

Introduction

The field of restorative practices was originally one in which practice led theory, in that restorative approaches were implemented in practice before researchers and theorists – in psychology and criminology – first helped to explore and explain the reasons why restorative conferences were found to be so effective.

Since those early days, research and theory in the social sciences have helped practitioners understand the ‘how’ and the ‘why’ of effective restorative processes, and these understandings have enabled them to refine, guide and inform, as well as examine and evaluate their practice. Having a theoretical understanding of the processes also assists in training new practitioners and in taking a deliberate, intentional approach to the introduction of new processes or interventions, as well as in evaluating existing ones.

One significant contribution to the practitioners’ work was Wachtel’s codification of disciplinary approaches into the *Social Discipline Window*. Another, perhaps more significant, contribution of theory to the practitioners’ understanding of restorative approaches was the combination of Tomkin’s *Affect Theory* with Nathanson’s *Compass of Shame*. An understanding of these fundamental emotional dynamics immediately resonated with practitioners as being important to effective restorative processes, since emotion and shame seemed central to the practitioners’ experience of working restoratively.

In this paper, some newer research in psychology is examined for the potential contribution it could make to our understandings in restorative practices. The paper begins with a very brief scan of the existing *Affect Theory* and the *Compass of Shame*, to set the context before exploring the new research and then attempting to tie together the newer insights with the existing thinking. Potential implications of this newly-integrated work for how school communities might best encourage the proper moral development of their students are also briefly explored.

1. Current Affect and Shame Theory

1.1 The Affect System

The affect system has evolved to enable us to process sensory information, i.e. to make sense of the overload of information coming in to the body by focussing our attention at any time on only those stimuli most salient. In understanding the function of the affects, the analogy of a theatre spotlight is often used. A particular stimulus which causes an affect is amplified when our attention is drawn to it – just as our attention is drawn to a particular actor on the stage through the focus of the spotlight. Once a particular spotlight (affect) is triggered, our conscious awareness of that affect appears to us as a feeling. Such feelings (the conscious awareness of an affect) then prompt the retrieval of memories of similar incidents in the past. It is the mixing of this innate affect with the sum of all of our memories of experiencing this affect in the past which gives rise to an emotion (Nathanson 1992).

Whereas the affect system is *biological* – that is, we all share the same basic affects – the resulting emotion that we feel is largely *biographical* in origin. Once our memories become involved, the universality of the affect becomes the uniqueness of the particular individual’s emotion. Tomkins referred to these emotional (biographical) responses – and what we then tend to do in response to these emotions – as scripts (as, again, in the theatrical sense of a series of lines or directions to follow). These scripts that follow from our emotional responses are also unique in the sense that they are dependent upon our own life experiences, but there are often some basic commonalities among these scripts across individuals.

Tomkins defined nine fundamental affects that have evolved to serve our needs to process stimuli (for a more complete treatment of affect theory and affect script psychology, see Nathanson 1992 or Kelly 2009, 2011).

Of these nine, two are positive or pleasant affects, one is neutral, and the remaining six are negative or unpleasant affects.

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

Of the nine affects, each of these (except two) is named after a range between two qualitatively different extremes.

Six of the affects evolved to respond to the rate at which the environmental stimuli impinge upon the central nervous system. The relationship between the pattern of the information (environmental stimulus) and the consequent affect can be summarised as in *Figure 1* below.

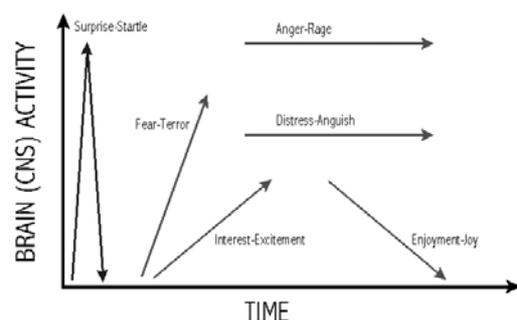


Figure 1 Relationships between Nature of Stimulus and Affects (after Kelly 2009)

As shown in *Figure 1*, the *Surprise – Startle* affect is triggered by short, sharp stimuli and simply acts as a ‘reset button’ for the emotional system. When the pattern of the stimulus causes a steady, but acceptable, increase in CNS activity, the affect *Interest – Excitement* is triggered. This positive affect rewards our intent interest in something in our environment, but if the increase of the stimulus is too rapid, then the negative *Fear – Terror* affect is initiated. One could imagine that this *Fear – Terror* affect may have been the first to evolve in order to initiate the fight/flight response in the face of distinct threats. A gentle decline in the intensity of the stimulus – as comes about in the denouement of a story, or the punch-line of a joke, gives rise to the *Enjoyment – Joy* affect.

Two affects result from steady state stimuli, both of which have lasted too long to be pleasant. In the first, a steady state unpleasant stimulus triggers the affect *Distress – Anguish* in which the incessant nature of the stimulus is reflected in the ongoing distress it causes. If the stimulus is steady state, but of intolerable intensity, the *Distress – Anguish* affect is transformed into the more active *Anger – Rage* affect.

Two further negative affects evolved presumably to protect us against an unbridled hunger drive that might otherwise encourage us to consume unsuitable food. The first, *Disgust*, is initiated when something we have tasted turns out to be rotten, and was originally to prevent us from eating tainted food. From a psychological viewpoint, *Disgust* affect can also cause us to reject people we once considered good – but for whom we have now lost our ‘taste.’

Tomkins coined the term *Dissmell* to describe the second of these negative affects. It is the instinctive response to something that smells rotten or repulsive, which causes us to “turn up our noses” at it. While again this may have originally served to help us avoid spoiled food, it can also prompt us to reject people before we have come to know them – which is perhaps the fundamental basis of most prejudices.

The final affect, *Shame – Humiliation*, was also the latest to evolve. *Shame – Humiliation* is triggered by any impediment that occurs to disrupt our enjoyment of the positive affects, *Interest – Excitement* or *Enjoyment – Joy*. While we may experience this affect as initiating the emotions of frustration, disappointment, rejection, loneliness, or feeling ashamed, embarrassed or mortified, this basic affect shines a spotlight on the impediment to the former pleasant enjoyment of the positive affect.

Nathanson (1992) identifies that, since the positive affects of *Interest – Excitement* and *Enjoyment – Joy* are often experienced through our communion with other people, the *Shame – Humiliation* affect is often experienced as an interruption to this pleasant communion or connection with others. It is therefore a particularly social affect.

Returning to the spotlight metaphor, the affect *Shame – Humiliation* shines the spotlight on to some attribute of the self, or some behaviour, which has impeded our pleasant enjoyment with other people and that we need to address in some way to restore the positive affects.

Based on Tomkins’ earlier work, Nathanson (1992) and others proposed a Central Blueprint for Motivation, in

which we are believed to be happiest when we are achieving the following:

- a) Maximising positive affect
- b) Minimising negative affect
- c) Maximising the expression of affect (or minimising its inhibition)
- d) Maximising the previous three functions (Kelly 2009)

In order to follow the Blueprint, we therefore need to address the impediment that the ‘spotlight of shame’ has highlighted. Unfortunately, though, the attribute or behaviour upon which the spotlight has fallen is usually something that we would prefer not to admit.

The adaptive – though very uncommon – response to the spotlight of shame is to maturely examine that attribute of the self, or behaviour, that is the source of the *Shame – Humiliation* affect and take the appropriate steps to address it. Braithwaite (1999) proposes that, if the shame experience is the result of a person’s failure or transgression, the mature and adaptive response is to acknowledge the shame – i.e. to own the offence – and then discharge the shame by taking steps to address the harm caused by the behaviour. In most cases, however, this is not the usual response. The experience of the family of emotions that result from the triggering of the *Shame – Humiliation* affect is so unpleasant that we have over time established sets of “scripts” in response that more or less effectively aim to simply minimise the negative affect without addressing the original cause.

1.2 The Compass of Shame

Nathanson (1992) has described the four major sets of scripts which we use to avoid dealing maturely with an experience of shame, and which he arranges as the poles on the *Compass of Shame*. At each of the four poles of the compass are sets of scripts – ways of behaving in response to the experience of shame – each of which range from the ‘normal’ through to more serious or pathological behaviours.

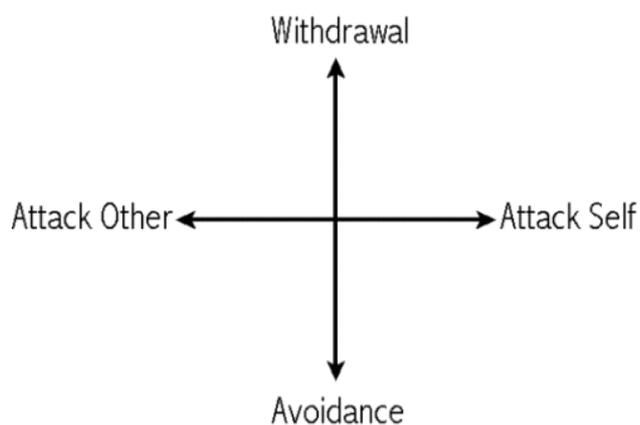


Figure 2 - The Compass of Shame (Nathanson 1992)

The sets of scripts found at each of the four poles of the compass can be described as follows:

1. Withdrawal

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

The withdrawal scripts alleviate the negative affect by removing the person from the supposed glare of others.

2. Attack Self

Sometimes, people respond to an experience of shame with scripts that range from self-deprecating humour through to masochistic, self-destructive behaviours. This is the set of scripts Nathanson describes as the Attack Self pole of the compass – where the person attempts to regain control of the situation by at least controlling the self-condemnation.

3. Avoidance

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

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

4. Attack Other

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

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

1.3 Separating the Self from the Behaviour in Restorative Practices

The importance of separating the selfhood of the person from his/her behaviour has long been an emphasis in the practice of restorative justice where "behaviour is confronted with disapproval within a continuum of respect and support" (Braithwaite 1989). In fact, almost 1600 years ago the North African Bishop now known as St Augustine of Hippo wrote in his *City of God* in around 420 AD that in order to best encourage a fellow monk from evil ways it was necessary to "love the sinner, but hate the sin". For St Augustine, it was only through the loving support of his brothers that a failing monk would have the strength to move beyond his vice and return to the righteous path.

In more modern restorative practices terminology this aim to separate the approbation of the behaviour from the potential condemnation of the offender himself finds expression in the adage that "*the problem is the problem, the person is not the problem*" and is explored more fully in Wachtel's (1999) Social Discipline Window, as shown in Figure 3.

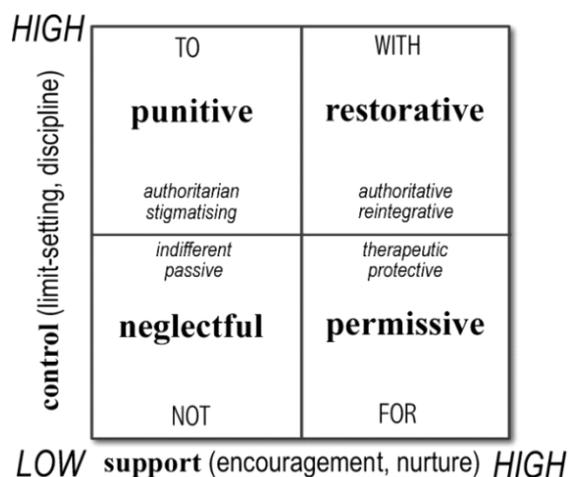


Figure 3 - The Social Discipline Window(Wachtel 1999)

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

Braithwaite's (1989) work on *reintegrative shaming* in restorative processes is incorporated into the Social Discipline Window by recognising that punitive responses (holding people to high standards without the necessary personal support and encouragement) results in a stigmatizing form of shame.

The aim in any restorative process, according to Braithwaite, should be *reintegrative shaming* in which the offender experiences disapproval of his behaviour, but within the loving support and personal acceptance of his community of care. Such *reintegrative shaming* is proposed to encourage the offender to move from an egocentric focus towards a more empathic, other-centred response to those he has harmed.

2. New Psychological Theory and Research

2.1 Differentiating Shame and Guilt

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

While some efforts have been made to distinguish between shame and guilt, perhaps the most useful and commonly accepted distinction was proposed by Helen Block Lewis (1971, cited in Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007) and developed and extended through empirical studies by Tangney (Tangney 1990, Tangney 1994, Tangney & Dearing 2002, Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007, Tangney & Tracy 2011). In this view, when people feel shame, they feel badly *about themselves*, whereas when they feel guilt they feel badly about a *specific behaviour*. Empirical research supports that this differential emphasis on *the self* (“I did that horrible thing”) versus a *specific behaviour* (“I did that horrible thing”) leads to very different emotional experiences and very different patterns of motivations and subsequent behaviour (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007).

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

“On the whole, empirical evidence evaluating the action tendencies of people experiencing shame and guilt suggest that guilt promotes constructive, proactive pursuits, whereas shame promotes defensiveness, interpersonal separation, and distance”

(Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007).

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

2.2 Dispositions

In addition to examining the actual experience of these moral emotions in the wake of wrongdoing or transgression, the psychological literature also explores the propensity of individuals to experience particular emotions across a range of situations. These propensities are known as dispositional tendencies to experience the self-conscious emotions and are labelled shame-proneness and guilt-proneness. As an example, shame-prone individuals would be more susceptible to both anticipatory and consequential experiences of shame, relative to others less shame-prone. Thus, a shame-prone person is inclined to anticipate shame in response to a range of potential behaviours, and also more likely to experience shame as a consequence of actual failures and transgressions.

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

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

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

Guilt-proneness, on the other hand, appears to be correlated with measures of perspective-taking and empathic concern (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007). People experiencing (shame-free) guilt seem to be specifically focussed on the bad behaviour – as opposed to those whose shame-proneness focuses their attention on the entire self – which, in turn, highlights for the guilt-prone the negative consequences experienced by others and fosters an empathic response, motivating people to at least attempt to “right the wrong.”

Guilt-proneness is also correlated with low measures of aggression and positively with other-oriented empathy, and with a propensity to take responsibility for one’s actions (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007).

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

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

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

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

While putting forward fairly compelling evidence to consider shame as a largely undesirable emotional response, Tangney and Tracy (2011) recognise that, in some specific situations, shame's painful focus on the self may in fact be helpful in order for the individual to be sufficiently motivated to examine some aspect of the self that would best be corrected. In these cases, the challenge would be to engage in the reflection necessary to perhaps revise one's fundamental values and priorities in the desired direction, without being diverted by defensive reactions such as the externalisation and anger which can so often accompany shame.

Similarly, Tangney and Tracy (2011) admit that guilt can also become a maladaptive response to transgressions or failure when an exaggerated or distorted sense of responsibility develops, when guilt becomes fused with shame, or when the individual is unable to find a successful path toward redemption.

2.3 Vicarious Shame and Guilt

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

Group-based shame has been found to be most likely to result when the nature of the shared identity is threatened by one member's behaviour, leading to challenges around maintaining the positive group identity. Group-based guilt, on the other hand, appears to be more dependent upon the interdependence one feels with the perpetrator (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007).

As with personal experiences of guilt, group-based guilt has been found to have a greater association with empathy and a motivation to repair and make amends. In contrast, the link between shame and anger holds also for vicarious

shame, reinforcing the negative nature of shame. There is, however, some suggestion that group-based shame may encourage a motivation to improve the image of the group in a more proactive fashion than is found for personal shame (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007). It could be imagined that this may, however, involve some avoidance of the consequences of shame similar in this group sense to that of the scripts described by the Compass of Shame in the personal case.

2.4 Pride

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

Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek (2007) describe these two forms of pride, which they label 'alpha' pride and 'beta' pride, as *pride in the self* (alpha or hubristic pride) and *pride in behaviour* (beta or authentic pride). Similarly to the difference between shame and guilt, the distinction between these two forms of pride rest upon their relationship to an evaluation of *the self* versus *one's behaviour*. Authentic pride might attribute success to the effort made ("I succeeded because I *worked hard*") whereas hubristic pride might attribute the same success to a more global assessment ("I succeeded because I'm *great*") (Tracy & Robins 2004).

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

Figure 4 - Relationship between Shame, Guilt and Pride

Figure 4, above, summarises this difference in terms of attribution of the causes. In the case of shame and hubristic pride, the cause is attributed to internal, stable (i.e. relatively uncontrollable) and global (the whole of the self is implicated) factors, whereas in the case of guilt and authentic pride, the cause is attributed to internal, unstable (and therefore, controllable) and specific factors (a particular behaviour or achievement).

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

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

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

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

2.5 Empathy

The encouragement of empathic concern of the offender towards the victim is an oft-stated aim of restorative processes. This expression of empathy it is hoped leads to, and further develops from, a greater understanding of the depth of the harm caused by the wrongdoing.

The literature conceptualises empathy in a variety of ways – as distress at another’s distress (DAAD) leading to sympathy/compassion towards the other (Haidt 2003), or as a shared emotional response between an observer and a stimulus person resulting from the ability to cognitively perceive another’s perspective (Feshbach 1975), among others. Nathanson (1992) writes of the precursor to empathy being an affective resonance – where one person begins to experience that same affect as another.

Some researchers make a distinction between empathy, which may involve a vicarious experience of another’s feelings or emotions, and sympathy which may involve concern for another’s emotional state without actually sharing in the emotion (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007).

Others have distinguished between empathy and self-oriented personal distress (Tangney, Steuwig & Mashek 2007), where empathy is other-oriented and the empathic individual focusses on the experience and needs of the other person, leading to helping behaviour, while self-oriented personal distress maintains a focus on the self and likely interferes with prosocial behaviour.

Eisenberg, Fabes & Spinrad (2006) have proposed that empathy (and sympathy) are central to the moral affective system for the following reasons: empathic reactions to others’ distress often elicit feelings of concern for the other; such empathic concern often prompts behaviour aimed at helping the distressed other; and feelings of empathy are likely to inhibit aggression and other anti-social behaviours. Given these positive outcomes of empathy and sympathy, their correlation with guilt, but not shame as outlined previously, suggests that this distinction is important in terms of understanding and designing restorative processes.

3. Discussion

3.1 Application to Restorative Practices

The distinction between shame and guilt, both as emotions “in the moment” and in the dispositions towards one or the other of these moral emotions, appears to be of significance for those working in restorative practices. As outlined above, understandings such as this can be used to inform practice as well as in evaluating and refining processes.

The traditional view within the restorative practice community has been that, in the wake of wrong-doing the shame-humiliation affect acts as the initiator of the self-evaluative process which can then result in either an adaptive or maladaptive response. The adaptive response has been understood as one that acknowledges the shame and then takes steps to discharge it (Ahmed et al. 2001). This acknowledgement and discharge of shame is achieved through admitting the wrong-doing, taking responsibility for the negative consequences of the behaviour for others, and then making amends for the harm done (Ahmed et al. 2001).

The maladaptive response, on the other hand, involves the wrong-doer denying or avoiding the scrutiny prompted by the shame affect by recourse to one or more of the four sets of scripts described in Nathanson’s Compass of Shame (Nathanson 1992).

The former, adaptive, response is presumably the aim of all restorative processes. The distinction, now established, between the emotions of shame and guilt may however be useful in “filling in the gaps” in this traditional view.

It would now appear that, once the shame-humiliation affect throws the spotlight on some transgression or failure, it is the person’s disposition towards experiencing either shame or guilt that may determine subsequent events, the outcome of the evaluation. In this way, the biographical contributors to the emotional response determine whether shame or guilt will result.

A predominantly shame-prone person is more likely to attribute the transgression or failure to global qualities of the self, and the perceived lack of control over these factors, along with the pain of identifying some defective nature of the self, results in the desire to deny or avoid the shame experience by recourse to one of the four poles of the Compass of Shame.

For the predominantly guilt-prone person, it is less likely that they will attribute the transgression to global qualities of the self, but rather to specific behaviour(s) which are much more within the capacity of the person to address and change. This guilt emotion, which is more associated with perspective-taking and other-centred empathy, and the desire to make amends, then promotes confession, apology and/or reparative action.

Within the dynamics of restorative processes, then, it would seem that successful acknowledgement and discharge of negative emotion over wrongdoing would be encouraged through attempting to minimise shame and perhaps maximise guilt, which is consistent with the traditional restorative approach of separating the person from the behaviour.

Understanding the distinction between guilt and shame would seem to be relevant to restorative processes right along the restorative continuum of action (as shown in Figure 5 below) from the informal use of *affective statements* through to the full formal *community conference*. In each of these processes, it would seem that the other-centred, empathic connections, and the motivations towards reparation, that are associated with the guilt emotion are essential to effective restorative practice.

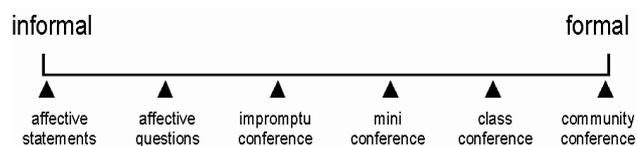


Figure 5 - The Restorative Continuum (after Wachtel 1999)

Others may wish to explore the potential significance of the shame/guilt distinction for understanding and facilitating the emotional dynamics of the more formal restorative processes, i.e. the community conference. Instead, this paper focuses on the implications this distinction could have for the more day-to-day processes that contribute to a school's culture and the positive moral development of its students.

The common link between the seemingly healthier emotions of guilt in the negative sense and authentic pride in the positive sense is the tendency in both of these situations for the individual to attribute instances of failure or success more to specific (and therefore changeable) behaviours, rather than to the more global nature of the self. This primary focus on behaviour - and in particular the changeable nature of behaviour - as mentioned above, has long been a key principle of restorative practices and one that has always resonated with practitioners in schools for whom the concept of *learning as a process of change* in the broader sense forms a central focus of their work with young people.

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

A guilt-like response to failure or transgression requires the capacity of the individual to evaluate his/her *behaviour* separately from any evaluation of the worthiness or otherwise of *the self*. Since very young children have yet to develop this capacity to separate their behaviour from their self-identity, it could be contended that the shame-like response is effectively the *default* response of the human condition. The development of the capacity for a more guilt-like response (and the associated disposition, guilt-proneness) then represents a movement from this default position.

Research involving twins reported in Tangney and Dearing (2002) seems to suggest that while there may be some suggestion of a genetic linkage to the development of shame-proneness in children, there is perhaps stronger evidence that environment and parenting (and presumably

schooling socialisation) contribute to the shift towards the more protective and positive guilt-prone disposition.

Because of the apparently critical role of the differential dispositions towards shame and guilt in mediating the person's response to the triggering of shame affect in the wake of wrong-doing, and because of the demonstrated significance of the dispositions towards the moral development and subsequent moral behaviour of students, it would appear important that schools endeavour to promote guilt-proneness over shame-proneness in their students.

Similarly in the domain of the positive emotions, the positive personal and interpersonal outcomes found to be associated with authentic pride over hubristic pride suggest that encouragement of the former over the latter should also be an aim of schools' programs.

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

3.2 Promoting positive moral development in the school environment

The positive moral development of students would appear to depend upon three factors or approaches, namely:

- a) the development and adoption of appropriate *moral standards*
- b) the development of *moral reasoning skills*
- c) the development of the capacity for appropriate and healthy *moral emotions* (after Tangney & Dearing 2002).

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

In schools that employ such specific programs aimed at development in this moral realm, it is worth considering that the success or otherwise of these programs is most likely influenced or mediated by other issues outside the specific program such as the school culture or climate, the school's disciplinary style, the pedagogy employed in classrooms, and the quality of the relationships between students as well as between students and teachers. After all, students will spend the majority of their time in school outside the formal character education program. This suggests that even in schools where character education programs form an explicit part of the curriculum, attention needs to be given to the totality of the experience of schooling for the students in order to best support the developmental aims of the programs.

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

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

3.2.1 Promoting guilt-proneness over shame-proneness in schools

Tangney and Dearing (2002) report that children’s emotional style is strongly linked to parental (and presumably, teachers’) discipline style. In particular, they report that guilt-proneness in children was associated with parents using disciplinary strategies characterised by behaviour-focussed messages and the parents’ use of *induction* (see later) in which the emotional reactions of others is the focus. Shame-proneness in children, in contrast, was associated with either a lack of parental discipline or harsh parenting, parental put-downs and parentification (where children are prematurely required to take on a parenting role within the family) (Tangney & Dearing 2002). For restorative practitioners, these approaches would be recognised as operating in the *punitive*, *neglectful* or *permissive* quadrants of the social discipline window, or their counterparts in Baumrind’s (1971) scheme of parenting styles.

Tangney & Dearing (2002) highlight the following discipline strategies for *guilt-inducing and shame-reducing* parenting, each of which is entirely consistent with a restorative practices approach to discipline:

1. *Accentuate the behaviour, not the person.* In discussions around behaviour, maintain the focus on the behaviour and its acceptability/nonacceptability.
2. *Focus on the consequences of the child’s behaviour for others.* Children are often very self-centred, and may need help to notice that others have been affected by their behaviour and in what ways.
3. *Help children to develop reparative skills.* Children wishing to make reparations for poor behaviour may simply not know how to achieve this.
4. *Avoid public humiliation.* Parents need to be sensitive to the immediate social setting and the potential for disciplinary responses to be humiliating, especially in those situations in which the child’s peers are present.

5. *Avoid teasing, derisive humour.* There is a very fine line between laughing *with*, and laughing *at* a child.
6. *Place discipline in a nurturing context.* Positive feedback is as instructive to children as is negative feedback (Tangney & Dearing 2002).

Teachers have a special challenge (and opportunity) to encourage the development of guilt-proneness over shame-proneness simply by virtue of the nature of the situation in which they work with students - quite apart from any discipline-focussed context. Schooling in general, and learning in particular, is a context full of new challenges, difficulties, and opportunities for failure for students - all of which can be the source of shame affect throughout each school day. The learning process itself is all about working through failure to competence and in reality consists of a continual series of challenges beyond the immediate capacity of students - that draws them to develop new understandings and new capacities. The stakes are raised even higher in the school setting by the fact that all of these small failures usually occur in the full view of the child’s peers, leading to a great potential for shame-inducing experiences (Tangney & Dearing 2002).

The challenge for teachers is to encourage and maintain a focus on the task and on the learning that comes from the students’ initial incapacity, rather than what this initial failure might be construed to say about the self. Children benefit from learning to view initial failure with a task as an important source of information about how to master the task, rather than as a reflection of their ability or worth (Tangney & Dearing 2002).

In addition to the use of disciplinary strategies similar to those outlined for parents above, teachers are encouraged to consider their classroom structures and practices so that they can avoid constructing particularly shame-inducing experiences for students. Practices such as writing names of students on the board (either for poor behaviour or performance), putting students on the spot to perform publicly, making grades explicitly public, or indiscriminately setting learning goals for all students regardless of individual differences, can all provide opportunities for shame-inducing experiences (Tangney & Dearing 2002).

At the macro level, it is proposed that a school would best promote guilt-proneness over shame-proneness in its students by adopting a restorative practices approach to behaviour management, and by encouraging connectedness and belonging for students through relationships built within a normative climate of respect and care (Morrison 2005). Pride (identity) management within the school that emphasises the results of effort for achievement, as well as the interrelationship between students, and shame management processes that encourages a focus on behaviour and making reparations in the wake of wrongdoing would seem to work together to create the best environment in which guilt-proneness might be developed.

3.2.2 Promoting guilt-proneness using Induction

Tangney and Dearing (2002) and Eisenberg et al (2006) report associations of guilt-proneness and prosocial behaviour in children with parental use of *induction* as a disciplinary process. Induction is described as a verbal form of disciplinary process in which 'the socializer gives [or elicits] explanations or reasons for requiring the child to change their behaviour' (Eisenberg et al 2006). Similar in many ways to processes from the informal end of the restorative continuum of action (*Figure 5*, above), induction is understood to promote moral development (in particular, guilt-proneness) because it establishes an optimal level of arousal in the child to elicit attention, it is not perceived as arbitrary, and because it focusses attention on the consequences of the behaviour for others, hence encouraging other-centred empathy and the motivation for reparation that is associated with the guilt emotion.

As already widely appreciated among restorative practitioners, studies have demonstrated that this process of induction is most successful in promoting empathy and prosocial behaviour in children when it is delivered with the expression of associated affect on the part of the parent or teacher (Eisenberg et al 2006).

3.2.3 Implications for pedagogy and evaluation

It has been proposed that classroom structures and pedagogy that encourage in students a *mastery orientation* towards learning, rather than a *performance orientation*, would assist in developing guilt-proneness over shame-proneness (Tangney & Dearing 2002).

These two different orientations towards learning or achievement goals involve different conceptions of success and different reasons for engaging in learning activities (Ames 1992).

For students with a *mastery orientation*, effort and outcome are causally related, learning is valued intrinsically, and the focus is on personal improvement against self-referenced standards - i.e. the motivation is based on the belief that with effort, success will follow. Students with a *performance orientation* on the other hand put more of a focus on ability and self-worth which is evidenced for them by doing better than others. In this view, learning is seen to have a more utilitarian purpose and effort becomes a double-edged sword, especially if it doesn't result in outperforming others.

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

A mastery orientation towards achievement would seem to encourage both authentic pride and shame-free guilt-proneness in students because of its inherent separation of the effects of behaviour from global qualities of the self (Tangney & Dearing 2002).

As Ames (1992) identifies, the nature of learning tasks, the pedagogy employed and the evaluative processes used to assess student work can all contribute to encouraging either mastery orientation or performance orientation in

students. Tasks which involve meaning for students and which offer a personal challenge can encourage a mastery orientation, as do those tasks in which students have a sense of control over the process or product.

The ways in which students' work is evaluated and, in particular, the students' perceptions of the meaning of the evaluative information derived is important to the encouragement of the particular motivation towards learning (Ames 1992). A focus on grades as a means of even incidental social comparison can encourage a performance orientation as students are enabled to compare their achievement primarily with that of others rather than against their own standards.

On the other hand, if grades are accompanied with an opportunity to somehow improve the standard of the work involved, this performance-ability focus is lessened and a mastery orientation is encouraged (Ames 1992).

In encouraging a particular orientation, it is not merely the availability of grades with which to effect social comparisons that is the issue in encouraging students to attribute levels of success to ability (the self) rather than to effort (the behaviour), but rather when this comparative information becomes emphasised and the significance of the linkage between effort and outcome is consequently de-emphasised (Ames 1992).

3.2.4 Teachers as role models

"Teachers offer themselves for imitation. In many cases this is what we mean by teaching."

Even in late Roman antiquity, St Augustine recognised the importance of the qualities of the teacher in shaping the learning of students as well as in their moral development. The significance of the teacher as role model has led Weissbourd (2003) to describe being an adult in a school as "a profound moral challenge" and to highlight that the teacher's contribution extends beyond specific character education into the relationships in and through which the moral qualities of students are shaped.

Teachers are well placed to be role models in moral development, Weissbourd (2003) argues, when they have the ability to appreciate students' perspectives and disentangle them from their own, when they are able to admit and learn from moral error, when they can share their moral energy and idealism, and when they can help students develop moral reasoning skills.

In the cognitive domain, teachers have the opportunity to encourage a *mastery orientation* to learning through modelling this approach to students from their own learning, by taking a cognitive apprenticeship pedagogical approach which sees the teacher as the expert inducting the novice (student) into the process of learning within their particular discipline. Through this process of modelling, the teacher can demonstrate that their initial failure is often the first necessary step towards success and mastery.

As well as this modelling of cognitive learning behaviours and explicit instruction to aid students develop and appreciate their own moral standards, teachers model for students moral reasoning and moral behaviour, according to their own maturity and ethical capacities.

By modelling how to think through moral issues and dilemmas, and by their use of induction as described above, the cognitive apprenticeship of the student is extended into the moral dimension.

Through the respectful nature of the restorative approach to discipline, which actively separates support for the self from disapproval of unacceptable behaviour, and which challenges students to focus on recognising and addressing the consequences of their wrong-doing for others, teachers can not only assist in the moral development of their students but also encourage the more preferred guilt-prone disposition, and the expression of authentic pride over hubristic pride.

3.2.5 Integration/Coordination of approaches

While each of the approaches outlined above might independently contribute towards encouraging the development of psychological healthy dispositions (guilt-proneness and authentic pride) in students, such attempts would meet with the greatest chance of success if they were coordinated across all areas of the school's operation and could therefore work in concert with one another.

The deliberate coordination of effort across policy, school structures, teaching and learning processes, classroom pedagogy, behaviour management and purposeful adult modelling, could reasonably be expected to lead to maximum success in the moral development of students.

One example of such an attempt at integration in at least a couple of these areas is the *Teaching for Intellectual and Emotional Learning (TIEL)* initiative which seeks to integrate the teaching and learning of character skills and qualities with cognitive skills (Folsom 2005). This integration is depicted in *Figure 6* below which links a range of moral/character traits with the more traditional intellectual skills.



Figure 6 TIEL (Folsom 2005)

While this approach brings together the cognitive and the moral/character aspects of the formal curriculum, the informal curriculum (the total experience of schooling for the students) would still require integration to support what was being done in the classrooms.

4. Conclusions

Of the moral emotions, guilt and authentic pride appear to be more adaptive and healthier responses to situations than shame and hubristic pride respectively. The distinction between these pairs of emotions, based on the subject of the evaluative process (*specific behaviour vs the self*) in each case, appears important in understanding restorative practices. Also important is the individual's disposition or tendency to experience these emotions. These dispositions can have far-reaching implications right across the life-span for the well-being of the individual concerned, as well as for the communities to which the individual belongs.

There appear to be strategies that schools can employ to encourage the development of the more adaptive emotional responses over those with more negative intrapersonal and interpersonal consequences, and there is evidence that such strategies can make a difference in encouraging these dispositions, and consequently, in the life outcomes of students.

A school-wide commitment to effective restorative practices, both at the proactive and reactive levels, as part of a coordinated program of social/emotional learning or character education, supported by teachers designing classroom learning activities and student evaluations which promote a mastery learning orientation, using induction in restorative behaviour interventions, and modelling mature moral reasoning and action, is most likely to create those conditions in which the more positive moral emotions can be developed in students.

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