and emotional learning. As I pointed out earlier, some of the programs that emerged from the history of the War on Poverty had components focused on emotion. Indeed, the focus on emotion popped up in various forms in educational trends over the course of the twentieth century. However, the presence of emotion in these trends was minimal and the practices for engaging feeling nowhere near as developed or complex as they are today. Conceptual developments in understandings about emotion from neuroscience and several fields in psychology, and especially the popularized accounts of these ideas, provided other bases of SEL and helped to steer it in the direction of focusing more on emotions.

The last decades of the twentieth century saw a tremendous increase in attention to emotion in both popular culture and many academic disciplines, including many subfields of psychology (McLemee 2003). There has been an "emotional turn" in education in which feeling has come to be considered a core part of teaching, learning, and nearly every aspect of education (Schutz and Lanehart 2002). Research in the late 1980s and 1990s by developmental psychologists stressed the importance of emotional development to children's behavior and cognition, as well as the contexts that promoted healthy emotional development. New technologies for studying the brain, such as EEG and neuroimaging techniques, provided information about emotions that was quickly popularized. The resulting new ideas about emotion from neuroscience and psychology began to appear in

educational discourses, in trade publications for educators and in books such as Sylwester and colleagues' 1995 *A Celebration of Neurons: An Educator's Guide to the Human Brain*.

A new idea about emotion that took hold in education in the 1990s was the idea that emotional life depends on skills, and that these skills require explicit teaching. These ideas were most popularly encapsulated in the concept "emotional intelligence," which was foundational for SEL. In one of its founding publications, SEL leaders called emotional intelligence "the integrative concept" underlying social and emotional learning (Elias et al.1997:27, 29) In this section I will provide an overview of emotional intelligence. In Chapters 3-5, I will turn to a more in-depth analysis of how these ideas have translated into contemporary knowledge practices regarding emotions. I consider here the dominant themes in early writing on emotional intelligence field that were foundational for SEL.

I spend a considerable amount of attention on Daniel Goleman's writings on emotional intelligence. Goleman is the most widely cited author on the topic, particularly in practitioner journals in education. According to Linda Lantieri, who developed the program Resolving Conflict Creatively in the mid-1980s, Goleman's work opened the lines of communication between educators who were creating programs to develop social competence, and the psychologists and researchers studying the neurological underpinnings of emotion. All of the early SEL writing and most SEL curricula cite Goleman. Although his direct influence has waned as the field has grown in recent years, his work was instrumental to the creation of the understandings and practices of emotional competence most likely to be drawn on by SEL practitioners and curricula.

Emotional intelligence and similar concepts appeared in popular and academic discourses in the early 1990s. Their usage has steadily increased over the three decades since. A LexisNexis search of all indexed newspapers for emotional competence terms found

a handful of references to such topics each year in the late 1980s and early 1990s. By 2000, this rose to 622, by 2010 2,141 references, and in 2017 there were 8,690 articles containing emotional competence terms. The presence of these terms in academic discourses followed a similar trajectory (see Figure 2.1). These ideas and their related practices have gained tremendous currency in diverse contexts such as corporate management, couples' therapy, and childrearing. There has also been an explosion of an industry of products aimed at developing emotional skills – including toys, video games, television shows and books.
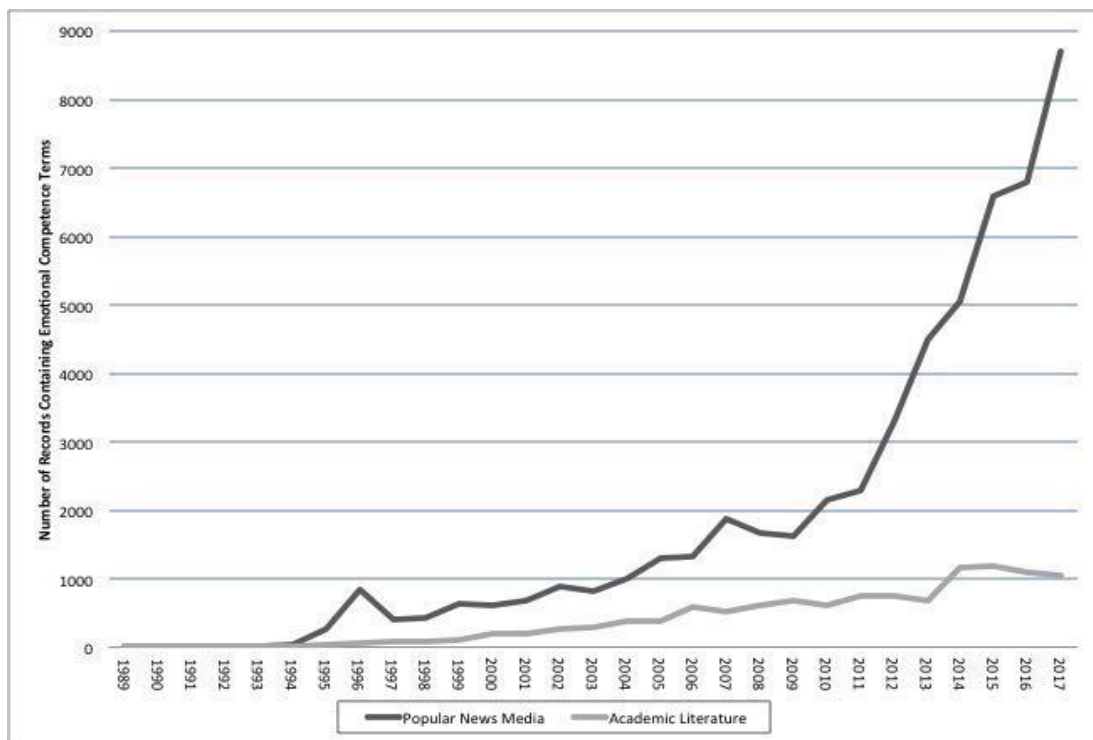
Figure 2.1: Emotional Competence Terms in Popular News Media and the Academic Literature, 1989-2017

Psychologists Peter Salovey and John Mayer are credited with coining the term emotional intelligence. In 1986, Salovey had founded the Health, Behavior and Emotion Laboratory at Yale. The two purportedly came upon the idea to write together about emotion and intelligence during a conversation they had in the late 1980s while painting Salovey's house (Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence 2013). This conversation marked

the beginning of a collaboration that resulted in two 1990 publications on the idea of

emotional intelligence (Mayer, DiPaolo and Salovey 1990; Salovey and Mayer 1990). While

the term emotional intelligence had been used very occasionally in the psychological

literature over the course of the twentieth century, these articles were the first to explicitly

define, theorize, and widely disseminate it.

In their 1990 piece, "Emotional Intelligence," Mayer and Salovey argue for a central

place for emotion in psychological theories of intelligence. They make the points that 1)

emotion makes thinking more intelligent and 2) like with IQ, aptitude with feelings varies

across the population. They chart a short history of the ways that past scholars have

advocated for broader theories of intelligence that include emotional components. For

instance, they cite the work of educational psychologist E.L. Thorndike, who in 1920 used

the term social intelligence to describe the skill of understanding and managing other

people (Thorndike 1920). They more extensively draw on work from the 1980s by

developmental psychologist and prominent education reformer Howard Gardner, who

conceptualized inner life as a set of skills at which people can be more or less competent.

Gardner argued that people possess multiple dimensions of intelligence. He called one of

these dimensions personal intelligence, comprised of intrapersonal and interpersonal

intelligences. Gardner defined intrapersonal intelligence as having access to one's feelings:

the abilities to know emotions, label them, distinguish between them and use this

knowledge to understand and direct behavior. Gardner contended that knowing one's

emotions was essential, because the "less a person understands his own feelings, the more

he will fall prey to them" (Gardner 1983:254). This idea would come to be the

rationalization for SEL.

Salovey and Mayer defined emotional intelligence to include skills such as "the

ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them

and to use this information to guide one's thinking and action" (Salovey and Mayer 1990:185). This definition sees emotional intelligence as a set of skills that include processing emotional information from the self and others, as well as using this information to guide action and solve problems. Their later work was even more explicit in defining emotional intelligence as skills: "to process emotional information accurately and efficiently, including the capacity to perceive, assimilate, understand, and manage emotion" (Mayer, Salovey and Caruso 2000). For Salovey and Mayer, then, emotional intelligence was a conceptual model that captures a set of interrelated mental processes: appraising emotion in the self and others, expressing emotion, regulating emotion in the self and others and using emotions in beneficial ways.

In this conceptualization, emotions are naturally occurring states arising from the inside of individuals that can then be assessed – either accurately or inaccurately. People who are more adept at these skills, they suggest, are likely to be more successful in social interactions because they are better able to quickly perceive and respond to their own emotions and then express them more accurately to others. Emotions tell us what we like and what to do. Feelings guide our everyday behavior and allow us to make choices without considering all the pros and cons of every option (Lopes and Salovey 2004:86). Although it is not the main focus of their early work on emotional intelligence, Salovey and Mayer suggest that differing abilities in processing and using emotional information may be based in skills that can be learned, and that enhancing these skills may "contribute to people's mental health" (Salovey and Mayer 1990:191). Although Salovey and Mayer presented this as speculation in their work, this notion became one of the foundational claims of social and emotional learning.

Psychologist and journalist Daniel Goleman popularized emotional intelligence. In
the late 1980s and early 1990s, Goleman was a writer for the *New York Times*. He reported

on brain and behavioral sciences, and wrote several articles on children, schools, violence, and new programs in educating emotion.[1] While researching one of these articles, he came across Salovey and Mayer's work. Their ideas and the term emotional intelligence became central to Goleman's life work. In 1995, he published *Emotional Intelligence: Why it can Matter More than IQ*, which became an international bestseller and launched the concept into the popular imagination. Goleman's website reports that it has sold more than 5 million copies and has been translated into forty languages. His ideas were further disseminated by extensive coverage on NPR, PBS, *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, and in a *Time* cover story on the book that asked "WHAT'S YOUR EQ?" in bold black and red type (Gibbs 1995).[1] No doubt fueled by Goleman's work, the American Dialect Society listed "emotional intelligence" as one of the most useful new words and phrases of 1995 (American Dialect Society 1996).

Following Salovey and Mayer, Goleman argued that emotion and reason are complementary. He stated that emotional life, like reading and math, was an area of life that requires skills and competencies (1995:36). He defined emotional intelligence as these abilities, including "self-control, zeal and persistence and the ability to motivate oneself" and gives examples of emotionally intelligent behaviors such as knowing how to rein in impulse, handle relationships and read another person's feelings (Goleman 1995:ii, xii). Emotional intelligence includes a person's abilities to not only control their emotions, but also to *use* them as a resource. Goleman believes that high emotional intelligence is "as powerful, and at times more powerful, than IQ" in predicting success in life (Goleman 1995:34). For Goleman, the emotional side of intelligence is not only more powerful, though. It is also normatively better, and "of the two, emotional intelligence adds far more of the qualities that make us more fully human" (Goleman 1996:xx).

Goleman's goal was widespread change. He opened the book sounding the alarm

that we are living in a time of worsening social problems, a time "when the fabric of society

seems to unravel at ever-greater speed, when selfishness, violence, and a meanness of spirit seem to be rotting the goodness of our communal lives" (Goleman 1995:xii). While society as a whole is plagued by this "collective emotional crisis" (1995:xi), children are suffering the most. He cited several high-profile studies on children's emotional health demonstrating increasing rates of depression, worry, anxiety, withdrawal and aggression. Large numbers of children were suffering from "mental illness, depression, eating disorders, divorce rate, high arrest rate for violent crimes, teen murder, school shootings, suicide, pregnancy, venereal disease" (Goleman 1995:232). Among Goleman's most publicized assertions was that schools were experiencing increased violence and aggression, and that researchers had found these problems to be linked to deficiencies in emotional intelligence. He takes all these problems together as an indication of "a new kind of toxicity seeping into and poisoning the very experience of childhood, signifying sweeping deficits in emotional competencies" (Goleman 1995:233). Children who lack emotional skills are at risk for "problems like academic failure, alcoholism and criminality...because their control over their emotional life is impaired" (1995:27).

Goleman established connections between programs and people doing similar work to make the case that a larger transformation was afoot. In 1997, he wrote that "often in the early stages of social innovations individual pioneers labor alone, not realizing their creative work is part of a larger fabric" (Goleman 1997:xiii). He drew on programs from different places aimed at different populations of children. They used terms like social development, life skills, self-science, social skills, and social competencies. He claimed that that what united these efforts was that they taught emotional intelligence, even though they had diverse lineages and approaches, and none of them used that term.

Goleman's sleight of hand is important because it is indicative of a universalizing

63

trend that continued for the first several decades after the establishment of social and

emotional learning. His strongest tone is universalizing, stating several times problems linked to deficiencies in emotional intelligence occur "in all ethnic, racial and income groups" (Goleman 1995:23). He discusses the Self Science course at a private school in Silicon Valley, an enrichment class for privileged kids who are the future economic and politic leaders, and then transitions to talking about social competence programs for inner city Black children without much acknowledgement that these programs serve different purposes for different children, other than simply stating that these programs like this are not just for privileged kids at a private school in Silicon Valley (Goleman 1995:261-271). He claimed that all children need emotional education, only occasionally acknowledging difference in statements such as this one, where he said that in poor Black urban neighborhoods "the connection to the topics is often more direct and raw" (Goleman 1995:269).

Goleman brought together wide-ranging developments in emotion research and educational practice, changing Salovey and Mayer's original conception of emotional intelligence to have a broader meaning and a different agenda. The last chapter of his book is called "Schooling the Emotions" and in it, Goleman imagined "a day when education will routinely include inculcating essential human competencies such as self-awareness, self-control and empathy" (1995:xiv). Goleman's work got a lot of attention in education trade magazines and at national conferences for educators. *Educational Leadership* magazine, the flagship publication of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), featured an interview with Goleman about his book in 1996.[1] In the same publication a year later, the senior editor of *Educational Leadership* cited Goleman, stating that "emotional well-being is the strongest predictor of achievement in school and on the job" and that "recent studies have shown that emotional intelligence predicts about 80 percent of a person's success in life" (Pool 1997:12). Goleman's influence on education was

achieved through his book, but even more so, through collaborations he had begun in the years before its publication, as he helped to establish the field of social and emotional learning.

Social and Emotional Learning

So, social and emotional learning emerged at the intersection of individualized, social scientific programs to increase social skills, and newly popularized ideas about emotional intelligence. A model arose in the last quarter of the twentieth century that saw the development of children's skills and competence as an important way to intervene in wide-ranging social problems. More recently, the conceptualizations of what this competence is, and the practices thought to develop it, have been less focused on behaviors and more about emotions. In this section, I trace a history of the beginnings of social and emotional learning, with a focus on CASEL, which was the organization established for social and emotional learning in the United States.

The Founding of Social and Emotional Learning, 1994–1999

In 1994 the Michigan-based Fetzer Institute provided Goleman funding to bring his work on emotional intelligence to educators (Goleman 1995:341). With support from Fetzer, Goleman and philanthropist Eileen Rockefeller Growald convened meetings to discuss the integration of research on emotional intelligence into educational practice (CASEL 2005). These meetings comprised approximately 30 educators and researchers who worked in emotional intelligence, social competence, drug education, violence prevention, sex education, health promotion, character education and service learning. These meetings brought together educators developing programs dealing with emotions and researchers studying emotion, particularly from developmental, personality and social psychology

(Salovey and Sluyter 1997:xi). Attendees included future SEL leaders Timothy Shriver, Mark Greenberg, Maurice Elias, Linda Lantieri, Roger Weissberg, and David Sluyter. They published a 1997 edited volume, *Emotional Development and Emotional Intelligence: Educational Implications,* based on findings and ideas shared at the meeting. The structure of the book was designed to introduce scientific concepts about emotion to educators, with many of the scientific chapters followed by short "educator's commentaries" in which educators commented on and illustrated possible applications to real world school settings.

The framework of social competence of the late 1980s and early 1990s was imported as the foundation for the new field, although emotion gained more importance and a place in its name. This new field, argued its founders, should be the unifying framework for all prevention, health promotion, and child development programs in schools. Weissberg later recounted that in a conversation about naming the field at one of these Fetzer meetings, he had suggested naming it Character, Academic, Social, Health and Emotional Literacy, or CASHEL, but he was told that he was obsessive (Weissberg 2013). This anecdote shows both SEL's early connections to prevention and health promotion, as well as early attempts to define the field as all encompassing.

The Fetzer group settled on "social and emotional learning" as the name of the new field. According to several of its founders, this new name was chosen to replace "social competence" to stress both that these were skills that could be learned and taught, and to acknowledge the growing consensus in neuroscience and psychology about the centrality of emotion to success in school and in life (Zins, Elias and Greenberg 2007). Central to this new framework was the idea that emotions were the base of most problems in learning and beyond. As founder Maurice Elias put it, past "prevention efforts failed to address the missing piece: feelings that confuse children so they cannot learn effectively. Children's emotions must be recognized and their importance for learning accepted. By meeting the

66

challenges implicit in accomplishing this goal, we can clear the pathways to competence"
(Elias 1997).

The Fetzer group defined social and emotional learning as "the process of acquiring
a set of social and emotional skills – self-awareness, self-management, social awareness,
relationship skills, and responsible decision-making within the context of a safe, supportive
environment" (Chernis, Extein, Goleman and Weissberg 2006:243). The Fetzer meetings
also resulted in the establishment of CASEL, the group that would become the leading
organization promoting SEL in the United States and around the world. According to
Weissberg, at one of these meetings, Goleman was speaking to the group about emotional
intelligence and education and called out emphatically to the audience that there should be
an organization for emotional intelligence and education and that the participants in the
room excitedly responded, "Right on!" (Weissberg 2013). In February 1994, CASEL, which at
that time stood for the Collaborative to Advance Social and Emotional Learning, was
established at the Yale Child Study Center. At first, CASEL primarily served as a virtual
community for researchers around the country to stay connected and share their work. In
December 1994, Fetzer sponsored a conference of CASEL leaders at their headquarters in
Kalamazoo (CASEL 2005).

Over the next few years, the term social and emotional learning slowly made its way
into educational discourses. Its first appearance in a peer-reviewed journal was in a 1996
article by Linda Lantieri and Janet Patti entitled "Waging Peace in Our Schools" in the
Journal of Negro Education, again showing its connections to the legacy of the War on
Poverty and the education of poor Black children. The theme of the issue was "Educating
Children in a Violent Society." Lantieri and Patti had a long history teaching conflict
resolution and violence prevention, which they drew on in this article, but they also drew

heavily on Goleman, citing him 11 times in their article, and echoing his claims that "ability

to manage emotion, resolve conflict, and interrupt biases are fundamental skills which can and must be taught" (Lantieri and Patti 1996:366). Lantieri and Patti also highlighted a theme that SEL promoters have stuck with since the beginning, the idea that the meaning of education itself needs to be reformed.

Early calls for SEL drew heavily on previous work on social competence and almost always referenced the prevention of problems such as drug use and violence. In these early years, SEL promoters worked to establish social and emotional learning as not merely a new fad or "add-on" but as a central organizing model to reshape efforts at prevention and social skills instruction in schools. A characteristic example of this tendency was Shriver and Weissberg's 1996 piece in *Education Week* titled "No New Wars!" This article is cited as an important early call for SEL and is still showcased on CASEL's website 20 years later. Shriver and Weissberg claim that prevention efforts in schools fail to have a transformative effect because of a lack of coordinated strategy. They use words such as "chaos" and "hodgepodge" to describe the legacy of two decades of "wars" against individual issues such as drugs, teen pregnancy, AIDS, suicide, violence, and dropouts. They say that instead of "fragmented and faddish" problem-specific interventions, schools should develop "comprehensive programs that help children develop socially and emotionally" so that children "become competent in ways that can help them learn better and avoid problem behaviors" (Shriver and Weissberg 1996:33).

In its first few years, SEL made significant inroads. In 1996, Goleman was the keynote speaker at the annual meeting of the Association of Supervisors of Curriculum Development (ASCD), where he spoke on emotional intelligence and education to an overflowing audience of 6,500 educators. A 1997 *Time* article "Teaching Feelings 101," drawing on Goleman's work, estimated that more than 700 school districts in the United

States had instituted some form of social and emotional learning (Ratnesar 1997). The state

of Rhode Island created a plan to promote emotional competence, calling for the integration of emotional learning into its social and health education programs (Rhode Island Emotional Competency Partnership 1998). By 1997, at least 22 formal SEL programs had been tested in one or more schools or school systems, with some programs emphasizing emotional intelligence throughout the school's entire curriculum (Elias et al. 1997). CASEL grew as well. In 1996 CASEL's Leadership Team acted to establish CASEL as an organization with a physical presence, created the position of executive director and asked Roger Weissberg to fill it. When he agreed to take the position, CASEL moved to the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), where Weissberg was Professor of Psychology and Education (CASEL 2005).

Two widely disseminated 1997 publications by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) and CASEL further disseminated social and emotional learning to educators. In May 1997, ASCD's primary journal, *Educational Leadership*, published a special issue, "Social and Emotional Learning" (vol. 84, no. 8) which was mailed to ASCD's 200,000 members. A collaborative of nine CASEL-affiliated individuals collaborated to produce the short book *Promoting Social and Emotional Learning: Guidelines for Educators*. The goal of this publication was to define the field of social and emotional learning and issue "a clarion call, a shofar blast, a wail from a minaret, a church bell ringing" for its establishment into American education (Elias et al. 1997). This book was published by ASCD and sent to 100,000 educators.

These publications built on the work on social competence from the previous decade, developing the work of groups such as the Consortium on the School-Based Promotion of Social Competence and the Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group. Specifically, they retain the argument that there should be a coordinated, overarching focus on developing competence, rather than problem-specific prevention efforts. These

publications also marked an increased status for emotions: Goleman's work on emotional

intelligence figures prominently in both publications and the term social competence is

replaced by "social and emotional competence" or social and emotional learning.

The special issue of *Educational Leadership* included articles about how to establish

SEL programs, aspects of programs to cultivate empathy in children, and the New Haven

Social Development Program. *Promoting Social and Emotional Learning* opens with the

claim that the promotion of children's social and emotional development is "the missing

piece" in efforts to improve schools (Elias et al. 1997:1). In this early statement of SEL, the

authors use an urgent tone to present SEL as a way to fundamentally reshape education in

the United States. Elias and his colleagues define social and emotional competence as

> the ability to understand, manage and express the social and emotional aspects of
> one's life in ways that enable the successful management of life tasks such as
> learning, forming relationships, solving everyday problems, and adapting to the
> complex demands of growth and development. It includes self-awareness, control of
> impulsivity, working cooperatively and caring about oneself and others (Elias et al.
> 1997:2).

They lay out what will become a dominant theme in SEL for the next decades, that when

schools develop children's social and emotional skills, academic behavior improves,

problem behaviors decrease and ultimately, "students become productive, responsible,

contributing members of society" (Elias et al. 1997:1). They go on to define social and

emotional learning as the process through which children acquire these skills. This early

statement of SEL also reflects its roots in prevention science. The authors state that SEL

includes four domains: 1) life skills and competencies, 2) health promotion and problem

prevention skills, 3) coping skills and social support for transitions and crises and 4)

contributory service (Elias et al. 1997:21-22).

Continued Growth: 2000-2010

Over the first decade of the twenty-first century, social and emotional learning continued to grow. Field leaders began to emphasize connections to academics, adopt the standards-based language that was coming to dominate education, and focus efforts on the incorporation of rationalized policies around social and emotional learning into state and federal education policy.

The 2002 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation tied school funding to improvement in standardized test performance. Although this channeled funds and energy away from most programs not focused on academics, new school based SEL programs continued to surface (Kress and Elias 2006). The numbers of both popular and academic articles about SEL steadily increased, with a very large increase in news media coverage beginning in 2005. A survey of school mental health services in the United States conducted in 2002-2003 by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services found that 60% of the more than 1,100 responding schools reported providing "curriculum-based programs to enhance social and emotional functioning" (Foster et al. 2005). In 2000, CASEL co-sponsored two special issues of the *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation* on the implementation and assessment of social and emotional learning programs (CASEL 2021). CASEL grew, receiving substantial support from philanthropic organizations. For example, the George Lucas Foundation started supporting CASEL in 2001. The NoVo foundation, a philanthropic organization founded in 2006 by Jennifer and Peter Buffett became another supporter, giving tens of millions of dollars to SEL since then.

In the 2000s, in the political context and focus on standardized tests created by NCLB, SEL discourses shifted from a primary focus on prevention of social and health problems to a focus on the ways that social and emotional learning was a way to improve

academic performance. In 2001, CASEL convened a group of 20 superintendents to brainstorm ways to spread SEL. Under the advisement of this group, CASEL changed its name from the Collaborative to Advance Social and Emotional Learning to the Collaborative for *Academic,* Social and Emotional Learning. This change reflected the belief that highlighting the centrality of social and emotional factors to academic success was important in order to sell SEL (CASEL 2013). This focus on academics was also reflected in a 2003 national invitational conference held by CASEL and the Mid-Atlantic Regional Educational Laboratory for Student Success (LSS). The conference findings were published in the 2004 *Building Academic Success on Social and Emotional Learning: What Does the Research Say?* Editors Zins, Weissberg, Wang, and Walberg concluded that successful academic performance by students depends on a) students' social-emotional skills for participatory competence, b) their approaching education with a sense of positive purpose, and c) the presence of safe, supportive classroom and school climates that foster respectful, challenging, and engaging learning communities.

In 2003, CASEL released its first comprehensive guide to school-based SEL programs called *Safe and Sound: An Educational Leader's Guide to Evidence-Based Social and Emotional Learning.* In the late 1990s, the Institute of Education Sciences (IES) and the Office of Safe and Drug-Free Schools (OSDFS) in the Department of Education funded CASEL to perform a review of SEL programs. CASEL reviewed more than 250 programs that addressed social and emotional skills. Out of these, 80 programs met CASEL's basic criteria for effective SEL programming: they were sequenced, multiyear programs for general education classrooms. CASEL researchers reviewed these 80 programs. In the resulting 60-page guide, CASEL provided ratings of the 80 programs and identified 22 "Select SEL programs." In 2003, this guide was downloaded from the CASEL website more than 100,000 times (CASEL 2004).

CASEL continued to grow and increase its presence in a variety of educational

arenas. The organization was prominently featured in an issue of *Educational Leadership* on

the theme "Caring Schools" (March 2003); in a special issue of *American Psychologist*

(June/July 2003); in the back-to-school issue of *Education Week* (September 9, 2003); and in

"The Challenge," the e-newsletter of the Office of Safe and Drug-Free Schools in the U.S.

Department of Education (October 2003) (CASEL 2004). In 2006, it published the

Sustainable Schoolwide SEL Implementation Guide and Toolkit to provide resources for

schools wanting to incorporate social and emotional learning.

In 2006, with the support of the NoVo Foundation and other funders, CASEL was

incorporated as an independent 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization. It became an

independent organization with a board of directors, a full-time executive director, and a fully

staffed office (CASEL 2009). In 2007, CASEL hosted 75 leaders in education and related

fields for a forum in New York City to raise awareness about social and emotional learning

and present research demonstrating its importance.

SEL leaders also publicized social and emotional learning in national news media,

often posing it as a remedy to the culture of standardized testing and No Child Left Behind:

for instance, in a 2005 *New York Times* editorial "No Emotion Left Behind" by Shriver and

Weissberg. In July 2009, SEL headlined the PBS NewsHour with "Stop. Think. Act." This

Learning Matters segment shows SEL in action in the classroom, along with student and

teacher interviews to illustrate how social and emotional learning helped Brooklyn's PS 24

go from being a failing school to an "A" school. On April 5, 2009, social and emotional

learning received some of its biggest national coverage to date, with a front-page *New York*

Times article "Gossip Girls and Boys Get Lessons in Empathy" which gave an overview of

school programs that teach empathy. After slow and slightly increasing coverage of social

and emotional learning over the first decade after its founding, SEL started appearing quite

frequently in academic and popular discourses in the late 2000s. In October 2013, PBS documentary produced *Room to Breathe*, a documentary about the benefits of social and emotional learning in the classroom. A Google Ngram search showed the mention of the phrase "social and emotional learning" increased 19-fold between its introduction in 1994 and 2008 (Merrell and Gueldner 2010).

The Ascendance of Social and Emotional Learning: 2011-2020

The September 11, 2013 issue of *The New York Times Magazine* was dedicated to the subject of education reform. Its cover story, "Can Emotional Intelligence Be Taught?" showcased SEL. Writer Jennifer Kahn reported in an accompanying interview that she had gotten interested in SEL in 2007 but did not pitch the story idea at the time because the movement seemed too small and unknown (Nolan 2013). Things had changed in the intervening six years. As Kahn notes, "The history of education movements is full of these dramatic swings in terms of what we think is going to make kids better students or better human beings. We seem to be reaching a moment now in which social and emotional learning is ascendant" (quoted in Nolan 2013). In a 2013 reflection on the growth of SEL, Roger Weissberg says that the way that social and emotional learning has taken off "has gone beyond our wildest dreams" (Weissberg 2013). Since both of these statements of the triumph of social and emotional learning in 2013, it has only grown. Both academic attention and the popular news coverage about SEL have skyrocketed, with frequent coverage in many national media, from CNN to *The Atlantic* to *Huffington Post*. In 2012, for example, there were 234 articles in the popular press referencing social and emotional learning, and in 2017 there were 1597. See Figure 2.2.
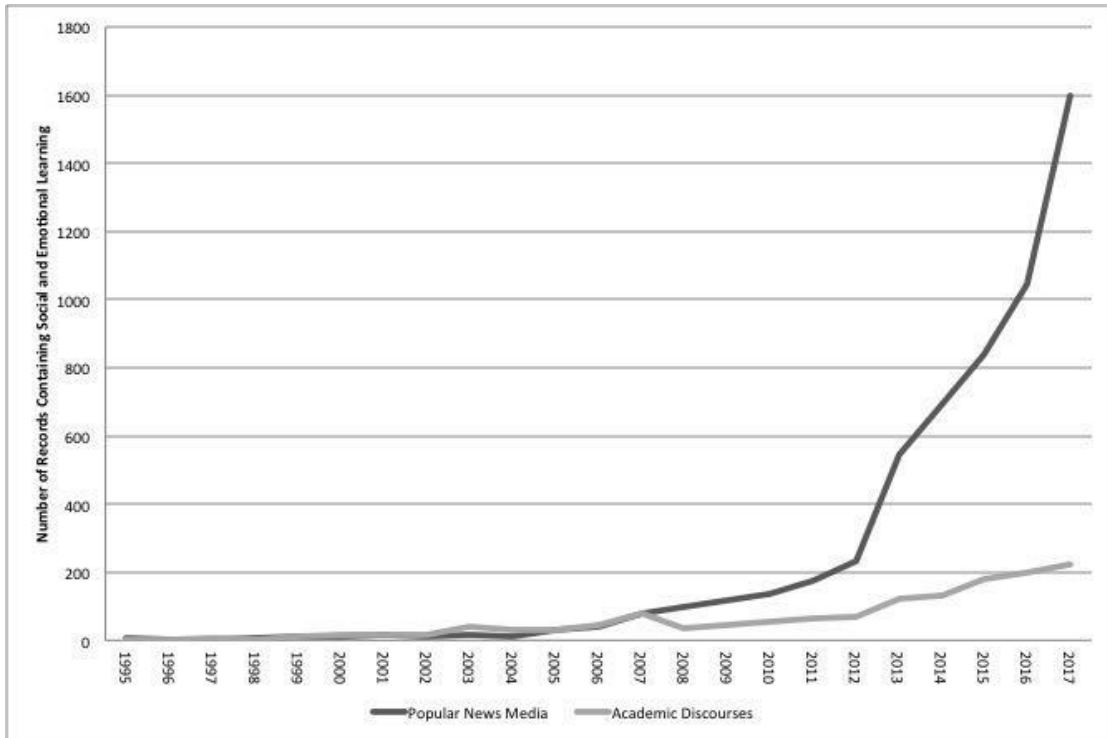
Figure 2.2: Social and Emotional Learning in Popular News Media and Academic Literature, 1995-2017

SEL is indeed ascendant. In 2020, a Google search for "social and emotional learning" yields 500,000 results, including thousands of articles in popular and academic sources, TEDx talks, and scores of products for the development of emotional skills, such as books, flashcards, programs, trainings, and curricula. There are university-based research centers for social and emotional learning at Yale, Harvard, Rutgers, and the University of Illinois at Chicago. Surveys of educators have demonstrated that educators believe social and emotional skills are important and that schools should teach them (DePaoli, Atwell and Bridgeland 2017). In a 2015 survey of 562 teachers and administrators, 32% reported using SEL programs such as PATHS or Second Step (Education Week Research Center 2015). Many of the biggest charitable and grant-making foundations in the country support social and emotional learning research and practice, including the Carnegie Foundation of New York, NoVo Foundation, the Einhorn Family Trust, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, The Wallace

Foundation, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. A majority of states have developed state learning standards for SEL, a topic I turn to in Chapter 3.

CASEL defines social and emotional learning as "the process through which children and adults acquire and effectively apply the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to understand and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain positive relationships, and make responsible decisions" (Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning 2021). Although this definition mentions adults, SEL typically refers to interventions for children and adolescents in daycares, preschools, schools, after-school programs, and community-based organizations.

Social and emotional learning is used as a descriptor for particular programs, and it is also used to refer to a broader way to approach education. Recently the term "systemic SEL" is sometimes used to capture this notion of a complete overhaul in the logic of education to take social and emotional competence seriously. A recent CASEL brief describes four broad approaches to SEL:

> 1) explicit, freestanding SEL instruction that aims to develop specific skills
>
> 2) general teaching practices that support and promote SEL (for example, group work to foster collaboration)
>
> 3) integration of SEL instruction into the academic curriculum
>
> 4) efforts to create school-wide climate and conditions that foster SEL, including disciplinary approaches and broader common vision (Dusenbury et al. 2015)

CASEL favors a systemic understanding of SEL, meaning that the point is to shape whole schools and districts, not simply provide a program in a class. In this vision of social and emotional learning, it is used to shape the entire climate of the school where adults are regularly modeling social and emotional skills throughout the school, shaping both staff meetings and interactions between everyone in the school.

One of the most influential developments in SEL was the 2011 publication of research that has become the landmark piece of work in the field. Almost every piece of writing on SEL since this publication cites it. In 2001, the W.T. Grant Foundation funded CASEL and collaborator Joseph Durlak of Loyola University of Chicago to conduct a meta-analysis of existing research on the effectiveness of social and emotional learning. Durlak worked with Roger Weissberg and graduate students from Loyola and University of Illinois Chicago to conduct the review. Given the newness of the term "social and emotional learning," researchers analyzed data from more than 500 published and unpublished reports of efforts to "enhance youth development." The results of the review were published ten years later, in the January/February 2011 issue of *Child Development*. Some findings from this study have been disseminated very widely. Over the last ten years, virtually any mention of social and emotional learning cites it. Most websites about SEL use claims from the Durlak study to demonstrate SEL's effectiveness. In March 2014, Google Scholar showed that it has been cited in 675 academic articles in the three years since its publication. By May 2021, the number of times cited had climbed to almost 7,758. It is the most widely cited study in the field.

The final analysis included data from 213 programs with a combined sample of more than 270,000 students. While reporting of the research calls it a study of "social and emotional learning," these 213 programs were different kinds of programs that the researchers themselves decided "enhanced youth development" and included positive youth development, SEL, character education, and prevention interventions. They included programs such as school, family, and community interventions designed to promote social skills in children and adolescents between the ages of 5 and 18. The reviewers looked at the impact of programs on students' social skills, emotional regulation attitudes toward self and others, positive social behavior, conduct problems, emotional distress, and academic

performance. However, only 37 of the 213 studies analyzed had included standardized test

scores in their evaluations. In these 37 studies, students who received interventions scored

11 percentile points higher on standardized tests compared to control groups not receiving

interventions. This finding, although it was based on only a small minority of studies in the

meta-analysis, was the one most widely picked up on by the media and the one most

promoted by those advancing SEL. Six years later, a team including authors from the 2011

meta-analysis completed a second meta-analysis, published in *Child Development* in 2017.

This analysis was based on studies involving 82 school-based interventions involving more

than 97,000 students. It demonstrated that the academic and social benefits of social and

emotional learning interventions were not just immediate, but lasted months and years.

Students who participated in programs that taught social and emotional skills showed

increased skills, better behavior, more positive attitudes, less emotional distress, and less

drug use at follow-up periods from six months to 18 years after the programs compared to

students who did not participate (Taylor et al. 2017).

Over the past decade, a major area of focus for CASEL has been the widespread

dissemination of social and emotional learning ideas and practices. One way they have done

this is through the publication of guides to SEL programs for schools and districts. In 2013

CASEL released the *2013 CASEL Guide: Effective Social and Emotional Learning Programs –*
Preschool and Elementary Edition, and in 2015 they released their guide to programs for

middle and high school students (CASEL 2013; CASEL 2015).

More recently, CASEL collaborated with several large urban school districts to

integrate social and emotional learning into education in these districts through a project

called the Collaborating Districts Initiative (CDI). CASEL defines this as an action research

project to address whether and how large urban school districts can put into place policies

and practices to promote the social and emotional capacities of all students throughout the

district. These efforts are notable because they show CASEL concretely working to advance the idea that they have had from the beginning about social and emotional learning as a way of fundamentally changing education. This isn't about adding a new curriculum or a new program, but about reshaping entire districts to incorporate social and emotional learning. CASEL states that the point is to embed systemic social and emotional learning into the entire school district that is "not a siloed approach or standalone program, but a new way of doing business" (CASEL 2017:8).

In 2011 and 2012, CASEL partnered with eight school districts: Anchorage AK, Austin TX, Chicago IL, Cleveland OH, Nashville TN, Oakland CA, Sacramento CA, and Washoe County NV. More recently, two additional districts, Atlanta GA and El Paso TX joined the initiative. These large urban districts together educate one million students. CASEL's purposes with the initiative are to help develop the eight districts' capacities to implement systemic changes that enhance students' social-emotional development and academic performance, to document information from the process to inform future efforts at systemic SEL implementation in districts across the country, and to demonstrate via external evaluations consistent improvements in school climate and student outcomes. It is funded by NoVo Foundation and the Einhorn Family Charitable Trust and uses the American Institutes for Research (AIR) as an external evaluator. Evaluations have shown that the districts involved in the CDI have reported increased academic achievement, increased attendance, decreased suspensions, and improvements in social and emotional competencies and school climate (CASEL 2017). CASEL has set a goal that by 2025, 50% of U.S. school districts will be integrating SEL systemically across schools and classrooms (CASEL 2017:24).

In 2017, CASEL released the District Resource Center (DRC), which has grown from

its Collaborating Districts project. The DRC is a huge library of more than 500 resources,

tools and artifacts from the CDI districts. The website is meant to address the "how" of implementing SEL in a district and share knowledge and resources to school districts as they implement and develop social and emotional learning. The DRC provides an enormous breadth and depth of resources. For example, users can take a Priority Setting Questionnaire that helps determine where a district is with regards to SEL. It is also possible to browse the library of the DRC, in which resources are organized alphabetically, or search it by topic terms. It contains diverse materials from job ads for SEL-related positions, to articles and videos to brochures for parents, district budgets showing how SEL fits in the budget, and examples of funding sources other districts have used to pay for SEL. It also provides in-depth case studies of how different districts of the Collaborating Districts Initiative handled these different areas of implementation (CASEL 2017).

One major development in the late 2010s was an increase in the number of organizations focused on social and emotional learning. In September 2016 the Aspen Institute, an educational and policy studies organization based in Washington, DC, launched the National Commission on Social, Emotional, and Academic Development (NCSEAD). On their website, CASEL calls the formation of this group "one of the most important developments in the field in the past 20 years" (CASEL 2021). This group brings together leaders from different places and types of organizations to advance a broader vision of education success. It links SEL leaders into groups such as the Council of Distinguished Scientists, the Council of Distinguished Educators, a group of youth, a group of parent advisors, more than 60 partner organizations, and a collaborative of 12 SEL funding organizations. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) began a new study on social and emotional skills of school-aged children in different countries around the world.[1]

Conclusion

Social and emotional learning is a set of new social knowledge practices that locate children's emotions as a primary target of school-based interventions to address wide-ranging problems that plague schools and society. It shares some characteristics with earlier efforts to impart social skills or attend to children's emotions in school, but it also goes significantly beyond them. It was created from the coming together of school-based social skills and prevention programs with new ideas about emotion as a set of skills. This field has exploded in size and influence, especially in the past ten years.

For much of its history SEL leaders were fairly successful at using discourses of the whole child and framing what they were doing as neutral or widely accepted. They did this through a variety of mechanisms that included minimizing the differences between different approaches and using language from other movements in education, such as character education. SEL has been enormously successful in a country and institutional sphere deeply split by political and cultural divides. In this context, it has achieved something quite extraordinary. One of its biggest achievements along these lines has been to write into state standards, including in politically conservative states, a vision of selfhood, interaction and regulation that is quite politicized. This is something that has happened relatively recently, and my analysis does not directly engage all the ways how or why they were able to achieve it, but it is does show that they did achieve it. Social and emotional learning has been more under attack by the Right in the last several years, and this attack has very recently been intertwined with the larger attack on critical race theory (in this attack, social and emotional learning is conflated/considered to *be* critical race theory). This is outside the scope of the research that I have done but illuminates the need for further analysis of how SEL leaders were able to accomplish the successes they have given the constraints of a deeply politically and culturally divided country. In Chapter 3, I delve into one

arena in which social and emotional learning has taken hold recently, state educational

standards.

CHAPTER 3

STANDARDIZING EMOTIONAL COMPETENCE

> Feeling rules differ curiously from other types of rules in that they do not apply to action but to what is often taken as a precursor to action. Therefore they tend to be latent and resistant to formal codification.
>
> -- Arlie Hochschild (1979:566)

> Imagine that you are an educator in a school that has adopted a tool that assesses student social awareness, relationship skills, and self-management. Imagine that children's skills in these areas can be summarized in five highly informative scores that reflect state standards that say what children should know and be able to do at different grade levels.
>
> -- Craig McKown, Founder of xSEL Labs

Four decades ago, Arlie Hochschild called on sociologists to study emotion. Social norms, she said, not only shaped behavior, but had a far more "imperial scope" (1979:551). Hochschild argued that emotions were also governed by norms, which she called feeling rules. In her early writing, one of her primary aims was to make the case that feeling rules exist. They were, according to Hochschild's rendition of American life in the late 1970s, invisible and unarticulated. She used the word "latent" to describe feeling rules five times in her 1979 article, and several times called the work of managing emotions in accordance with these norms "hidden." Her tone, here and in her classic ethnography *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling*, is thus partly one of exposé. Hochschild aimed to illuminate insights she thought sociologists and service workers alike hadn't

noticed: that feelings were governed by norms and that managing them could be work that was, like other forms of work, ripe for exploitation.

Several things have changed in the past forty years. For one, Hochschild's core ideas about emotion management have been absorbed into the sociological canon. More relevant for this discussion, however, is that Hochschild's characterization of feeling rules as latent is no longer true. Feeling rules are no longer embedded in the hidden curriculum of flight attendant training, waiting for an ethnographer to discover. Instead, norms about emotions and how to manage them are explicitly spelled out in many places.

This chapter takes on the issues surrounding no-longer-latent feeling rules in education in the contemporary United States. I show how the norms that constitute emotional competence for children are not latent but instead are articulated, quite blatantly, in state standards for social and emotional learning. I further show that what was once something that airlines found fit to teach adult women has become commonly accepted as something children should know and be able to do by the end of elementary school. The rules that adult flight attendants acquired over the course of weeks-long job training, children now learn over the course of their elementary education. In fact, the prototypical emotionally competent ten-year-old of 2020 is expected to be more sophisticated with her emotions than the flight attendant of 1980.

The Codification of Emotional Competence

This codification of emotional competence is important because it takes a set of ideas about emotions, individuals, and social life and turns them into sets of skills to be assessed and, increasingly, measured and compared. A contribution of science, technology and society studies is the idea that categorization and measurement do not merely depict the social world but

intervene in it (Espeland and Stevens 2008). Measures create and reproduce social

boundaries, replacing complicated variation with clear distinctions between categories of people and things (Espeland and Stevens 2008:414). Measures also create or reinforce categories to make sense of individuals, a process Ian Hacking (1999) called "making up people."

As I showed in Chapter 2, the ideologies and practices of emotional competence have diverse social scientific and popular lineages. Here, I examine emotional competence as a set of knowledge practices that occur "downstream" – where the state, the market, and (social) science are inextricably bound with one another (Epstein 2008:166). In the 1990s, the conceptualization of emotions as a set of skills was a new idea found in a few articles and books. Today, these skills are laid out in complex documents published by state education departments that codify the skills, their relationships to one another, and at what ages children should acquire them. I analyze this downstream codification of emotional competence in state education standards.

SEL has been quite successful in a country and institutional sphere deeply split by political and cultural divides. In this context, the adoption of social and emotional learning standards by so many states is notable. A politicized therapeutic understanding of selfhood, interaction, and regulation has been written into standards in many states, including politically conservative states. This is something that has happened relatively recently, and my analysis does not directly engage all the ways how or why they were able to achieve it, but it is does show that they did achieve it.

The Rise of Learning Standards in the United States

Learning standards are ubiquitous in public education in the United States.   They have dominated education discourses and policies for several decades. Their purpose is to create uniformity in public education by establishing shared language and educational objectives.

Standards spell out grade-specific knowledge and skills that children should acquire in different subjects. Standards-based education reform is based on the principle that setting explicit, standardized, and measurable educational goals improves individual learning and also provides a mechanism for addressing educational inequities.

Standards began to take hold in education in the last few decades of the twentieth century. By the 1990s, most states had implemented learning standards for language arts and math. In 2001, learning standards became federal policy with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA, first enacted in 1965). The ESEA is the federal law governing education in the United States. It is periodically amended and reauthorized. At the start of the twenty-first century, ESEA was reauthorized as the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB). This legislation was most well-known (and criticized) for its emphasis on standards and standardized testing. The legislation required states to develop assessments to test basic skills, and to administer them to all students in public schools in order to receive federal education funds.

My review of state department of education websites in 2020 revealed that all fifty states have learning standards for public education grades kindergarten through Grade 12, as well as for early education that covers birth through age 5. All states have standards for language arts, math, science and social studies, and most states also have them for other subjects and domains of life, including health, foreign language, music, visual arts and physical education. States periodically update their standards and add subjects that were not previously included. States develop learning standards, and school districts typically have some flexibility when adopting their local standards as long as they comply with the state's overall goals. In all states, compliance or engagement with learning standards is required for some subjects (particularly language arts and math), but voluntary or highly encouraged for others.

The Structure of Learning Standards

Simply put, standards state what students should know and be able to do, and when. I will use the Massachusetts Standards for Mathematics (2017) to illustrate the typical structure and logic of learning standards before moving on to discuss learning standards for emotion. This 214-page document describes "a vision of what it means to be a mathematically proficient person in this century" (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education [MDESE] 2017:9). Like all standards, these Massachusetts math standards attempt to lay out a roadmap to a "coherent progression of learning" that breaks the complexity of mathematic proficiency into a sequence of many small skills to be developed over years (MDESE 2017:9). These smaller goals are more detailed and specify developmentally appropriate skills for each grade level. They are not meant to be all inclusive, but to highlight important and representative features of each standard to be emphasized by instruction (Gordon et al. 2011). All state standards break large areas of competency into smaller sets of skills, although how they do so and what they call the skills varies.

The excerpts below illustrate what this "coherent progression of learning" looks like in Massachusetts math standards. Standards about what students should know and be able to do are broken into skills to be developed through the grades. Skills are grouped into clusters of related standards and domains of larger groups of clusters and standards. These domains are consistent across grade levels, although not every domain is addressed in every grade. I will focus on one domain, Measurement and Data, in grades 1 and 5 to show this progression. Figure 3.1 shows the domain entitled "Measurement and Data" for Grade 1 in Massachusetts.

Measurement and Data   **1.MD**

A. Measure lengths indirectly and by iterating length units.

    1. Order three objects by length; compare the lengths of two objects indirectly by using a third object.

    2. Express the length of an object as a whole number of length units, by laying multiple copies of a shorter object (the length unit) end to end; understand that the length measurement of an object is the number of same-size length units that span it with no gaps or overlaps. *Limit to contexts where the object being measured is spanned by a whole number of length units with no gaps or overlaps.*

B. Tell and write time.

    3. Tell and write time in hours and half-hours using analog and digital clocks.

C. Represent and interpret data.

    4. Organize, represent, and interpret data with up to three categories; ask and answer questions about the total number of data points, how many in each category, and how many more or less are in one category than in another.

D. Work with money.

    5. Identify the values of all U.S. coins and know their comparative values (e.g., a dime is of greater value than a nickel). Find equivalent values (e.g., a nickel is equivalent to five pennies). Use appropriate notation (e.g., 69¢). Use the values of coins in the solutions of problems (up to 100¢).

*Figure 3.**Error! Main Document Only.**: Measurement and Data Domain, Grade 1 (Massachusetts Curriculum Framework for Mathematics 2017:32)*

This excerpt shows the standards in the domain "Measurement and Data." The standards are the skills indicated with numbers 1-5. A Measurement and Data standard for first grade is "3. Tell and write time in hours and half-hours using analog and digital clocks" and this standard falls under the cluster "Tell and Write Time" which consists of more elementary skills in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten and more advanced time-telling skills in later grades. This cluster is grouped together with other clusters of standards in the Measurement and Data domain, including "Represent and interpret data" and "Work with money." In another example of a grade-specific standard, the goal for the cluster "Represent and interpret data" for first grade is "4. Organize, represent, and interpret data with up to three categories; ask and answer questions about the total number of data points, how many in each category, and how many more or less are in one category than another." This is a basic first grade skill that, according to the logic of standards-based education, lays the groundwork for later proficiency in data representation and interpretation.

Measurement and Data   **5.MD**

A. Convert like measurement units within a given measurement system.

    1. Convert among different-sized standard measurement units within a given measurement system (e.g., convert 5 cm to 0.05 m), and use these conversions in solving multi-step, real-world problems.

B. Represent and interpret data.

    2. Make a line plot (dot plot) to display a data set of measurements in fractions of a unit. Use operations on fractions for this grade to solve problems involving information presented in line plot (dot plot). *For example, given different measurements of liquid in identical beakers, find the amount of liquid each beaker would contain if the total amount in all the beakers were redistributed equally.*

C. Geometric measurement: Understand concepts of volume and relate volume to multiplication and to addition.

    3. Recognize volume as an attribute of solid figures and understand concepts of volume measurement.

        a. A cube with side length 1 unit, called a "unit cube," is said to have "one cubic unit" of volume, and can be used to measure volume.

        b. A solid figure which can be packed without gaps or overlaps using *n* unit cubes is said to have a volume of *n* cubic units.

    4. Measure volumes by counting unit cubes, using cubic cm, cubic in., cubic ft., and non-standard units.

    5. Relate volume to the operations of multiplication and addition and solve real-world and mathematical problems involving volume.

        a. Find the volume of a right rectangular prism with whole-number edge lengths by packing it with unit cubes, and show that the volume is the same as would be found by multiplying the edge lengths, equivalently by multiplying the height by the area of the base. Represent threefold whole-number products as volumes, e.g., to represent the associative property of multiplication.

        b. Apply the formula $V = l \times w \times h$ and $V = B \times h$ (where *B* stands for the area of the base) for rectangular prisms to find volumes of right rectangular prisms with whole-number edge lengths in the context of solving real-world and mathematical problems.

        c. Recognize volume as additive. Find volumes of solid figures composed of two non-overlapping right rectangular prisms by adding the volumes of the non-overlapping parts, applying this technique to solve real-world problems.

*Figure 3.***Error! Main Document Only.***: Measurement and Data Domain, Grade 5 (Massachusetts Curriculum Framework for Mathematics 2017, p. 52)*

Figure 3.2 shows the Measurement and Data domain for fifth grade. Some clusters, such as "B. Represent and Interpret Data," are the same as they are in first grade. There are also some new, more advanced clusters of skills. In Cluster B. Represent and interpret data, a fifth-grade standard is "2. Make a line plot (dot plot) to display a data set of measurements in fractions of a unit. Use operations on fractions for this grade to solve problems involving information presented in line plot (dot plot)." So, while the first-grade data representation and interpretation standard involved counting and sorting into categories, the fifth-grade standard has progressed to the representation of measurements in fractions of a unit. As is common across states and kinds of standards, this standard is illustrated with a concrete example, using beakers with different amounts of liquids in them. This illustration shows how mathematics is broken into sets and subsets of skills, and then into grade-specific skills that build upon one another over the course of education.

Learning Standards for Feelings

It is probably not a stretch for most people educated in the United States in recent decades to see math proficiency broken down in this way, even if they went to school before the official codification of math standards. However, the idea that emotional life can be broken up in this same way, into discrete skills to be explicitly and sequentially taught over the course of education, is new.

The most striking point to be drawn from the overview of these state standards is that they demonstrate a remarkable amount of consistency across states as to what the standards are, the domains of emotional experience into which they intervene, and the language they use to capture the practices of emotional competence. There are some differences in the overall language and tone of the standards that, sometimes, matches up to the state's political designation as a "red state" or "blue state." There has been opposition to SEL, particularly in more conservative states, mostly from religious right organizations and parent groups who see SEL as overreach into domains of childrearing that should be left to parents. Also, the states that do not yet have social and emotional learning standards are states that are more politically conservative. In some more politically conservative states that do have SEL standards, there is sometimes language or attention to domains of life that are state-specific and clearly a result of cultural and political contexts in the individual states. For example, standards in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kansas use language of building character and have more goals around behaviors such as "showing respect" or "demonstrating patriotism" whereas standards in Massachusetts and Connecticut do not have these goals. In other words, there are palpable differences in the standards that are clearly related to the political and cultural differences between the states. However, in this analysis, I am less interested in these differences than I am in the persistence of some remarkable consistencies around emotion skills that persist *despite* these other differences.

The continuities between the states regarding what the emotional skills are and how they relate to one another is salient and demonstrates the institutionalization of the dominant CASEL understanding of emotional skills.

In social and emotional learning discourses, there are claims about elevating attention to the nonacademic as a salve to standardized education overly focused on academics and testing. This was particularly true in the first decade or so of the field. However, social and emotional learning emerged at a time when education in the United States has been dominated by standards-based reform. The incorporation of social and emotional learning into education policy has been an organizational goal of the Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL) since its founding. One of the primary ways CASEL has pursued this goal is by working with states to develop standards for social and emotional learning.

The emergence of social and emotional learning standards for school-aged children occurred slowly at first. As Table 3.1 shows, most states with social and emotional learning standards have enacted them quite recently. Illinois enacted SEL standards in 2004, followed by a handful of states in the ten years following. In 2013, three states had standards through high school and three states had standards for early elementary grades only. More recently, the momentum of this spread has picked up at a rapid pace. By the end of 2017, eight states had SEL standards through grade 12. In the last several years, more states have either implemented these standards, report that they are in the process of doing so or provide resources and guidelines for implementation of social and emotional learning. Table 3.1 categorizes each of the fifty states' engagement with social and emotional learning based on my examination of state department of education websites.[1]

The nineteen states at the top of this table have "freestanding, well defined standards for all students from kindergarten through 12th grade," which CASEL defines as the gold standard for

SEL standards (CASEL 2021). An additional nine states have learning standards for only some early elementary grades. If the states have standards, I have indicated the date these standards were implemented in parentheses. Fifteen states currently do not have standards but offer materials to support the implementation of SEL and links to CASEL and other resources on their websites. The remaining states at the bottom of the table make no mention of emotional skills on their websites or in their learning standards.

States with Emotional Competence Standards Kindergarten – Grade 12
Arizona (2020), Colorado (2020), Illinois (2004), Iowa (2020), Kansas (2012, updated 2018), Maine (2015), Michigan (2017), Minnesota (2018), Mississippi (2021), New Jersey (2017), New York (2018), North Dakota (2018), Ohio (2019), Rhode Island (2017), Tennessee (2017), Virginia (2021), Washington (2016), West Virginia (2012), Wisconsin (2018)
States with Emotional Competence Standards for Early Elementary Grades Only
Connecticut (K-Grade 3, 2018), Hawaii (K, 2014), Idaho (K-Grade 3, 2011 updated 2020), Maryland (K-Grade 2, 2016), Massachusetts (K, 2015), New Mexico (K, 2014), Oregon (K, 2016), Pennsylvania (K-Grade 2, 2016), Vermont (K-Grade 3, 2015)
States with Some Engagement with Emotional Competence (websites, resources, guidelines for implementation)

Alaska, California, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Nebraska, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Utah
States with Little or No Mention of Emotional Competence
Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, Montana, South Dakota, Wyoming

Table 3.1: Presence or Absence of Emotional Competence on State Department of Education Websites, 2021

Illinois was the first state to implement social and emotional learning standards for children from preschool through high school. In 2002, a group of Illinois education, mental health, child advocacy and violence prevention leaders, including members of CASEL, advocated for legislation to address children's mental health. In April 2003, the task force issued a report entitled *Children's Mental Health: An Urgent Priority in Illinois* which called for the development of recommendations to provide mental health, prevention, early intervention and treatment services for children (Gordon et al. 2011). In August 2003, the Illinois State Legislature passed the Children's Mental Health Act of 2003 (Public Act 93-495).

This legislation required school districts to develop policies regarding social and emotional learning. It called upon the Illinois State Board of Education to develop and implement social and emotional standards as part of the Illinois state learning standards (CASEL 2005). The SEL standards were developed by members of CASEL, teachers, school administrators, student support staff, and parents (Gordon et al. 2011). In 2004, the Illinois State Board of Education added social and emotional learning goals to its already existing standards for reading, math, science and other academic subjects. The 2004 Illinois Social/Emotional Learning Standards provided an important framework for later states. The organization of the overall goals and standards are shown in Figure 3.3.

GOAL 1: DEVELOP SELF-AWARENESS AND SELF-MANAGEMENT SKILLS TO ACHIEVE SCHOOL AND LIFE SUCCESS.

1A — Identify and manage one's emotions and behavior.

1B — Recognize personal qualities and external supports.

1C — Demonstrate skills related to achieving personal and academic goals.

GOAL 2: USE SOCIAL-AWARENESS AND INTERPERSONAL SKILLS TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN POSITIVE RELATIONSHIPS.

2A — Recognize the feelings and perspectives of others.

2B — Recognize individual and group similarities and differences.

2C — Use communication and social skills to interact effectively with others.

2D — Demonstrate an ability to prevent, manage, and resolve interpersonal conflicts in constructive ways.

GOAL 3: DEMONSTRATE DECISION-MAKING SKILLS AND RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIORS IN PERSONAL, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY CONTEXTS.

3A — Consider ethical, safety, and societal factors in making decisions.

3B — Apply decision-making skills to deal responsibly with daily academic and social situations.

3C — Contribute to the well-being of one's school and community.

Figure 3.3: Illinois Social/Emotional Learning Standards

CASEL has been at the forefront of the institutionalization of social and emotional standards. It was involved in the drafting of the Illinois standards, as well as those of the handful of states who passed SEL standards in the decade following Illinois. Almost all of the states with standards or mention of social and emotional learning on their department of education websites reference CASEL.[1] In 2016, CASEL launched the Collaborating States Initiative (CSI) with the purpose of working with states to develop policies and guidelines to support the implantation of SEL. In September 2017, CASEL issued a call for applications by states to request technical assistance in developing or improving policies and guidelines to support social and emotional learning (CASEL 2017). In June 2018, CASEL reported communicating with forty states on policy development and improvement of social and emotional learning standards.

It is important to note that almost all of the states use aspects of the CASEL framework and language in their standards and in how they talk about social and emotional learning on their websites. For instance, Wisconsin defines social and emotional learning by

using the CASEL definition verbatim as "the process through which children and adults acquire and effectively apply the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to understand and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain positive relationships, and make responsible decisions" (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction [WDPI] 2018:2).

The standards share some characteristics. All of them, like academic standards, have broad overarching goals, which are then broken up into smaller standards and sometimes even smaller, specific representative practices that vary by age. For instance, Illinois standards consist of three major overarching goals, each of which are broken up into three or four standards. These standards are then composed of 90 to150 smaller benchmarks and "performance descriptors" which are different for different grade levels.

The standards also differ in some ways. There is variation in the length of the documents with some states' SEL standards spelled out briefly in a few pages, and some documents of more than one hundred pages. They also differ in scope and in the way that skills are broken down by grade level. They use different language, including what the standards are called. Many, such as Illinois, use the "social and emotional learning" language promoted by CASEL, and call the standards "Social/Emotional Learning Standards" or "Social and Emotional Learning Standards." This language is the most common and, of the 28 states with standards as of May 2021, most used this language. Other states use other terminology. Colorado groups standards for "Social and Emotional Wellness" with standards for physical education, health promotion and risk prevention in its standards for "Comprehensive Health." Connecticut calls them standards of "Social, Emotional and Intellectual Habits." Tennessee calls them "Social and Personal Competencies." CASEL reports from working with states that there is some resistance to the word "standards" because of backlash against the Common Core backlash (CASEL 2017). However, in the states

that use the language of goals or competencies, the structure, content, and language of these documents are quite similar across states, whether they use the word "standards" or not.

The Emotionally Proficient Student of the Twenty-first Century

For the remainder of this chapter I show the codification of the practices of the emotionally proficient student of the twenty-first century. Just as standards of mathematics spell out the actions and abilities of the mathematically proficient child, these state standards spell out emotional proficiency. They define the kind of emotional self that individuals should be cultivating, as well as how children should *do* emotions, internally and in interaction with others.

The standards lay out goals and competencies for social and emotional life. They cover everything from taking turns to communicating with friends to advocating for oneself with teachers to sharing to understanding diversity and different perspectives to resolving conflict to having good organizational and time management habits. As a result, accompanying literature for these standards tend to present them as the universally agreed-upon characteristics of personhood. For example, the introduction to the Washington standards says that social and emotional competencies refer to a wide range of knowledge, skills, and traits applicable to all academic, career, and civic settings, and believed to be necessary for success in today's world (Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction [OSPI] 2016). The Wisconsin standards document states that "[m]aking SEL skills part of the learning equation is an important step in ensuring Wisconsin children graduate from school, college and career ready. With social and emotional skills, children can manage their feelings, build healthy relationships, and navigate social environments" (WDPI 2018:2).

The Wisconsin state standards go on to claim that children are already learning these skills by watching others, but SEL allows educators to "be intentional in helping

students acquire and apply these skills" (WDPI 2018:10). This claim is one of the most common in SEL discourses. The idea here is that social and emotional learning is merely being explicit about ways of handling one's emotions that are already widely shared and practiced by all adults. The documents that accompany and introduce these standards present them as if there is nothing controversial or new.

This quote from Ohio's K-12 Social and Emotional Learning Standards demonstrates the wide range of social and emotional life the standards typically cover, equating social and emotional skills with the qualities of being a healthy person and good citizen:

> What do we mean by social-emotional learning? Human beings are social creatures. That means in society, successfully interacting with other people is essential to the effective functioning of a community, a workplace and even a family. People need to know how to successfully interact with each other, establish and maintain positive relationships, feel and show empathy, understand and manage their emotions and set and achieve positive goals. Social-emotional learning improves children's mental health and helps them avoid risky decisions, make healthy choices and stay drug free (Ohio Department of Education [ODE] 2019:1).

States are much more likely to use generalized language of social and emotional learning being the skills of "being a person" or "college and career readiness" rather than to specifically define social or emotional skills, or give specific rationale as to whether or why some skills (such as the emotional ones, for example) are different or more or less important than others. However, for the rest of this analysis I focus on only the standards and goals related to emotion.

A few states explicitly define emotional skills, but for the most part they leave it to the specific standards to show what they mean by emotional skills and why they are important. Those that do define the skills generally say that emotional skills include such processes as recognizing feelings, labeling feelings, knowing how different situations make

them feel, regulating feelings and also dealing with other peoples' feelings. Idaho's definition of emotional skills is representative of how the standards conceptualize emotional skills.

> A child's ability to recognize and express feelings and to understand and respond to the emotions of others provides him/her with important emotional skills. Central to the understanding of emotional development is the overall perception of self; including traits, feelings, abilities, motives, and social roles...Emotional development includes acknowledging emotions and the ability to manage or regulate them in both personal and social contexts. A child's ability to identify and label his/her emotions and effectively express the range of feelings is another important aspect of emotional well-being. Emotional expression includes expressing primary emotions (joy, anger, fear), emotions linked to sensory stimulation (disgust, delight, horror), and self-appraisal emotions (pride, satisfaction, shame, guilt) (Idaho Department of Health and Welfare [IDHW] 2020).

For the most part, the practices of emotional competence are laid out in the standards themselves, and I will now turn to a discussion of those standards.

I group the standards into four categories, standards related to 1) emotional self-knowledge 2) communication of emotion; 3) managing emotions; and 4) other people's emotions. In my discussion of these different dimensions of emotional competence, I will highlight several themes that run throughout the standards. The standards emphasize self-reflexivity, a theme I will return to in Chapter 4. The standards are preoccupied with certain emotions. When standards mention specific emotions at all, they are most likely to identify anger and, to a lesser extent, anxiety as the main emotions that need to be known and changed.

Emotional Self Knowledge

All states have standards for knowing and understanding oneself. The Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL) calls this self-awareness and defines

it as "the abilities to understand one's own emotions, thoughts, and values and how they influence behavior across contexts" (CASEL 2021). All states use the term "self-awareness" as well. The states define the term in a similar way, often citing CASEL and using the same definition. For instance, Michigan defines self-awareness as the "ability to accurately recognize one's emotions and thoughts, and their influence on behavior" (Michigan Department of Education [MDE] 2017:1).

Core to the logic of SEL is the notion that knowing one's emotional self and tuning into one's emotions gives one more control over one's life and makes one better able to solve problems with other people. In their influential articulations of emotional intelligence, Salovey and Mayer, as well as Goleman, identified self-awareness as the foundational skill of emotional intelligence. Salovey and Mayer (1990:189) stated that self-awareness was based on the accurate "appraisal" of one's emotions. According to them, emotions are a source of information that needs processing, and those who are more skilled at doing this accurately and quickly can better understand and respond to emotions and better express emotions to others (Salovey and Mayer 1990).

Thirty years later, state standards similarly elevate self-awareness and define it as the basis for competence in school and in life, often drawing explicitly on Salovey and Mayer or Goleman to do so. For instance, the Michigan standards quote Goleman's claim that self-awareness "... is the keystone of emotional intelligence" (MDE 2017:11). Massachusetts standards also stress the importance of self-awareness, stating that self-awareness "... and the ability to understand and label emotions are foundational to healthy interactions with others, and therefore critical to school success and to a satisfying and successful life" (Massachusetts Department of Early Education and Care [EEC] and MDESE 2015:9). Core to the understandings of emotional self-awareness promoted by these state standards are the

ideas that emotions are normal and natural, and beyond that, that they are sensations from the body that contain important information.

According to these discourses, self-awareness has many components, some emotional and some not. CASEL lists many wide-ranging aspects of self-awareness, including "developing interests and a sense of purpose" and "examining prejudices and biases" (CASEL 2021). This broad understanding of self-awareness is reflected in SEL state standards, with standards that address skills in many areas, including developing self-efficacy and recognizing one's strengths, limitations, and values. Standards for self-awareness in all states include standards and goals related to knowing one's emotions and one's emotional self. Some states group together all components of self-awareness, while others distinguish between more cognitive and emotional dimensions of self-awareness, for instance, calling those aspects of self-awareness that are emotional something like "emotion knowledge." I analyze the standards related to this emotional side of self-awareness. They comprise skills around identifying, recognizing, and labeling emotion, as well as identifying situations that cause them, analyzing one's own emotional triggers, distinguishing between intensity levels and knowing how one's own emotions affect other people. Also, many of these standards show that, although it is not identified as a specific standard anywhere, learning how to be reflexive about one's own emotional experience is written into many of these standards. The wording of the standards shows the importance of thinking about feelings and being able to talk about them from a removed distance; for example, this standard from Colorado states the need to be able to describe "the importance of being aware of one's own feelings" (Colorado Department of Education [CDE] 2020).

The standards break emotional self-awareness into small parts to be built upon over the elementary years. This is important because it shows what the assumptions are about

what the most basic skills are, and then helps to construct that reality. By making the skills of "self-knowledge" the basis of emotional competence, it puts an individualistic spin on interactional phenomena that are messy and relational. A basic building block of self-awareness according to these standards is recognizing that one is having emotions and attaching labels to those sensations. The Wisconsin standards show the typical way that this is expressed, "learners will be able to recognize and label a variety of their own basic emotions" (WDPI 2018). According to the standards, just as knowing numbers and counting and reciting the alphabet are among the first steps to competence in math and reading, noticing one's bodily sensations and accurately labeling them are the first steps of emotional competence. As a result, many of the SEL standards particularly those for the youngest children address these processes.

The standards for younger elementary students sometimes specify that children should be able to recognize "basic" emotions, although no state standards specify which ones they mean. For example, the Wisconsin standards for first to third graders say that "learners will be able to recognize and label a variety of their own basic emotions" (WDPI 2018:18). Later standards for elementary students concern more complex and sometimes contradictory blends of emotion. In Wisconsin, the standard for fourth and fifth graders progresses to being able to recognize "a variety of complex emotions..." (WDPI 2018:18).

Some standards for emotions mention physical sensation; for instance, Illinois has a standard to be able to describe "physical reactions to strong emotions" (Illinois State Board of Education [ISBE] 2004). As is typical for the standards more generally, most of the examples and standards around recognizing emotions and their physicality have to do with negative and potentially disruptive emotions that come up in school, particularly anger and anxiety. A fourth-grade standard from Colorado states that children should be able to list

both physical and emotional reactions to stressful situations (CDE 2020). A similar standard from Illinois also lists examples of physiological symptoms of stress and states that children should be able to "[i]dentify physical reactions to stress (increased energy and alertness, increased heart rate and respiration, sweaty palms, red face, etc.)" (ISBE 2004).

According to SEL, self-awareness also depends on the ability to accurately attach language to emotional experience. All of the states have goals around attaching words to emotions. The standards concern labeling basic emotions in the younger grades and labeling complex emotions in the older grades. They also reference abilities around associating these feelings with facial expressions, body language, and behaviors. Many standards concern distinguishing between feelings, distinguishing among different intensities of feeling, and attaching the correct words to label emotions. Something that is considered a more complex skill for older elementary students is having language to talk about complex and contradictory blends of emotions. Massachusetts has a standard, for instance, that says students should "[u]se a richer and more specific vocabulary related to nuances of emotions (e.g. happy = ecstatic, glad, joyful, elated, delighted, pleased, etc.)" (EEC and MDESE 2015). As stated in the Massachusetts standards for kindergarteners, language is directly related to regulation: "Children's ability to label…different emotions provides them with powerful social tools: Using words, children can 'talk through' rather than act out their negative feelings" (EEC and MDESE 2015).

Another dimension of self-awareness is to be able to identity the relationship between different situations and feelings. For instance, Colorado has standards that measure the ability to "Explain possible causes for a variety of emotions" and "Recognize how different situations make them feel" (CDE 2020). Kansas's standards say, "Identify possible causes for emotions (for example, losing your dog might make you 'sad' or your

birthday may make you 'happy'" (Kansas State Department of Education [KSDE] 2018[)].

Massachusetts has a standard for kindergarteners that states "With support, describe reasons for your own feelings and situations that cause them (stimuli/provocations)" (EEC and MDESE 2015). Some of these standards set the stage for the more ongoing general monitoring of how feelings change, a theme I return to in Chapter 4. For instance, Illinois has a standard to recognize "that feelings change throughout the day (e.g. before and after transitions, recess, lunch etc.)" (ISBE 2004).

A final dimension of self-awareness makes explicit ties between emotions and behavior. Most states have standards for describing how feelings relate to thoughts and behaviors. Colorado phrases the standard as "[e]xplore how feelings affect behavior at home and at school" (CDE 2020). For older children, the related standard sounds quite a bit more sophisticated, which is to examine "how mental and emotional health can be affected by many influences so it is important to be able to recognize both positive and negative influences on our feelings and behavior" (CDE 2020).

One of the most interesting characteristics about the standards around knowing one's emotions is that they attempt neutrality with regards to feelings. When it comes to feeling them, all feelings are okay and should be felt. Illustrative examples cover a wide range of emotions. Only one state, Kansas, differentiates between positive and negative emotions, defining positive emotions as those that are productive and helpful, and negative as those that are destructive. Overwhelmingly, though, the standards strive to be nonnormative toward feelings when it comes to knowing them and feeling them. This is not the case when it comes to expressing and showing emotions, and when it comes to behaviors based on emotions, however.

Communication of Emotions

Another component of emotional competence is communicating emotion. The Michigan standards document states that it "is imperative that students be aware of their emotions and how they are communicated, verbally or through actions" (MDE 2017). The Colorado standards say that expressing "emotions in appropriate ways is a lifelong skill for school, work, and family" (CDE 2020). All states have standards for communicating and expressing emotions. Here I will discuss all standards for nonverbal and verbal expression and communication of one's own emotions.

These standards express the idea that it is important to be able to show one's feelings in a variety of ways and they are explicit in their articulation of the idea that there are nonverbal and verbal ways to do this. As with the other dimensions of emotional competence, some standards are children's ability to *do* things with their feelings, and other standards concern their ability to talk or reflect on the skill. For Oregon, a standard is that a child "[f]requently uses a variety of expressive words or gestures to describe their own feelings" (Oregon Department of Education [ODE] 2019). This standard from Washington is more on the level of reflection or knowledge of the phenomenon, which is that children be able to "understand how the body and face show different emotions" (OSPI 2016). Some of the states also specify that one should be able to show a range of emotions and list examples that include different kinds of feelings; for example, Washington lists "excitement, happiness, sadness, fear" as examples of the range of emotions that should be shown (OSPI 2016). Many documents provide a range of examples for the ways children should be able to both communicate their feelings and communicate about their feelings. Massachusetts, for example, lists speaking, writing, drawing and dramatization (EEC and MDESE 2015).

Standards for nonverbal emotional expression and communication encompass the range of ways in which children are supposed to show feelings through facial expressions, body

language and tone. There is a sleight of hand here: there is slipperiness between just understanding in general that the body and face *can* and *do* show emotion, but then also teaching students to consciously *use* expression. Most do not give specifics about kinds of nonverbal expression, except for Pennsylvania which offers suggestions for how second graders should express excitement with their bodies in the nondisruptive ways of an "excited silent clap" or "thumbs up" (Pennsylvania Department of Human Services [PDHS] and Pennsylvania Department of Education [PDE] 2016:107).

There are more standards that have to do with the ability to talk about feelings with words. Washington categorizes this with other forms of communication, saying that children should be able to "[s]peak clearly to express thoughts, feelings, and ideas" (OSPI 2016). These standards sometimes are written in neutral ways and sometimes are directly linked to regulatory ends. In an example of the former, Connecticut states this standard for third graders by saying that children should "communicate effectively about emotional experience with adults and peers using a variety of vocabulary related to emotions" (Connecticut State Department of Education [CSDE] 2018). Likewise, Colorado says, "Demonstrate the ability to talk about feelings with parents and other trusted adults" (CDE 2020). In the Illinois standards, which were the first standards adopted in 2004, the ability to talk about feelings is specifically posed as a preferable alternative to "acting them out" (ISBE 2004).

Some of the states, including Illinois, Connecticut, and Michigan, specifically mention the use of "I statements" to express emotions. Michigan has a standard for using "I statements to describe how you feel, why you feel that way, what you might like to change" (MDE 2017). In other words, the idea here is that people have needs or other things related to feelings that they need to express and communication of those needs is also important. Illinois says that children should be able to use I statements to express "various emotions." In general, though, this is another place where the emphasis is on the expression of difficult or negative emotions, and the

use of calm communication as a strategy. For instance, the Illinois standards state that children should be able to "[u]se I statements to express how you feel when someone has hurt you emotionally" (ISBE 2004). Michigan mentions in a standard that a child be able to communicate ones "perspective on triggering behaviors or situations using I messages" (MDE 2017).

There is a general sense in the standards that expression of a variety of emotions is a good thing that should happen in school. While most states do not have such an explicit standard about the expression of an emotion, Idaho specifically has a goal that a child "[d]oes not inhibit emotional expression (cries when feeling sad)" (IDHW 2011). Idaho also has goals that children share their own excitement with peers, caregivers and adults, or talks to people in school about sadness surrounding loss such as divorce or death (IDHW 2011).

While the standards for awareness emphasize that all feelings should be felt, in the standards about expression, normative expectations arrive. There may be no good or bad feelings, but there are certainly good and bad ways to express and communicate them. The states use a wide variety of related but distinct words to capture this normativity, although the most dominant dimension is that of appropriateness or acceptability. West Virginia uses both terms in one standard that states children be able to express "feelings appropriately and describe and demonstrate ways to express emotions in a socially acceptable manner" (West Virginia Department of Education [WVDE] 2012). Another word used by states to capture the acceptable nature of expressing and communicating emotions is that it be "respectful" (WDPI 2018). Other states specify that communication of feelings be "effective" or "constructive."

The most explicit way in which the standards specify norms about what kinds of emotional communication are not acceptable is to make clear that fighting and violence are not okay. Wisconsin simply states that children be able to "[e]xpress emotions in nonviolent ways" (WDPI 2018). An Oregon standard is that a child "consistently expresses feelings, needs, and

opinions in conflict situations" (ODE 2016). A standard in Illinois states children should "[s]tate

feelings in a conflict to avoid violence (particularly physical)" (ISBE 2004). Violence is here seen

as a form of emotion expression that can be avoided by teaching and encouraging other forms of

emotion expression. Michigan says, "Express self in safe and appropriate ways" and then in

paratheses, as an example, says "(expresses anger or sadness without fights) (MDE 2017).

Michigan also has a standard that children "[p]ractice using words to share their feelings about an

interaction or a situation rather than physically aggressively expressing feelings" (MDE 2017).

The standards make clear that suppression of emotions is not (usually) the thing to

do. The standards encourage children to reflect on possible consequences before expressing an

emotion (ISBE 2004). There is only occasional mention of withholding, stating "know when to

withhold expressions of feelings in certain situations" (PDHS and PDE 2016: 93). Only

occasionally is variability mentioned, though in Oregon the standard is, "Often expresses in ways

that are appropriate to the situation according to their life experience and cultural beliefs" (ODE

2016). Overall, then, the standards about expression and communication of emotions continue to

support the idea that children should feel, and that feeling is good, but also that there are

guidelines for how those feelings should be expressed and communicated.

Emotion Management

Many standards for emotional competence involve the active, conscious self-regulation

of emotions and behaviors that stem from emotions. CASEL defines self-management as the

"abilities to manage one's emotions, thoughts, and behaviors effectively in different

situations and to achieve goals and aspirations" (CASEL 2021). The regulation of emotion in

these standards is seen in skills related to using purposeful control strategies to modify an

emotion or the intensity or duration of an emotion. Some standards are also around

expectations for behavior related to feelings. The standards, like SEL more generally,

emphasize the distinction between emotion and behavior and stress how, while all emotions are okay, all behaviors are not okay. The way this is phrased in the Massachusetts standards is that children need to "pause and think before they speak and act" in order to "function well in school and in life" (EEC and MDESE 2015).

The overarching standards for management are phrased in general, vague ways. For example, Illinois simply states that children learn to "[m]anage one's emotion and behavior" (ISBE 2004). Ohio says students should be able to "[d]emonstrate self-control in a variety of situations and settings" (ODE 2019). Wisconsin says that the "[l]earner will be able to, with minimal adult guidance, manage emotions (e.g. stress, impulses, motivation) in a manner sensitive to self and others" (WDPI 2018).

The standards are around strategies and practices of regulation. The most commonly identified strategies are self-talk, exercise, talking to an adult, walking away and taking a break. Washington has standards to "demonstrate ways to deal with upsetting emotions (e.g. sadness, anger, disappointment)" and "know and use strategies to deal with different emotions, such as using self-control when angry" (OSPI 2016). Kansas has a standard that says "Identify and develop techniques to manage emotions" (KSDE 2018). In a general sense, the standards often evoke the need for strategies to manage emotions and sometimes give examples, such as: "Use effective regulatory strategies when upset (e.g., self-talk, using deep breaths, walking away from the situation until calmer). Manage and express own feelings appropriately and inhibit inappropriate words actions and emotions most of the time without adult supervision" (IDHW 2011). Illinois has standards to practice "strategies for dealing with upsetting emotion" and "strategies to reduce stress (e.g. talking to a friend or trusted adult, considering what led to these feelings, physical exercise)" (ISBE 2004).

There is a preoccupation with negative, impulsive, and violent emotions as those that need management. In particular, the standards offer strategies of emotion management as a form of violence prevention. The emotions most often used as examples in these standards are anger, disappointment, and failure. Oregon has a standard that the child "[r]efrain from aggressive behavior toward others" (ODE 2016). An Idaho standard is "[s]hows ability to control destructive impulses" (IDHW 2011). Some standards mention the stress of academics, as well as social interactions. In Washington, "For example, if a friend doesn't want to play anymore (stress), invite someone else to play with you (cope)" (OSPI 2016). Only occasionally do other emotions need management, like singing as a way to deal with waiting or boredom. Wisconsin has a standard that children be able to "deal with embarrassment in a non-aggressive way" (WDPI 2018).

The ideal emotionally proficient child is a calm one. One of the most frequent words in these standards is calm. All states have standards around learning strategies and techniques for recovering when upset. The strategies are often referred to as calming strategies. Illinois has a standard to "use self-talk to calm down" (ISBE 2004). Michigan has a standard to practice moving to a "calm down" space in the room after a triggering event (MDE 2017). "Identify and begin to use simple calming strategies to regulate emotions and manage behaviors. Calm down own strong emotions and avoid acting on impulse" (OSPI 2016).

One theme is that younger children implement strategies of emotion management with adult support, while older elementary students are able to do so independently. An example of this from Oregon is that children be able to "[w]ith the occasional support of an adult or peer, be able to use a range of coping strategies to manage emotions such as using words or symbols or taking deep breaths strategies to deal with waiting" (ODE 2016).

Colorado has a fifth-grade standard to know when it is appropriate to seek help/support during times of strong emotions/feelings (CDE 2020).

As in other standards, another theme here is the need to think about one's emotions, behaviors, and ways of managing feeling. For instance, a Kansas standard is that students "[c]ritically reflect on behavioral responses depending on context or situation" (KSDE 2018). There are also some standards that mention talking about and processing emotions as a strategy of regulation. Another one is to "analyze how an inability to manage one's anger might cause a conflict to get worse" (ISBE 2004).

The Emotions of Others

The final category of standards I will discuss involves standards regarding the emotions of other people. Part of emotional competence is not only thinking about and doing things regarding one's own emotions, but also involves the emotions of other people. In their influential article about emotional intelligence, Peter Salovey and John Mayer pointed out that individuals "...who can't recognize emotions in others, or who make others feel badly, may be perceived as cloddish or oafish and ultimately be ostracized" (Salovey and Mayer 1990:200). CASEL includes concerns around the feelings of others in what it calls social awareness, "the abilities to understand the perspectives of and empathize with others, including those from diverse backgrounds, cultures, and contexts" (CASEL 2021). As with self-awareness, social awareness includes capacities that are more cognitive, some that involve relationships and communication, and some that are more explicitly about feelings. CASEL lists components of social awareness that include taking others' perspectives, recognizing strengths in others, expressing gratitude, and understanding the influences of organizations and systems on behavior. The standards similarly include many goals along these lines. For example, the Virginia standards for third and fourth graders include "I can

110

ask questions in a positive manner about other people's cultures, traditions and beliefs" and "I can understand how stereotypes can be harmful" (Virginia Department of Education [VDE] 2021, 12). However, a component of this definition concerns emotions, and I discuss the standards concerning these emotional dimensions of social awareness here.

According to SEL discourses, social awareness includes the ability to understand another person's emotional state. Emotions are an important source of information, in this case not only about the self but about other people. Standards cover such issues as identifying others' feelings, understanding their emotions, acknowledging them appropriately, and acting with other peoples' emotions in mind. The word most commonly used to capture these skills is empathy. The emotional aspects of empathy involve being able to understand another person's emotions. Not all of the standards use the empathy language. The Colorado standards have a standard for second graders that references being "sensitive to the feelings of others" (CDE 2020). Idaho has a standard that a student "shows empathy, is not mean-spirited" (IDHW 2011). Illinois specifies that children should "[d]emonstrate a capacity to care about the feelings of others" (ISBE 2004). A Massachusetts standard is that the "child will display empathetic characteristics" which the standards defines as "the ability to participate in the feelings or ideas of others, to feel bad about their unhappiness or pain, to feel good at their joy" (EEC and MDESE 2015).

Understanding the feelings of others involves recognizing emotions based on their facial expressions, body language, appearance and behaviors. There are many standards that address these skills using books and history. For example, a second-grade standard in Colorado is "[r]espond to books and pictures that express emotions…with empathy" (CDE 2020). For older children, this standard expands to be able to explain "why characters in stories feel as they do" (CDE 2020). Sometimes the standards include goals around recognizing

emotion in other places. For instance, Oregon has a standard that states "[r]ecognizes and labels a

variety of emotions across different media" and Illinois says "[i]dentify emotions expressed in 'feeling faces' or photographs" (ODE 2016; ISBE 2004).

Many of the standards concern tuning into and recognizing feelings in other people using nonverbal cues and, for older children, communication skills. A typical way This is typically expressed, as in the Idaho standards, as a child demonstrating a growing understanding of how other people feel, and being able to use "cues to interpret others' feelings" (IDHW 2011). A Kansas standard is that children be able to "[i]dentify a range of emotions in others (for example, identify 'sad' by facial expression; identify 'mad' by tone of voice)" (KSDE 2018). A Wisconsin standard for younger elementary students states that "[l]earners will be able to, with adult guidance, identify how others are feeling based on verbal and nonverbal cues, and respond with compassion" (WDPI 2018).

While for younger children knowing others' emotions may involve things like looking at their faces, older children should also have skills of asking about others' feelings and being able to talk to them about their feelings using active listening. This standard in Illinois states that children "use listening skills to identify the feelings and perspectives of others" (ISBE 2004).

Here are some of the standards for recognizing other people's feelings: "Relating to and comparing to others' emotions, recognizing that people feel in different ways. Demonstrate an understanding that another's persons feelings differ from one's own thoughts" (ODE 2019). "Distinguish others' feelings and begin to speculate on why they might be different from his or her own" (EEC and MDESE 2015). "Respect differences in feelings" (ISBE 2004). "Learners will be able to predict how someone else may feel in a variety of situations" (WDPI 2018). "Demonstrate how one feels when left out of an activity or group. Describe how one feels when bullied" (ISBE 2004). "Explain how interrupting

others may make them feel" (ISBE 2004). "Predict others' feelings, responses and behavior and make decisions accordingly" (ISBE 2004). As these examples show, the standards demonstrate that children should be actively tuning in to emotion not only in themselves, but in other people.

Another group of standards regarding other people's emotions involves responding to others' emotions with care and providing comfort. This Massachusetts standard states this in a general way, saying that children respond "to another's emotions and needs (e.g. share a similar personal experience, advocate for someone, relinquish a turn or an object for another)" (EEC and MDESE 2015). Most of the examples reference providing comfort to others who are upset. In Pennsylvania, there is a standard that children "[r]espond with empathy to others who are upset" (PDHS and PDE 2016). Oregon has one that a child "offers support to adults or other children who are distressed" (ODE 2016). "Comforts family members or friends who are not feeling well or upset" (IDHW 2011), "Express concern and take effective action to address the needs of others" (ODE 2019). "Express sympathy" (WVDE 2012). "Learners will be able to recognize the feelings of another child and respond with basic comfort and empathy. Often makes empathetic statements or gestures to adults or other children. Comforts family or friends who are not feeling well" (IDHW 2011). "Respond to books and pictures that express emotions with empathy" (IDHW 2011). "Describe a time you felt the same way a story character felt" (ISBE 2004). In general, these standards show concern with producing empathetic actors who are tuned into other people.

A final group of standards involves making connections between one's own behaviors and other people's feelings. Vermont says that children should "[c]ontrol feelings based on how they affect others" (Vermont Agency of Education [AOE] and Vermont Agency of Human Services [AHS] 2015). In Illinois, that children are able to "[p]redict how one's

own behavior might affect the feelings of others" (ISBE 2004). In Michigan, that children are "able to describe how their behaviors impact others' emotions" (MDE 2017). Washington standards also make connections between one's own emotional state and others', saying that children should understand that "being happy might help others feel happy, while being grumpy might make others grumpy" (OSPI 2016).

Conclusion

Scholars have pointed out that children are subject to an ever-intensifying network of visibility, surveillance and normalization and that, particularly in school, their behaviors and skills are continually judged and compared with others. This analysis of SEL standards shows the way in which emotional life is becoming an arena in which this happens. While attempts to measure and quantify these emotional characteristics are in their early days, one concern is that measures initially designed to describe behavior often come to be used to judge and control it. By simplifying, excluding and integrating information, the processes of measurement expands the comparability of social phenomena in ways that make surveillance easier (Espeland and Stevens 2008:415)

In all of these states, adherence to these standards is currently voluntary, but many people and organizations are working to change this. For example, CASEL cofounder and current Board of Directors Chair Timothy Shriver stated in 2017, "Someone might say, 'Why aren't you holding states accountable for teaching it?' The answer to that is we are not ready for it yet." (quoted in Blad 2017). In the last ten years, there have been a number of large-scale efforts to organize, categorize, operationalize and align frameworks of social and emotional competence. These efforts have been ongoing by RAND Corporation, Harvard University, the CORE Districts in California, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the organization Transforming Education, and the private company SEL Labs, to name just a few.

The standards for social and emotional learning are relatively broad and not as specific as learning standards for academic subjects. For more specifics on what the practices of these dimensions of emotional competence look like, and how they are taught, I turn to an examination of SEL curricula in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 4

THE EMOTIONALLY COMPETENT SELF-KNOWING CHILD

Imagine a classroom where teachers and students start off the day by plotting how they are feeling, discussing why they are feeling that way, and then thinking about how their feelings might affect their learning that day.

-- RULER curriculum

Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) is one of the most well-established social and emotional learning programs in the United States. It is also among the most intensive. The curriculum consists of numerous materials including handouts, lesson plans, assignments, puppets, classroom posters, flashcards, videos, and assessments for each grade level from kindergarten through sixth grade. In PATHS for fifth and sixth graders, an activity includes a poster entitled "Cues for Understanding How I Feel." The poster shows a picture of a girl looking in the mirror. As she looks at her reflection, it appears she is gesturing to herself, and possibly talking to herself. The poster lists eight questions a child should ask in order to discover her emotional state:

> 1. How do I look? (my facial expressions and body postures)
>
> 2. What am I doing? (my bodily actions, e.g., throwing a tantrum, breaking something on purpose, helping someone)
>
> 3. What's going on? (the situational and environmental cues)
>
> 4. What am I saying? (my words)
>
> 5. How do I sound? (my tone of voice)
>
> 6. Has this happened to me before? (my past experiences with similar situations)
>
> 7. What I am I thinking? (my thoughts)
>
> 8. How do I feel inside? (my bodily and internal sensations) (Domitrovich et al. 2004, 6-77).

Accompanying exercises encourage children to use this list to assess themselves. For example, in one activity, students are asked to sit quietly, close their eyes, and concentrate on what they are thinking and feeling inside. The teacher's script says to provide several minutes for students to do this, and then to ask for volunteers to talk about the thoughts and sensations they noticed inside of themselves. Sample questions include "Did you know

before you stopped and thought about it that you were feeling that way?" and "Were you surprised to find out that you were feeling that way?" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:6-73).

Emotional Self-Knowledge

Social and emotional learning programs endeavor to teach children how to understand and know themselves. In American society, people are urged to look inward using therapeutic practices in order to achieve reflexive knowledge about the self. A central tenet of therapeutic culture is the belief that self-knowledge gives an individual more power over their life and destiny. The good citizen is responsible, capable, and self-regulated in the pursuit of health, wellness, and productivity (Lupton 2016). Self-knowledge is seen as core to these pursuits. Therapeutic interventions are composed of countless practices and techniques for learning about and working on the self (Irvine 1999; McCorkel 2013; Sered 2014).

The belief in a "real" and authentic self has dominated the last century. The emergence of the therapeutic is built upon the idea that individuals need copious amounts of therapy, groups, techniques, and work in order to know and intervene in the self. Knowing the self typically involves repeatedly going inside oneself to discover hidden desires and motivations. This is an active, conscious process that requires individuals to self-monitor. Monitoring the self involves practices such as inspecting one's thoughts, feelings, habits, interactions, and relationships, as well as taking steps to intervene if (when) problems are found. This process of self-monitoring may include such exercises as writing down feelings and thoughts in a journal for later reflection or answering a questionnaire about one's feelings and habits (Hazelden 2003).

In the twenty-first century, the quest for self-knowledge has reached new heights

and individuals monitor and try to know themselves in ever-expanding ways. Digital

technologies have led to an increased monitoring of an ever-expanding number of domains of the self. Recent research has examined the social phenomenon and practices of people self-monitoring and self-tracking (e.g. Berman and Hirschmann 2018; Lupton 2016; Neff and Nafus 2016). Contemporary self-monitoring is done for many reasons, some of which are related to goals such as self-improvement in health, physical fitness, emotional well-being, relationships, and productivity.

The practices of measuring and monitoring elements of the self are not new, although certainly the development and dissemination of new technologies have led to the expansion of these processes. As Neff and Nafus note, one thing that is new about the recent self-monitoring is biomedicalization and the expansion of medical and psychological explanations for many areas of life. Biomedicalization is a dominant cultural framework that makes medical explanations the most readily available ones. It is "easier to acknowledge the impact of a bundle of neurons than the impact of culture or society on why people behave the way they do" (Neff and Nafus 2016:19). This makes close measurement, monitoring, and attention to aspects of the body both more imaginable and more desirable, as these factors are increasingly valued and understood as important.

Sociologist Deborah Lupton (2016:68) uses the concept "the reflexive monitoring self" to capture this contemporary form of selfhood that entails systematic and near constant monitoring of one's self toward to the goal of "becoming." Knowing the self requires not only monitoring oneself, but data collection, interpretation and thoughtful reflection about the information one collects. Individuals gather both quantitative and non-quantitative information about themselves, including data about moods, menstrual cycles, dreams, relationships, and emotions (Lupton 2016: 29). There are many different technologies and thousands of apps to aid people in their pursuit of self-knowledge, but also

older techniques such as journals and various forms of charting.

In this chapter, I extend Lupton's notion of the reflexive monitoring self to analyze the practices of emotional self-awareness in eight leading social and emotional learning programs. My analysis follows sociologist Nikolas Rose's (1996:23) call for analyses of "thought, as it seeks to make itself technical." I focus on practices of the self and emotions that these curricula promote. These practices include ones that children are taught to use on themselves, as well as the pedagogical practices teachers are supposed to use to teach them.

I show how these curricula define emotional awareness and give some idea of the kinds of exercises they use to try to cultivate it. I also discuss the ways that these curricula define emotion, normalize it, and elevate its importance. I then discuss the emotional self-awareness across the curricula, highlighting four overlapping sets of practices that I call: 1) the decoupling of feeling from behavior, 2) reflexivity about emotion, 3) putting feelings into words, and 4) emotion detective work. I then discuss two comprehensive tools of emotional self-awareness to show how these practices come together, the PATHS feeling faces and the RULER mood meter.

The Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL) defines self-awareness as "the abilities to understand one's own emotions, thoughts, and values and how they influence behavior across contexts" (CASEL 2021). Self-awareness has many components, some emotional and some not. While SEL curricula also attempt to develop the more cognitive sides of self-awareness (for example, recognizing one's strengths), my analysis focuses solely on the emotional components of self-awareness. The emotional components of self-awareness include skills in identifying, naming, understanding and monitoring feelings. Peter Salovey and John Mayer, in their 1990 foundational piece on emotional intelligence, identified these skills in the "accurate appraisal and expression of emotion in the self and others…" to be incredibly important (1990:189). Emotion is a source

119

of information in need of processing, and people who are better at this processing are able

to more accurately and correctly perceive their feelings, respond to those feelings, and express their feelings to others.

The development of children's self-awareness is believed to be essential for many reasons. Core to SEL is the notion that knowing one's emotional self and tuning into one's emotions gives one more control over one's life. The PATHS curriculum refers to Daniel Goleman's emphasis on self-awareness, quoting a sentence from his best-selling *Emotional Intelligence* in their instructor materials, that "[a]n inability to notice our true feelings leaves us at their mercy" (Goleman 1995:43, quoted in Domitrovich et al. 2004:3-iv). Competence in all other parts of life, from the management of one's emotions to effective communication and relationships, depend on it. It also makes one better able to solve problems with other people. According to SEL founders Maurice Elias and Roger Weissberg, children who are not aware of their feelings will not be able to make reasoned decisions, control their impulses, or say what they mean (Elias and Weissberg 2000:186). In addition, many psychological and social problems are attributed to individual failings in understanding emotions, either in themselves or in other people.

The Elevation and Normalization of Emotion in SEL

Social and emotional learning sees emotions as important and normal. Emotions are connected to memory, attention, learning, and decision-making. They are important because they are thought to be signals that provide valuable information about what is happening, both internally and in the environment. A PATHS activity states that "[f]eelings are **very** important, and we have them all of the time. Our feelings are signals sent from our brains that tell us what is going on around us and inside of us" (Domitrovich et al. 2004). The curricula strongly communicate the idea that caring about your feelings is essential.

The exercises in these curricula attempt to elevate the importance of emotion both implicitly and directly. The mere existence of structured time for children to think about and learn about their feelings at school communicates that these are important practices. In addition, children are also explicitly told how important it is to pay attention to their feelings. For example, a PATHS handout for third graders states, "We can decide if we want to or don't want to pay attention to our feelings. If we don't pay attention to our feelings, we will still have them, but we won't know much about them" (Domitrovich et al. 2004). Another handout from PATHS tells children, "Your feelings are important signals…. To understand your feelings, try to name them. Paying attention to your feelings will give you more control and help you solve your problems" (Domitrovich et al. 2004).

Many of the exercises and activities attempt to normalize emotion for children, and their teachers. SEL proponents often lament schools of the past, where children were expected to "leave their feelings at the door." These curricula offer a seemingly more humane alternative, in which students and teachers can embrace feelings, and "use them to optimize learning, increase motivation and build healthy relationships" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:8-v).

The ideas that emotions are normal and that everyone has them all the time are peppered throughout all eight curricula. Early exercises for children at all grade levels teach children that anyone and everyone can have any feelings. Throughout lessons and curricula guides and worksheets are the explicit messages that everyone has feelings, all of the time, and that they are all okay. A passage for children to read themselves in the PATHS Feelings Dictionary tells third graders, "People have the same feelings whether they are kids or adults or boys or girls. Many animals have feelings too" (Domitrovich et al. 2004). Throughout the Second Step script for teachers is the reminder to tell children to "just

remember anyone can have any of the feelings we've been talking about" (Committee for

Children 2011). This point is reinforced in many Second Step exercises. For example, in the

program for fourth graders, students watch a short video clip where other children talk

about strong emotions they have experienced. The accompanying teacher script instructs

the teacher to ask the children to raise their hands if they have ever experienced one of

those strong emotions. "Acknowledge that most people raised their hands. Everyone feels

strong emotions at one time or another" (Committee for Children 2011: Grade 4, 93).

A point that all eight curricula make explicitly, indeed perhaps the most common

refrain about emotions in them, is that all feelings are okay. Children should never feel bad

or ashamed about a feeling, and teachers should "accept any emotional reaction that a child

has even if his or her actions are inappropriate" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:vi). The RULER

approach stresses the appropriateness of all feelings very often, stressing that all emotions

are valid and potentially useful to different ends. Different emotions allow for different

kinds of thinking and behavior. Moderate levels of anxiety (concern), for example, keep us

focused on our goals; too much anxiety (distress), however, can paralyze us. Similarly, some

level of sadness is critical to sympathizing with others' hardships while too much sadness

can lead to depression. Open Circle tells children that it "is never wrong to have feelings –

even difficult feelings" (Seigle, Lange and Macklem 1999:67). Mind Up encourages children to

approach their feelings in a "curious, nonjudgmental way" (The Hawn Foundation 2011a).

The PATHS curriculum guidance for teachers says:

> One of the central ideas being introduced here is that "All Feelings are OK" This is
> one of the most important PATHS concepts. We encourage you to reinforce it at
> every opportunity. Most children have a difficult time accepting their own emotional
> experiences, particularly when they are negative or painful (Domitrovich et al.
> 2004:3-iv).

Throughout PATHS, the sentence "All feelings are OK to have" is repeated endlessly.

This program uses an extreme illustration to show that feelings are okay. In a lesson on

"Feelings in Relationships" for second graders, PATHS introduces the word malicious. It says that the "world is a much nicer place when people are kind, not malicious" and goes on to define malicious as "the way we feel when we hurt other people on purpose and feel happy about it. Feeling malicious is kind of like feeling mean and happy at the same time…. Usually people feel hurt and angry inside when they feel malicious." After further discussion of maliciousness, the teacher script prompts teachers to ask children if it would be okay if they felt malicious, and to answer "yes, all feelings are okay" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:10-2).

The curricula assume that both children and teachers may believe that difficult or painful feelings are wrong, shameful, or to be avoided. There is a strong push against calling any feeling normatively "good or bad." As PATHS says, the "terminology OK is used to purposefully avoid the terms good and bad when describing feelings. Good and bad are descriptors to use with behavior not feelings" (Domitrovich et al. 2004). The curricula use several descriptors to capture the idea that feelings may feel good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, comfortable or uncomfortable, but always reiterates that all happen, and that they are all okay, even the unpleasant ones.

PATHS has a visual called "How are you feeling?" There is a picture divided into two parts, one colored in yellow tones with a picture of a sun and child looking happy, and the other part in blue tones with rain and a child looking sad. The yellow side is labeled "Comfortable Feelings" and the blue side" Uncomfortable Feelings." The accompanying script reads,

> When a feeling is comfortable, it feels enjoyable inside. Happy, proud, kind and excited are all comfortable feelings. When a feeling is uncomfortable, it feels upsetting inside. Sad, mad, scared and shy are all uncomfortable feelings. Are you having any comfortable feelings today? Remember that all feelings are OK to have. Are you having any uncomfortable feelings today? Remember that all feelings are OK to have (Domitrovich et al. 2004).

All of this normalization of feeling, including difficult ones, is nice. It certainly would have been comforting information to me as an always-anxious fourth grader, who had no way to understand what was happening to me or that it also happened to other people. However, there are fairly strict limits to this normalization of emotion in SEL. Emotion is normalized, but only when it is known, understood and handled in prescribed ways and engaged with via the practices of knowing emotions I outline below.

Practices of Self-Knowledge in SEL

Knowing one's emotions requires active, systematic effort. It also requires skills that must be built by comprehensive curricula that develop these skills over hundreds or thousands of hours of instructional time over the course of children's education. These curricula include a wide variety of pedagogical practices. In general, they prioritize active learning and provide many opportunities for children to share, participate, interact with one another, and practice these skills in different ways. There are ample opportunities for children to talk about their emotional experiences. The programs provide scripts for discussions with the whole class, and in pairs or small groups. Teachers provide definitions and information about SEL concepts. Discussions are used to introduce SEL concepts, to connect them to experiences, books, or other subjects. Tools and exercises include dictionaries, flashcards, games, role-playing, videos, and photographs of people having different feelings. All of the curricula also call for varying amounts of teaching by modeling the skills. I

In the four sets of practices that follow, I show how these practices help to construct emotions and ways of experiencing them as completely removed from any action, expression, or behavior that may come along with that feeling or happen as the result of it. In other words, part of the price of SEL's normalization of feeling is that all feelings are okay

to the extent that they are an internal sensation that happens privately and quietly inside one's own body or brain. This isn't merely an idea in SEL; these practices attempt to "make children" who "do" emotions in these ways.

Set of Practices 1: The Decoupling of Feeling from Behavior

> "Feelings" is a word for all of the different ways we can feel on the inside, like happy and sad. We can't see a feeling, and we can't touch a feeling, because our feelings are inside of us" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:3-3).

The normalization of feelings depends on decoupling feeling from anything else that might come out, be it an expression, or noises, or words, or behaviors. All feelings are okay so long as the feeling is on the inside only. This is something that is taught in many different ways, particularly when it comes to difficult and potentially disruptive or violent feelings.

Several of the curricula explicitly talk about anger as a feeling that is normal and not to be avoided. In a Second Step lesson about anger for kindergarteners, teachers are told that students often think it is not okay to feel anger, so teachers should emphasize that everyone feels angry sometimes, and that it is natural (Committee for Children 2011). Resolving Conflict Creatively and RULER both make the point that anger can be useful. Resolving Conflict Creatively, for example, says:

> There are many people who have used anger constructively. Have students research one of the following people and report on what injustice angered them and what type of social action they were inspired to take: Rosa Parks, Harriet Tubman, Martin Luther King, Jr., Jane Addams, Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Rachel Carson, Mother Jones, Mohandas K. Gandhi (Harrison and Breeding 2007b:109).

Anger is okay, though, so long as it is a feeling that is expressed or communicated in certain ways. The curricula accomplish this decoupling by making a firm boundary between the internal sensations of feelings and the outward expressions, the actions and behaviors

that go with them. They do this by continuously making the distinction between inside

feeling and outside behavior. As PATHS tells teachers in its second-grade curriculum:

> One of the most difficult to handle emotions is anger. Most children and many adults believe that it is not all right to feel anger. Review the idea that all feelings are OK to have, even anger, but what we decide to do with the feeling of anger can be good or bad. If we walk away from a situation that is making us angry, that is usually an OK thing to do. However, it's not OK to hit someone because we feel angry. Frequently pointing out this distinction will help your students internalize and understand it (Domitrovich et al. 2004:3-iii-3-iv).

A representative Second Step passage for fourth graders says that "[s]trong emotions are

neither good nor bad. It is how you express your strong emotions that matters. Sometimes

strong emotions can feel uncomfortable and even lead to problems: emotions can cause

people to act in a negative way, such as hitting or screaming at someone…" (Committee for

Children 2011: Grade 4, 93).

The curricula explicitly teach the notion that "all feelings okay, all behaviors are not

okay" in many different ways, some of which I will get into later in this chapter and in

Chapter 5. Here I give a few illustrative examples. For example, a Second Step end-of-the-

year assessment for kindergarteners has a question that asks children to pretend they are

having trouble with a puzzle and are feeling frustrated and asks them what they can do calm

down. The choices are "a. Hit something b. Belly breathe and c. Yell" with photographs of all

three choices. The answer key shows that belly breathe is the only right answer (Committee

for Children 2011: Kindergarten, 91). Anger at a hard puzzle is okay, but only if its outward

behavior is some deep breathing. Similarly, PATHS lists some options for children who

experience upset in class and they are to write in their journal or "go to a calming down

place to put your head down for a minute" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:3-29).

That feelings are internal sensations separate from anything outwardly visible or audible isn't just an idea or a statement that runs throughout these curricula, taught only via telling children to and giving them examples of alternative ways to express their emotions. The decoupling of feelings from action is also constructed via the other practices of self-knowledge promoted in these programs and the ways that students are urged put feelings into words, think about feelings and search for them inside their bodies.

Set of Practices 2: Putting Feelings into Words

Little kids basically have a very small emotion vocabulary. They're happy mad sad, that's it. But we know as adults the nuances, the complexities of our emotional life. And it's really important for kids to develop that vocabulary and the skill of really correctly identifying what they're feeling because that's the first step in them figuring out, "Well now I understand why I'm behaving that way."

-- Patricia Heindel, Academy for

Social-Emotional Learning in Schools

A second set of practices of emotional self-awareness involve putting feelings into words. Language is important so that you can communicate with others about feelings. The Incredible Years teaching manual tells teachers that "without words for feelings, children cannot talk about their feelings or problems to others or understand others' feelings. Having language to express feelings is at the core of self-regulation and being able to form intimate relationships with others" (Incredible Years 2013). Open Circle says that it is important to name our feelings "so that people can understand and support us" (Seigle at al. 1999). PATHS states one of its goals is to increase children's vocabulary related to emotions and then clarifies that this is in order "to increase the use

127

of verbal mediation associated with feeling states through emotional labeling"

(Domitrovich et al. 2004:3-iii). PATHS laments that children are taught to label pointless things instead of feelings, which matter so much.

> Unfortunately, children in preschool and kindergarten are rarely taught the labels for their feelings. However, because these feelings are experienced so very strongly by children at this age, they generally learn to identify them quite rapidly (more easily than colors or shapes, for example) when the information is provided. As with most things, salience and importance are strong motivators. It is interesting in this regard that in many non-PATHS preschool and kindergarten classes, children know the names of extinct dinosaurs (such as brontosaurus and triceratops), but not the names of the emotions they feel every day. Parents and teachers readily read books about dinosaurs to young children, without concern about their complex names, even though dinosaurs are less directly related to children's experiences than feelings. Although teachers and parents work diligently to teach colors, shapes and even dinosaurs, it is sad that education has ignored feelings (Domitrovich et al. 2004:8-vi-8-v).

Putting feelings into words is also important for other reasons, according to SEL. Truly knowing one's feelings depends on being able to identify them with words. Without having the language to label feelings, it's harder to distinguish among them and among different intensities of the same feeling. "The richer one's emotion vocabulary becomes, the easier it is to identify specific feelings" (Brackett, Caruso and Stern 2014). Putting feelings into words is also key to management of feeling. Mark Brackett, creator of the RULER approach, often uses the phrase, "If you can name it, you can tame it" (https://www.marcbrackett.com/a-word-is-a-world/re).

All of the curricula have sections devoted to building lexica of emotions. Most of the curricula also have a visual component, especially for children in younger grades, that involves drawings or photographs of different emotions presented in the form of flashcards, handouts, or posters. In these lessons and activities, children learn words to capture whether emotions feel good or not, words for different emotions, relationships

between different strengths of feelings (for example, the difference between irritation and rage), as well as explanations of what different emotions look like and feel like.

Several of the curricula include activities involving the creation of a feelings dictionary. The Resolving Conflict Creatively curriculum for younger children has an activity in which students and teachers together create a chart for the classroom that lists different emotions. As is typical for activities like this, the curriculum includes discussion prompts such as, "When you feel that way how does your face look? Does the mouth go up or down? Are the muscles tight or loose? How do the eyes look? What about the eyebrows? What does the rest of the body do?" (Harrison and Breeding 2007b:29-30). For older children, Resolving Conflict Creatively suggests teachers create their own feeling dictionaries by making a list of feeling words that come up in readings in different curriculum areas, adding definitions and posting it in the classroom (Harrison and Breeding 2007b:29-30). A third Resolving Conflict Creatively activity involves expanding emotion vocabularies through the generation of feeling "families" by grouping together similar feeling words and having a class discussion about the differences in various feelings that are in the same family.

The PATHS curriculum provides a feeling dictionary to third and fourth grade students. This dictionary contains 43 words, and a definition for each one. In addition, for each entry, the feeling is represented with a drawing of a face expressing the feeling and labeled "C" or "U" to designate whether that feeling is comfortable or uncomfortable. A few words, such as serious and surpassed have both a C and a U, to signify they can be either. It also leaves blank space under each letter for children to add more feelings and definitions. Use of the feelings dictionary is incorporated into many assignments. In addition, an introductory paragraph urges the child to use the dictionary when they are trying to figure out how they feel. After providing them some suggestions for figuring out their feelings, the

dictionary says, "When you can't identify a feeling, it sometimes helps to just look through

the dictionary until you find a word that helps you identify it" (Domitrovich et al. 2004). See

Figure 4.1 for an example of an entry from the PATHS Feeling Dictionary.
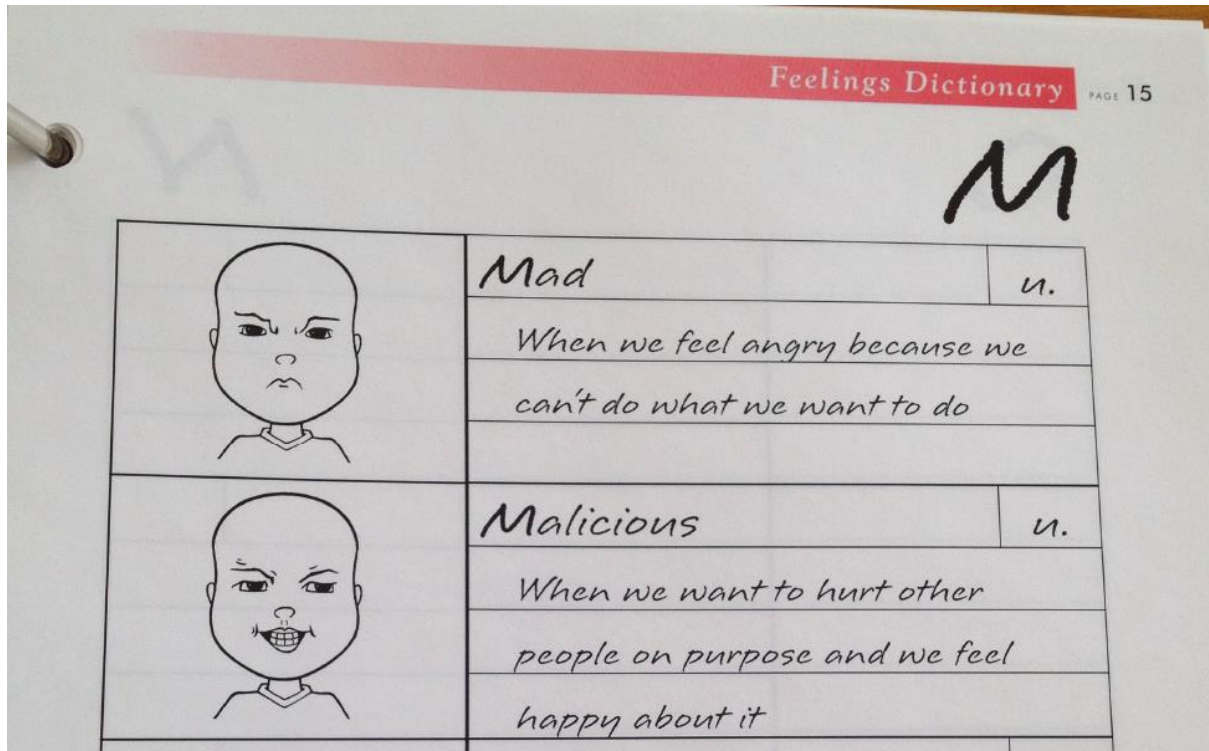
Figure 4.1: PATHS Feeling Dictionary, "M"

In the fifth-grade version of PATHS, students receive emotion thesauruses to serve

as a "reference manual for students to use throughout the school year during PATHS lessons

as well as for language arts" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:2-10). It provides a great number of

synonyms and antonyms for many feeling words and, like the dictionary for younger

children, still has the faces, and Cs and Us for comfortable and uncomfortable. For example,

the entry for "angry" lists the following synonyms: "aggravated, annoyed, bad-tempered,

belligerent, cantankerous, combative, confrontational, contentious, crabby, cranky, cross,

enraged, exasperated, explosive, fed up, fiery, furious, grouchy, grumpy, hostile, hot

blooded, hot headed, 'hot under the collar,' hot-tempered, in a bad mood, incensed,

indignant, inflamed, infuriated, irascible, irate, irritable, irritated, 'like one is going to

explode,' livid, mad, ornery, peevish, petulant, piqued, prickly, quick-tempered, rage, 'ready to burst,' riled, short-tempered, steamed, surly, testy, touchy, upset, vexed, wrathful (Domitrovich et al. 2004). Many of the activities call on students to use the thesaurus to continue to expand their vocabulary for feelings in order to be able to become better and better at identifying and knowing one's own feelings.

Set of Practices 3: Reflexivity

People are special because they can think about and understand what their feelings are telling them.

-- PATHS curriculum Feelings Dictionary 2

Another set of practices of emotional self-knowledge in these curricula involves reflexivity and thinking about emotion. The idea that individuals need to think about feeling is central to the emotional intelligence concept on which many SEL programs are based. In a book about emotional intelligence and education published in 1997, Mayer and Salovey modified their 1990 definition of emotional intelligence, claiming that their first definition seemed vague and impoverished. They explained that they didn't like their first definition because it didn't mention thinking about feeling (1997:10).

Practices of reflexivity in SEL programs construct feelings as something to be thought about, considered, and shared. The curricula encourage many different kinds of thinking about feeling. All of them ask students to talk, draw and write about emotions they have experienced. They ask children to reflect about feelings they have had, to find patterns in how they feel throughout the day and in response to outside factors, to predict the feelings they might have in imagined scenarios, to anticipate future feelings they will have.

Curricula for younger children encourage reflection through artwork. For example,

an I Can Problem Solve activity for children aged 5-7 asks them to "draw something you did

today, something that happened to you, or anything you can think of that made you feel happy, sad, angry or afraid." After the children have finished their drawings, they place a feelings sticker (stickers with faces representing different emotions) to show how they feel *about* what they drew in the pictures. Then children – or teachers if the children cannot yet write – write down what made them feel this way (Shure 2011:152). Resolving Conflict Creatively has lesson plans for the creation of a personal feelings book comprised of many drawings. The lesson plan asks teachers to create title pages for each student with a place for the child's name and the title "I Have Many Different Feelings" and multiple inside pages that say "Sometimes I feel _____" at the top. Working on one feeling at a time, students draw a picture on each page to illustrate that feeling (Harrison and Breeding 2007a: 33).

Several curricula have an activity where children make feeling masks out of materials such as paper plates and yarn. Incredible Years has a template for making feeling dice. All of these activities are accompanied by discussion questions that ask children to think and talk about the times they feel the emotions depicted in the art that they create.

The versions of these programs for older children contain many exercises centered around reflection, through activities like journaling, sharing with a partner, sharing with the class, and artwork. Second Step has an activity where fifth graders keep a daily feelings journal for one week. RULER suggests frequent writing in a journal to provide children with "daily opportunities to self-reflect and to write about their feelings, what caused their feelings, and how their feelings are being expressed and handled" (Brackett et al 2014). Prompts for journaling about feelings throughout the MindUP curriculum for third, fourth, and fifth graders encourage self-awareness and reflection about one's emotions. A representative prompt for their journals reads, "Imagine yourself in your most relaxed

state. What are you doing? In what position is your body? What is your breathing like?" (The Hawn Foundation 2011b: 90).

Some of the curricula also encourage a reflective awareness of one's emotional self across time and situation, prodding them, for example, to think about and to anticipate their emotional triggers. Some of the curricula include exercises to urge children to think about the school day ahead of them and to anticipate how they will feel at various points in the day, or to reflect on their emotional trajectory at the end of the day. RULER suggests an activity to have children develop a chart to track their emotional states over time, both within and across days. The picture of an example of such a chart shows a large grid with the days of the week and boxes for different times during the day: before school, the various classes during the day, lunchtime, and bedtime. Students chart their emotional states during these different activities over time and then analyze their charts to see patterns in their emotional responses to different parts of the day (Brackett et al. 2014).

Many of these activities to get children to think about their feelings also prompt them to make connections between the feelings and what might have caused them. In a RULER activity called "What Color Is Feeling?" teachers guide students in a silent reflection by asking them to think back over the day. Students are encouraged to think about *what happened* and *how they felt*. Students are then asked to fold a piece of paper in half and on one side write or draw the things that happened on one side. On the other, they are supposed to make a list of feeling words that connect to each event and then circle the one that seems to go best with how they were feeling at that time of the day (Brackett et al. 2014:A-38).

Another way that these programs encourage reflexivity about feelings is to ask children to consider and predict their emotional responses to a wide variety of situations,

both real and imagined. They also all have discussion prompts that ask children to talk

about their feelings: for example, having the entire class take turns finishing the sentence "I

feel happy when...." Sometimes discussion prompts ask them to imagine how they would

feel in different situations. For instance, RULER has an activity that asks teachers to discuss

the standardized tests students will be taking later in the year. It says to ask students to

close their eyes and imagine it is the morning of the test, and to embellish with details about

being unprepared for the test. As children are imagining this scenario, teachers lead them

through an exploration of how they would feel in this situation, asking questions such as

whether they would feel unpleasant or pleasant, what words describe their feelings, how

their bodies would feel, and what thoughts they would be having while experiencing these

feelings (Brackett et al. 2014).

Set of Practices 4: Detective Work

> When you want to label how you are feeling, try to go inside yourself and think hard
> about how you feel. Try to search for clues like a detective to discover what is going
> on inside your mind and body. Try asking yourself, "How do I feel right now? What
> is going on?" Once you have identified the feelings, try to think of the words that
> best describe these feelings (Domitrovich et al. 2004).

In SEL curricula, the feelings are real, authentic, important things to be discovered.

The underlying logic is that an individual cannot know her emotional state without active

work to attain that knowledge. This discovery is an active, conscious process that depends

on all of the practices I have discussed – understanding feelings as internal states separate

from action, attaching words to feelings and thinking about them in many different ways.

The fourth set of practices involves going inside oneself to discover and assess those

internal feelings. I call these practices detective work into feeling. For example, the Second

Step program has a unit for first graders called "Identifying Our Own Feelings" with the

stated objective of teaching children to "identify physical clues in their bodies that help them to identify their feelings" (Committee for Children 2011). Another representative lesson from the PATHS curriculum is called "Emotional Cues in Ourselves" with the stated goal of getting children "to evaluate different emotional cues to better understand their own feelings" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:6-71).

The teacher dialogue suggested by PATHS for introducing a unit on identifying emotions reads:

> It may sound funny to say that sometimes we need to stop and figure out how we're feeling. Since our feelings belong to us, you might think we should always know how we're feeling inside. But frequently, we have feelings, maybe even strong ones, that we are not aware of. So, if we want to know how we're feeling, we often need to stop and think about our own cues so we can figure it out (Domitrovich et al. 2004:6-72).

The curricula teach children to observe internal clues to identify their feelings. Sensations from the body are considered signals containing important information and children are taught to tune into these sensations. The idea here is that feeling is an internal state that must be investigated. Students are taught that they use internal physical clues such as a fast heartbeat or a stomachache to identify their emotions. Learning to tune in to internal physical clues prepare students to recognize distressing emotions that might require regulation. Lessons focus primarily on physical sensations, but some of the curricula also discuss attention to thoughts as a way to discover one's feelings.

The curricula attempt to instill these habits of detective work into feeling in many ways. The three primary ways are through teachers modeling their own processes of detective work for children, adults pointing out children's emotional states to them in order to encourage them to begin to do this for themselves, and by simply teaching them to do the detective work for themselves.

All of the programs urge teachers to remark upon feelings in the classroom throughout the day and provide multiple ideas for doing so. PATHS tells teachers to "notice and name" children's feelings whenever possible and to talk to them about why they are having those feelings. In almost every lesson involving feelings in the Incredible Years curriculum, lesson plans encourage teachers to point out when they see children experiencing various emotions. The teaching manual for Second Step for first graders says to "notice students who exhibit signs of strong feelings and reinforce their ability to identify what is going on inside their bodies" by saying, "You look like you're feeling frustrated. What does that feel like inside your body?" (Committee for Children 2011). Another Second Step example for teachers about pointing out feeling to children is "Before we went on the field trip, I noticed you look worried. After the field trip, you look happy. Your feelings changed!" (Committee for Children 2011: Grade 2, 27).

In addition to pointing out children's emotions, teachers are also encouraged to narrate their own feelings for the children. The curricula give teachers different kinds of examples of how to model self-awareness. Many of them suggest teachers narrate their inner feelings when students are misbehaving or not paying attention. For example, I Can Problem Solve suggests asking, "How do I feel when you're noisy and we can't hear each other?" if the group becomes too loud during instruction time (Shure 2001:126). PATHS and Second Step similarly urge teachers to incorporate into their teaching language such as "I'm feeling very upset because this class is not paying attention to what I'm saying" or "I'm excited to try this new math activity but I'm also nervous because it's my first time teaching it, so I haven't had much practice!" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:2-10; Committee for Children 2011).

Many of the programs have home exercises that also include suggestions for parents and caregivers to partake in these practices of narrating their feelings out loud for children

and pointing out their own emotional states to them. For example, an Incredible Years note home to parents reads:

> You might also comment on your own feelings, for example, "I feel angry now that my dress ripped, but I probably won't feel so angry later." Lastly, you can comment on your child's feelings, for example, "I'm sorry you are feeling sad now; maybe you will feel better later." Or "You are looking very proud about what you built there!" (Incredible Years 2013)

Teaching children to assess their internal states begins in the versions of the curricula for the youngest children. Activities for younger children differentiate ways of assessing oneself from ways of assessing others. This script for a puppet role-play tells children that a previously introduced tool for ascertaining feelings in others isn't necessary for identifying one's own feelings.

> Teacher: Do you know which clues to use to figure out how you feel?
>
> Puppy: Do I look in the mirror at my own face?
>
> Teacher: No, you don't need to do that. Just focus your attention on what's happening in your body.
>
> Puppy: Kind of jumpy inside. I must be excited!

Later in the exercise, teachers lead children through a discussion of what kinds of sensations they experience in their stomachs, hearts, heads and shoulders when they feel different kinds of feelings (Committee for Children 2011). A PATHS activity for slightly older children tells second graders that their brains and bodies do different things to let them know that they feel mad or angry. In an activity that distinguishes these kinds of internal experiences from outward expression, children are directed to make two columns, "feel inside" and "show outside" and then to put internal signs such as a heart pounding very hard in the "feel inside" column (Domitrovich et al. 2004:3-34).

Second Step for kindergarteners has a lesson called "We Feel Feelings in Our Bodies" with the purpose of conveying to children that they can use physical signs in their bodies to identify their feelings (Committee for Children 2011). The teacher script reads:

> Today you will learn how to figure out how you are feeling. You don't go to the mirror and look at your face. What you do instead is become a detective and look for clues…. You focus your attention on how your body feels. That is one clue. You can also think about your situation. That is another clue. Give student time to focus attention on their own bodies. Give a personal example of how your body is feeling…. Call on a few students at random to tell the class how they feel.

The script then goes on to guide children through decoding an example that illustrates how a child should understand how she feels and then act upon that knowledge.

> Show a photo of a girl who looks unhappy and is holding her stomach. Script: This is Samarah. She is about to begin her day at school. Her grandpa is sick. Samarah's tummy hurts a little. Her heart is beating fast She is breathing fast too. She can't stop thinking about her grandpa. 1. Think about how Samarah is feeling. Give think-time. Call on one or two students at random. (Worried, upset.) Samarah is worried because her grandpa is sick. 2. What clues from her body can Samarah use to figure out how she feels? (Samarah's tummy hurts. Her heart is beating fast. Her breathing is fast.) 3. Think about what Samarah could do to help herself feel better. Guide students through the steps for Think, Turn, Tell. Call on a few students at random to tell the class their ideas. Tell a teacher how she feels. Think about something happy. Telling a grown-up about your feelings helps you feel better. 4. Samarah decides to tell her teacher that she is worried about her grandpa. How do you think Samarah's body will feel after she tells her teacher? (Better. Her stomach won't hurt so much.) The teacher asks her if she would like to make a get-well card for her grandpa. She says yes.

Many of the exercises about feelings throughout the curricula ask children to consider what various emotions feel like inside the body and provide them with an assortment of techniques for doing so. For example, Open Circle has teachers tell children that being calm is characterized by specific experiences in bodies, such as "our hearts beat more slowly, our breathing is slower and deeper, our muscles are relaxed" (Seigle et al. 1999:53). In an exercise on anger, RULER prompts teachers to ask children questions such as "What may happen to your body movements when you are angry? Does your body feel

loose or tight? Hot or cold?" (Brackett et al. 2014). An activity sheet for older children in

PATHS asks them to describe a situation that happened that made them feel stressed and

then asks them to circle two or more of the following physical sensations they experience

when they are stressed: sweaty palms, dry mouth, neck ache, not hungry, upset stomach,

pounding heart, stuttering, nail biting, unable to sleep, weak knees, tightening muscles, fast

breathing, shaky hands (Domitrovich et al. 2004:1-45).

A Second Step homework assignment for second graders has a list of physical signs

of anger, including hot face, clenched fist, racing heart, headache, stomachache, sweating,

dizziness, shaking and tense shoulders. The assignment directs children to, with a parent or

other adult, think of a time they were angry and write the signs that match how they felt the

angry feeling in their bodies. There is a space for the child and the adult to write three signs,

with plus signs between each space, and then = ANGRY underneath (Committee for Children

2011: Grade 2, 55). A Second Step classroom activity has teachers ask children to "Think of

a time you felt really anxious.... Raise your hand when you hear how your body felt, and

keep your hand up. Pause after naming each body sensation: Hot face, racing heart, sweaty

palms, upset stomach, wobbly legs, you felt the feelings in your body" (Committee for

Children 2011). While many of the curricula mention heart rate, MindUP teaches children to

take their pulse and to compare it at different times, for instance, when they are in an

excited state, such as after a timed quiz or test, and when they are very calm, such as after a

breathing exercise.

Putting the Practices Together: Monitoring Feeling in SEL

The practices of decoupling feeling from behavior, putting feelings into words,

reflexivity about emotion and detective work are intertwined throughout the lessons and

strategies of cultivating self-awareness in children. In this last section of this chapter, I show

how all of these practices come together in the use of comprehensive tools to monitor and know feelings in these programs.

All of the curricula have some sort of tool that brings together skills of knowing one's feelings to teach children structured ways of assessing, monitoring (and often communicating and regulating) their inner states. These tools are common in many therapeutic traditions, and have been around for a long time. The anthropologist Emily Martin (2007) traces the history of different forms of tools for measuring feelings over the past several centuries. Tools for charting and measuring moods offer individuals a way to track variations in subjective feelings. They were originally created for mood disorder patients (Martin 2007). The idea behind them was originally to allow the sufferer of a mood disorder distance from their moods and allow patients and doctors access to patterns in mood fluctuation.

No longer just for people diagnosed with mood disorders, tools for mood tracking are everywhere. Political economist William Davies (2017) analyzes a wide variety of contemporary mood monitoring technologies from smartphone apps to touchpads in public spaces to social media platforms that invite nonverbal reporting of affects through emojis. SEL curricula also use tools to monitor and assess moods and emotions. Some of them suggest child-appropriate versions of monitoring as just one exercise or set of exercises. For example, Resolving Conflict Creatively suggests that, for children in kindergarten through second grade, teachers write each child's name on a popsicle stick. They then label six boxes with the words happy, sad, angry/mad, afraid/worried, embarrassed and other, and then have children decorate the boxes with faces that express those feelings. Each day, when the students come into the classroom, they should find their sticks and put them into the feeling box that corresponds with the feelings they are having at that moment (Harrison and

Breeding 2007a). The corresponding Resolving Conflict Creatively activity for older

children is to reserve a section of the blackboard as a feelings chart with headings naming different feelings. When children come into the classroom in the morning, they write their names under the heading that comes closest to how they are feeling (Harrison and Breeding 2007b).

A tool that many of the curricula offer children for assessing their internal state is a thermometer. These are variously called anger thermometers or feelings thermometers, but the basic concept is the same. Incredible Years introduces the idea of a feelings thermometer by having children put thermometers in hot water and talk about what makes them mad. It then asks them what parts of their bodies get "hot" when they are angry, such as a stiff neck, rapid breathing, or sweaty palms (Incredible Years 2013: Lesson 31). Resolving Conflict Creatively calls its thermometer an Anger Thermometer and tells children that thermometers indicate temperature by increasing or decreasing levels of mercury and that, "Anger can go up or down like a thermometer. The higher anger goes, the hotter it gets and the more difficult to handle" (Harrison and Breeding 2007a).

The two most comprehensive tools for monitoring feeling are the PATHS Feeling Faces and the RULER Mood Meter. These tools are central to these curricula, and provide students with tangible ways to access, communicate, monitor and know their feelings (and, ultimately, manage them as well).

Monitoring with PATHS Feeling Faces

After years of experience with the PATHS curriculum, we know that the more children utilize their faces throughout the day, the more emotionally intelligent they become…. We cannot emphasize enough how important it is for you and the children to use these throughout the day (Domitrovich et al. 2004:3-viii, 2ix).

141

The PATHS Feeling Faces are a tool for emotion identification, labeling, and monitoring. Each child has her own individual set of Feeling Faces that is easily accessible throughout the day. Students can store personal sets of faces in a variety of ways (such as on rings, in boxes or in pouches). Children are meant to have easy access to their "feelings" so they can connect facial expressions and labels with their own emotional experiences while they are occurring. The feeling faces can be flipped through and changed throughout each school day. Teachers are also meant to have a set of them on their own desk, and to model flipping them throughout the day to display their own feelings. Each card has the name of a feeling, and a drawing of a bald, gender neutral, supposedly race neutral (but white-looking) young face depicting the facial expression that goes with the feeling. They are neutral with the idea children can color or decorate them to make them look like themselves. Some examples of PATHS feeling faces are provided in Figure 4.2.


Surprised   Disgusted   Ashamed

©2011 Kusché, Greenberg   502021A   ©2011 Kusché, Greenberg   502021A   ©2011 Kusché, Greenberg   502021A

Figure 4.2: PATHS Feeling Faces

The point is for children to have easy access to their "feelings" so they can connect the facial expressions with their own emotional experiences as they are occurring. "Once a child

becomes aware of an emotion, he or she need only to look on his or her Feelings Ring and

choose the emotion to display" (Domitrovich et al. 2004:4-ix). They provide a tangible and public way to present one's feelings to oneself and others. The use of the faces is meant to strengthen children's memory and knowledge of emotion. According to PATHS, the use of the faces also gives children a physical way to translate their internal emotional experience into an appropriate external behavior. For example, using the Feeling Faces provides children with an action they can do, flipping the cards to find the right feeling to display, instead of aggressive, hurting or disruptive behaviors. "During our PATHS lessons, I will give you Feeling Faces to add to your set. Then when you have a feeling inside, you take the face that shows that feeling and put it on top of the other feelings. Then other people will know how you are feeling. For example, I feel happy right now."

Feeling Faces are tools to help children identify feelings in actual situations. They are supposed to help students apply what they learn in the PATHS curriculum to their everyday moods and feelings in class. The use of Feeling Faces is ideal, because children could literally "search" through their Feeling Faces and physically find the verbal label for their internal emotional states at the "teachable moment." The Feeling Faces provide efficient pictorial representations for a large range of feelings, especially useful for young children who have not mastered the language to reliably attach words to their feelings. By using their own set of Feeling Faces, a child can express emotions throughout the day.

PATHS recommends structured times of the day to ask students to choose and display Feeling Faces for how they are feeling at the time, like during transitions, as well as at the beginning of the day, after recess or lunch, and times when children are "tense or excitable." Other specific times to do this are at the end of each lesson. PATHS claims that by choosing Feeling Faces, students learn to better monitor their internal states. Teachers are supposed to encourage children toward the spontaneous use of the feeling faces to identify

and display their feelings throughout the day as well.

Monitoring with the RULER Mood Meter

Today we are going to learn about a tool that will help us to understand our feelings. I have been using this tool for a while now and have learned a lot about myself. The tool is called the mood meter. I would like to start using the mood meter in our classroom so that we can all learn more about our feelings (Brackett et al. 2014: B16).

The RULER mood meter is a comprehensive tool used for developing and practicing self-awareness. The mood meter is a core part of the RULER curriculum for children in kindergarten through eighth grade, with simpler versions for younger children and more complex, quantified versions for older ones. The mood meter represents emotion on two intersecting axes. One axis depicts how pleasant or unpleasant the feeling, and the other shows energy level from low to high. The resulting four quadrants are each assigned a color. Red represents feelings that are unpleasant and high energy such as frustration, anxiety and anger. The blue quadrant includes feelings that are unpleasant but lower in energy such as boredom and sadness. Green quadrant feelings are pleasant and lower in energy such as calmness, and yellow feelings are pleasant and higher in energy such as excitement and joy (Brackett et al. 2014:B8). See Figure 4.3.
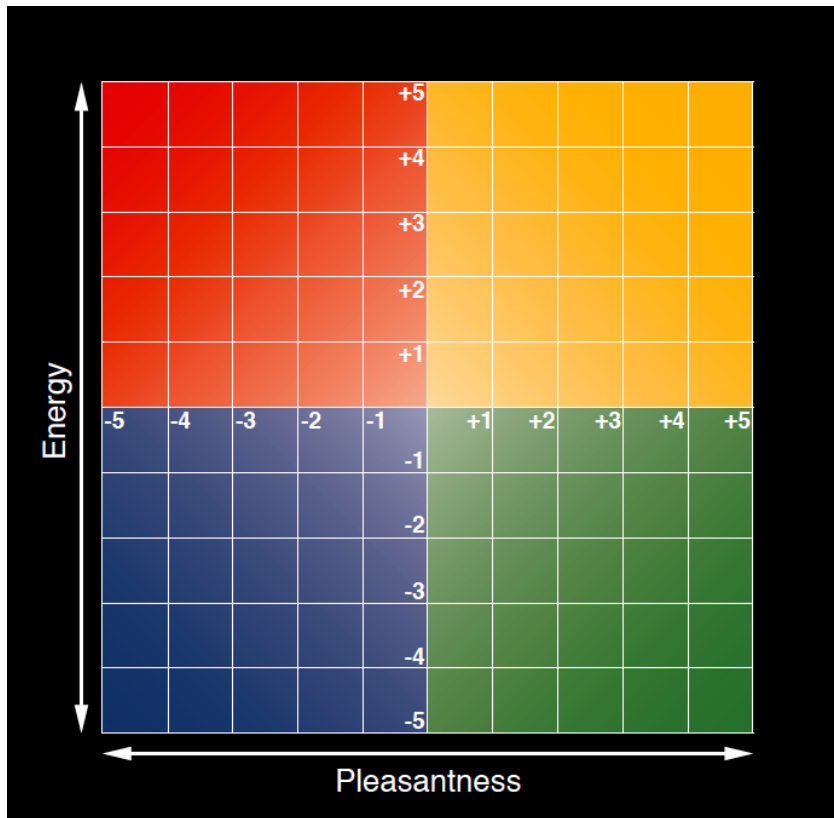
Figure 4.3: The RULER Mood Meter

The mood meter is used both for monitoring and charting feeling, and for managing it. The version for younger children has no numbers, just the four quadrants. Students are coached to plot themselves in one of the four quadrants, consider why they are feeling that way, and choose an emotion word to describe that feeling. It's also important to reflect on how you are showing your emotion.

Older elementary students are meant to plot themselves on the mood meter using the numbers. The numbers -5 and +5 represent the absolute most unpleasant and pleasant experiences one has ever had, and -5 and +5 represents the absolute least and most amount of energy one has ever had. Older children then answer a series of questions to identify words that describe how they are feeling, what caused them to have the feelings, to consider how they are expressing the feelings, and what strategy they will use to either maintain or change these feelings

so that they "get the most out of today" (Brackett et al. 2014: B95).

For the purposes of self-awareness, RULER suggests the mood meter be incorporated in the classroom in many ways. One way is via teacher conducting regular check-ins with the students throughout the day. Recommended times for check-ins are at the beginning of the school day, at transition times, after recess and at the end of the school day. There are many ideas for how to do this, sometimes in front of the class and sometimes privately in journals. For example, a check-in can be briefly through a show of hands (i.e., "how many students are in the yellow this morning?").

In a short promotional video produced by RULER, second grade students stand before their class and use a pointer to indicate what quadrant of the mood meter they are in, what particular feelings they are experiencing, and why. Children say things like "I'm in the yellow because I'm excited for the bazaar" and "I'm feeling in the yellow quadrant today because my cousins are coming over on the weekend." Often the teacher pushes the students to be more specific or to come up with synonyms to describe their feelings. For example, when a student says, "Today I'm feeling in the green quadrant because it's Monday and we usually start the day off nice and calm," the teacher responds, "If you had to use another word, what would you use?" The student pauses for a moment and then responds, 'at ease'" (RULER. 2011, 0:42).

The implementation guide for the mood meter has information to help teachers troubleshoot problems such as children feeling "all over the place" or children claiming they don't know what they are feeling, or why, or that they aren't feeling anything at all. The guidance for these situations is steadfast in its assertion that these are simply issues of a child not having enough a practice or language in identifying and labeling their feelings. For children who say they feel multiple feelings at once, the RULER guide suggests teachers affirm for students that contradictory blends of feelings are normal, but then to ask children to try to rank or quantify their simultaneous feelings so that they can arrive on their dominant feeling in order to plot it. The guide provides strategies for teachers to help students do things such as consider the events

earlier in the day and look within themselves to find the feeling to plot, and to reassure the child

that their inability to identify their feeling is simply a matter of not enough practice in doing so.

> Reassure the student that this is common, particularly when just learning the mood meter, and that over time identifying feelings becomes easier. It is also possible that the student is somewhat disengaged or broadly ambivalent or does not have the vocabulary to express him or herself. It is rare that someone is just neutral (Brackett et al. 2014: B86).[1]

RULER has a Frequently Asked Questions section that illuminates some of the potential

messiness of monitoring feelings publicly with groups of children, particularly issues of children

expressing extreme emotions, children who are "always in the blue" and children who share

reasons for their feelings that are "too personal" or "inappropriate" for a school setting. The

advice urges empathy, but also maintaining strict boundaries, especially around sharing

"shocking or inappropriate" content.

> Most importantly if a student shares something shocking or inappropriate it is critical to maintain your composure and demonstrate empathy. We never want to shut down or embarrass a student. Let the student know that he or she can talk with you more about it after class. For example, you might say, thank you for sharing that with us today. That must've been very hard. You might also ask the student, "What do you need?" (Brackett et al. 2014).

Many children have difficulties in their lives and reasons for their emotions that may be

"shocking or inappropriate" to share in a classroom setting. Although RULER suggests that

making "clear guidelines for what is not appropriate sharing during your class can help

prevent this from happening," it begs the question as to what potential authenticity or self-

knowledge is potentially being shut down by such guidelines.

Conclusion

SEL practices are aimed at cultivating a type of self-knowledge that has emotions firmly

at the center. Pedagogical practices attempt to cultivate a responsible child actor who is deeply

invested in the practices of knowing, assessing and monitoring emotions. SEL curricula provide

students with tools to use to know and understand themselves and their emotions. The practices aim to produce children who know and engage with their emotions in particular ways.

One of the key claims I make in this dissertation is that emotions are an important domain in which children of the twenty-first century are supposed to discipline themselves. Social and emotional learning rests on self-discipline of a new intensity, especially for children. My analysis, however, shows the complexity and contradictions of these new forms of discipline and new emotional skills for children. The practices of SEL curricula normalize feelings and provide children techniques that are shown to lessen distress, maximize academic and social successes, and improve their relationships. These practices have the potential to give children skills, the potential for new forms of agency and subjectivity, and greater control over aspects of their lives. They also open children up to a greater potential for regulation by teachers and organizations, a theme I explore further in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

THE EMOTIONALLY SELF-REGULATING CHILD

I opened this dissertation with an anecdote about my child Emaline when she was six. In that anecdote, Emaline used an "I-statement," a strategy she had learned at school, to express a desire and to get her way. Now Emaline is 15. A few years ago, she was at school taking the math MCAS, the state standardized achievement test, and she had a breakdown. Emaline has test

anxiety, hates math, and hates the MCAS. This is despite consistently scoring in at least the 90th percentile on all standardized tests, including math, since she started taking them in third grade. This is despite being told by her parents and school that these tests are "just a check on the school" and that she should just do it without worrying about it too much. This might be part of the problem, because Emaline hates doing things when she is told, particularly when she doesn't see the reason behind why she has to do it.

During the test, she felt the anxiety and anger building. She tried to keep working while quietly crying at her computer. She couldn't focus or even read the questions. Soon, she became completely consumed by her feelings and left the room to curl up in a ball on the floor in the hallway. She could not move or talk and was completely overtaken by feelings. After a while, she tried several times to go back and take the test. Each time, she was again overwhelmed with feelings and went back outside to cry. On her third return, through the tears, she typed into an open-ended answer field "Why do you torture children with the MCAS?" and closed her Chromebook and left the room. She got a "--" on the math MCAS that year.

The adult response to Emaline's behavior was worry. The school adjustment counselor and the administrator who reached out to us expressed concern, and what was so worrisome was that Emaline hadn't seemed "in control" of herself that day. The email from her teacher read, "My only concern, that I've thought about lately, is if she really has control at times in her behavior. Today's reaction to MCAS was big and did not seem in her control."[1] It is absolutely the case that Emaline felt out of control at the time. She is hopelessly honest. She did not "act" upset to get out of taking the test, nor did she try to work herself up in this way. Two years later, she still remembers trying hard to focus and being flooded with strong feelings.

However, for the rest of the day at school, Emaline was generally pleased with herself. She was not embarrassed about what happened. She felt good about it. She hoped the "MCAS people" would read her note. She got positive feedback from her friends, who also hate the

MCAS. They hugged her and high-fived her and told her she was brave and that they wished they could have done what she had. Emaline felt really nervous about what she had done, but also, she felt she had done the right thing. With a few years' hindsight, she told me that she "only regretted doing it because I thought Mom would be really angry."[1]

Social and emotional learning offers a framework to make sense of Emaline's actions that day. According to SEL discourses, this was a regrettable instance of a child losing control of her feelings and body because of poor emotion management. Countless exercises and practices aim to cultivate the skills in children that are supposed to prevent exactly what happened that day. Emotional competence means being able to calm oneself in order to do difficult things. Emotionally competent children know how to calm themselves and take tests. Emotionally competent children are not so consumed by their feelings that they disrupt others on standardized test day. Emotionally competent children are in control of themselves. According to the picture of the emotionally competent child portrayed by SEL, Emaline was deviant that day. She lost control and let her feelings get the better of her. Indeed, in this chapter I will show the many ways that SEL works to avoid this very scenario. I will come back to this anecdote, however, to illuminate the contradictions inherent in how social and emotional learning imagines the emotionally self-regulating child.

Managing Unruly Feelings Meets Cultivating the Competent Child

In this dissertation, I show how children's emotions are a domain where children are disciplined in school. In this chapter I focus on the practices children are taught for managing and changing feeling. As I laid out in Chapter 1, in the twenty-first century United States, the disciplining of children is incredibly complex. Children have historically been subject to external control, particularly in the institutions of school and the family. This is still the case in the twenty-first century United States, particularly for poor Black and Brown children. At the same

time, however, many scholars have noted the rise of a model of childhood that emphasizes partnership, and the cultivation of children's competence and internal control.

Karen Smith (2014) has called the model of childhood that has arisen in recent decades the "Athenian Child." The Athenian Child is partially self-governing, a partner in her own socialization. The practices of interacting with one's self and one's emotions in SEL construct self-governing in children. The scripts for teachers in these curricula invoke a partnership. Children are constructed as active, competent subjects who are partners in their own discipline. RULER says that it offers research-based strategies that help students regulate emotions in order to "realize their best selves and achieve their desired goals" (Brackett, Caruso and Stern 2014). Indeed, many of these tools have the potential to give children powerful practices to manage themselves and many ideas for how to use them to benefit themselves, not only in school, but in their relationships and their lives.

In this chapter I show how social and emotional learning aims to cultivate this self-governance in children through prescribed ways of engaging with and managing their *emotions*. Scholars have used the term emotional habitus to refer to the idea that, shaped by institutions and other parts of the social, individuals develop a disposition regarding emotions, a sense of what and how to feel, labels for their feelings, schemas about what feelings are and what they mean, and ways of figuring out and understanding what they are feeling (Kane 2001; Gould 2009; Illouz 2008). SEL programs aim to cultivate in children an emotional habitus that is increasingly valued and even required in many fields. This emotional habitus is calm, reflexive, measured and, ideally, always under control. However, the ideal emotionally competent child or citizen it is *not* emotionally suppressed or emotionless. As I showed in Chapter 4, children are *supposed* to feel. They are supposed to feel, they are supposed to care about their feelings and want to connect with others using their feelings. The curricula normalize emotion and, in a limited way, strive to destigmatize difficult emotions. However, they

also provide scripts that prioritize certain ways of handling emotions. They show children that the way to a happy, successful life is to handle their emotions in these prescribed ways. In so doing, they make normative lines between emotional styles.

In addition, SEL attempts to intervene in feeling in a way not usually theorized in most sociological accounts of the regulation of feeling. It provides particular ways of expressing and regulating feelings, but it does more than this. It attempts to construct emotional competence by working to remake the connection between bodily sensations, cognitive appraisal and action. To construct children as active, emotionally competent subjects, SEL makes use of popularized neuroscientific knowledge. More specifically, it draws on this knowledge to offer practices of working on the self in order to lengthen the amount of time between an emotional stimulus and response. The ultimate goal of this is to give people the opportunity to *choose* action. The main way SEL curricula further constructs a competent, active child and attempts to create a partnership between children and adults is through the othering of strong feeling and the infantilization of the amygdala. In other words, children are constructed as competent subjects in SEL by practices of attempting to make space between children and part of their selves. The curricula attempt to do this by teaching children different practices that I will discuss below.

Managing Feeling in SEL

The curricula have many strategies for regulating emotion. They use different words to describe this, including self-management, self-regulation and handling one's emotions, but there is broad agreement as to what constitutes the management of emotions. CASEL uses the word self-management and defines it as "the abilities to manage one's emotions, thoughts, and behaviors effectively in different situations and to achieve goals and aspirations."[1] RULER defines regulating emotions as when individuals "think about things or do things in order to feel more, less, or the same amount of feeling" (Brackett et al. 2014). PATHS defines self-

management as "an individual's ability to regulate both positive and negative emotions and behaviors" (Domitrovich 2011:3-v). They agree that emotions should not be ignored or suppressed. There is widespread agreement that children should not have to hide or bury their feelings at school. In fact, this has been an important goal of SEL from its founding: the creation of educational spaces where children can not only bring feelings to school but *use* them.

In SEL, emotions are only useful insofar as they are not too strong. Strong feelings have been feared and regarded as dangerous in many different institutional realms, across cultures and time. Many cultural approaches have taken the route of stigmatizing strong emotions and using various methods of social control to prevent and punish people who show them. Throughout the curricula, statements like this one confirm the notion that emotions are indeed dangerous:

> Emotions can hurt us or help us. They can hurt us when they control us. One snide remark can destroy the teacher-student relationship forever. One roll of the eyes can break a colleague's trust. One angry outburst can cost you your job. Whether you're on the delivering or the receiving end, unchecked emotions can wreak havoc on our lives (Brackett et al. 2014:c6).

Strong feelings of anger and anxiety get us into trouble and make it hard to think. Strong, disruptive feelings that are most likely to cause trouble at school, particularly anger and anxiety (but also embarrassment, jealousy), get the most airtime in these curricula. However, the curricula do not ignore quieter, more internal feelings. For instance, Second Step often mentions that it is important that students learn about more internalized feelings such as sadness and worry, in order to be able to recognize and manage those more internalized feelings (Committee for Children 2011:47).

Social and emotional learning balances this agreement of the notion that emotions are dangerous with its overall project of trying to get children to accept and engage with their emotions in a few different ways. As I showed in Chapter 4, SEL discourses draw a very firm line

between feeling and its outward expression or actions related to feeling. All feelings are okay, but

only so long as that "feeling" is divorced from any outward thing that happens as a result of that feeling. SEL further attempts to normalize feeling by working to convince children that calm, measured feelings are better for learning, relationships, and life. In other words, the point here is that it isn't that anger is bad, or even to always be avoided. Sometimes anger can be useful, but only moderate amounts of anger, at the right time, in the right ways. For instance, in RULER mood meter, over time lessons build upon each other to show students that while being in the red (angry) or blue (sad) parts of the mood meter for some amounts of time is useful in certain circumstances, it is not ideal to stay in these emotional states for too long. On the mood meter, the yellow (happy) and green (calm) quadrants are on the right side of the graph. The implementation guide tells teachers to "[e]mphasize that the right side of the mood meter is not a better place, but it is usually a healthier or more productive place to be" (Brackett et al. 2014).

Practices of Emotion Management in SEL

The curricula draw on many strategies to manage emotions. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, some of the strategies of emotion management in these curricula are similar to those observed by Arlie Hochschild in her classic ethnography of flight attendants. For instance, Hochschild observed training sessions where flight attendants were encouraged to imagine that a drunk, belligerent passenger was going through a divorce in order to cultivate sympathy and avoid anger, so that they could serve him in a calm way. Children are taught to reframe the actions of a child who grabbed the pencil out of her hand and to be able to work out the problem in a calm way. However, the strategies in SEL are more intense. There are a wider range of them, some of them cognitive like reframing the actions of others in a compassionate way, many of them bodily, and many practices that involve both cognitive and bodily aspects. They are built upon the idea that emotion management is built upon almost constant practice over years, and maybe even for the entirety of one's life.

154

SEL asks both schools and children to spend an enormous amount of time and energy on something not until recently considered necessary. As a result, the scripts and activities throughout the programs are constantly trying to convince children and teachers that emotion management is worth it. One way it does this is through the claim that we already do it all of the time, and that our common ways of managing emotion are ineffective or maladaptive and end up hurting more than helping. In other words, all individuals, including children, are already actively engaged in the management of emotion all the time, whether they are explicitly taught effective, healthy strategies or not. The problem is, these are generally ineffective strategies "because they tend to make situations worse or do not address emotions directly in turn making them even more difficult to manage" (Brackett et al. 2014[).] According to this logic, children are not being asked to regulate themselves as opposed to not regulate, but are being given *effective* tools for what children and adults already are always doing, all the time, albeit often ineffectively. Ineffective strategies of emotion regulation variously evoked by these curricula include avoidance, rumination, "acting out," rationalization, self-blame, wishful thinking, procrastination, poor health habits, and using substances.

Social and emotional learning programs aim to replace ineffective emotional management strategies with effective ones. They all at the very least mention a wide variety of strategies, such as counting, deep breathing, thinking about feeling, body relaxation techniques, meditation, asking for help, singing, self-talk, thinking about nice things, walking away, journaling, making art, exercise, listening to music. Many of the curricula emphasize that individuals cannot have too many strategies for managing emotions in their tool kits, since they aren't all effective for everyone. Also, some strategies may not be available in every situation (i.e. you can't walk out of class, but you can lie your head down on the desk and take some breaths), so the point is to have an array of strategies in your toolbox. Often exercises have the class brainstorm them and give suggestions for a wide variety of strategies. For the most part these are

strategies for when children are feeling sad or angry or upset, but also strategies for when they are

too excited. RULER suggests creating a "strategy wall" as a visual reminder of practices students

can use to calm down (Brackett 2014: B40). Many of the curricula similarly mention the

importance of giving children frequent and accessible visual reminders of many different

effective strategies, as well as explicit instruction in which ones are appropriate to use in school

and when.

However, although the curricula all mention an array of strategies, there are some

fundamental strategies that appear again and again in lessons and exercises in managing

emotions. The most common exercises are breathing and cognitive strategies such as reframing.

Most of them say that people need to have many strategies of emotion regulation, and these

strategies fall into the categories of strategies using thinking and strategies using their bodies or

actions. For example, thinking strategies include reframing, self-talk, naming feelings and

practicing gratitude. Examples of body strategies include relaxing the body and deep breathing.

Some thinking strategies involve using language in different ways to interrupt the

emotional response. So, students using self-talk and counting are examples of ways that the

curricula teach children to interrupt their feelings with language. The stated purpose of this is not

to suppress emotion per se, but to slow down or disrupt the escalation of feeling. The naming of

emotion is also used in this way.

The curricula have different strategies of emotion management that include recalling

happy memories or going to a "happy place." MindUP has children practice making "mental

mini-movies" (The Hawn Foundation 2011b:123). The exercises to make mental movies teaches

children to notice moments when they are having happy times with friends or family and to be

"very aware" of these happy moments. The students are told to remember these moments and

make movies in their minds that they can recall at hard times in order to make themselves feel

156

better or calm down.

All of the curricula use the strategy of deep breathing for calming down. The place of breathing in these curricula cannot be overstated. All eight curricula have multiple exercises devoted to teaching children to breathe slowly and deeply. They teach children that slow, deep breathing is an important tool. They teach them different techniques for breathing using names like belly breathing, calm breathing, and balloon breathing. These breathing exercises involve active reflection and tuning into how their bodies relax and their heart rate slows. Scripts and activities that accompany the lessons on breathing get children to tune into the way that breathing calms them down, and some even have the children take their pulse so that they can see that they are having measurable effects on different parts of their bodies. MindUp curriculum relies on breathing as a core practice of its curriculum, saying that it helps to override the fight, flight, or freeze response and gives control to conscious thought in the prefrontal cortex (The Hawn Foundation 2011b:43). The curricula also teach children how to relax their bodies, having themselves picture their bodies to be "limp rag dolls," "cooked noodles" or "old relaxed Raggedy Wally."

The power of these strategies for classroom management is explicit in the curricula and in the ways they are sold to educators. Implementation guides for teachers make explicit the ways that these strategies can be used to make for calmer, more effective classrooms and better-behaved children. PATHS says "As adults, we know that children are less likely to act out if they are physically composed" (Domitrovich 2011:6-v). In Chapter 4, I discussed the Mood Meter, in which children plot their emotions on the mood meter. The mood meter can also very easily be used as a tool for classroom management. The implementation guide suggests the teacher walk around the classroom while the students are plotting themselves on the Mood Meter in order to "gauge the different feelings in the classroom…[to] help you know if they are in the best place for the upcoming lessons or not and whether you will need to do something to shift the mood of the entire class or just check in with certain students" (Brackett 2014: B63).

So, of course, these practices can be used to get children to be better behaved, less disruptive, and more able to focus and learn in school. These practices, though, come together with practices and dialogue that construct the child as competent and agentic, and part of how these practices are used is through the construction of children who are partners in the governing of their own feelings and behaviors.

The Emotionally Competent Self-Regulating Child in SEL

SEL aims to produce children who interact with their emotions in precise ways and to lay the groundwork for their abilities to do this for their entire lives in order to live happier, more fulfilling lives. This is a much stronger bigger form of self-disciplining that aims not just to create a calm classroom, but also new kinds of subjectivities. SEL positions itself against techniques that involve behavior modification and rewards or punishments to motivate children to conform to behavioral expectations. These curricula are explicit in their aim to cultivate an inner locus of control within children.

SEL strives to convince children that it is in their own best interest to regulate their emotions. Throughout the curricula, teacher scripts and lessons and activities for children explicitly try to draw them in to get them to want to be able to perform these skills. The PATHS teacher materials urge teachers to often verbally acknowledge when children show emotional self-control. The curriculum tells teachers that important to the PATHS curriculum is "helping children to internalize the desire to make prosocial behavioral choices without adult regulation or coercion" with the suggested script "I'm proud to see that you calmed down. This shows me that you can be responsible for yourself and make choices" (Domitrovich 2011:2vi, 6-v). Another script elsewhere in PATHS suggests saying, "'I'm proud of you. You are really growing up.' Saying these things to our students will help them feel that having self-control is something they

can do" (Domitrovich 2011: 6-28). There are also many prompts for teachers to demonstrate techniques for children.

There are many ways in which the curricula attempt to win children's buy-in in the project of managing their emotions and convince them that it is in their best interest to manage their emotions. The curricula often point out the downsides of strong emotions. For instance, in a lesson on managing anger, the Second Step script for children says, "When you're very angry, your body gets tight, or tense. This can give you a tummy ache or a headache" (Committee for Children 2011). In addition, stories and activities repeatedly demonstrate the consequences of poorly managed feelings. Acting from strong emotions makes us do things we regret. PATHS, like most of the curricula, reminds children over and over again that when we act from a place of strong emotion, the result is almost always that we do something to make the situation worse, and that we hurt other people and ourselves.

The alternative to being controlled by one's feelings is controlling one's feelings. Social and emotional learning intensifies this age-old refrain and extends it to young children. It does so in language that extols agency and control, and offers a clear path to that control, through particular ways of engaging emotions. The curricula tell both teachers and children that children want to be in control of their emotions:

> The human brain is wired to respond to stress as if something was immediately threatening, often placing us at the mercy of our physical and emotional responses. Yet, we can actually train our brain to respond reflectively. This realization is empowering for students, who deal with many stresses in and out of the classroom – from bullying to homework (The Hawn Foundation 2011b:26).

PATHS tells teachers that children "want to feel strong and powerful. By demonstrating the power related to self-control in a way that is meaningful…children become more internally motivated to master this" (Domitrovich 2011:2-34). The curricula often provide metaphors and

159

exercises that hype up power and control over emotion to children. Second Step has assignments

where children take on the role of "emotion doctor," "personal emotion trainer" or "advice columnist" and help others learn how to calm down.

One of the major characteristics of these curricula is that they lessen the distance between adults and children. One of the key findings of the new sociology of childhood is that children are social actors who are capable of reflexivity and agency. The strict boundaries between children and adults have been replaced by more complicated relationships. Many aspects of SEL confirm a construction of children as not only as agentic, but also as more similar to adults than older visions of childhood that paint children as unable to control themselves or their feelings.

This lessened distance is demonstrated by the ways that the curricula ask teachers to model and talk to children about their emotions. This is not like a math teacher where the teacher knows math and the children don't, and the job of the teacher is to teach the child the math. Instead, these programs are built on partnership and modeling and a need for teachers to also learn the strategies in the curricula. Adults and children are seen as on the same team in the child's development into a socially and emotionally competent being. Many of the curricula ask teachers to be vulnerable with students and tell them personal details about their feelings, and to use the tools themselves to learn about their emotions and become better at managing their own emotions. PATHS says, "When you feel upset, demonstrate calming down in front of the children. Children are often confused and can't figure out how we calm down. They often think that calming down is "magic" or is something that only adults can do" (Domitrovich 2011:6-28-6-29). RULER tells teachers to remind students that "…using effective strategies to manage emotions is the work of a lifetime that you are still learning…" (Brackett et al. 2014: C-88).

Lengthening the Time Between Stimulus and Response

"Between stimulus and response, there is a space. In that space lies our freedom and power to choose our response. In our response lies our growth and freedom" (Viktor E. Frankl, quoted in Brackett et al. 2014). 160

The biggest explicit goal of all of these curricula is to try to give children more control over themselves by providing them strategies to lengthen the amount of time between an emotion-causing stimulus and the resulting response. Social and emotional learning is not built on suppressing emotion, and it is not built primarily on valorizing certain emotions or enforcing rules in a simplistic way such as "it's important to be happy at school." Instead, the primary way that the curricula intervene into feeling is through the provision of practices that aim to slow down the split second between the time an emotion hits and action. A base idea in all of the curricula is that in order to be competent emotionally, there needs to be thinking involved in the in-between time that occurs between when something happens to trigger an emotional response and the emotional response. The idea is that individuals will have time to make better choices about how to express and communicate their emotions if there is a bit of lag time between when something happens and when they act on the feeling they have as a result.

All of the curricula include tools for children to avoid losing control due to a strong emotion. In his 1995 bestseller *Emotional Intelligence,* Daniel Goleman devoted ample attention to what were at the time recently popularized ideas from neuroscience. He especially was interested in the idea of "neural hijack" (Goleman 1995:14). In a neural hijack, a part of the limbic system called the amygdala alerts the body to a threat. In an instant, the brain is completely taken over, before the thinking brain has had time to think about what is happening or decide if the action is a good idea. According to Goleman and the work on which he draws, the amygdala served humans well in primitive times. In more contemporary times, however, the amygdala is a less than dependable. It alerts us to real dangers, such as when we are about to be attacked, but it also alerts us to situations that are not "actual" emergencies, like when Emaline was trying to take the MCAS. Our entire beings are taken over in a flight, fight or freeze response in which we may do something we regret later.

Many of the curricula have one or more core practices that put many small practices together to produce a more comprehensive tool for interrupting the escalation of emotions. Several of them have a version of the "turtle technique" which was originally created for children with diagnosed emotional disturbances in the 1970s (Robin, Schneider and Dolnick 1976). The turtle technique is meant to give children a tool to interrupt a potentially strong feeling, increase self-control, and decrease impulsive behavior. Small children are also taught to use it to communicate distress and the need for help from an adult.

In PATHS, the turtle technique is introduced with a story about Little Turtle who often acts impulsively and aggressively and has a hard time with his friends because of it. With the help of Wise Old Turtle, Little Turtle learns to "Do Turtle" in order to have better self-control. Doing the turtle involves going into your shell and performing three steps to calm down. Children are taught a physical action to signal to themselves and others that they are "Doing Turtle" (PATHS suggests crossing arms over the chest and making a passive facial expression). The use of a movement like this is to stop the child from lashing out or hitting. After that action, the three steps to calm down are "1. Tell Yourself to STOP. 2. Take one long, deep breath. 3. Say the problem and how you feel." (Domitrovich 2011:3-iv).

Children are taught that the Turtle goes inside his or her shell so that he or she can rest quietly and think about how to solve the problem at hand (Domitrovich 2011:3-vi). Teachers are instructed to make many opportunities throughout the school day for children to practice going into turtle, to model it themselves, to instruct children to go into turtle when they see trouble brewing, and to praise them when they do it. PATHS provides many visual reminders of the turtle technique including posters, handouts, coloring pages and stickers.

RULER Meta-Moment

The central question to individuals who are resistant to learning or teaching meta-moments is can we afford not to take the time to bring meta-moments into our lives? The consequences of poor self-regulation are too great to not take this tool seriously (Brackett 2014:C-95).

The Ruler curriculum has the most intensive tool for interrupting emotional escalation and trying to lengthen the time between stimulus and response. This tool is called the meta-moment and is taught to children as a helpful way to handle strong angry or anxious feelings. It refers to the split-second time between when something happens and the response.

The meta-moment is the ultimate coming together of many of the paradoxes of social and emotional learning. It is the space that must be managed effectively in order to achieve "personal well-being and both academic and professional growth." According to RULER, taking a break or counting to ten to calm down "does not suffice." Instead, this six-step process "…helps people respond to their emotions with their best selves in mind and gain mastery of their lives" (Brackett et al. 2014).

The meta-moment is introduced to younger children with a character named Meta who gets strong feelings sometimes. See Figure 5.1 for a picture depicting the steps of the meta-moment. In step 1, something happens to trigger an emotional response. When Meta is first introduced to children, the example of the trigger is that another child took a toy without asking. In step 2, the individual feels it – there is a shift in thoughts, body and behavior. The implementation guide has teachers walk children through the parts of the response – "our faces get angry, our bodies get tight, we have lots of angry thoughts" (Brackett 2014).

The intervention comes in steps 3-6. Like with the turtle technique, the most important first step is to stop, which is the third step. It is "Stop: we catch ourselves and focus on our breath to avoid being swept up by our emotions." Step 4 is to "see your best self," Step 5 is to strategize,

which means to choose an effective emotion regulation strategy for the situations, and Step 6 is to succeed, by responding effectively to the emotion and situation (Brackett 2014:C7).

Figure 5.1: The RULER Meta-Moment

RULER provides many opportunities for using the meta-moment. One example is the role-playing situations where children either forget to take a meta-moment (with disastrous consequences) or remember to take one (with successful outcomes). In a third-grade writing assignment, children write about a time when they could have used a meta-moment but didn't.

The fourth step is the part of the meta-moment that is original to RULER. In this step, children are asked to envision a mental representation of their best selves. The point here is to imagine – Who do I want to be? What kind of reputation do I want to have? What are my goals? What do I want the outcome of this situation to be? The RULER curriculum aims to ask children to activate a picture in their mind of themselves acting in a "healthy and productive manner" (Brackett 2014: C11).

RULER stresses that the goal of the meta-moment is not to be nice, or to take away anger. Sometimes "success" in a meta-moment might mean pausing long enough to realize the original input or interpretation was wrong (in the example of the child grabbing a toy, for

example, finding out it was actually his toy after all). Sometimes success might mean reframing

to decide one isn't angry after all. Sometimes, however, it might mean staying angry, and setting boundaries with someone and telling them their behavior was not okay. The message is really that you are simply giving yourself choice and control. By breathing and taking a step back, you have a whole host of choices, where before you had none. According to the logic of RULER, there are many possibilities of what the outcome or "best self" will look like. The only important part is that it the response is considered, and that "you" made the decision in a controlled way, not your feelings (Brackett 2014: C-95).

The RULER implementation guide for teachers lays out in bold terms how the people who use their tool called the meta-moment are ultimately happier and more successful.

> Quite simply people who take meta-moments lead better lives. They use emotions as cues for how to act at home, at work, and in everyday life. Over time, they shift from old automatic maladaptive responses to new intentional and adaptive responses. In turn they build a repertoire of effective strategies to help them achieve their goals (Brackett 2014: C10).

In the RULER implementation guide, teachers are told that to help students to become meta-moment experts (internal) you would like their permission to remind them when you believe they might need to take a meta-moment. One does this by creating images of Meta holding the stop sign and placing one on a student's desk when you think that it would be helpful for them to take a meta-moment (Brackett 2014: C-88).

Neuro Emotion Regulation Practices

The curricula draw on this popularized knowledge from neuroscience in their practices for emotion management. Emotions, in this framework, are not things that happen in bodies, but in brains and nervous systems. MindUp draws on neuroscience the most, but RULER, PATHS, Second Step and Open Circle all use a significant number of tools from neuroscience. By this, I don't merely mean that their approaches draw on neuroscientific knowledge, although they do.

Instead, I mean that the children are taught versions of this neuroscience, and in particular, the

strategies of emotion management they are taught rely on neuroscientific metaphors and imagery

of the brain. MindUP states that "developing an understanding of the relationship between the

brain and the body enables children to better identify the signals their body is sending, and to

better manage their emotions and behaviors" (The Hawn Foundation 2011b:84).

The curricula have children learn different ways to visualize the brain. All of them teach

the parts of the brain, in particular, the prefrontal cortex, the hippocampus, and the amygdala,

through lessons, worksheets, drawing, and modeling. For young students, almost all of the

curricula teach some version of this representative Open Circle lesson for kindergarteners about

the brain.

> Different parts of the brain control how you feel, think and act.... Explain that the part of
> the brain called the frontal cortex helps you think and learn. Point to the image that
> highlights the frontal cortex and have children point to their foreheads to emphasize the
> general location of this part of the brain. Tell children that the frontal cortex works well
> when you are calm. Point to the image showing the amygdala. Explain that the amygdala
> is the part of the brain that creates strong feelings, such as fear, or anger. When you are
> very upset, the amygdala is working hard. Your feelings are so strong that the frontal
> cortex can't do its job and it's difficult for you to think (Seigle, Lange and Macklem
> 1999:72).

PATHS has children imagine that their palm and wrist are their spinal cord and brainstem, fold

their thumb into their palm, and then close their four fingers over their thumb. They are taught

that their thumb is their amygdala and their four fingers are their cortex, or thinking brain. The

teacher dialogue for this exercise reads, "When the amygdala is in control, we have flipped our

lid...We call this being 'hijacked' by our amygdala. Or, we can say 'I flipped my lid'"

(Domitrovich 2011: 2-36).

So, a number one priority in these curricula involves lengthening time between stimulus

and response, and they draw on neuroscientific imagery and metaphors to do it. When individuals

can create some buffer time, even seconds, between input and response it gives the prefrontal

cortex time to analyze and interpret information, and allows individuals to choose what to do, instead of being controlled and letting our amygdala choose for us.

> When you master using your thinking brain, you will feel very powerful and in control, like a Jedi Knight. You see, the front part of your brain can become very powerful, like being able to use the Force in Star Wars. But like a Jedi knight, you have to practice over and over. It's hard to learn to program a spaceship control panel, but when we master it, we feel very powerful and in control. It feels like we are really in charge of ourselves and more grown up (Domitrovich 2011:2-37).

The practices of making more time between stimulus and response are practices that need repeating, often. MindUP explains this to teachers with the concept of neuroplasticity. Deep breathing does not only, in the moment, help make time between a stimulus and a response. But deep breathing over time, with daily practice, also creates and strengthens neural connections in the brain to make it even more likely that this intervention will work when students are in a stressful situation. After children regularly exercise control of their breathing this becomes an automatic response to anxiety or anger, and children become more self-managed (The Hawn Foundation 2011a:43).

Infantilizing the Amygdala

As I outlined above, the curricula construct children as competent beings who are capable of learning sophisticated skills to manage their emotions. They make less distance between adults and children and construct them in a partnership in children's becoming. One of the ways that they do this is to locate the messy, loud, disruptive, annoyances of childhood in some ways not of the child, but of the amygdala. One way that children get to be more like adults in SEL is via packaging up that which is problematic and out of control, blaming it on the amygdala, and teaching children the will and the ways to manage those naughty amygdalae. Several of the curricula, including MindUP, PATHS and Second Step, use these practices to get children to see

167

their amygdala as the problem. In other words, who is at fault for impulsive or disruptive or problematic behavior? Not the child, but the amygdala.

At the core here is an attempt to have children imagine a relationship with their brain. MindUp has a quote from a child to illustrate this idea that a child can cultivate a relationship with their brains. Fifth grader Genevieve says that "[y]our brain can be like your BFF. It can help you cool down and stop getting frustrated. Then you can learn a lot and have more friends" (The Hawn Foundation 2011b:6). Students learn that their brains can produce a well-thought-out reaction by way of the reflective prefrontal cortex or trigger a thoughtless one through the reactive amygdala. MindUp, for example, has an activity for third through fifth graders to draw a picture of themselves when their amygdala was activated and to reflect in words on the situation and to decide whether their amygdala "reacted to a real danger or alerted you to a situation that wasn't an actual threat" (Hawn Foundation 2011b:32).

The problem with the amygdala is that it can't be trusted. The amygdala does not differentiate between perceived threats and actual dangers. It can trigger a "false alarm" that is unwarranted and problematic. The social and emotional learning curricula would count Emaline's MCAS experience as the amygdala messing up and, in fact, they provide this exact example to children multiple times. MindUP, for instance, says "…we sometimes freeze in stressful situations, such as taking a test. This is an example of unmindful behavior. A reaction happens *before* the mind thinks about it" (Hawn Foundation 2011b:35).

SEL, then, shows ambivalence toward the amygdala. The amygdala is like a guard that keeps people safe, but it is not reliable. The curricula directly tell children this. "It's important to understand that while the amygdala can help keep us safe, sometimes it signals danger when there is none – and that shuts down our ability to think clearly by blocking information to the PFC." PATHS uses a good deal of battle and war imagery to talk about the brain, often evoking

metaphors of Star Wars or a spaceship. In this metaphor for fourth graders, the amygdalae are like

lasers on spaceships, constantly monitoring internally and externally to make sure everything is

okay.

> Once the laser detects a problem, it flares up immediately. Once your amygdalae detect a problem, they flare up and can take complete control of your whole brain *unless* your thinking brain is able to calm things down. The cortex is like the control panel on the spaceship that can override the blast. The thinking part of the brain, your cortex, is able to control your amygdala. But you have to train it to do so, just like programming the control panel on a spaceship to override the laser when necessary (Domitrovich 2011:2-35).

The dialogue that comes next is a key strategy in attempting to get children to see that the

problem is not with themselves, but the amygdala, and that it is in their best interest to not let

their amygdala get the best of them. "To control my amygdala, I would need to do something to

stop, calm down and think so that I could get control and prevent myself from yelling or hitting.

If I didn't stop and think, I might lash out. It would feel like something was controlling me, and

that would be my amygdala" (Domitrovich 2011:2-36). The exercise goes on to emphasize the

importance of learning to stop and think so that children can be the "captain of the spaceship" and

not let the amygdala be in charge.

In these curricula, the practices like breathing or self-talk merge with this imagery from

neuroscience to give children strategies to imagine and manage their feelings in new ways. For

example, in this script for a teacher to model to students a situation in which someone grabbed a

crayon from her. The script says to "Talk to yourself out loud about what is happening in your

brain. 'My amygdalae are very upset and telling me to grab my crayon back. But this isn't really

an emergency so my thinking brain is telling me to stop and calm down so I can think about what

I should really do. Maybe I should find out what why he or she grabbed my crayon'"

(Domitrovich 2011). PATHS also tells children that they can police each other in this way, to

remind other children to use their prefrontal cortex in order to get their amygdala under control.

"When we see unmindful behavior, we can nicely remind one another and ourselves to 'use your PFC, please!'" (The Hawn Foundation 2011b:39).

In some ways, it may be potentially less stigmatizing to locate the problem in the amygdala (that silly old amygdala, acting up again) than to locate the problem in a child. MindUP says, "Being unmindful does not mean we are bad people – but it probably means our amygdala is more in charge than our PFC" (The Hawn Foundation 2011b:39). This is illustrated in a role-playing exercise from one of the curricula where different children are acting out the parts of the brain and the parts of the brain are trying to access the long-term memory in order to try to take a test that they studied for. However, because of poorly managed anxiety, the child is having difficulty taking the test. One child is playing the role of the hippocampus, one the pre-frontal cortex, and one the amygdala. One child is playing the role of the Child, who is trying to get to the hippocampus to be able to access their memory and perform well on the test, but because the amygdala is so out of control and the PFC cannot control it, the Child is blocked from getting to their own hippocampus and cannot get to their memory. Once again, the problem is in the amygdala. It's a weird thing to say that this somehow destigmatizes children, since the amygdala is part of children, but this is part of what is going on here. Children are constructed as reasonable, competent beings who, with the help of adults and their prefrontal cortex, can get that unruly amygdala into shape.

Conclusion

Nikolas Rose claimed that the practices of therapy worked out to carve a "psy-shaped space" between brain and behavior. I show how SEL practices attempt to construct this "psy-shaped space" in all children as part of their everyday experience in school, using practices from a wide variety of psychological and neuroscientific traditions, and particularly popularized versions of them. It is certainly in the best interest of schools and teachers to have calm,

controlled children who are ready to learn, and SEL provides effective and tools for schools to

make children better behaved. It does so without strict behavioral management techniques that would make most teachers uncomfortable (and, in some cases, are now illegal).

CONCLUSION: THE COMPETENT HEART

Early in my research, I traveled to a neighboring state to an academic library to access Second Step, one of the social and emotional learning curricula I analyzed. Second Step is an extensive program, made up of many books, binders, posters, and other materials for each grade level. I had communicated with a librarian there before my trip. At this library, Second Step was stored away from the public and parts of it available for checkout only by patrons. This librarian had been so kind to me over email, and when I arrived, she had all of the program materials set up for me in a private room that I could use for the whole day. She said I could use the room for as

long as I needed, and that I could come back and examine the curriculum again, anytime I wanted. When I expressed my gratitude, she replied, "Oh, of course, I just know that if you are interested in a program like this, you must be a really good person."

I share this anecdote not because I want to argue that SEL is bad, or good, but to point out that, unlike corporate job trainings, it enjoys a certain level of presumed innocence. The default way in which most people, even sociologists, would immediately interpret social and emotional learning is to think of it as a good thing at a time when there is so little to feel good about. Helping children with their emotions, what's not to like? I was originally drawn to study SEL, however, because of my longstanding interest in emotion as a site of regulation and control, and I saw SEL as important in its regulatory reach into children's hearts.

Childhood has historically been one of the most regulated times of human existence, and also the last to be subject to the broad influence of the therapeutic. While therapeutic logics and practices came to dominate many other cultural and institutional domains, schools were still characterized by clearly defined power differentials, external control and institutionally-approved unidirectional anger in the 1980s (Stearns and Stearns 1986). More recently, however, childhood and schools are subject to shifts characterized by an increased interest in children's agency, participation and the pretense of more democratic social relations between children and adults. Sociologist Karen Smith (2014) has identified the cultural model of the Athenian Child, who is "partner in her own socialization." Children are seen as agents in their own right, instead of merely future citizens. In some ways, with strict boundaries between children and adults shifting, children are required to be more like adults in some ways. The deviant child is no longer bad/unruly, but irresponsible. This responsibility is markedly different from how children had to be responsible in the past through their labor or economic contributions. The responsibility of the Athenian Child is based on her abilities to demonstrate competent, self-interested choice and agency.

172

SEL fits squarely in the middle of this trend. Children are constructed as competent and responsible subjects, and it provides many practices to cultivate this responsibility in them. SEL does this in several ways, but the way I concentrate on is the way that it gets children to engage their own emotions using particular, professionally created practices of knowing, monitoring, expressing and regulating their feelings. This is noteworthy because it introduces therapeutically sophisticated norms and ways of imagining the self and ways of engaging the self to children. It says that, ideally, all children should be learning to engage with their selves using these practices. It creates new expectations that children (and their future adult selves) will interact with both their selves and others in these ways.

As sociologists have shown with other populations with limited power (women in prison, addicts), forms of discipline and control are intertwined and contradictory. Women who are in prison are subject to carceral control and therapy and "working on the self," for example. Like the case of women in prison, the case of children in school should be expected to be riddled with contradictory forms of power. In schools, there is still obvious direct power and authority, lack of democracy, and external control. But, at the same time, my work demonstrates the rise and broad institutionalization of practices to instead govern and engage with children by the cultivation of their own agency and power. My research extends recent work on changing forms of discipline and control in children further by specifically considering how the target for these institutional disciplinary attempts is emotion. SEL aims to cultivate an authentic self-knowing, feeling self, capable of acting in one's own interests, throughout one's entire life and across institutional settings. It goes further to construct the interests of the child and the interests of school to be the same.

SEL takes what was once one emotional style or habitus among many (and just for adults) and packages it as something that everyone, including children, should and can have. The emotional style of being reflective, measured, self-knowing and self-regulated has been codified

into learning standards and the skills school districts try to develop in their students. SEL is not codification or spelling out of ways of interacting with feelings that are already quite common. Instead, it grants new importance to emotions and new practices that people can, and in fact, *need to,* employ in order to master their emotions.

Sociologists have used the term "emotional habitus" or "emotional style" to capture the ideas that there are dominant, socially structured ways of feeling. These are variable by time, place, culture, social class, race, gender and more. However, by and large, the emotional style presented by SEL is presented as neutral and something that should be universal, without regard to pre-existing differences and inequalities. Emotional competence is not about being calm or emotionless or suppressing your emotions or not letting your emotions get the best of you or not showing your emotions. Emotional competence is not the same as merely managing your emotions in certain institutional spheres in a Hochschildian sense either. Emotional competence means being *good* at emotions. It means knowing them, engaging them, and doing them in very specific ways.

The emotionally competent person thinks about his emotions. The emotionally competent person is composed. She has some distance from emotion, but not total distance. The emotionally competent self is not controlled by emotions, but instead controls them. The emotionally competent self doesn't yell or scream or slam things or hit people, and if he does, he sees these behaviors as problematic and apologizes for them and works harder in the future to prevent them. At the same time, the emotionally competent person feels, and looks to her feelings for guidance. The emotionally competent person is both deeply self-interested, but also cares about other people's feelings and relationships. This emotionally competent person is, according to dominant versions of SEL, an individualized achievement dependent on knowing, expressing and managing emotions. This is a personal responsibility that comes first, before connection and successful social life.

174

The emotional style promoted by SEL is an emotional habitus that is child-sized, to deal with child-sized problems. Curricula assume that the types of problems children will have to navigate are the problems of a stable, middle-class life; for example, strategies to use when another child takes your pencil, or a scary dog walks by. Many children live through much more complex and difficult emotional lives, and even more will do so as they age. One of the implications of SEL is that it presents a neat, packaged solution to emotional life that is messy, riddled with power differentials and unresolvable conflict. By presenting it to children as something they *can* do, so long as they work hard enough, it may be setting them up for inevitable failure when faced with the realities of emotions and their places in complex relationships.

My work also has important implications for the ways that emotional life is subject to the processes of constructing deviance and normality. It is not new that emotions can be branded as deviant or normal and individuals are subject to rewards and punishments for their successes and failures in feeling (Hochschild 1979; Thoits 1984, 1985). It is also not new that entire emotional identities have been branded as deviant, for example, through their medicalization as psychiatric disorders (e.g. Horwitz 2007; Metzl 2010). The boundaries that SEL makes between deviant and normal emotional styles is on the level of deviant identities, not just actions or ways or individual feelings.

Old patterns of feeling or behaving or what are sometimes thought of as "personalities" – including ways of feeling and acting on feelings that are common among children (and adults): explosive, unpredictable, unfeeling, private, emotionally "unintelligent," among others – are potentially vulnerable to greater branding as deviant than they were decades ago, among adults, but even among children. This isn't quite the same degree of labeling something as deviant as medicalization, but it potentially leads there (i.e. increased surveillance of children and reminders to teachers throughout the curricula to refer children who seem unable to manage their emotions

with the strategies provided to school counselors). Taking the therapeutic style of emotion

management, making it accessible to children and, increasingly, measuring and testing it as

widely as we measure and test competence in other subjects (not everyone is there yet, but that is

the goal, and it is a reality in some large school districts), opens children's emotional selves up to

incredible, everyday surveillance makes it incredibly more likely that children who, in the past,

may have lived their entire lives as "a little anxious" or "a little shut down" will now be identified

as such, early in life, and provided even more labeling and intervention. The widespread

packaging and dissemination of practices of the competent heart that even children can do raises

the bar and changes the rules and runs the risk of making the costs for those of us with

incompetent hearts even higher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ailwood, Joanne. 2004. "Genealogies of Governmentality: Producing and Managing Young
    Children and Their Education." *The Australian Educational Researcher* 31(3):19–33.

Ailwood, Joanne. 2008. "Learning or Earning in the 'Smart State': Changing Tactics for Governing Early Childhood." *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research* 15(4):535–51.

American Dialect Society. 2012. "All of the Words of the Year, 1990 to Present." *American Dialect Society*. Retrieved August 26, 2021 (https://www.americandialect.org/woty/all-of-the-words-of-the-year-1990-to-present).

Amsterdamska, Olga. 2008.Pp. 205–10 in *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by E. J. Hacket, O. Amsterdamska, M. E. Lynch, and J. Wajcman. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Ariès, Philippe. 1962. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. New York: Vintage Books.

Arizona Department of Education. 2020. "Arizona Social and Emotional Learning Competencies." Retrieved August 26, 2021 (https://www.azed.gov/sites/default/files/2020/09/ADOE%20Competencies_0.pdf)

Beane, James A. 1990. *Affect in the Curriculum: Toward Democracy, Dignity, and Diversity*. Teachers College Press.

Berman, Elizabeth Popp, and Daniel Hirschman. 2018. "The Sociology of Quantification: Where Are We Now? A." *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 47(3):257–66.

Blad, Evie. 2015. "Accountability Measures for Traits Like 'Grit' Questioned." *Education Week*, May 20.

Blad, Evie. 2017. "No State Will Measure Social-Emotional Learning Under ESSA. Will That Slow Its Momentum?" *Education Week*, October 5.

Bobo, Lawrence D., and Camille Z. Charles. 2009. "Race in the American Mind: From the Moynihan Report to the Obama Candidacy." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 621(1):243–59.

Boler, Megan. 1999. *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education*. Routledge.

Boss, Suzie. 2011. "Social and Emotional Learning: What Experts Say." *Edutopia*. Retrieved August 26, 2021 (https://www.edutopia.org/social-emotional-learning-experts).

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loic Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brackett, Marc, David Caruso, and Robin Stern. 2014. *Anchors of Emotional Intelligence*. New Haven, CT: Emotionally Intelligent Schools.

Bragg, Sara. 2007. "'Student Voice' and Governmentality: The Production of Enterprising Subjects?" *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 28(3):343–58.

Bridgeland, John, Mary Bruce, and Arya Hariharan. 2013. *The Missing Piece: A National Survey on How Social and Emotional Learning Can Empower Children and Transform Schools.* Washington, D.C.: Civic Enterprises.

Burchell, Graham. 1993. "Liberal Government and Techniques of the Self." *Economy and Society* 22(3):267–82.

Burkitt, Ian. 1997. "Social Relationships and Emotions." *Sociology* 31(1):37–55.

Burman, Erica. 2008a. *Deconstructing Developmental Psychology*. Routledge.

Burman, Erica. 2008b. *Deconstructing Developmental Psychology*. Routledge.

Cameron, Deborah. 2000. *Good to Talk? Living and Working in a Communication Culture*. SAGE.

Camic, Charles, Neil Gross, and Michele Lamont. 2011. *Social Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, Elaine. 2010. "The Emotional Life of Governmental Power." *Foucault Studies* 9:35–53.

Cherniss, Gary, Melissa Extein, Daniel Goleman, and Roger P. Weissberg. 2006. "Emotional Intelligence: What Does the Research Really Indicate?" *Educational Psychologist* 41(4):239–45.

Christensen, Pia, and Alan Prout. 2002. "Working with Ethical Symmetry in Social Research with Children." *Childhood* 9(4):477–97.

Cloud, Dana. 1998. *Control and Consolation in American Culture and Politics: Rhetoric of Therapy*. 1 edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Cloward, Richard A., and Lloyd E. Ohlin. 1960. *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. New York, NY, US: Free Press.

Cohen, Sol. 1983. "The Mental Hygiene Movement, the Development of Personality and the School: The Medicalization of American Education." *History of Education Quarterly* 23(2):123–49.

Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning. 2012. *2013 CASEL Guide: Effective Social and Emotional Learning Programs—Preschool and Elementary School Edition*. Chicago, IL. Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://casel.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/2013-casel-guide-1.pdf).

Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning. 2015. *2015 CASEL Guide: Effective Social and Emotional Learning Programs – Middle and High School Edition*. Chicago, IL.

Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning. 2017. *Key Insights from the Collaborating Districts Initiative*. Chicago, IL. (https://casel.org/library/2015-casel-guide-effective-social-and-emotional-learning-programs-middle-and-high-school-edition-2015/).

Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning. 2018. "Core SEL Competencies." Retrieved July 31, 2018 (https://casel.org/core-competencies/).

Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning. 2021. "What Is SEL?" Retrieved July 28, 2021 (https://casel.org/what-is-sel/).

Colorado Department of Education. 2020. "Colorado Academic Standards: Comprehensive Health." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.cde.state.co.us/cohealth/2020cas-ch-p12).

Comer, James P. 1980. *School Power: Implications of an Intervention Project*. Free Press.

Comer, James P. 1988. "Educating Poor Minority Children." *Scientific American* 259(5):42–49.

Comer, James P. 1989. "The School Development Program: A Psychosocial Model of School Intervention." Pp. 264–85 in *Black Students: Psychosocial Issues and Academic Achievement*, edited by G. L. Berry and J. K. Asamen. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Committee for Children. 2011. *Second Step: A Violence Prevention Curriculum*. Seattle. WA: Committee for Children.

Conant, James B. 1962. "Social Dynamite in Our Large Cities." *Crime & Delinquency* 8(2):103–15.

Conley, Colleen S. 2015. "SEL in Higher Education." in *Handbook of Social and Emotional Learning: Research and Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Connecticut State Department of Education. 2018. "Components of Social, Emotional, and Intellectual Habits: Kindergarten through Grade 3." Retrieved August 29, 2021.

(https://portal.ct.gov/-/media/SDE/Board/BoardMaterials010318/The_Components_of_Social_Emotional_and_Intellectual_Habits_Kindergarten_through_Grade_3.pdf)

Cruikshank, Barbara. 1999. *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects*. Cornell University Press.

Cunningham, Hugh. 2020. *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge.

Cushman, Philip. 1996. *Constructing The Self, Constructing America: A Cultural History Of Psychotherapy*. Da Capo Press.

Dahlberg, Gunilla, and Peter Moss. 2005. *Ethics and Politics in Early Childhood Education*. Psychology Press.

Danziger, Kurt. 1994. *Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research*. Cambridge University Press.

Davies, Will. 2017. "How Are We Now? Real-Time Mood-Monitoring as Valuation." *Journal of Cultural Economy* 10(1):34–48.

Dean, Mitchell. 1999. *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Delfaco, Karol. 1997. "Educator's Commentary." Pp. xvi, 288 in *Emotional development and emotional intelligence: Educational implications*, *Emotional development and emotional intelligence: Educational implications*, edited by P. Salovey and D. J. Sluyter. New York: Basic Books.

179

DePaoli, Jennifer L., Matthew N. Atwell, and John Bridgeland. 2017. *Ready to Lead: A National Principal Survey on How Social and Emotional Learning Can Prepare Children and Transform Schools. A Report for CASEL*. Civic Enterprises.

Dewey, John. 1902. *The Child and the Curriculum*. University of Chicago Press.

Dollard, John. 1937. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co.

Domitrovich, Celene, Mark Greenberg, Carol Kusche, and Rebecca Cortes. 2004. *The PATHS Curriculum*. South Deerfield, MA: Channing-Bete.

Dusenbury, Linda A., Jessy Z. Newman, Roger P. Weissberg, Paul Goren, Celeste E. Domitrovich, and Mart, Amy K. 2015. "The Case for Preschool through High School State Learning Standards for SEL." in *Handbook of Social and Emotional Learning: Research and Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Dusenbury, Linda, Sophia Calin, Celene Domitrovich, and Roger P. Weissberg. 2015. "What Does Evidence-Based Instruction in Social and Emotional Learning Actually Look Like in Practice?" 6.

Education Week Research Center. 2015. *Social and Emotional Learning: Perspectives from America's Schools*. Bethesda, MD: Education Week Research Center.

Elias, M. J., and R. P. Weissberg. 2000. "Primary Prevention: Educational Approaches to Enhance Social and Emotional Learning." *The Journal of School Health* 70(5):186–90.

Elias, Maurice J., Joseph E. Zins, and Roger P. Weissberg. 1997. *Promoting Social and Emotional Learning: Guidelines for Educators*. Alexandria, Va., USA: ASCD.

Elias, Norbert. 1939. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Revised edition. Oxford [England]; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers.

Elkind, David. 1981. *The Hurried Child: Growing up Too Fast Too Soon*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Epstein, Steven. 2008. "Culture and Science/Technology: Rethinking Knowledge, Power, Materiality, and Nature." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 619(1):165–82.

Espeland, Wendy Nelson, and Mitchell L. Stevens. 2008. "A Sociology of Quantification*." *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 49(3): 401–36.

Feld, Barry C. 1998. "Juvenile and Criminal Justice Systems' Responses to Youth Violence." *Crime and Justice* 24:189–261.

Felt, Ulrike, Rayvon Fouche, Clark A. Miller, and Laurel Smith-Doerr. 2016. *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. 4th ed. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Fendler, Lynn. 2001. "Educating Flexible Souls: The Construction of Subjectivity through Developmentality and Interaction." in *Governing the Child in the New Millennium*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Fisher, Melody, Jonathan Cohen, and Laura Shapiro. 2006. "Finding the Heart of Your School." *Principal Leadership* 7(4):26–31.

Flam, Helena. 2002. "Corporate Emotions and Emotions in Corporations." *The Sociological Review* 50(S2):90–112.

Foster, Susan, Mary Rollefson, Teresa Doksum, Denise Noonan, Gail Robinson, and Judith Teich. 2005. *School Mental Health Services in the United States, 2002-2003*. SAMHSA's National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information (NCADI).

Foster, Susan, Mary Rollefson, Teresa Doksum, Denise Noonan, Gail Robinson, Judith Teich, Rockville Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (DHHS/PHS) MD. Center for Mental Health Services., and Inc. Abt Associates Bethesda, MD. 2005. *School Mental Health Services in the United States, 2002-2003*. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration.

Foucault, Michel. 1979. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 2: The Use of Pleasure*. Reissue edition. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1991. "Governmentality." Pp. 87–104 in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller. University of Chicago Press.

Frazier, E. Franklin. 1939. *The Negro Family in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Füredi, Frank. 2004. *Therapy Culture: Cultivating Vulnerability in an Uncertain Age*. Psychology Press.

Gans, Herbert. 2011. "The Moynihan Report and its Aftermaths." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 8.

Gardner, Howard. 1983. *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*. New York: Basic Books.

Geary, Daniel. 2015. "The Moynihan Report: An Annotated Edition." *The Atlantic*. Retrieved August 1, 2021 (https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/09/the-moynihan-report-an-annotated-edition/404632/).

Gibbs, Nancy. 1995. "New Brain Research Suggests That Emotions, Not IQ, May Be the True Measure of Human Intelligence." *TIME Magazine* 5.

Gieryn, Thomas F. 1999. *Cultural Boundaries of Science: Credibility on the Line*. University of Chicago Press.

Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co.

Goleman, Daniel. 1995. *Emotional Intelligence*. Bantam Books.

Goleman, Daniel. 1997. "Emotional Intelligence in Context." Pp. xiii–xvi in *Emotional development and emotional intelligence: Educational implications*, *Emotional development and emotional*

intelligence: Educational implications, edited by P. Salovey and D. J. Sluyter. New York, NY, US: Basic Books.

Goleman, Daniel. 2015. "Afterword: The Future of Social and Emotional Learning." in *Handbook of Social and Emotional Learning: Research and Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Gordon, Rachel, Peter Ji, Peter Mulhall, Barbara Shaw, and Roger P. Weissberg. 2011. *Social and Emotional Learning for Illinois Students: Policy, Practice and Progress*. Urbana, IL: Institute for Government and Public Affairs.

Gould, Deborah B. 2009. *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS*. University Of Chicago Press.

Greene, Sheila, and Diane Hogan. 2005. *Researching Children's Experience: Approaches and Methods*. SAGE.

Hacking. 1986. "Making Up People." Pp. 222–36 in *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, edited by T. C. Heller, D. E. Wellbery, and M. Sosna. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Haney, Lynne. 2010. *Offending Women: Power, Punishment, and the Regulation of Desire*. First edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harrison, Jane, and Ken Breeding. 2007a. *Connected and Respected (Volume 1): Lessons from the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program, Grades K-2*. 1st edition. Cambridge, MA: Educators for Social Responsibility.

Harrison, Jane, and Ken Breeding. 2007b. *Connected and Respected (Volume 2): Lessons from the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program, Grades 3 - 5*. Cambridge, Mass: Educators for Social Responsibility.

Hart, Stuart N. 1991. "From Property to Person Status: Historical Perspective on Children's Rights." *American Psychologist* 46(1):53–59.

Hawkins, J. D., R. F. Catalano, and J. Y. Miller. 1992. "Risk and Protective Factors for Alcohol and Other Drug Problems in Adolescence and Early Adulthood: Implications for Substance Abuse Prevention." *Psychological Bulletin* 112(1):64–105.

Haynes, Norris M. 2007. "The Comer School Development Program: A Pioneering Approach to Improving Social, Emotional and Academic Competence." Pp. 95–108 in *Educating People to be Emotionally Intelligent*, edited by R. Bar-On, K. Maree, J. G. Maree, and M. J. Elias. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Haynes, Norris M., James P. Comer, and Muriel Hamilton-Lee. 1988. "The School Development Program: A Model for School Improvement." *Journal of Negro Education* 57(1):11–21.

Hazleden, Rebecca. 2003. "Love Yourself: The Relationship of the Self with Itself in Popular Self-Help Texts." *Journal of Sociology* 39(4):413–28.

Hemphill, C. Dallett. 1998. "Class, Gender, and the Regulation of Emotional Expression in Revolutionary Era Conduct Literature." Pp. 33–51 in *An Emotional History of the U.S*, edited by P. N. Stearns and J. Lewis. New York: NYU Press.

Herman, Ellen. 1995. *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts*. University of California Press.

Herman, Ellen, and Barbara Tischler. 1992. "Being and Doing: Humanistic Psychology and the Spirit of the 1960s." Pp. 87-102 in *Sights on the Sixties* edited by B.L. Tischler. New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press.

Higonnet, Anne. 1998. *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*. Thames and Hudson.

Hinton, Elizabeth. 2016. *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America*. Harvard University Press.

Hirschfield, Paul J. 2008. "Preparing for Prison?: The Criminalization of School Discipline in the USA." *Theoretical Criminology* 12(1):79–101.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1979. "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure." *American Journal of Sociology* 85(3):551–75.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. University of California Press.

Hogan, Diane. 2005. "Researching 'the Child' in Developmental Psychology." Pp. 22–41 in *Researching Children's Experience: Approaches and Methods*, edited by S. Greene and D. Hogan. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Humphrey, Neil, ed. 2013. *Social and Emotional Learning: A Critical Appraisal*. 1 edition. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Hunter, Ian. 1994. *Rethinking the School: Subjectivity, Bureaucracy, Criticism*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Hunter, Ian. 1996. "Assembling the School." Pp. 143–66 in *Foucault and political reason: liberalism, neo-liberalism, and rationalities of government*, edited by A. Barry, T. Osborne, and N. S. Rose. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Idaho Department of Health & Welfare. 2011. "Idaho Early Learning EGuidelines."

Illinois State Board of Education. 2004. "Social/Emotional Learning Standards."

Illouz, Eva. 2003. *Oprah Winfrey and the Glamour of Misery: An Essay on Popular Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Illouz, Eva. 2008. *Saving the Modern Soul: Therapy, Emotions, and the Culture of Self-Help*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Incredible Years. 2013. "Classroom Dinosaur Curriculum."

Iowa Department of Education. 2020. "Iowa's Social-Emotional Learning Competencies." August 29, 2021. (https://educateiowa.gov/sites/files/ed/documents/Iowa%27s%20Social-Emotional%20Learning%20Competencies%20Fall%202020.pdf).

Irvine, Leslie. 1999. *Codependent Forevermore: The Invention of Self in a Twelve Step Group*. University of Chicago Press.

James, Allison, and Alan Prout. 2003. *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*. Routledge.

Jenks, Chris. 1996. *Childhood*. Psychology Press.

Jones, S. M., and S. M. Bouffard. 2012. *Social and Emotional Learning in Schools: From Programs to Strategies. Social Policy Report. Volume 26, Number 4.* Society for Research in Child Development.

Kaestle, Carl F. 1983. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. Macmillan.

Kahn, Jennifer. 2013. "Can Emotional Intelligence Be Taught?" *The New York Times*, September 11.

Kamenetz, Anya. 2017. "Social and Emotional Skills: Everybody Loves Them, But Still Can't Define Them." *NPR*, August 14.

Kampmann, Jan. 2004. "Societalization of Childhood: New Opportunities? New Demands?" Pp. 127–52 in *Beyond the Competent Child: Exploring contemporary childhoods in the Nordic welfare societies*, edited by H. Brembeck, B. Johansson, J. Kampmann. Frederiksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Kane, Anne. 2001. "Finding Emotions in Social Movements Processes: Irish Land Movement Metaphor and Narratives." Pp. 251–66 in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, edited by J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper, and F. Polletta. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Kansas State Board of Education. 2018. "Kansas Social, Emotional, And Character Development Model Standards." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.ksde.org/Portals/0/CSAS/Content%20Area%20(M-Z)/School%20Counseling/Soc_Emot_Char_Dev/Kansas%20SECD%20Model%20Standards%20Revised%20July%202018.pdf)

Kennedy, David. 2006. *The Well of Being: Childhood, Subjectivity, and Education*. SUNY Press.

Kress, Jeffrey S., and Maurice J. Elias. 2006. "School-Based Social and Emotional Learning Programs." Pp. 592–618 in *Handbook of child psychology: Child psychology in practice, Vol. 4, 6th ed*. Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Kunda, Gideon. 1992. *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-Tech Corporation*. Revised. Temple University Press.

Lagemann, Ellen Condliffe. 1989. "The Plural Worlds of Educational Research." *History of Education Quarterly* 29(2):183–214.

Lantieri, Linda, and Janet Patti. 1996. "Waging Peace in Our Schools." *Journal of Negro Education* 65(3):356–68.

Law, John. 2016. "STS as Method." Pp. 31–58 in *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by U. Felt, R. Fouche, C. A. Miller, and L. Smith-Doerr. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Lewis, Oscar. 1959. *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*. New York: Basic Books.

Lively, Kathryn J., and Emi A. Weed. 2014. "Emotion Management: Sociological Insight into What, How, Why, and to What End?" *Emotion Review* 6(3):202–7.

Locke, John. 1693. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London: A.and J. Churchill at the Black Swan in Paternoster-row.

Lopes, Paulo, and Peter Salovey. 2004. "Toward a Broader Education: Social, Emotional and Practical Skills." *Building School Success on Social and Emotional Learning*.

Lupton, Deborah. 2016. *The Quantified Self: A Sociology of Self-Tracking*. Cambridge [England]: Polity.

Maine Department of Education and Maine Department of Health & Health Services. 2015. "Maine's Early Learning and Development Standards." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://www.maine.gov/doe/sites/maine.gov.doe/files/inline-files/Maine-ELDS_0.pdf).

Martin, Emily. 2007. *Bipolar Expeditions: Mania and Depression in American Culture*. 1st Edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Maryland State Department of Education. 2016. "Maryland Early Learning Standards Birth - 8 Years." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://earlychildhood.marylandpublicschools.org/system/files/filedepot/4/msde-pedagogy-report-_appendix_2016.pdf).

Massachusetts Department of Early Education and Care and Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. 2015. "Preschool and Kindergarten Standards in Social-Emotional Development and Approaches to Play and Learning." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.mass.gov/service-details/preschool-and-kindergarten-standards-in-social-emotional-development-and-approaches).

Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. 2017. "Massachusetts Curriculum Framework 2017 0 Mathematics Pre-Kindergarten to 12." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.doe.mass.edu/frameworks/math/2017-06.pdf)

Mayer, John D., Maria DiPaolo, and Peter Salovey. 1990. "Perceiving Affective Content in Ambiguous Visual Stimuli: A Component of Emotional Intelligence." *Journal of Personality Assessment* 54(3–4):772–81.

Mayer, John D., Peter Salovey, and David Caruso. 2000. "Models of Emotional Intelligence." Pp. 396–420 in *Handbook of intelligence*. New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press.

McCorkel, Jill A. 2013. *Breaking Women: Gender, Race, and the New Politics of Imprisonment*. New York: NYU Press.

McKim, Allison. 2008. "'GETTING GUT-LEVEL': Punishment, Gender, and Therapeutic Governance." *Gender and Society* 22(3):303–23.

McLemee, Scott. 2003. "Getting Emotional." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 49(24):A24. 17.

Merrell, Kenneth W., and Barbara A. Gueldner. 2010. *Social and Emotional Learning in the Classroom: Promoting Mental Health and Academic Success*. New York, NY, US: The Guilford Press.

Michigan Department of Education. 2017. "Early Childhood to Grade 12 Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) Competencies and Indicators." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/SEL_Competencies-_ADA_Compliant_FINAL_605109_7.pdf)

Miller, John P. 1976. *Humanizing the Classroom: Models of Teaching in Affective Education*. New York: Praeger.

Mills, C. Wright. 1951. *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Minnesota Department of Education. 2017. "Early Childhood Indicators of Progress: Minnesota's Early Learning Standards for Birth to Kindergarten." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://edocs.dhs.state.mn.us/lfserver/Public/DHS-7596A-ENG).

Mintz, Steven. 2006. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press.

Mississippi Department of Education. 2021. "Social Emotional Learning Standards." Retrieved August 29, 2021(https://www.mdek12.org/sites/default/files/documents/MBE/MDE-2021(1)/tab-05-return_from_apa_with_comments_and_sel_standards_final.pdf)

Moynihan, Daniel P. 1965. *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy and Research, U.S. Department of Labor.

Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*. New York: Harper & Bros.

Nadesan, Majia Holmer. 2002. "Engineering the Entrepreneurial Infant: Brain Science, Infant Development Toys, and Governmentality." *Cultural Studies* 16(3):401–32.

Neff, Gina, and Dawn Nafus. 2016. *Self-Tracking*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

New Jersey State Board of Education. 2017. "New Jersey Social and Emotional Learning Competencies and Sub-Competencies." (https://www.state.nj.us/education/students/safety/sandp/sel/SELCompetencies.pdf).

New Mexico Public Education Department. 2021. "New Mexico Social Emotional Learning Framework." Retrieved August 29, 2021.(https://webnew.ped.state.nm.us/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/SHSB_NM.SEL_.Framework.document.1.7.21-002.pdf).

New York State Education Department. 2018. "New York State Social Emotional Learning Benchmarks." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (http://www.p12.nysed.gov/sss/documents/NYSSELBenchmarks.pdf).

Nolan, James L. 1998. *The Therapeutic State: Justifying Government at Century's End*. NYU Press.

Nolan, Rachel. 2013. "Behind the Cover Story: Jennifer Kahn on Emotional-Intelligence Education." *The 6th Floor Blog*. Retrieved August 27, 2021 (https://6thfloor.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/09/16/behind-the-cover-story-jennifer-kahn-on-emotional-intelligence-education/).

Novick, Rebecca. 2002. "Learning To Read the Heart: Nurturing Emotional Literacy." *Young Children* 57(3):84–89.

O.Connor, Alice. 2002. *Poverty Knowledge*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Ohio Department of Education. 2019. "Ohio's K-12 Social and Emotional Learning Standards." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (http://education.ohio.gov/getattachment/Topics/Learning-in-Ohio/Social-and-Emotional-Learning/Social-and-Emotional-Learning-Standards/K-12-SEL-Standards-Full-Final.pdf.aspx?lang=en-US).

Oregon Department of Education. 2016. "Oregon's Early Learning and Kindergarten Guidelines." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://www.oregon.gov/ode/students-and-family/FullDayK/Documents/ODE_EarlyLearningStandards_final.pdf).

Pennsylvania Department of Human Services and Pennslvania Department of Education. 2016a. "Pennsylvania Learning Standards for Early Childhood - Grade 1." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.education.pa.gov/Documents/Early%20Learning/Early%20Learning%20Standards/Early%20Learning%20Standards%20First%20Grade%202016.pdf).

Pennsylvania Department of Human Services and Pennslvania Department of Education. 2016b. "Pennsylvania Learning Standards for Early Childhood - Grade 2." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.education.pa.gov/Documents/Early%20Learning/Early%20Learning%20Standards/Early%20Learning%20Standards%20Second%20Grade%202016.pdf).

Pennsylvania Department of Human Services and Pennslvania Department of Education. 2016c. "Pennsylvania Learning Standards for Early Childhood - Kindergarten." Retrieved August 29, 2021.(https://www.education.pa.gov/Documents/Early%20Learning/Early%20Learning%20Standards/Early%20Learning%20Standards%20Kindergarten%202016.pdf)

Petersen, Alan R., and Deborah Lupton. 1996. *The New Public Health: Health and Self in the Age of Risk*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Pool, Carolyn R. 1997. "Up with Emotional Health." *Educational Leadership* 54(8):12–14.

Postman, Neil. 1982. *The Disappearance of Childhood*. New York: Delacorte Press.

Prout, Alan. 2000. "Children's Participation: Control and Self-Realisation in British Late Modernity." *Children & Society* 14(4):304–15.

Pugh, Allison. 2009. *Longing and Belonging: Parents, Children and Consumer Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ratnesar, Romesh. 1997. "Teaching Feelings 101." *Time*, September 29.

Rhode Island Department of Education. 2019. "Rhode Island Social Emotional Learning Standards: Competencies for School and Life Success." Retrieved August 29, 2021(https://www.ride.ri.gov/studentsfamilies/healthsafety/socialemotionallearning.aspx).

Rhode Island Emotional Competency Partnership. 1998. "Update on Emotional Competency."

Rieff, Philip. 1966. *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith after Freud*. University of Chicago Press.

Rimke, Heidi Marie. 2000. "Governing Citizens Through Self-Help Literature." *Cultural Studies* 14(1):61–78.

Robin, Arthur, Marlene Schneider, and Michelle Dolnick. 1976. "The Turtle Technique: An Extended Case Study of Self-Control in the Classroom." *Psychology in the Schools* 13(4):449–53.

Rose, Nikolas, and Peter Miller. 1992. "Political Power beyond the State: Problematics of Government." *The British Journal of Sociology* 43(2):173–205.

Rose, Nikolas S. 1989. *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. Routledge.

Rose, Nikolas S. 1996. "The Death of the Social? Re-Figuring the Territory of Government." *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 25(3):327–56.

Rose, Nikolas S. 1997. "Assembling the Modern Self." Pp. 224–48 in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Middle Ages to the Present*, edited by R. Porter. Routledge.

Rose, Nikolas S. 1998. *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood*. Cambridge University Press.

Rose, Nikolas S. 1999. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Geral edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salovey, Peter, and John D. Mayer. 1990. "Emotional Intelligence." *Imagination, Cognition and Personality* 9(3):185–211.

Salovey, Peter, and David J. Sluyter, eds. 1997. *Emotional Development and Emotional Intelligence: Educational Implications*. New York, NY, US: Basic Books.

Schnog, Nancy. 1997. "On Inventing the Psychological." Pp. 3–16 in *Inventing the Psychological: Toward a Cultural History of Emotional Life in America*, edited by J. Pfister and N. Schnog. Yale University Press.

Schor, Juliet. 2004. *Born to Buy: The Commercialized Child and the New Consumer Culture*. Simon and Schuster.

Schutz, Paul A., and Sonja L. Lanehart. 2002. "Introduction: Emotions in Education." *Educational Psychologist* 37(2):67–68.

Seigle, Pamela, L. Lange, and G. Macklem. n.d. *Open Circle Curriculum, Grades K to 5.* Wellesley, MA: Open Circle, Stone Center.

Sered, Susan Starr. 2014. *Can't Catch a Break: Gender, Jail, Drugs, and the Limits of Personal Responsibility*. University of California Press.

Shriver, Timothy P., and Roger P. Weissberg. 1996. "No New Wars!" *Education Week*, May 15.

Shure, Myrna. 2001. *I Can Problem Solve (ICPS): An Interpersonal Cognitive Problem Solving Program for Children*. Champaign Illinois: Research Press.

Smith, Karen. 2012. "Producing Governable Subjects: Images of Childhood Old and New." *Childhood-a Global Journal of Child Research* 19(1):24–37.

Smith, Karen M. 2014. *The Government of Childhood: Discourse, Power and Subjectivity*. Palgrave Macmillan.

State of Hawaii Executive Office on Early Learning. 2014. "Hawai'i Early Learning and Development Standards." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://earlylearning.hawaii.gov/hawaii-early-learning-and-development-standards-helds/).

Stearns, Peter N., and Carol Zisowitz Stearns. 1986. *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stets, Jan E., and Jonathan H. Turner. 2014. *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions:* Springer.

Taylor, Rebecca D., Eva Oberle, Joseph A. Durlak, and Roger P. Weissberg. 2017. "Promoting Positive Youth Development Through School-Based Social and Emotional Learning Interventions: A Meta-Analysis of Follow-Up Effects." *Child Development* 88(4):1156–71.

Tennessee Department of Education. 2017 "K-12 Social and Personal Competencies Resource Guide." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://www.tn.gov/content/dam/tn/education/safety/safe_sch/SPC_Resource_Guide.pdf).

The Consortium on the School-based Promotion of Social Competence. 1996a. "The School-Based Promotion of Social Competence: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy." Pp. 268–316 in *Stress, risk, and resilience in children and adolescents: Processes, mechanisms, and interventions, Stress, risk, and resilience in children and adolescents: Processes, mechanisms, and interventions*. New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press.

The Consortium on the School-based Promotion of Social Competence. 1996b. "The School-Based Promotion of Social Competence: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy." Pp. 268–316 in *Stress, Risk, and Resilience in Children and Adolescents: Processes, Mechanisms, and Interventions*, edited by R. J. Haggerty, L. R. Sherrod, N. Garmezy, and M. Rutter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Hawn Foundation. 2011a. *The MindUP Curriculum: Grades PreK 2: Brain-Focused Strategies for Learning and Living*. New York, NY: Scholastic Teaching Resources.

The Hawn Foundation. 2011b. *The MindUP Curriculum: Grades 3-5: Brain-Focused Strategies for Learning and Living*. New York, NY: Scholastic Teaching Resources.

Thompson, Charis. 2005. *Making Parents: The Ontological Choreography of Reproductive Technologies*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Thorndike, E. L. 1920. "Intelligence and Its Uses." *Harper's Magazine* 140:227–35.

Torrente, Catalina, Anjali Alimchandani, and J. Lawrence Aber. 2015. "International Perspectives on SEL." in *Handbook of Social and Emotional Learning: Research and Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Triantafillou, Peter, and Mikkel Risbjerg Nielsen. 2001. "Policing Empowerment: The Making of Capable Subjects." *History of the Human Sciences* 14(2):63–86.

Vermont Agency of Education and Vermont Agency of Human Services. 2015. "Vermont Early Learning Standards." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://education.vermont.gov/sites/aoe/files/documents/edu-early-education-early-learning-standards.pdf).

Virginia Department of Education. 2021. "Virginia Social Emotional Learning Guidance Standards." Retrieved August 29,2021 (https://www.doe.virginia.gov/support/prevention/social-emotional/standards/virginia-sel-guidance-standards.pdf).

Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. 2020. "Social Emotional Learning Standards, Benchmarks, and Indicators." Retrieved August 29, 2021 (https://www.k12.wa.us/sites/default/files/public/studentsupport/sel/pubdocs/Standards%2C%20Benchmarks%20Indicators%20-%20creative%20commons.pdf).

Weissberg, Roger P., Marlene Caplan, and Robin L. Harwood. 1991. "Promoting Competent Young People in Competence-Enhancing Environments: A Systems-Based Perspective on Primary Prevention." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 59(6):830–41.

Weissberg, Roger P., and Jason Cascarino. 2013. "Academic Learning + Social-Emotional Learning = National Priority." *Phi Delta Kappan* 95(2):8–13.

West Virginia Manual For Expected Behavior."

Whyte, William Hollingsworth. 1956. *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Winn, Marie. 1983. *Children without Childhood*. First edition. New York: Pantheon Books.

Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction. 2018. "Social and Emotional Learning Competencies." Retrieved August 30, 2021 (https://dpi.wi.gov/sites/default/files/imce/sspw/SEL-Competencies-Guide-web.pdf).

Wolcott, Harry F. 1994. *Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, Inc.

W.T. Grant Consortium on the School-Based Promotion of Social Competence. n.d. "Drug and Alcohol Prevention Curricula." Pp. 129–48 in *Communities That Care*, edited by J. D. Hawkins and R. F. Catalano. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence. n.d. "Our History." *Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence*. Retrieved August 27, 2021 (https://www.ycei.org/our-history).

Zelizer, Viviana A. 1994. *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Zins, Joseph E., Maurice J. Elias, and Mark Greenberg. 2007. "School Practices to Build Social-Emotional Competence as the Foundation of Academic and Life Success." in *Educating people to be emotionally intelligent*, edited by R. Bar-On, J. G. Maree, and M. J. Elias. Westport, CT: Praeger.