

Chapter 9

THE SELF-CONSCIOUS EMOTIONS OF GUILT, SHAME AND PRIDE IN EDUCATION

*Shaaalan Farouk**

University of Roehampton

Department of Education, London, UK

ABSTRACT

The experience of self-conscious emotions is associated with a person's evaluations of the self and his or her conduct in a particular situation. In particular an individual is expected to experience guilt, shame and pride when they perceive themselves to have succeeded or failed to abide by internalised values and moral standards. Hence an examination of how and when individuals experience self-conscious emotions can provide considerable psychological insight into their personal values and moral imperatives. Moreover, the different self-conscious emotions a person experiences do not remain inert within the confines of their body. Instead, they have a prevailing influence on an individual's thoughts and their behaviour. With this in mind substantial psychological and some educational research has been conducted on the self-conscious emotions. In this chapter, a brief review of the literature on the development of self-conscious emotions is followed by a detailed examination of guilt, shame and pride as experienced by school children and adolescents. The analysis of each emotion will include an exploration of how it is experienced by learners and its potential influence on their behaviour and their ability to learn. Furthermore, each self-conscious emotion is examined as an achievement emotion, which learners experience in relation to their work, or as a social emotion, which students experience in their social interactions. At the end of the chapter the circumstances under which teachers experience guilt and pride are also described and discussed. The purpose of research in this field has been to study teachers' self-understanding and moral purpose by examining their self-conscious emotions.

* Shaalan.Farouk@roehampton.ac.uk.

Chapter 9

THE SELF-CONSCIOUS EMOTIONS OF GUILT, SHAME AND PRIDE IN EDUCATION

*Shaaalan Farouk**

University of Roehampton

Department of Education, London, UK

ABSTRACT

The experience of self-conscious emotions is associated with a person's evaluations of the self and his or her conduct in a particular situation. In particular an individual is expected to experience guilt, shame and pride when they perceive themselves to have succeeded or failed to abide by internalised values and moral standards. Hence an examination of how and when individuals experience self-conscious emotions can provide considerable psychological insight into their personal values and moral imperatives. Moreover, the different self-conscious emotions a person experiences do not remain inert within the confines of their body. Instead, they have a prevailing influence on an individual's thoughts and their behaviour. With this in mind substantial psychological and some educational research has been conducted on the self-conscious emotions. In this chapter, a brief review of the literature on the development of self-conscious emotions is followed by a detailed examination of guilt, shame and pride as experienced by school children and adolescents. The analysis of each emotion will include an exploration of how it is experienced by learners and its potential influence on their behaviour and their ability to learn. Furthermore, each self-conscious emotion is examined as an achievement emotion, which learners experience in relation to their work, or as a social emotion, which students experience in their social interactions. At the end of the chapter the circumstances under which teachers experience guilt and pride are also described and discussed. The purpose of research in this field has been to study teachers' self-understanding and moral purpose by examining their self-conscious emotions.

* Shaalan.Farouk@roehampton.ac.uk.

INTRODUCTION

In the last thirty years the field of education has experienced a slow awakening to the fact that it is emotions intertwined with cognition, rather than cold cognition, which determine a student's capacity to learn and a teacher's ability to teach. While there has been interest in the study of negative emotions of students who display social and behavioural difficulties the influence of emotions on learning is a new and developing field of research. Similarly, teachers' varied emotional experiences, stemming from their professional identity and personal relationships, have only recently attracted the attention of educational research.

With the exception of research on test anxiety (see Zeidner 2007 for a review of the literature) educational research has predominantly focussed on the experience of negative and positive affect rather than on specific emotions. In particular there has been research on positive and negative affect associated with students' academic achievement (for instance, Elliot 1999; Elliot and McGregor 2001; Linnenbrink and Pintrich 2002; Pekrun, Goetz et al. 2002; Linnenbrink 2007) and their social relationships and behaviour (Arsenio, Gold et al. 2004; Krettenauer and Eichler 2006; Malti, Gasser et al. 2009). Along similar lines, some studies have explored valence in teachers' emotional experiences rather than the examination of specific emotions (for instance, Nias 1996; Hargreaves 1998; Hargreaves 1999; Kelchtermans 2005). The shortcoming inherent in studying positive and negative affect is that such research ignores the variety of emotions a person experiences and the influence specific emotions may have on their thoughts and behaviour. A measure of negative affect, for instance, does not take into consideration whether a person predominantly feels sad, angry or guilty; separate negative emotions with their own phenomenology, cognitive associations, and behavioural consequences. Only Pekrun and Elliot (2006) and Krettenauer et al (2011) seem to have recognised the significance of this emotional variety by shifting their research focus from children and adolescents' negative and positive affect to examining their emotions.

The specific literature examined in this chapter focuses on the self-conscious emotions of guilt, shame and pride. The rationale for considering these emotions in particular is that they are experienced when an individual reflects back on the self and the actions s/he has taken. When engaged in this process of self-appraisal it is an individual's evaluation of the extent to which they have succeeded or failed to live up to internalised values and moral standards that determine the self-conscious emotions s/he experiences. An examination of self-conscious emotional experiences may therefore reveal what matters most to an individual since these emotions are an expression of internalised values and moral norms. Moreover psychological research on children has begun to chart the evolution and progress of their self-awareness and moral understanding by examining the complexity of their self-conscious emotional experiences at different phases of development (Hart and Matsuba 2007; Lagattuta and Thompson 2007; Lewis 2007; Krettenauer and Johnston 2011).

In their review of research on the development of self-conscious emotions Lagattuta and Thompson (2007) maintain that these emotions are cognitively more complex than basic emotions, such as anger, sadness and fear. In order to experience and differential between self-conscious emotions children require self-awareness and the ability to recognise external standards against which their own characteristics and behaviour can be judged. Moreover, these external standards must be accepted and adopted by the child so that they are of

sufficient relevance to them for cognitive appraisal and an emotional response. Research on 2-3 year old children suggests that toddlers are sufficiently self-aware to experience self-conscious affect. By observing their non-verbal responses to situation that elicit a self-conscious emotional response researchers have explored the earliest signs of embarrassment, guilt, and pride (Stipek 1995; Kochanska, Gross et al. 2002). For instance, Stipek (1995) found that toddlers who have completed a task by themselves will show early signs of pride by looking up and smiling at the adult. Therefore research has shown that young children are sufficiently self-aware to display early signs of experiencing different self-conscious emotions. Yet, when children are required to differentiate between these self-conscious emotions consistently and are required to demonstrate an understanding of particular emotions they are not able to do so until they are seven to eight years old. As suggested in a number of studies they do so when they have acquired the capacity to cognitively evaluate themselves and their actions in relation to internalised social values and standards and what they imagine other people think about them and their behaviour (Lagattuta and Thompson 2007; Lewis 2007).

In the above discussion of self-conscious emotions and their development there is the assumption that these emotions depend on cognitive appraisal or evaluation of the self and one's actions. In fact, most psychological research on emotions draws on cognitive appraisal theory, which proposes that an individual's emotional response is predominantly determined by his/her cognitive appraisal (evaluation) of events and situations (Lazarus 1991; Scherer, Schorr et al. 2001). Indeed even when there is no direct reference to cognitive appraisal theory most authors assume that the difference between emotions depends on how particular events are cognitively appraised by the individual either consciously or unconsciously. Most of the studies reviewed in this chapter assume that it is variations in cognitive appraisal which differentiate the self-conscious emotions from each other and also from other emotions.

The literature on the self-conscious emotions of guilt, shame and pride will now be examined in turn. The analysis of each emotion will include an exploration of the cognitive appraisals associated with the causation of each self-conscious emotion and its potential influence on students' behaviour and their ability to learn. For the purpose of this chapter the research on each emotion is separated into two lines of inquiry: the first examines them as achievement emotions (associated with students' academic success or failure) and the second as social emotions that emerge from interactions and personal relationships. The emotions of shame and pride have been studied as both achievement and social emotions while guilt has only been considered as a social emotion. The final part of the chapter reviews research on teachers' self conscious emotions. This review will be limited to experiences of guilt and pride since teachers' shame has not been the subject of substantial educational research. The emphasis will be on what the experiences of guilt and pride reveal about teachers' moral imperatives and teacher/student relationships, rather than on the influence of these emotions on teachers' attitude and behaviour.

LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES OF GUILT

The emotion of guilt is usually associated with the appraisal of having failed to attain a moral outcome that is of personal and in most cases also social significance. Besides being a

self-conscious emotion, guilt is also considered to be a moral and interpersonal emotion since feeling guilty is usually engendered by a disregard for the just treatment and welfare of others (Baumeister, Stillwell et al. 1994; Baumeister, Stillwell et al. 1995; Tangney and Dearing 2002; Berndsen, van der Pligt et al. 2004). In their study of guilt in interpersonal relationships Baumeister et al (1995) demonstrated how individuals predominantly experience guilt as a result of the negative impact of one's actions on the other person, rather than the extent to which the person actually perceives him or herself to be culpable. They found that in relationships individuals will often experience guilt when their behaviour has caused another person whom they care about to feel unhappy or upset, even though their actions were not deliberate and the negative outcome was unforeseen. In addition, Tracy and Robins (2004) and Weiner (1985) maintain that individuals experience guilt outside the social sphere of personal affiliations. They propose that individuals may also feel guilty when they perceive themselves to have transgressed social and personally held moral values. Hence, a student may experience guilt as a result of a failed exam predominantly because social expectations and internalised moral norms have been transgressed.

There is agreement in the psychological literature that guilt motivates a person to take constructive action and to make amends (Barrett 1994; Baumeister, Stillwell et al. 1995; Lewis 2000; Tangney and Dearing 2002; Parkinson, Fischer et al. 2005). The person who feels guilty is inclined to apologise and to try and repair or ameliorate the harm s/he has caused. Baumeister et al (1994) therefore suggest that the purpose of interpersonal guilt is to maintain relationships by motivating the person responsible for upsetting others to take reparative action and to re-establish rapport. According to Tangney and Dearing (2002) the only instance when guilt is not constructive is when individuals are not in a position to take reparative action. Under these circumstances the feelings of guilt may linger and become a persistent form of gnawing guilt that does not fade. In this connection Tangney and Dearing (2002) suggest that individuals who tend to accept responsibility for negative outcomes over which they in fact had limited or no control are particularly prone to experiencing this form of persistent guilt.

In the field of education guilt has been approached as a social emotion experienced by students in interpersonal relationships. In particular, guilt has been studied as one of the negative emotions children and adolescent may experience when they have upset or hurt other children, either physically or verbally. Early research with young children identified an apparent dissociation between their ability to engage in moral reasoning and the emotions they experienced; a phenomenon which has become known as the *happy victimiser* (please see Krettenauer, Malti et al. 2008 for a review of the literature). In these studies preschoolers and children starting school were presented with scenarios – where one child victimised another child – and asked to describe what they would think and feel if they were the victimiser. Several studies that have adopted this method in different contexts found that most four to six-year old children would express feeling happy in the role as 'victimiser' while also being able to explain how it is morally wrong to hurt others. What these findings suggest is that in young children there appears to be dissociation between the ability to engage in moral reasoning on the one hand and the experience of moral emotions and moral conduct on the other. Further research conducted by Malti et al (2009) considered the *happy victimiser* scenario by comparing prosocial children and outwardly aggressive children attending a kindergarten. The investigation was structured around an examination of the emotions that the six year old children attributed to themselves when presented with scenarios where they

featured as the 'victimizer'. Their findings indicated that the aggressive children attributed fewer negative emotions to themselves in the role as victimisers than the prosocial children. Hence, it seems that it is the potential of experiencing negative affect which prevents children from aggressive behaviour towards their peers.

Keeping the research on the *happy victimizer* in mind Krettenauer and colleagues (Krettenauer and Eichler 2006; Krettenauer and Johnston 2011) proposed that older children and adolescents develop the capacity to experience specific moral emotions – such as guilt and pride – by having internalised moral values and standards into their self-concept. They maintain that by having developed a substantive moral identity, moral issues become personally significant and self-important to the individual. Thus it is the personal relevance (or self-importance) of moral issues which enables older children and adolescents to experience specific self-conscious emotions. In order to examine the relationship between the self-importance of moral values and the experience of moral emotions and behaviour Krettenauer and Johnston (2011) conducted a study involving 155 adolescents and young adults between the age of eleven and nineteen years. Participants were presented with three types of scenarios taking place within a prosocial, antisocial or temptation context. The prosocial context gave the main protagonist the opportunity to help others, the antisocial context presented him/her with the option to stop victimizers from harming others, and the temptation context presented him/her with the choice of breaking a moral rule for their own benefit. Following each scenario participants were asked to indicate the emotions they expected to experience and, in particular, the extent to which they would feel pride or guilt. In addition the participants completed a questionnaire which assessed the self-importance of moral values. The study identified a significant correlation between the self-importance of moral values and the expectation of experiencing guilt. Moreover, the findings indicate that adolescents are more likely to experience guilt when they actively give way to temptation and engage in immoral behaviour than when they remain inactive and refrain from taking morally appropriate action.

In a follow up study Krettenauer et al. (2011) examined the relationship between emotion expectancy and the moral choices of adolescents. Their findings indicated that the expectation of experiencing guilt was a strong predictor of making the moral choice to refrain from engaging in antisocial action, such as stealing from a shop. By contrast, the expectation of guilt did not encourage participation in morally appropriate behaviour, such as donating to a charity. Engaging in such prosocial action was more strongly associated with the expectation of experiencing pride rather than avoiding feelings of guilt. According to Krettenauer et al a possible reason for the lack of association between guilt and prosocial behaviour is that most adolescents consider it to be a personal choice rather than a moral obligation.

To conclude, one of the most important findings to emerge from research on guilt in children and adolescents is that for them to make moral choices and behave accordingly they need to have acquired the capacity to experience guilt alongside other self conscious emotions. The research on the *happy victimiser* phenomenon has yielded important results by demonstrating that the ability to engage in moral reasoning in itself does not result in moral behaviour. What is also required is the internalisation of moral values so that they become an integral part of any self-appraisal and self-conscious emotional response. The ability to experience guilt, alongside other self-conscious emotions, may therefore be an important indicator of moral development and of an ability to engage in morally appropriate behaviour.

LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES OF SHAME

In 1971, Lewis published her seminal work entitled *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* which continues to have a substantial influence on psychological research today. Drawing on her therapeutic practice as a clinical psychologist she provided an analysis of shame, and how it differs from guilt. Lewis maintained that shame is a painful emotion which individuals experience when they negatively evaluate stable aspects of the self, such as one's innate inabilities or features of one's character. She proposed that shame differs from guilt by being associated with a negative evaluation of the stable global self rather than one's behaviour in a particular context. Therefore while guilt encourages individuals to try and improve the situation shame - by making them focus on aspects of the stable self - makes them want to shrink away and withdraw. This overwhelming desire to retreat then leaves individuals unable to engage in constructive or conciliatory behaviour towards those they may have offended and upset. Recent empirical research has mostly supported Lewis's analysis of shame (for instance, Barrett 1994; Lewis 2000; Tangney and Dearing 2002; Weiner 2006). In addition, Tangney and her colleagues have found that instead of withdrawing from the situation some individuals try and cope with shame by displacing it with righteous anger. By finding fault in others and becoming angry they avoid, at least in the short term, having to blame themselves and endure this painful emotion (Tangney 1995; Tangney, Burgraff et al. 1995; Tangney, Wagner et al. 1996). According to Tangney et al. (1996) this displacement of shame with anger is particularly prevalent amongst individuals who are prone to experiencing shame rather than guilt in situations that promote critical self-appraisal. In fact, their findings suggest that shame-prone children and adults are not only more likely to experience anger but that they are also more likely to engage in unconstructive behaviour than their less shame-prone peers.

In contrast to research indicating that shame is associated with unhelpful and defensive behaviour Gausel and Leach (2011) have recently propose that shame can motivate individuals to engage in constructive action. In their conceptualisation of shame, the experience of shame is associated with the cognitive appraisal of a specific self-defect which is potentially alterable. Hence, the individual who experiences shame may be motivated to improve his/her self image by engaging in behaviour that will improve their perception of an aspect of the self. In support of Gausel and Leach studies by de Hooe et al. (2010) suggest that feelings of shame are more strongly correlated with the motivation to restore self-image than to protect the self by engaging in defensive behaviour. The literature on restorative justice and shame management is also in agreement with this particular understanding of shame (Ahmed, Harris et al. 2001). In fact, research on criminal behaviour and bullying in schools conducted by Braithwaite (1989) and Ahmed (2006) has shown how the acknowledgement and management of shame is a necessary precondition for constructive and conciliatory behaviour on the part of the perpetrator. Therefore while feeling ashamed may bring about defensive behaviour - especially in clinical cases where individuals are prone to feeling ashamed - the acknowledgement of shame is also associated with the motivation to engage in constructive and reconciliatory conduct.

In educational research shame has predominantly been studied as one of the achievement emotions which students experience when evaluating their academic progress or their performance in an exam. Using undergraduate University students in Germany and North

America to study shame alongside other achievement emotions Pekrun and Elliot (2006) concluded that shame is associated with students holding themselves personally responsible for having failed in class or obtaining a lower than expected result in a test or an exam. Most interestingly they also found a significant correlation between shame and the ways in which students approached an activity. Students who were predominantly pre-occupied with avoiding failure were more likely to experience shame than students who either focussed on performing well and experiencing success or were predominantly interested in mastering the activity for its own sake.

Besides examining the possible causes of shame Pekrun et al. (2009) also considered the influence that shame (alongside other achievement emotions) may have on undergraduate students' academic performance. Since earlier research by Pekrun et al. (2002) had suggested that feeling ashamed was associated with critical introspection rather than engagement in learning the expectation was that shame would contribute to poorer academic performance. The research matched this expectation in that its findings showed a significant correlation between shame and poor academic performance. Moreover, the study identified a positive association between a pre-occupation to avoid failure (rather than striving for success) , the experience of shame and poor academic performance.

Besides, Pekrun et al.'s study of achievement emotions Turner and colleagues specifically investigated how university students experience shame after having failed an exam and their subsequent engagement in academic study (Turner and Schallert 2001; Turner, Husman et al. 2002; Turner and Waugh 2007). In contrast to the survey design adopted by Pekrun and colleagues, Turner et al used interviews to gain a better understanding of students' individual experiences of shame. They obtained a contrasting and varied picture of shame depending on individual students' disposition towards taking an exam. They found that some students expected to experience shame in exam situations while for others feeling ashamed was a rare and shocking experience.

In addition Turner and colleagues examined the potential consequences of experiencing shame. They concluded that while shame initially resulted in cognitive confusion in most students the subsequent responses to feeling ashamed varied depending on personal circumstances and the motivational reasons for studying. Students uncertain about the purpose of their studies – such as simply wanting to gain a degree – remained confused and did not change their approach to studying. They seemed to become disorientated and lose focus without regaining the motivation and composure to re-engage in their studies. In contrast, other students who had a well defined and important future goal continued to belief in their academic abilities and seemed to have a wider repertoire of strategies to draw on. They were more likely to re-engage in their studies and adopt new learning methods to improve their performance. The finding that shame may contribute to constructive action supports the proposition put forward by Gausel and Leach (2011) that experiencing this emotion may not involve a negative evaluation of a stable self. Instead, experiences of shame may be based on the cognitive appraisal of a specific self-defect which can potentially be changed. Indeed it may only be shame-prone individuals who in most situations respond to a negative outcome by blaming a persistent and unalterable self.

As was evident in the review of psychological research conducted outside the field of education shame has mostly been studied as a social and interpersonal emotion rather than as an achievement emotion. In such interpersonal circumstances shame may motivate a person to withdraw from further social involvement or provoke defensive anger at the person who

has made the individual experience this painful emotion (Tangney 1995; Tangney and Dearing 2002). Feelings of shame may therefore often be at the heart of why some students respond angrily and aggressively to what may appear to the teacher or fellow student to be quite reasonable requests. For instance, a student who perceives him or herself to lack academic ability may respond angrily when asked to complete an activity in a set period of time. S/he would rather blame the other person for making such an unreasonable demand than acknowledge how ashamed s/he would feel at not being able to complete the task.

The one area in educational research where shame has been examined as a social emotion is in studies on bullying at school. In 2001 a study by Ahmed et al placed shame and the way it is managed at the heart of bullying behaviour. Drawing on the work of Braithwaite (1989) and Tangney (1995) they maintained that pupils who engage in bullying do not acknowledge the shame associated with their behaviour but displace this unpleasant emotion by blaming others and experiencing anger instead. In contrast, children not engaged in bullying acknowledge and accept feeling ashamed when they have done something wrong such as upsetting or hurting another child. A substantial body of work has subsequently built on this premise and established the idea that bullies need help to acknowledge and manage their feelings of shame (for instance, Ahmed 2006; Morrison 2006). In particular they have emphasised shame management as an important part of the restorative justice approach to combating bullying in schools.

To conclude, educational research has consistently demonstrated that students experience shame when they blame themselves for having failed in class and or in an exam. Moreover, Pekrun et al. suggested that students who are pre-occupied with avoiding failure are more likely to blame themselves and feel ashamed than other adolescents who take a more positive and constructive approach. As far as the consequences of experiencing shame are concerned the findings are less consistent. On the one hand, research on achievement emotions indicates that shame has a negative impact on academic performance, and on the other, the work by Turner et al on failing an exam suggests that some students respond constructively to experiences of shame. The study of shame in students' social relationships has been confined to bullying in schools. The research suggests that adolescents who bully others are less able to acknowledge and accept feelings of shame than their peers. Hence, it may be the case that students who engage in bullying do so in part to displace the painful emotion of shame with anger directed at someone else.

LEARNERS' EXPERIENCES OF PRIDE

In 2003 Tangney described pride as the "neglected sibling" amongst the self-conscious emotions as it had received the least attention in psychological research. Seemingly, this lack of interest was based on the assumption that feeling proud has limited influence on thoughts and behaviour. More recently, however, psychologists have noted the potential importance of pride to moral development and to maintaining moral behaviour in everyday situations (Hart and Matsuba 2007; Tracy and Robins 2007). Moreover, Tracey and Robins (2007a) have emphasised how pride may have a more complex cognitive antecedence and more varied phenomenological configuration than most other self-conscious emotions.

The psychological literature suggests that pride is experienced by individuals who perceive themselves to have contributed to a positive outcome which is of substantive personal and social significance (Tangney 1999; Tangney, Stuewig et al. 2007; Tracy and Robins 2007). In addition psychological research has identified how individuals may experience two quite different forms of pride. Drawing on the work of Tagney (1999) and Lewis (2000) and their own research, Tracy and Robins (2004) make a distinction between *authentic pride* and *hubristic pride*. According them, individuals experience *authentic pride* when they attribute success to their behaviour and actions, such as the effort they have put in to prepare for an exam. In contrast, individuals are expected to experience *hubristic pride* when they attribute success to a stable aspect of the self, such as their innate ability in being successful at exams. They suggest that the differences in cognitive appraisal between these two forms of pride are similar to those that differentiate guilt and shame. While guilt and *authentic pride* are both associated with reflective evaluations of one's actions, shame and *hubristic pride* are based on evaluations of stable aspects of the self.

Alongside identifying variations in cognitive appraisal Tracy and Robins (2007; 2007) also examined how these two forms of pride may vary in the influence they have on a person's attitudes and behaviours. On the basis of their research findings they concluded that *authentic pride* is the "adaptive, prosocial, achievement oriented facet of the emotion" (Tracy and Robins 2007 p.267) which contributes to the development of a persistent and stable sense of self esteem. In contrast, the hubristic facet of pride is "uniquely related to narcissistic self-aggrandizement" (Tracy and Robins 2007 p.267). Hence the experience of pride can, according to Tracy and Robins, have very different consequences depending on the cognitive appraisal of a successful outcome and whether *authentic pride* or *hubristic pride* is experienced. It is worth noting that so far no study has engaged with the key issue of whether particular individuals are prone to experiencing authentic or hubristic facets of pride or whether there are consistent variations across cultures and social systems.

In the field of education students' experiences of pride have only been studied to a limited extent with no consideration for the two facets of pride identified by psychological research. Pekrun and colleagues (Pekrun and Elliot 2006; Pekrun, Elliot et al. 2009), for instance, have included pride in their examination of achievement emotions. Their research indicates that undergraduate students experience enjoyment and pride as a result of success in class or when taking an exam. In addition, students were more likely to feel proud when they were focused on performing well rather than pre-occupied with avoiding failure. Most interestingly, there was also the finding that students also reported feeling proud when they focused on the intrinsic value of the activity rather than obtaining a successful normative result at the end. This positive correlation between pride and mastering an activity for its own sake was an unexpected finding since experiencing this emotion is usually associated with having completed a task and attained a successful outcome that is of both social and personal significance. In contrast, the findings here suggest that pride is an emotion which students may experience for personal reasons, when they are engaged in an activity and are making good progress. In such circumstances it seems that students experience an intrinsic form of pride by comparing their current progress to their performance on previous occasions. Moreover, when pride is experienced in action it may also motivate students to complete an activity to a higher standard than before.

Besides approaching pride as an achievement emotion, Krettenauer and colleagues examined pride in the context of adolescents' social relationships (Krettenauer, Jia et al.

2011; Krettenauer and Johnston 2011). In particular they explored the extent to which moral behaviour may be influenced by the expectation of experiencing pride or guilt. Their findings indicate that adolescents are more likely to engage in pro-social action when they expect to experience pride as a consequence of their actions rather than guilt for not having taken part. For instance, a young person is more inclined to donate money to a charity or help another person because they expect to feel proud of what they have done than guilty for not having made a contribution. In contrast, the opposite seems to apply when it comes to resisting temptation and not engaging in a moral transgression, such as stealing from a shop. Here the expectation of experiencing guilt seems to prevent adolescents from engaging in antisocial behaviour rather than the emotion of pride at having resisted the temptation to do so. Therefore amongst adolescents the emotion of pride seems to promote pro-social action rather than prevent immoral and antisocial behaviour.

Although the study of pride in children and adolescents is still at a very early stage, it has obtained some intriguing findings which merit further investigation. Pekrun and colleagues have identified a positive correlation between students' experiences of intrinsic pride and a *master approach goal* orientation to learning. This finding suggests that students may experience an intrinsic form of pride which motivates students to perform well while engaged in an activity. In addition, the suggestion that pride encourages prosocial behaviour amongst adolescents is of significance as their ability to experience this specific emotion consistently may be a good indication of their moral development.

TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF GUILT AND PRIDE

Although teaching is both a cognitive and an emotional activity research on specific emotions and what they reveal about teachers' professional identities and their social relationships is scarce. Within this limited field of research studies on teachers' frustration and anger have taken centre stage (Liljestrom, Roulston et al. 2007; Sutton 2007; Farouk 2010). Amongst the self-conscious emotions pride and guilt have received some attention while shame has not been considered at all, at least from a psychological perspective. The idea that teachers often experience guilt was first articulated by Nias (1989) in her seminal study on primary school teaching as work. She observed that teachers often experienced anxiety and guilt when unable to maintain the level of care they aspired to. The importance of guilt in teaching has also been validated by Hargreaves and Tucker (1991) who found this emotion prevalent among participants of a research project on teacher culture and educational change in Canada. Drawing on the work of Davis (1989), Hargreaves and Tucker made the distinction between two kinds of guilt in teaching: *persecutory guilt* and *depressive guilt*. They maintain that teachers experience *persecutory guilt* when they have been unable to meet the performance indicators set by the education system and the school. In contrast, *depressive guilt* is linked to the culture of caring normally associated with this profession. In agreement with Nias, Hargreaves emphasised the extent to which teachers may experience *depressive guilt* because of the high expectation they have of themselves to care for and advance the interests of their pupils. Hargreaves goes on to suggest that teachers are particularly susceptible to experiencing this form of guilt because of the open ended nature of their work and the lack of prescribed boundaries as to the appropriate level of care.

More recently, Farouk (2012) has investigated primary school teachers' guilt from the perspective of cognitive appraisal theory. Taking a qualitative approach he interviewed twenty two teachers about recent events in which they predominantly experienced guilt. The findings suggest that primary school teachers most often feel guilty when they blame themselves for having upset or let down a child or a group of children in their class. Moreover, they illustrated how teachers would on occasion experience guilt without blaming themselves. In such cases the main cause of guilt seemed to be a sense of having caused distress to others who are emotionally close rather than blaming oneself. The outcome of this study supports earlier research by Frijda (1993) and Baumeister et al. (1995) who linked guilt to the perception of having upset significant others rather than blaming oneself. On the basis of their research on personal relationships Baumeister et al. (1995) concluded that individuals most often tended to feel guilty when their actions had unintentionally affected the welfare of others who were emotionally close. The extent to which the outcome from Farouk's (2012) investigation coincide with those obtained by Baumeister et al. (1995) suggests that the close relationships associated with the experience of guilt in people's personal life also seem to be present in the context of the professional affiliations that bind teachers to their pupils. It is precisely these affiliations that may cause individuals to experience guilt without necessarily perceiving themselves to be at fault.

In one of the earliest studies on teaching as work Lortie (1975) noted that teachers experience some of their most prideful moments when they were successful in helping individual students to progress. Later research by Nias (1996) and Hargreaves (1999) demonstrated that teachers predominantly experienced positive emotions and job satisfaction as a result of affective relationships with their pupils and their educational progress. In a qualitative study on teachers' experiences of pride Farouk (2008) interviewed fifty-two primary school teachers. The findings demonstrated that while a few teachers remembered situations in which they felt proud of their own accomplishments the majority recalled events that made them proud of their pupils' achievements. Moreover, teachers most often recalled feeling proud when a child or group of children had accomplished a task on their own. For instance, teachers frequently reported feeling proud when a pupil had completed a challenging task independently or when the class performed well while another teacher was teaching them. In psychological literature there is almost no acknowledgement that pride is often based on the identification with the achievements of individuals who are emotionally close. Yet in the field of philosophy (Goldie 2000) there are many examples where feeling proud is associated with the accomplishments of relevant others, such as family members or individuals from the same community. The findings from this study agree with this proposition, suggesting that in the school context feeling proud is usually elicited through the accomplishments of one's pupils. There may indeed be a greater emphasis on feeling proud of one's own achievements in other work settings, but the nature of teaching as a helping profession seems to make it logical to shift the focus towards the accomplishments of the children.

Studies of teachers' guilt and pride offer important insights into their moral concerns and the kind of relationships they develop with their pupils. In particular research has demonstrated how primary school teachers develop close and caring relationships with their students and how the purpose of their professional affiliation is the educational progress of their pupils. As the children's well being and their educational success matters most to teachers, recent research on educational reform has clearly indicated that they experience

guilt and other negative emotions when other demands supersede their focus on students (Kelchtermans 2005; van Veen, Slegers et al. 2005).

CONCLUSION

Although the study of self-conscious emotions in education is still at an early stage the findings demonstrate the insightfulness and potential importance of research in this area. Research on students' experiences of guilt, shame and pride has highlighted the influence these emotions may have on their thoughts and actions. They have also illustrated how these emotions are not internalized sensations that remain inert within the confines of the body but are integral to the ways in which learners relate to one another and approach their studies. In relation to their approach to learning research has demonstrated how shame may have a negative and de-motivating influence on students' academic performance or, in some cases, may prompt learners to re-evaluate their approach and try to improve their grades (Pekrun and Elliot 2006; Turner and Waugh 2007; Pekrun, Elliot et al. 2009). Moreover, on the basis of their examination of pride as an achievement emotion Pekrun and colleagues have suggested that it not only encourage students to engage in further academic study when reflecting on their success but may also maintain their motivation when engaged in an activity (Pekrun and Elliot 2006; Pekrun, Elliot et al. 2009).

Research on social behaviour suggests that adolescents are more likely refrain from antisocial behaviour when they anticipate feelings of guilt. Moreover, they are more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour when they expect to feel proud for having acted appropriately (Krettenauer, Jia et al. 2011). In support of these findings, research on the *happy victimiser* phenomenon has demonstrated how moral reasoning in itself does not result in moral behaviour in children and adolescents (Krettenauer, Malti et al. 2008). To be able to engage in moral behaviour children and young adults require the internalisation of moral values and a capacity to experience the self-conscious emotions of guilt and pride consistently. As such when confronted with a moral situation they are able to anticipate the experiences of guilt, pride or some other moral emotion depending in the choices that they make.

When considering that psychological research has demonstrated the negative influence of shame on social relationships it is surprising how shame has not featured prominently in educational research on students' interpersonal relationships. According to Tangney and Dearing (2002) shame usually motivates people to withdraw from social situations or to displace the experience of shame with righteous anger. In either case the experience of shame has a harmful influence on relationships which is a significant finding that has not yet been studied within the context of students' peer relationships or teacher/student relationships. In fact students' experiences of shame in social situations have only been investigated in relation to bullying at school. The findings from this strand of research suggest that adolescents who engage in bullying are less able to acknowledge and accept feelings of shame than their peers (Ahmed 2006).

This chapter has also reviewed investigations into teachers' experiences of pride and guilt. The purpose of research in this field has been to study teachers' self-understanding and moral purpose by examining their emotional experiences. The research involved a close examination of teachers' experiences of pride and guilt in order to gain insight into aspects of

their professional selves which teachers consider to be particularly important. The findings indicate that primary school teachers experience guilt when they perceive themselves not to have been successful in educating or caring for their pupils and they feel proud when their pupils experiences success. In the future it is hoped that research will also include the examination of teachers' self-conscious emotions in other educational contexts, such as secondary schools, and at different phases of their careers. Moreover, future research should also examine teachers' experiences of shame as this emotion in particular may provide considerable insights into stable and substantive beliefs teachers have about themselves and the purpose of their work.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, E. (2006). "Understanding bullying from a shame management perspective: Findings from a 3 year follow up study." *Educational and Child Psychology* 23: 26 -40.
- Ahmed, E., N. Harris, et al. (2001). *Shame management through reintegration*. Melbourne, Cambridge University Press.
- Arsenio, W., J. Gold, et al. (2004). "Adolescents' emotion expectancies regarding aggressive and nonaggressive events: Connections with behavior problems." *Experimental Child Psychology* 89: 338 - 355.
- Barrett, K. C. (1994). A functionalist approach to shame and guilt. *Self conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride*. J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer. London, The Guilford Press.
- Baumeister, R. F., A. M. Stillwell, et al. (1994). "Guilt: An interpersonal approach." *Psychological Bulletin* 115: 243-267.
- Baumeister, R. F., A. M. Stillwell, et al. (1995). "Personal narratives about guilt: Role in action control and interpersonal relationships." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 17: 173-198.
- Berndsen, M., J. van der Pligt, et al. (2004). "Guilt and Regret: The determining role of interpersonal and intrapersonal harm." *Cognition and Emotion* 18(1): 55-70.
- Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and reintegration*. Cambridge,UK, Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, A. F. (1989). *The human element: Three essays in political psychology*. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- de Hooge, I. E., M. Zeelenberg, et al. (2010). "Restore and protect motivations following shame." *Cognition and Emotion* 24: 111-127.
- Elliot, A. J. (1999). "Approach and Avoidance motivation and achievement goals." *Educational Psychologist* 34: 169 - 189.
- Elliot, A. J. and H. H. McGregor (2001). "A 2 x 2 achievement goal framework." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 80: 501 - 519.
- Farouk, S. (2008). How school teachers' thoughts differentiate the emotions that they experience: A qualitative study of cognitive appraisal. *School of Management and Organizational Psychology*. London, University of London, Birkbeck College. PhD.
- Farouk, S. (2010). "Primary school teachers' restricted and elaborated anger." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 40(4): 353-368.

- Farouk, S. (2012). "What can the self-conscious emotion of guilt tell us about primary school teachers' moral purpose and the relationships they have with their pupils?" *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 18(4).
- Frijda, N. H. (1993). "The place of appraisal in emotion." *Cognition and Emotion* 7: 357-388.
- Gausel, N. and C. W. Leach (2011). "Concern for self-image and social image in the management of moral failure." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41: 468-478.
- Goldie, P. (2000). *The emotions: A philosophical exploration*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Hargreaves, A. (1998). "The emotional practice of teaching." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 14(8): 845-54.
- Hargreaves, A. (1999). The psychic rewards (and annoyances) of teaching. *Researching school experience: Ethnographic studies of teaching and learning*. M. Hammersley. London and New York, Routledge.
- Hargreaves, A. and E. Tucker (1991). "Teaching and guilt: Exploring the feelings of teaching." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 7(5/6): 491-505.
- Hart, D. and K. M. Matsuba (2007). The development of pride and moral life. *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research*. J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins and J. P. Tangney. London, The Guilford Press: 114-133.
- Kelchtermans, G. (2005). "Teachers' emotions in educational reforms: Self-understanding, vulnerable commitment and micropolitical literacy." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 21: 995-1006.
- Kochanska, G., J. Gross, et al. (2002). "Guilt in young children: development determinants, and relations with a broader system of standards." *Child Development* 73: 461-482.
- Krettenauer, T. and D. Eichler (2006). "Adolescents' self attributed moral emotions following a moral transgression: Relations with delinquency, confidence in moral judgement, and age." *British Journal of Developmental Psychology* 24: 489 - 506.
- Krettenauer, T., F. Jia, et al. (2011). "The role of emotion expectancies in adolescent moral decision making." *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 108: 358 - 370.
- Krettenauer, T. and M. Johnston (2011). "Positively versus negatively charged moral emotion expectancies in adolescence: The role of situational context and the developing moral self." *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*.
- Krettenauer, T., T. Malti, et al. (2008). "The development of moral emotion expectancies and the happy victimizer phenomenon: A critical review of theory and application." *European Journal of Developmental Science* 2: 221 - 235.
- Lagattuta, K. H. and R. A. Thompson (2007). The development of self conscious emotions; Cognitive processes and social influences. *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research*. J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins and J. P. Tangney. London, The Guilford Press: 91-113.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1991). *Emotion and adaptation*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, H. B. (1971). *Shame and guilt in neurosis*. New York, International University Press.
- Lewis, M. (2000). Self-conscious emotions: embarrassment, pride, shame and guilt. *Handbook of emotions*. M. Lewis and J. M. Haviland-Jones. New York, Guilford Press.
- Lewis, M. (2007). Self-conscious emotional development. *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research*. J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins and J. P. Tangney. London, The Guilford Press: 91-113.

- Liljestrom, A., K. Roulston, et al. (2007). "There is no place for feeling like this in the workplace": Women teachers' anger in school settings. *Emotion in Education*. P. A. Schutz, D. I. Cross, J. Y. Hong and J. N. Osbon. London, Elsevier.
- Linnenbrink, E. A. (2007). The role of affect in student learning: A multi-dimensional approach to considering the interaction of affect, motivation and engagement. *Emotion in Education*. P. A. Schutz and R. Pekrun, Elsevier.
- Linnenbrink, E. A. and P. R. Pintrich (2002). "Achievement goal theory and affect: an asymmetrical bidirectional model." *Educational Psychologist* 37(2): 69-78.
- Lortie, D. C. (1975). *School teacher: A sociological study*. Chicago, University of Chicago.
- Malti, T., L. Gasser, et al. (2009). "Aggressive and prosocial children's emotion attributions and moral reasoning." *Aggressive Behaviour* 35: 90-102.
- Morrison, B. (2006). "School bullying and restorative justice: Towards a theoretical understanding of the role of respect, pride and shame." *Journal of Social Issues* 62(2): 371-392.
- Nias, J. (1989). *Primary teachers talking: A study of teaching as work*. London, Routledge.
- Nias, J. (1996). "Thinking about feeling: The emotions in teaching." *Cambridge Journal of Education* 26(3): 293-306.
- Parkinson, B., A. H. Fischer, et al. (2005). *Emotion in social relations*.
- Pekrun, R. and A. J. Elliot (2006). "Achievement goals and discrete achievement emotions: A theoretical model and prospective test." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 98(3): 583 - 597.
- Pekrun, R., A. J. Elliot, et al. (2009). "Achievement goals and achievement emotions: Testing a model of their joint relations with academic performance." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 101(1): 115 - 135.
- Pekrun, R., T. Goetz, et al. (2002). "Academic emotions in students' self-regulated learning and achievement: a programme of qualitative and quantitative research." *Educational Psychologist* 37(2): 91-105.
- Scherer, K. R., A. Schorr, et al., Eds. (2001). *Appraisal processes in emotions: Theory, method, research*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Stipek, D. J. (1995). The development of pride and shame in toddlers. *Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride*. J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer. New York, Guilford Press.
- Sutton, R. E. (2007). teachers' anger, frustration and self-regulation. *Emotion in Education*. P. A. Schutz and P. Reinhard. London, Elsevier.
- Tangney, J. P. (1995). Shame and guilt in interpersonal relationships. *Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride*. J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer. New York, Guilford Press: 343-267.
- Tangney, J. P. (1999). The self conscious emotions: shame, guilt, embarrassment and pride. *Handbook of cognition and emotion*. T. Dalgleish and M. Power. New York, Wiley.
- Tangney, J. P. (2003). Self-relevant emotions. *Handbook of self and identity*. M. R. Leary and J. P. Tangney. London, Guilford Press: 384 - 400.
- Tangney, J. P., S. A. Burggraf, et al. (1995). Shame-proneness, guilt-proneness and psychological symptoms. *Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt and embarrassment and pride*. J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer. New York, Guilford Press: 343-267.
- Tangney, J. P. and R. L. Dearing (2002). *Shame and Guilt*. London, The Guilford Press.

- Tangney, J. P., J. Stuewig, et al. (2007). "Moral emotions and moral behavior." *Annual Review of Psychology* 58: 346-372.
- Tangney, J. P., P. E. Wagner, et al. (1996). "The relation of shame and guilt to constructive vs. destructive responses anger across the lifespan." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70: 797-809.
- Tracy, J. L. and R. W. Robins (2004). "Putting the self into self-conscious emotions: A theoretical model." *Psychological Inquiry* 15(2): 103-125.
- Tracy, J. L. and R. W. Robins (2007). The nature of pride. *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research*. J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins and J. P. Tangney. London, The Guilford Press: 263-282.
- Tracy, J. L. and R. W. Robins (2007). The self in self-conscious emotions: A cognitive appraisal approach. *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research*. J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins and J. P. Tangney. London, The Guilford Press.
- Turner, J. E., J. Husman, et al. (2002). "The importance of students' goals in their emotional experience of academic failure: investigating the precursors and consequences of shame." *Educational Psychologist* 3(2): 79-89.
- Turner, J. E. and D. L. Schallert (2001). "Expectancy-value relationship of shame reactions and shame resiliency." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 98(2): 320-329.
- Turner, J. E. and R. M. Waugh (2007). A dynamical systems perspective regarding students' learning processes: Shame reactions and emergent self-organisations. *Emotion in Education*. P. A. Schutz and R. Pekrun. London, Elsevier.
- van Veen, K., P. Sleegers, et al. (2005). "One teacher's identity, emotions, and commitment to change: A case study into the cognitive-affective processes of a secondary school teacher in the context of reforms." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 21: 917-934.
- Weiner, B. (1985). "An attribution theory of achievement motivation and emotion." *Psychological Review* 92: 548-573.
- Weiner, B. (2006). *Social motivation, justice, and the moral emotions*. Mahwah, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Zeidner, M. (2007). Test anxiety in educational contexts: concepts, findings, and future directions. *Emotion in Education*. P. A. Schutz and R. Pekrun, Elsevier.