

## “Breathe in... breathe out”: Contextualizing the Rise of Mindfulness in Canadian Schools

**Catherine Gidney**

St. Thomas University

### ABSTRACT

Mindfulness practices have exploded onto the mainstream North American cultural landscape. Not surprisingly, proponents of mindfulness can also be found within education systems in North America and the western world more generally. In Canada, mindfulness-based programs have filtered into faculties of education as well as public school classrooms. Yet, despite the rapid spread of the mindfulness movement, relatively little is known about it historically. This article pieces together some of the key intellectual and cultural developments that have enabled the growth of this phenomenon: North Americans' encounters with Buddhist perspectives since the 1950s and 1960s, the intersection of psychology and Buddhist practice, the flourishing of progressive educational ideals, and the growth of school psychology. It then briefly explores the kinds of citizenship ideals promoted by mindfulness practices as well as educators' rationales for their implementation. Tracing this history demonstrates that, despite its relatively recent entry into schools and its promotion as a scientifically-based physiological practice, mindfulness is a phenomenon with deep historical roots within a particular British and North American social and cultural context. Exploring this context and the reasons for educators' turn to mindfulness will help us better understand our modern education system and the kinds of students it aims to produce.

### RÉSUMÉ

Les pratiques de méditations de pleine conscience ont explosé dans le paysage culturel nord-américain. C'est donc sans surprise que l'on retrouve également des partisans de la pleine conscience dans les systèmes éducatifs d'Amérique du Nord et du monde occidental en général. Au Canada, les programmes axés sur la pleine conscience se sont introduits dans les facultés d'éducation ainsi que dans les salles de classe des écoles publiques. Toutefois, malgré la propagation rapide du mouvement de pleine conscience, on en connaît relativement peu d'un point de vue historique. Cet article rassemble quelques-unes des évolutions intellectuelles et culturelles qui ont permis l'essor d'un tel phénomène : les rencontres nord-américaines avec les perspectives bouddhistes depuis les années 1950 et 1960, le croisement de la psychologie et de la pratique bouddhiste, le développement d'idéaux éducatifs progressistes et la croissance de la psychologie scolaire. Il explore ensuite brièvement les types d'idéaux de citoyenneté que les pratiques de pleine conscience promeuvent, ainsi que les raisons qui motivent les éducateurs

pour la mise en œuvre de ces dernières. Retracer cette histoire permet de démontrer que, malgré son arrivée relativement récente dans les écoles et sa promotion au rang de pratique physiologique scientifiquement fondée, la pleine conscience est un phénomène aux racines historiques profondément ancrées dans un contexte social et culturel britannique et nord-américain particulier. Dès lors, explorer ce contexte et les raisons pour lesquelles les éducateurs adoptent la pleine conscience permet de mieux comprendre le système d'éducation moderne et les types d'élèves qu'il tend à forger.

## Introduction

In March 2013, Andrew Campbell, a teacher at Major Ballachey Public School in Brantford, Ontario, contributed an article to the *Globe and Mail* that documented the mindfulness practices that he had implemented in his classroom. He explained that “in a typical mindfulness session, students sit quietly as a bell rings. They listen carefully, raising their hands when the sound dissipates, leaving only silence. Students then place their hand on their stomachs and feel the movement of their bodies as they breathe.” He argued that

this practice helps students relax and improves their focus for the learning ahead. In my own class we integrate mindfulness practice into our daily circle by pausing in silence, listening carefully to the sounds around us and noticing how the body moves as we breathe. This helps students listen to each other during our group discussion.<sup>1</sup>

This type of mindfulness practice has exploded onto the mainstream North American cultural scene. The *Huffington Post* declared 2014 the Year of Living Mindfully while *Time* magazine featured mindfulness as a cover story in February of that year. Innovative companies now incorporate opportunities for mindfulness practice into their physical structure: Google built a labyrinth to promote walking meditation and eBay offers its employees a meditation room. Even traditional companies like General Mills and NB Power have jumped on the bandwagon, offering employees introductory mindfulness courses. Mindfulness is also the subject of a host of best-selling books and innumerable magazine articles, and there are an increasing number of applications devoted to the topic.<sup>2</sup>

However, it is not just a popular phenomenon. Used initially as a means to help patients cope with chronic pain, mindfulness is now seen as a useful tool for treating other medical conditions such as depression, anxiety, and obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD). It has been integrated into traditional therapies and incorporated into training programs for a variety of health care and social work practitioners. It is the focus of major research centres, such as the Oxford Mindfulness Centre in England. It boasts its own academic journal, *Mindfulness*, established in 2010, and its practitioners are in the process of professionalizing.<sup>3</sup>

Not surprisingly, then, proponents of mindfulness can also be found within education systems in North America and the western world more generally. Indeed, there are a number of programs aimed at parents and teachers, some of which have existed

for over twenty years and are supported by peer-reviewed research.<sup>4</sup> More recently, various individuals and organizations have begun upscaling local programs in an attempt to develop curricula on a nation-wide basis.<sup>5</sup> While these types of programs originally existed outside the formal curriculum, developed by educators with mindfulness experience or practitioners of mindfulness interested in children's emotional development, they have been increasingly drawn into school systems, particularly under the larger umbrella of social and emotional learning (SEL).<sup>6</sup>

In Canada during the past decade, mindfulness-based programs have filtered into faculties of education as well as schools and classrooms across the country. Yet despite the rapid spread of the mindfulness movement, relatively little is known about it historically. There is some important work on the relationship between mindfulness and Buddhism, the history of meditation as medical practice, and the integration of mindfulness into, and its impact on, American culture.<sup>7</sup> In addition, Candy Gunther Brown has examined the various legal challenges raised since the 1970s to yoga and mindfulness programs in American public schools.<sup>8</sup> Insight into the history of mindfulness can also be gleaned within the scholarly and popular work of some of the movement's prominent promoters.<sup>9</sup> Still, our understanding of the historical conditions that have given rise to the mindfulness movement is far from complete. Moreover, despite the growing contemporary application of mindfulness in schools, the history of that process remains largely unknown. This article arose from my desire to answer a number of basic questions, such as, what is mindfulness, where did it come from, and how and why has it made its way into Canadian educational institutions? In attempting to answer these questions, this article provides an initial foray into the intellectual and cultural shifts that have enabled the spread of mindfulness practices, in particular, within the field of education.

In doing this, the article also aims to contribute to the history of what sociologists and historians have referred to as the rise of therapeutic culture — the growth in attention to the self, and the process of self-realization, understood through the lens of psychological language and techniques. In the second half of the twentieth century, education systems became key sites in the proliferation of therapeutic practice, with psychologically informed ideals of self and citizenship replacing ones rooted in an explicitly Judeo-Christian world view.<sup>10</sup> Critics have argued that the rise of therapeutic culture has contributed to a focus on individualism and personal fulfillment, creating a "culture of narcissism" and contributing to a process of civic disengagement.<sup>11</sup> Others contend it is a far more "contradictory historical project" that has also challenged and destabilized traditional forms of authority, particularly around gender and sexual norms.<sup>12</sup> The turn towards therapeutic emphases within schools has led to recent debate, particularly fractious among British scholars of education, regarding its impact. Opponents have condemned this process for elevating emotional well-being at the expense of the pursuit of rational knowledge and intellectual discipline, resulting in citizens primarily shaped by their own sense of vulnerability and fragility.<sup>13</sup> Proponents, on the other hand, have championed emotional literacy as a crucial need on the grounds that "most educational activity" is "affectively impoverished."<sup>14</sup> Those on both sides are in agreement, however, that the emphasis on

emotional literacy is reconfiguring citizenship ideals, with “emotional skills” now the mark “by which young people are deemed to be succeeding or failing as citizens.”<sup>15</sup> Mindfulness is a key means by which emotional literacy is being taught in schools and as such its history can offer valuable insights into the timing and nature of this therapeutic turn in Canada.

This article is exploratory in nature. It attempts to piece together some of the key developments that have facilitated the spread of mindfulness: North Americans’ engagement with Asian belief systems since the 1950s and 1960s, the intersection of psychology and Buddhist practice, the flourishing of progressive educational ideals that promoted the concept of holism, and the growth of school psychology. These distinct developments, each of which has its own complicated history to which this article can only sparingly allude, would, by century’s end, help lay the groundwork for the creation of, and receptivity to, mindfulness-based educational programs. Using one such program, the MindUP curriculum, found in classrooms in Canada and across the United States, this article then briefly explores the kinds of citizenship ideals promoted by mindfulness practices, illuminating some of the continuities in educational aims since the early twentieth century as well as pointing to ways in which these are being recast in light of the push for emotional literacy. It then considers educators’ methods of, and rationales for, implementing mindfulness practices within school systems, positing mindfulness as a largely grassroots movement that itself reflects the spread of Asian cultural practices within North American society. In tracing this history, I argue that, although articulated as part of a current educational and scientific ethos, mindfulness is the product of over half a century of intellectual and cultural developments. Understanding these developments should lead educators to question portrayals of classroom programs as primarily the product of scientifically-based physiological practices and to recognize instead the mindfulness movement as a phenomenon with deep historical roots within a particular North American social and cultural context.

### **Defining Mindfulness**

The now generally accepted definition of mindfulness among its practitioners is the one developed by one of its foremost American proponents, Jon Kabat-Zinn, who in 1979 established the Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction Clinic (MBSR) at the University of Massachusetts Medical School. Kabat-Zinn defines mindfulness as “the awareness that emerges through paying attention on purpose, in the present moment, and nonjudgmentally to the unfolding of experience moment by moment.”<sup>16</sup> It is an attempt, then, to quiet the mind, to live more fully in the present moment (rather than ruminating over the past or focusing on the future), and to bring attention to, or concentrate on, what one is doing at any current point in time. This can be done in various ways—such as sitting meditation, mindful walking, the body scan or progressive muscle relaxation, through various forms of mindful awareness, and through yoga.

The aim is to create space for non-judgmental awareness. In practice, the meditator

focuses her attention on her breath. If her mind drifts, she notes that drift, and without judgment (and maybe even with a pat on the back), she brings her attention back to the breath. The idea is to acknowledge one's feelings, thoughts, and sensations in order to be (or become) aware of them but not to react to them immediately, setting aside any reflection on, or about, those feelings or thoughts for the moment by anchoring oneself to one's breath. The method can be used to calm oneself, as a practice to cope with negative or difficult feelings, and in the long term, as a way to analyze, assess, and possibly change one's patterns of thought and reaction.<sup>17</sup>

In schools, the forms of mindfulness, or mindfulness-based interventions, vary: sometimes yoga, sometimes as an emphasis on awareness through careful listening. In the MindUP curriculum, for example, the core practice consists of "deep belly breathing and attentive learning" repeated several times during the day, complemented by practices such as mindful listening. It aims to increase awareness of the self and others, improve focus and the ability to maintain one's attention, develop self-control and positive behaviour, encourage empathy and kindness, and teach skills for conflict resolution. Like the Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) program on which it is based, it uses current research in neuroscience to teach students the science behind the working of the brain in order to provide them with the tools to understand how emotions work and how they affect learning. The underlying premise is that "happy brains work better" and that scientific evidence indicates that basic mindfulness activities will improve student's emotional skills, allow them to control their behaviour, and thus aid their self-development.<sup>18</sup>

### **North Americans' Encounters with Asian Belief Systems**

The roots of the current acceptance of mindfulness practices within mainstream North American culture can be loosely traced to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries with the development of the mind-cure movement in which new religious groups such as the Theosophy Society and New Thought, influenced by western understandings of Hinduism and Buddhism as well as the importance of a positive spirit, promoted belief in the power of the mind to effect happiness and health. This emphasis on positive thinking not only meshed well with an emerging consumer culture but also an accompanying popular emphasis on self-help that would gradually reshape North American culture over the course of the century.<sup>19</sup> Still, increasing awareness of, and interest in, Asian religions and cultures only became more widespread in the decades after the Second World War. For example, the American occupation of Japan from 1945 to 1952 led to greater knowledge of Japanese culture, and Zen Buddhism in particular. Asian Studies developed in the academy during the Cold War, exposing at least some North American students to new modes of thought and forms of existence.<sup>20</sup> The failure of the Tibetan Uprising in 1959 and American military involvement in Southeast Asia also turned westerners' gaze eastward. In the 1960s, Canada and the US repealed their overtly racist immigration laws leading to the influx of large numbers of immigrants from countries such as Thailand and Vietnam.<sup>21</sup> North Americans were also exposed to elements of

a variety of Asian belief systems with the writings and activities of the Beat poets in the 1950s, the increasing public presence of Transcendental Meditation (TM) in the 1960s, and the spiritual and social experimentation of the counterculture in the late 1960s and through the 1970s.<sup>22</sup>

In addition, young North Americans encountered Asian cultures through their political activities. Some young Americans travelled to Southeast Asia with the Peace Corps. Others, active in peace movements and the New Left, became more aware of Southeast Asia with the escalation of the Vietnam War. Thich Nhat Hahn, a Vietnamese Buddhist monk, studied comparative religion at Princeton in 1960, then became a lecturer in Buddhism at Columbia University. Returning to teach in Vietnam, he became an outspoken advocate for peaceful resolution of the Vietnamese conflict. Hahn, who has become a leading force in the mindfulness movement, would return to the US in 1966 and regularly speak out against the war, advocating Buddhism as a bridge between capitalism and communism.<sup>23</sup>

Young people's encounters with Asian cultures and philosophies also gave rise to what is now variously referred to as American, Western, white, or convert, Buddhism. A number of young men and women who travelled to various Southeast Asian countries in the late 1960s were influenced by a particular strand of Theravāda Buddhism, namely *vipassanā* or insight meditation.<sup>24</sup> On returning home, several of these spiritual travellers set up what is now an internationally recognized meditation centre in Barre, Massachusetts. Three of its founders had travelled to India and Southeast Asia in the 1960s and early 1970s. Jack Kornfield went to Thailand with the Peace Corps, studied in various temples and monasteries in Southeast Asia, and became a monk in 1972, before returning to the US. In 1977 he completed a PhD in clinical psychology, focusing on meditation. Joseph Goldstein also travelled to Thailand with the Peace Corps and then went on to study meditation in various parts of Southeast Asia. Sharon Salzberg studied Buddhism in India, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, and Burma. Salzberg and Goldstein met in 1970 at a retreat in India that was also attended by Ram Dass (formerly known as Richard Alpert, a psychology professor at Harvard until he was fired in 1963 for undertaking LSD experiments with Timothy Leary) and Daniel Goleman, a now world-renowned psychologist who was a student at Harvard at the time.<sup>25</sup> Goldstein and Kornfield met in 1974 when they taught summer school at the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado, established by Chögyam Trungpa, the founder of Shambhala Training, a leading form of secular meditation practices in the West.<sup>26</sup> Together with Jacqueline Schwartz, Goldstein, Kornfield, and Salzberg established the Insight Meditation Society in 1975, opening their retreat centre in Barre, Massachusetts, a year later.<sup>27</sup>

These individuals became some of the key promoters and popularizers of insight meditation. The practices they developed originated in encounters with Asian religious leaders such as S. N. Goenka and Chögyam Trungpa, among many others, who were themselves part of a modernization movement of Theravāda practices and who contributed to particular articulations of Buddhism for western audiences.<sup>28</sup> Religious scholars argue that westerners further adapted Theravāda practices to meet their own needs, presenting "*vipassanā* practice independent of the Theravāda

tradition" and packaged "in American cultural forms and language."<sup>29</sup> In doing so, commentators note, convert Buddhists muted the supernatural, emphasized social action (in particular, peace) and the practice of loving-kindness, stressed anti-authoritarian and anti-hierarchical relationships, and incorporated significant elements of American psychotherapy.<sup>30</sup>

In the 1970s, then, a very particular form of Buddhist thought and practice—insight meditation—gained a foothold within the countercultural scene. This type of practice now informs the mindfulness movement. As religious scholars have argued, this was a Buddhism that spoke to young westerners culturally. Located at the fringes of North American society in the 1970s, insight meditation centres offered a space for a growing number of individuals at the time curious to explore alternative belief systems and forms of living.<sup>31</sup> This was a period marked by spiritual journeys, soul-searching, and the desire for greater authenticity. That desire to know one's self would also lead many to turn to innovative ideas flowing through the field of psychology.

### **Buddhism, Psychology, and Mind/Body Medicine**

In fact, Buddhist thought had begun to make inroads into psychology well before the advent of the counterculture. Some nascent interest originated through the work of D. T. (Daisetz Teitaro) Suzuki (1870–1966) who lectured at a number of American universities in the mid-1950s. With Erich Fromm and Richard De Martino, he published *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis* in 1960 and influenced leading psychologists such as Carl Jung and Karen Horney, social thinkers such as Martin Heidegger and Thomas Merton, as well as Alan Watts and other Beat poets. He was also an early influence on Philip Kapleau, whose *Three Pillars of Zen* (1965) became a key countercultural text.<sup>32</sup>

Psychology itself was undergoing important changes in the postwar period, with the emergence of a "third force" under the tutelage of Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, and Rollo May, among others: a humanist vision that aimed to provide a new approach to behavioural and clinical psychology.<sup>33</sup> For example, Maslow rejected the behaviourism model that posited that human action was driven by the desire to avoid punishment, and instead developed the theory that humans aimed to fulfill particular needs, including that of self-actualization. Influenced by Max Wertheimer, who drew on Taoism and Buddhism in his development of Gestalt psychology, Maslow articulated a holistic understanding of human development.<sup>34</sup> Rogers and May revolutionized therapeutic practice. Rogers attacked the belief in the authority of the therapist, who traditionally held the power to analyze and prescribe, preferring instead a client-centred approach in which the therapist encouraged self-reflection.<sup>35</sup> Focusing on the issue of anxiety, May reframed the goals of therapy, seeing the aim "not to free patients from anxiety but, rather, to help them accept, bear, and live constructively with it."<sup>36</sup> In the 1970s, Robert Reinhold, a science journalist for the *New York Times*, wrote that this new strain of psychology emphasized broadening human awareness, potential, and self-actualization, and drew attention to topics such as "play, warmth, mysticism ('transpersonal experiences'), joy, Zen Buddhism and yoga."<sup>37</sup> Its growing

influence, and its incorporation of Asian strands of thought, was evident in new university offerings with titles such as “The Psychology of Zen,” “I Ching,” and “Meditation.”<sup>38</sup>

Explorations specifically into the power of meditation appeared in the emerging field of mind-body medicine. In 1969, Robert Keith Wallace, a graduate student in physiology at the University of California, Los Angeles, focused his studies on the effects of Transcendental Meditation in changing physiological states. Independently, Harvard-based cardiologist Herbert Benson, searching for ways to induce physiological changes in order to reduce heart disease, had begun preliminary studies of the effects of daily meditation practice on TM practitioners. The TM movement was inspired by the teachings of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who, in the 1950s, began efforts to spread his deep meditation technique around the world. His message gained widespread attention in the mid- to late 1960s, especially after Hollywood stars and rock musicians, such as the Beatles, flirted with this eastern practice. In the late 1960s, TM practitioners, keen to promote the benefits of meditation and gain credibility for the movement, approached scientists such as Benson and Wallace to study the health effects of their practice. While Benson and Wallace would collaborate for a few years, they parted ways as Benson disassociated his research from the TM movement. Still, this work would form the basis of his best-selling book, *The Relaxation Response*, published in 1975.<sup>39</sup>

Educators’ interest in TM flowed almost immediately into schools. In 1975, for example, five New Jersey high schools instituted a pilot project, offering a course in the Science of Creative Intelligence and Transcendental Meditation, informed by the teachings of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. While a court challenge resulted in a ruling that the introduction of TM into public schools overstepped the separation of church and state, some commentators firmly believed in the classroom benefits of a time devoted to meditation and quiet contemplation.<sup>40</sup> Still, TM was not the only South and Southeast Asian practice that gained educators’ attention. In that same year, Public School 158, an elementary school in New York City, welcomed the volunteer efforts of a yoga instructor. In explaining the rationale for this experiment, Principal Sidney Blitz stated “We have games, but they don’t develop either muscles or creative expression. I think yoga is the wave of the future.”<sup>41</sup>

Educators were not the only ones excited by the practical applications stemming from Asian meditation and body movement techniques. Like Wallace, many young graduate students were drawn to South and Southeast Asian religious practices. A number of individuals in medicine and related fields, such as psychology and neuroscience, became deeply influenced by Buddhist philosophy in particular. Richard J. Davidson, now a leading American psychologist, stated of the 1970s: “This was the period of *The Tao of Physics* (1975), *The Dancing Wu Li Masters* (1979), and other books arguing that there are strong complementarities between the findings of modern Western science and the insights of ancient Eastern philosophies.”<sup>42</sup> What for many started as a personal practice would go on to influence their academic work. For example, Jon Kabat-Zinn was a graduate student at MIT in molecular biology in the late 1960s and early 1970s when he became attracted to meditation. It was



in 1979, on a retreat at the Insight Meditation Society in Barre, Massachusetts, that Kabat-Zinn conceived the idea of applying Buddhist techniques to medical practice.<sup>43</sup> Kabat-Zinn explains that in developing the MBSR program he "was motivated by a strong impulse... to bring my dharma practice together with my work life into one unified whole, as an expression of right livelihood and in the service of something useful that felt very much needed in the world."<sup>44</sup> This is also true of Richard J. Davidson as well as Daniel Goleman, whose highly influential 1996 book, *Emotional Intelligence*, which significantly informs current educational practices, helped popularize the notion of multiple intelligences and the importance of resiliency. While undertaking graduate work at Harvard in the early 1970s, they both independently travelled to India, where they engaged in intensive meditation.<sup>45</sup> That experience would shape the course of their careers.

In the 1970s, however, work on the physical and emotional benefits of meditation practice existed at the fringe of health research. Yet over the next several decades, that would change, in part as a result of a revolution in ideas about the workings of the brain. Psychologists traditionally have understood emotion to be rooted in the limbic system—the oldest part of the brain—and cognition to be centred in the prefrontal cortex, considered the evolutionarily advanced part of the brain. Emotion was considered to be something that interrupted or disrupted cognitive ability. Using electroencephalograms (EEG), psychologists discovered the significant interaction between emotion and cognition, and that both were linked to the prefrontal cortex, leading them to conclude that emotion could in fact help facilitate cognition.<sup>46</sup> A healthy emotional life, then, contributed to one's learning abilities.

New discoveries about the brain took another leap in the mid-1990s with the development of functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). Using this new technology, scientists and psychologists discovered the neuroplastic nature of the brain, the brain's ability to create new neural pathways. While scientists had believed that the brain was fixed after development, new research indicated that individuals could actively change the structure of their brain. Using this technology, psychologists and neuroscientists have provided some evidence in the past decade-and-a-half that Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction programs can change brain function in adults by altering their neural pathways, resulting in reduced levels of stress, depression, and anxiety, and increased attention and affective regulation.<sup>47</sup> The implication of this research, however, is not simply that physiological actions—such as concentration on one's breath—can change brain patterns that will result in health benefits, but that such actions can reshape one's very being. Indeed, Nikolas Rose argues that "conceptions of personhood and practices of self-fashioning" are being affected by neuroscientific claims that one's self is not only shaped by one's brain but also shapes that brain.<sup>48</sup>

New scientific discoveries made possible by technological advancements have given rise to new fields of research. For example, Richard Davidson has led the way in the growing field of contemplative neuroscience. Reflecting on his academic path, he notes that, although he engaged in intensive meditation as a graduate student, studying meditation scientifically did not become feasible until after he gained tenure and

had established a strong professional reputation.<sup>49</sup> Whereas much attention has been focused on negative emotions, Davidson's work focuses on positive emotions—on mental training that can “strengthen empathy, compassion, optimism and a sense of well-being.”<sup>50</sup> That approach was significantly shaped by Davidson's contact in the early 1990s with the Dalai Lama, who, in return for his help in securing subjects so that Davidson could study the effects of meditation scientifically, encouraged Davidson to study positive emotions.<sup>51</sup> By the end of the 1990s, Davidson's work would intersect with the growing field of positive psychology, a new branch of the discipline that would have a significant impact on mainstream culture in general and school psychology and guidance counselling in particular.

### **School Psychology and the Emphasis on Self-development**

While insights drawn from Buddhism, psychology, and mind-body medicine have played a significant role in the development of mindfulness-based school programs, so too have changing approaches to education. Conceptual space for the introduction of mindfulness techniques within schools arises in part from elements of progressive education, a term that encompasses strands of thought that have ebbed and flowed through educational discourse since the early twentieth century. Drawing on the philosophy of John Dewey, the child study movement, and the new Gestalt psychology, among other influences, educators and school psychologists placed emphasis in particular on the importance of holism in education: the need to attend to all facets of a child's development and to understand the individual as part of a social whole. Attention to the whole child required new pedagogical methods, including engaging individual student interests, active learning, and exposure to relevant and immediately useful knowledge. Such methods would create opportunities for self-realization, an aim deemed crucial to the sustenance of a democratic society (a goal emphasized not only by school psychologists, but by humanist psychologists for the population at large).<sup>52</sup> The late 1960s and 1970s would see renewed calls for the implementation of various progressive educational ideals and methods—or neo-progressivism—not just in Canada, but elsewhere. Educational reformers reaffirmed the belief in learning as an individual and subjective process, the need for schools to allow greater opportunity for self-realization, often phrased as self-actualization, and the central role of education systems in the process of democratization.<sup>53</sup> In doing so, reformers attacked what they perceived as the continuing dominance of formal or traditional teaching methods and styles and the limits of the educational enterprise in providing equal educational opportunities for all children.<sup>54</sup>

The cultural upheaval of the late 1960s and 1970s not only lent support to reformers' critiques of existing education systems but also reinforced other trends. The secularization of public school systems and the increasing sway of multiculturalism pulled the rug out from under lingering elements of moral education that drew explicitly on Judeo-Christian traditions. The undisputed authority of the teacher, principal, and school administration gradually eroded, seen most visibly in edicts against the use of corporal punishment and more subtly in the emphasis on students participating

in, and sharing responsibility for, their own learning and self-development. This in turn gained force with the rights revolution that helped create a vision of children as deserving legal protection and access to the necessary economic and social preconditions for self-determination.<sup>55</sup>

At the same time, the last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed a massive growth in the field of school psychology as well as significant shifts in beliefs about, and attitudes towards, child development. While the origins of school psychology can be traced back to the early twentieth century, provincial departments of education generally only established guidance branches in the late 1930s and 1940s, and even then, guidance programs tended to be found primarily in major urban centres.<sup>56</sup> A 1951 report on practical education, for example, urged the development of teacher-training programs in guidance, specialized training for guidance teachers, and the creation of guidance services in secondary schools.<sup>57</sup> Only in the last quarter of the twentieth century would guidance explode as a field, with greater emphasis on counselling, rather than vocational guidance, and the extension of services into middle and elementary schools.<sup>58</sup>

The trend towards counselling services grew as psychologists turned towards prevention research. That turn was itself propelled by the growing influence of the humanist psychology of the 1950s. Some researchers focused on the attempt to prevent or mitigate a variety of problems such as schoolyard violence, substance abuse, and mental health issues, all of which contributed to poor academic results. For example, in the late 1960s James Comer, at the Yale School of Medicine's Child Study Center, piloted a program that produced favourable results over the subsequent decade aimed at improving attendance and academic achievement within several African-American dominated elementary schools in New Haven, Connecticut. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Roger P. Weissberg, a psychologist at Yale, and Timothy Shriver, a New Haven public school educator, took up this work, developing a program to promote social competency in school-age children.<sup>59</sup> Other researchers began working on interventions for children with a variety of special needs in order to help teachers, parents, and children themselves cope with the emotional frustration arising from the learning process. For example, in the 1980s, Carol A. Kushé, a psychologist at the University of Washington, along with Mark Greenberg, a child psychologist, developed the PATHS program to encourage emotional literacy in deaf and hard-of-hearing children.<sup>60</sup> In the US in the 1970s and 1980s the literature on school psychology frequently advocated for a shift "from the deficit-oriented" and "refer-test-place model toward a more positive preventative, consultative approach."<sup>61</sup>

Paralleling this emphasis on prevention research was a growing concern about students' self-esteem. Beginning with the interwar attacks on grade repetition, by the late 1960s humanist psychologists and educational experts firmly promoted the need for classroom activities that encouraged a positive learning experience and raised self-confidence. Carl Rogers, for example, not only revolutionized the practice of clinical psychology but also articulated a vision of schools as places that should ignite creativity through self-initiated and self-directed learning. The next three decades witnessed the proliferation of studies attempting to provide measurements of self-esteem and

track the relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement. Research emphasized the importance of self-expression, the value of first-person perspectives, and the effect that a positive sense of oneself played in self-development and thus social interaction. Studies on self-esteem, as with prevention research, often aimed to expand educational opportunities and reinforce the possibilities of the emancipatory nature of schooling.<sup>62</sup>

By the 1990s, much of this work would fall under the new field of positive psychology. In the vanguard of the movement, Martin E. P. Seligman and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi have argued for the need for the discipline to move away from the “almost exclusive attention to pathology” and its “preoccupation only with repairing” weaknesses and towards a focus on understanding the impact of positive values at the individual and social level as well as how to reinforce qualities that lead to well-being.<sup>63</sup> This new direction, they note, arose out of the work of prevention researchers who had “discovered that there are human strengths that act as buffers against mental illness: courage, future mindedness, optimism, interpersonal skill, faith, work ethic, hope, honesty, perseverance, and the capacity for flow and insight.”<sup>64</sup> Indeed some researchers had already begun to focus on resiliency—the ability of students to weather difficulties. These ideas would shape approaches to school psychology, particularly in the new millennium.

In the 1990s, the attention to resiliency and human potential would be grafted onto increasingly recognized ideas regarding the importance of emotional development. For example, Howard Gardner’s 1983 work on multiple intelligences, followed by that of Peter Salovey and John D. Mayer in the early 1990s from which Daniel Goleman drew heavily for his influential 1996 book, *Emotional Intelligence*, attacked the dominant, and what they believed to be narrow, understanding of intelligence as a cognitive (as opposed to an affective) process.<sup>65</sup> Goleman, along with Timothy Shriver and Mark Greenberg, would be central to the founding in 1994 of what would become CASEL (the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning), which in 1996 came under the direction of Roger Weissberg at the University of Illinois in Chicago. Research into self-regulation increased significantly in the 1980s and particularly the 1990s. CASEL brought together educators developing and implementing programs focused on children’s social and emotional development with neuroscientists studying human emotion, becoming a prime engine for the promotion of social and emotional learning (SEL) programs in schools. Influenced by Goleman’s work, Linda Lantieri, another co-founder of CASEL, wrote in 2008 of the growing recognition of “the importance of emotional intelligence as a basic requirement for the effective use of one’s IQ.”<sup>66</sup>

The belief in the importance of SEL for children led psychologists to upscale targeted interventions aimed at a small percentage of the school population into programs that could “promote resiliency and build competencies for all students.”<sup>67</sup> A good example of this is the PATHS Curriculum. While first developed by Kushé, with Greenberg, to aid the emotional development of deaf and hard-of-hearing children, its success led to its extension as a program to encourage emotional literacy in all children.<sup>68</sup> Most US states now have mandated SEL programs as part

of their K–12 learning outcomes.<sup>69</sup> This is, in fact, part of a trans-Atlantic pattern. England and Wales implemented an SEL program in secondary schools in 2007 that was thoroughly influenced by Goleman's work.<sup>70</sup> And SEL skills are also recognized as a central component of learning within some Canadian provincial curricula.<sup>71</sup> Mindfulness techniques have become integrated into many social and emotional learning programs as part of the attempt to develop emotional intelligence and resiliency in children.

The demand for programs in emotional literacy developed at least in part as psychologists developed new ideas about discipline and behaviour management. By century's end, child psychologists and parental advice literature placed decreasing emphasis on external management—for example the granting of stars for good behaviour—in favour of self-regulation. Stuart Shanker, a leading Canadian child psychologist, and CEO of The MEHRIT Centre, a significant vehicle for the promotion of SEL, has staunchly criticized the continuing use of traditional behaviour management practices in schools and in the home. Discipline that produces "fear of reprisal," he argues, "does not encourage sustained self-regulation because it is largely dependent on the presence of an authority figure such as a teacher or parent." "In addition," he notes, "fear (or other negative emotions such as anxiety or anger) can push certain children into a hyper- or hypoaroused state from which they may find it difficult to recover."<sup>72</sup> Shanker also argues that behaviours such as lack of attention, giving up when slightly frustrated, or day-dreaming, can rarely be rectified with traditional disciplinary measures.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, these measures, such as sending a child to their room or putting them in a corner, may interrupt a tantrum but cannot offer skills to the teacher, parent, or child to discover the cause of the tantrum or provide guidance on how to prevent a tantrum in the first place. Instead, he, and others, advocate "positive discipline," asking teachers and parents to investigate and understand the cause of poor behaviour and provide children with the skills to modify that behaviour.<sup>74</sup>

By the new millennium, then, popular psychological and therapeutic models emphasized a form of child-centred behaviour management that encouraged self-expression while teaching self-regulation. This approach was deeply informed by the work of psychologists such as Rogers and May, focused on the authority of the individual in the process of self-determination, as well as by the growing research into the importance of social and emotional learning for child development.<sup>75</sup> Within schools, these trends not only meshed with the neo-progressivism of the late 1960s and 1970s but also with the thrust of critical pedagogy from the 1980s onwards that reinforced the importance of students taking control of their own learning, being able to think critically about existing power structures, and learning to use their knowledge to transform the world.

### **Promoting Emotional Development through Citizenship Ideals**

That combination of social justice activism, SEL, and student-centred learning is at the core of the MindUP curriculum and informs the citizenship ideals it promotes.

The MindUP curriculum is the product of the Hawn Foundation, sponsored by Goldie Hawn, who turned to Buddhism as a young woman to calm her own anxieties. Hawn's foundation has partnered with respected researchers to create a curriculum providing "simple practices" to help children "become resilient, focused, and mindful leaders" and equip them "with the skills they need to live smarter, healthier, and happier lives."<sup>76</sup> The creators of the program clearly justify the crucial need for, and benefits of, their program based on "leading-edge research in the fields of developmental cognitive neuroscience, mindfulness training, social and emotional learning (SEL), and positive psychology," and with "objectives roughly parallel" to those of CASEL.<sup>77</sup> It is a curriculum aimed at all students and that can be easily integrated into the regular school day. The foundation has helped sponsor pilot programs administered by university researchers in public schools in Canada and the US, and it has developed a strong marketing agenda by partnering with the Scholastic publishing company, thus making the resources widely available.<sup>78</sup> While the MindUP Curriculum is not the only SEL program that employs mindfulness techniques, unlike other programs that emphasize a variety of SEL skills, it focuses specifically on mindfulness practices. Despite the emphasis on a scientific research base, a brief examination of the values and ideals expressed within that curriculum provides some preliminary insights into continuities in citizenship ideals over the past century as well as the ways such programs may be recasting those ideals as greater focus is placed on emotional development.

In the mid-twentieth century, educators articulated a constellation of values and behaviours that drew on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century notions of character. They commonly wrote of the need for students to display qualities such as honesty, loyalty, self-control, self-denial, initiative, courage, restraint in victory and "fortitude in defeat," duty, obedience, kindness, generosity, charity, and a spirit of service.<sup>79</sup> Beginning in the 1930s, and increasingly through the 1940s and 1950s, educators interwove these ideals with more current intellectual strands, emphasizing, for example, the importance of educating the whole child, the need for personality development and attention to the process of self-realization, and the vision of schools as spaces of co-operation. While giving voice to ideals of freedom, choice, and democracy, at mid-century students remained under tight control and direction. For example, educators emphasized individual responsibility and personal development but encouraged sublimation of the self in the service of others, and ultimately, of the nation.<sup>80</sup>

Still, mid-century educators contributed to a modification of citizenship ideals that would gain strength in the 1960s and 1970s. Increasing weight was placed not only on self-realization, but also on self-actualization — the development of an individual's specific characteristics and traits in order to provide that individual with the greatest chance of fulfillment and success. Defining and developing one's own character or personality traits, then, would help one find one's authentic self and thus aid the individual in discovering the best way to contribute to one's community.<sup>81</sup> And the language of self-sacrifice to the nation would be replaced with that of social responsibility. This recasting would filter through educational discourse in the subsequent three decades.<sup>82</sup>

The MindUP curriculum reflects some of the character ideals and new education

methods prominent in Canada since the early twentieth century, though at times expressed in different language. For example, it emphasizes "self-control," often rephrased as "self-management," "regulating emotions," or "self-possession." The curriculum stresses co-operation, collaboration, tolerance, generosity, and "acts of kindness." Even the ability to bounce back from distress, or in modern terms, resiliency, is not far off from the concept of fair play and fortitude in the face of defeat. The curriculum also downplays individual work in favour of group work. It replaces the teacher as the arbiter of information with collaborative learning, peer-learning, and self-direction, in order to encourage students' interest in their education and provide youth with a greater sense of control over their own lives.<sup>83</sup>

Yet as a text for the new millennium, the curriculum also draws heavily on the intellectual currents of the last several decades. Following the advances made in prevention research, and with the influence of the positive psychology movement, it reinforces the emphasis on the removal of harm from schooling and the vision of schools as a positive force for change within society. It does so in particular through attention to emotion. It thus emphasizes the need to remove stressors in order to learn as well as the importance of exploring and understanding one's emotions in order to develop a spirit of calmness and create focus and attention on the present moment. Accompanying the importance of self-awareness is a strong push for "social awareness," with the encouragement of empathy, compassion, inclusiveness, and diversity, and teaching skills for "conflict resolution." In addition, the MindUP program elevates the belief in the need for schools to be places of "joyful engagement" and positive environments. "Hope and optimism," it notes, "enable achievement."<sup>84</sup>

This curriculum also amplifies specific neo-progressive ideals of the 1960s and 1970s, though with an end result perhaps not intended by educators in that earlier period. For example, while stressing learning methods that provide greater authority to students and greater control to youth over their own lives, it teaches them to use mindfulness techniques so that they can become "habitually more observant of their own learning process." Students can then become their own assessors, able to figure out what they are good at and where they need to improve. There is thus a heightened emphasis on self-monitoring. The curriculum states that "the child who learns to monitor his or her senses and feelings becomes more aware and better understands how to respond to the world *reflectively* instead of *reflexively*."<sup>85</sup>

Much more work is required by historians to unravel the various intellectual strands within this and other social and emotional learning programs. In this article, I want only to point to the deep historical roots of this very recent educational phenomenon. The aim of schooling, as in the past, is to create adjusted individuals, all of whom can contribute and envision themselves as contributing to, society. The modern incarnation of schooling, as articulated in the MindUP curriculum, reflects a twentieth-century thrust in educational thought (which itself has never been static) that challenged a classical, hierarchical model based on mental ability and the authority of the teacher, and placed importance instead on the role of schools to create self-directed learners. Its twist is to emphasize attention to the emotions as the way to move this aim forward.

### **The Contemporary Spread of Mindfulness in Schools**

Why have educators taken up these types of mindfulness programs? Some of the developing interest is the result of institutional exposure. Some faculties of education have developed courses aimed at teacher stress and burnout. For example, in 2006, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto (OISE/UT), offered a Mindfulness-Based Wellness Education program. In 2013, researchers at the University of British Columbia piloted a similar program called Stress Management and Relaxation Techniques (SMART) in Education. Other faculties have established teacher education programs that incorporate mindfulness as part of a transformative method to teaching and learning. In 2014, for example, the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University began offering a master's degree in Contemplative Inquiry and Approaches in Education, a first in North America.<sup>86</sup>

Various school districts have also taken up some mindfulness-based programming. The MindUP curriculum is but one example. Mindfulness Without Borders, an organization with offices in San Francisco and Toronto, trains facilitators to deliver mindfulness programs in classrooms. In 2012, their program, Mindfulness Ambassador Council, could be found in a handful of classes in the Toronto Catholic District School Board. In 2014, administrators at Dr. Norman Bethune Collegiate Institute in Toronto embedded a mindfulness program, Learning to Breathe, into its grade 9 school day. Similarly, some Alberta educators have drawn on a program developed by Mindful Schools, based in California, while educators in various provinces have introduced mindfulness techniques into their broader self-regulation initiatives as well as including activities such as yoga at lunch hour.<sup>87</sup>

Much of the spread of mindfulness practices, however, can be attributed to grass-roots efforts. First, many educators have found it useful in their own lives to cope with their own stress. Teacher burnout and stress became an increasing issue of concern through the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>88</sup> The integration of mindfulness into therapeutic practices, and its popularization in the 1990s and particularly through the first decade of the new century, offered teachers one strategy to alleviate their distress. As one educator noted in 2014, "when every student needs help and I may only have 15 minutes to get everything done, it's challenging to pay attention to everything that's going on. That's when my personal mindfulness practice is helpful.... When I notice my attention is 'narrowing' I pause and feel the breath. This slows down my thoughts and helps me to think clearly and be 'present' to all my students."<sup>89</sup>

In some cases, an educator's personal practice has led them to apply mindfulness practices to their professional endeavours. Exposed to the teachings of Ram Dass, Joseph Goldstein, and Jack Kornfield, John Miller, a professor in the Department of Curriculum, Teaching, and Learning at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, began practising insight meditation in the early 1970s and attended a retreat at Barre, Massachusetts, in the early 1980s. By 1988, he had introduced meditation into one of his elective courses, "The Holistic Curriculum."<sup>90</sup> A more recent, though fairly similar story is that of Doug Allen, the principal of Grandview Heights School in Edmonton, Alberta. In 2014, he, along with the teachers at the



school, began implementing some mindfulness practices. Allen had a long personal meditation practice, but it was only after attending a 2013 Heart-Mind conference offered by the Dalai Lama Center for Peace and Education in Vancouver, that he recognized the ways that this practice could be implemented into schools. As he wrote in *Education Week*, he was seeing the students in his relatively affluent school "under tremendous pressure to achieve, at any cost. They were stressed and exhibited the symptoms of stress."<sup>91</sup> He reached out to the California-based Mindful Schools to secure training for himself and several of his teachers. As a result of that training, the school integrated mindfulness practices into its daily routine, with the day opening with a two- to five-minute practice led by students, a weekly in-class session with a trained teacher, and mindful minutes throughout the day, often at the request of students feeling overwhelmed. Allen stated to one reporter that his "hope is that teaching mindfulness will become as natural and commonplace as teaching about nutrition, physical education and social studies."<sup>92</sup>

Mindfulness practices have also entered schools as educators have witnessed its benefits. Munira Wazir, an educational assistant at Baldwin School in Edmonton started doing mindfulness exercises with one of her students who was consistently angry, had hit a teacher with a stapler, thrown chairs in the classroom, and jabbed another student with his pencil. After several sessions working with the student, he told Wazir that on a family trip to Somalia he had seen a man "strapped to a chair and shot." Wazir noted that the exercise she did with the student—a game of becoming like a statue—not only calmed the student but, with time, enabled him to self-identify oncoming anger and gave him the language to articulate his need to become still as a statue. Other teachers were amazed at the results and asked Wazir to help in their classrooms. As a result, the school as a whole embraced mindfulness practices, with the school day opening with the student body gathering in the gymnasium "for a few minutes of quiet led by Wazir."<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, the draw of mindfulness may also be spurred by teachers' concerns about, and attempts to deal with, what they perceive as an increase in behavioural and mental health issues affecting individual students and the classroom learning environment. A comprehensive report on children's health, based on three major surveys undertaken through the 1990s and published in 2000 by the Canadian Institute of Child Health, raised significant concerns about children's emotional health, concerns that would only grow through the decade. A 2011 survey of teachers undertaken by the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) indicated that numerous Canadian teachers felt that student mental health had become a significant classroom issue. In a follow-up the next year by the CTF in conjunction with the Mental Health Commission of Canada, teachers reported pressing concerns about students with a range of issues such as ADD, ADHD, autism spectrum disorder, dyslexia, anxiety, and stress. Moreover, teachers indicated that about 10 per cent of their students either received, or were in need of receiving, mental health interventions.<sup>94</sup> Surveys of students have reinforced teachers' impressions. A 2011–12 Toronto District School Board survey of its student body found over one-third of students reported high levels of stress and anxiety. That board responded by

initiating “mental-health teams made up of teachers, staff, students and community members” in all of its schools and encouraged the development of student-led initiatives to draw awareness to mental health issues.<sup>95</sup>

Educators, then, have drawn on mindfulness practices, and self-regulation techniques more generally, to help with their own stress, to provide students with skills to cope with their own emotions, and to aid in classroom management. These practices have perhaps also found a place because they easily mesh with the dominant values conveyed within school systems. For example, they provide a method for teachers to modify their own behaviour in the context of an education system that frowns on practices such as yelling at students, harsh reprimands, or external forms of punishment, favouring instead classroom discipline based on patience, guidance, and eliminating stressors. Mindfulness-based programs reinforce classroom behaviour that encourages acceptance, compassion, and empathy for oneself and others, an ideal that fits with two decades of anti-bullying and self-esteem campaigns. They can be used to encourage engagement and action—not only for oneself, but also in the community—thus bolstering the citizenship aims of liberal democracies. And their emphasis on creating a “breather,” a period of rejuvenation, in order to do better work fits with the aim of creating more productive and creative workers and the perceived need for workplace skills that include “emotion work” such as collaboration, flexibility, and social negotiation.<sup>96</sup> In other words, they give authority to, and help justify, existing values and expectations of behaviour in the secular school system.

Yet even as they spread, mindfulness-based programs have encountered some backlash because of their Buddhist origins. In one school district in New Zealand, a handful of evangelical Protestant parents protested the introduction of a program developed by the New Zealand Mental Health Foundation. In southern California, parents took a school district to court after it introduced a compulsory yoga program—on the grounds that it included religious elements. In Plain Township, Ohio, the school district halted its plans to expand a piloted mindfulness program when parents complained about both the close connections to Asian religious practices and the misuse of valuable learning time. Similarly, in British Columbia some parents have raised concerns about the religious undertones of the programs.<sup>97</sup> Proponents of mindfulness practice, as derived from Kabat-Zinn’s MBSR program, argue that it is taught in a secular manner.<sup>98</sup> And one can certainly read the MindUP curriculum, for example, without realizing it has any connection to Buddhism. Still, while it may be taught in a secular manner, there is no doubt that mindfulness in North America originates out of the confluence of Anglo-American and Asian intellectual and religious traditions documented above.<sup>99</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Understanding the growing influence of mindfulness in Canadian schools requires not just an assessment of contemporary developments, but of historical ones as well. North Americans' encounters with Buddhism, and South and Southeast Asian religions and cultures more generally, increased significantly in the second half of the twentieth century. In the 1950s and 1960s, Asian intellectual influences began to infuse a variety of academic fields such as literature, philosophy, and psychology, but it was the countercultural ferment of the late 1960s and 1970s that significantly brought a variety of Asian perspectives to the attention of many North Americans. Informed by the philosophical currents of the 1950s and early 1960s, a variety of scholars who were graduate students in the late 1960s and early 1970s subsequently forged careers, developing pathbreaking work that would find its way into mainstream society by the first decade of the new millennium. Their work has informed North American culture but it has also found a receptive home because of the broader societal changes ushered in by the counterculture and in which they themselves participated.

That countercultural ferment intersected with particular strands of thought that had been gaining currency through the twentieth century such as the importance of the active involvement of students in their own education, experiential learning, and education as an individual and subjective process. The cultural upheaval of the late 1960s and 1970s lent strength to earlier progressive challenges, leaving school systems struggling with how to balance a system built on authority, hierarchy, professional expertise, measurement, and order, while placing greater emphasis on individualistic learning, individual rights, and experimentation aimed at instilling the joy of learning. That struggle has animated the debates about the nature and purpose of the education system in the second half of the twentieth century. It could be argued that mindfulness practice reflects this bifurcation. It can be harnessed for classroom management but also challenges external authority and evaluation. It offers expertise but questions the authority of the expert. It subtly attacks the western belief in the progress of civilization—asking instead that we live in the moment—yet, at the same time, reinforces a communal commitment by emphasizing intentional living.<sup>100</sup> The presence of mindfulness practices in schools, and of SEL more generally, also marks an elevation of the emotions in western society since the 1960s—a gradual re-orientation from a belief that emotions should be repressed and kept in check to one that encourages expression and asks children to explore and understand their emotions. As such, it provides a good example of the ways in which the spirit of the 1960s counterculture spread through, and is continuing to influence, mainstream North American society, as well as the way in which some countercultural ideas have been grafted onto existing educational systems.

Much more research is needed to understand the impact of this twentieth-century therapeutic turn. While critics have argued that this transformation is leading (or has led) to a rise of narcissism or equally a citizenship defined by vulnerability, historical assessment may need to wait, given the leadership of youth on a host of social justice issues, not least the recent global student-led strikes focusing on climate change and

the Ontario walkouts against Premier Doug Ford's changes to that province's education system. Still, scholars have pointed to the fact that this turn has "created new ways of being students in the classrooms and schools" of North America.<sup>101</sup> While the aim of universal education in the first half of the twentieth century was primarily the extension of basic literacy and numeracy to a wider population in hierarchical institutions that reinforced moral imperatives of personal duty and service to nation, in the first decades of the new millennium, self-realization and self-development have become at least as important as literacy, with leadership in diversity and inclusion the mark of ideal citizenship. The end result of the twentieth-century endeavour to provide accessible education for all may well be leading to a transformation in the very nature and purposes of schooling.

This history of mindfulness illuminates the way in which intellectual and cultural changes of the past half-century have helped shape current educational ideals. In the process, it highlights how changes in cultural context have preceded the evidence for the scientific benefits of mindfulness. Indeed, while psychologists have been researching various prevention interventions since the 1970s and developing social and emotional programs, it was the technological leap in brain imaging in the 1990s that truly gave force to the benefits of these various strategies. A historical perspective on the topic thus reinforces the need to understand the social and cultural context of psychological research, and natural science more generally, and to question its claims of objectivity.<sup>102</sup>

The rise of psychology as a discipline, and the cultural turn towards reliance on psychological understandings of behaviour and of the self to guide conduct, clearly had an impact on late twentieth-century North American society. Where prescriptions for behaviour rested on theologically or religiously-based rationales for much of the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, these are increasingly being replaced by psychological ones. Yet psychological understandings of the self are not static. Stuart Shanker, a leading proponent of SEL in Canada has argued, "if IQ was the major psychological construct of the 20th century, in the 21st century it will be self-regulation."<sup>103</sup> The introduction of mindfulness practices in schools fits part and parcel with the growing attention to self-regulation. The increasing importance placed on SEL points to the need for greater attention to the role of psychology in schooling, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century. Still, the growing influence of mindfulness is the product not only of developments in the field of psychology but of the massive social and cultural changes that have occurred in the past fifty years. Understanding those changes will help us better understand the transformations occurring within our current education system and the students it produces.

## Notes

I would like to thank Albert Banerjee, Michael Dawson, R. D. Gidney, Michael Houlihan, Jack Martin, Wyn Millar, Sandra Thomson, Carey Watt, and the journal's anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this article. Funké Aladejebi, Theresa Devor, and Matthew LeBlanc provided invaluable research assistance. This research and publication was supported by a 2015 AMS History of Healthcare Grant from AMS (Associated Medical Services, Inc.).

- 1 Andrew Campbell, "Breathe In, Breathe Out a Way to Conquer Students' Stress," *Globe and Mail*, March 1, 2013, [www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/education/breathe-in-breathe-out-a-way-to-conquer-students-stress/article9156091/](http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/education/breathe-in-breathe-out-a-way-to-conquer-students-stress/article9156091/).
- 2 Kate Pickert, "The Art of Being Mindful," *Time*, March 2, 2014, 40; Schumpeter, "The Mindfulness Business," *The Economist*, November 16, 2013, 73. See also Shelley Parker, "How Mindfulness Improved NB Power's Safety Record," *Globe and Mail*, March 7, 2018.
- 3 Jeff Wilson, *Mindful America: The Mutual Transformation of Buddhist Meditation and American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 98–101; P. Albrecht, M. Albrecht, and M. Cohen, "Mindfully Teaching in the Classroom: A Literature Review," *Australian Journal of Teacher Education* 37, no. 12 (2012): 6; Cynthia Macdonald, "The Science of Mindfulness," *University of Toronto Magazine* 41, no. 3 (Spring 2014): 46; Rebecca S. Crane, Willem Kuyken, J. Mark G. Williams, Richard P. Hastings, Lucinda Cooper, and Melanie J. V. Fennell, "Competence in Teaching Mindfulness-Based Courses: Concepts, Development and Assessment," *Mindfulness* 3, no. 1 (2012): 76–84.
- 4 John Meiklejohn, Catherine Phillips, M. Lee Freedman, Mary Lee Griffin, Gina Biegel, Andy Roach, Jenny Frank, Christine Burke, Laura Pinger, Geoff Soloway, Roberta Isberg, Erica Sibinga, Laurie Grossman, and Amy Saltzman, "Integrating Mindfulness Training into K–12 Education: Fostering the Resilience of Teachers and Students," *Mindfulness* 3 (2012): 299–301. For Australia, see Albrecht et al., "Mindfully Teaching in the Classroom."
- 5 In the US, the Hawn Foundation and Scholastic Books have collaborated to produce MindUP, a cheap and accessible detailed classroom curriculum that covers pre-school to grade 8. Similarly, in 2009, Richard Burnett and Chris Cullen created the Mindfulness in Schools Project (MiSP) and rolled out the .b (dot-be) program, to provide English schools with a classroom curriculum in mindfulness skills. See Scholastic and the Hawn Foundation, *The MindUP Curriculum, Grades Pre-K-2* (Scholastic: New York, 2011), and <https://mindfulnessinschools.org/about/about-us/>.
- 6 Indeed, in the past few years, a variety of bills have been introduced at the state and federal levels in the US aimed at promoting SEL programs in classrooms. In Britain, such programs gained official sanction in 2005, with mindfulness even becoming the subject of a cross-party parliamentary committee, which in 2015 issued a policy document, Mindful Nation UK, that advocated access to mindfulness programs through state institutions. See Pickert, "The Art of Being Mindful"; Terry Hyland, "Mindful Nation UK—Report by the Mindfulness All-Party Parliamentary Group (MAPPG)," *Journal of Vocational Education & Training* 68, no. 1 (2016): 133–36.
- 7 For example, see Wilson, *Mindful America*; Ira Helderman, *Prescribing the Dharma: Psychotherapists, Buddhist Traditions, and Defining Religion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019); Anne Harrington, *The Cure Within: A History of Mind-Body Medicine* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008); Wakoh Shannon Hickey, "Mind Cure, Meditation, and Medicine: Hidden Histories of Mental Healing in the United States" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2008); Wendy Cadge, *Heartwood: The First Generation of Theravada Buddhism in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

- 2005); Gil Fronsdal, "Insight Meditation in the United States: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness," in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, ed. Charles S. Prebish and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 163–180.
- 8 Candy Gunther Brown, *Debating Yoga and Mindfulness in Public Schools: Reforming Secular Education or Reestablishing Religion?* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).
- 9 Jon Kabat-Zinn with Mark Williams, *Mindfulness: Diverse Perspectives on its Meaning, Origins, and Applications* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Richard J. Davidson with Sharon Begley, *The Emotional Life of Your Brain: How Its Unique Patterns Affect the Way You Think, Feel, and Live—and How You Can Change Them* (New York: Hudson Street Press, 2012).
- 10 See, for example, T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture, 1880–1930" in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980*, ed. R. W. Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 3–38; Warren I. Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture," in *New Directions in American Intellectual History*, ed. John Higham and Paul K. Conkin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 212–26; Nikolas Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Katie Wright, *The Rise of Therapeutic Society: Psychological Knowledge & the Contradictions of Cultural Change* (Washington, DC: New Academia, 2011). In the Canadian context, the history of psychology and schooling remains nascent. For an introduction to the topic, see Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). For a contemporary analysis, see Jack Martin and Ann-Marie McLellan, *The Education of Selves: How Psychology Transformed Students* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). For the context of special education, see Jason Ellis, *A Class by Themselves? The Origins of Special Education in Toronto and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).
- 11 Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979); Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Stephen M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture"; Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization." See also Jean Twenge and W. Keith Campbell, *The Narcissism Epidemic: Living in the Age of Entitlement* (New York: Free Press, 2009); Maureen Stout, *The Feel-good Curriculum: The Dumbing-down of America's Kids in the Name of Self-esteem* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2000).
- 12 Wright, *The Rise of Therapeutic Society*, 225. For a critique of the current uses of mindfulness in American education systems and a commentary on its potential as a transformative practice, see David Forbes, *Mindfulness and Its Discontents: Education, Self, and Social Transformation* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2019).
- 13 See, for example, Kathryn Ecclestone and Dennis Hayes, *The Dangerous Rise of Therapeutic Education* (London: Routledge, 2008); Frank Furedi, *Therapy Culture: Creating Vulnerability in an Uncertain Age* (London: Routledge, 2003) and "The Silent Ascendancy of Therapeutic Culture in Britain," *Society* (March/April 2002): 16–24. For related arguments in the US, see, for example, Clío Stearns, *Critiquing Social and Emotional Learning: Psychodynamic and Cultural Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2019), and Megan Boler, *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* (New York: Routledge, 1999), ch. 4. For the Canadian context, see Martin and McLellan, *The Education of Selves*, 2.

- 14 Terry Hyland, "Mindfulness and the Therapeutic Function of Education," *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 43, no. 1 (2009): 128. See also Avi Mintz, "Has Therapy Intruded into Education?," *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 43, no. 4 (2009): 633–47. For a useful reflection on SEL, see Neil Humphrey, *Social and Emotional Learning: A Critical Appraisal* (London: Sage, 2013).
- 15 Elizabeth A. Gagan, "Governing Emotions: Citizenship, Neuroscience and the Education of Youth," *Transactions* 40 (2013): 150, <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12048>.
- 16 Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Mindfulness-Based Interventions in Context: Past, Present, and Future," *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice* 10, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 145.
- 17 Kabat-Zinn argues that mindfulness techniques allow patients to become aware of the fact "that a considerable amount of their suffering" often has less to do "with their pain itself, and more with their emotional reactions to that pain." See Harrington, *The Cure Within*, 220.
- 18 *MindUP Curriculum, Grades Pre-K–2*, 10.
- 19 William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), chapter 8; Hickey, "Mind Cure, Meditation, and Medicine."
- 20 Michael K. Masatsugu, "'Beyond This World of Transiency and Impermanence': Japanese Americans, Dharma Bums, and the Making of American Buddhism during the Early Cold War Years," *Pacific Historical Review* 77, no. 3 (August 2008): 436.
- 21 Wilson, *Mindful America*, 23–31.
- 22 See Harrington, *The Cure Within*, 209–13; Charles Y. Glock and Robert N. Bellah, eds. *The New Religious Consciousness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Masatsugu, "'Beyond this World,'" 437–38; Carl Jackson, "The Counterculture Looks East: Beat Writers and Asian Religion," *American Studies* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 63; Bruce Douville, "Christ and Counterculture: Churches, Clergy, and Hippies in Toronto's Yorkville, 1965–1970," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 47, no. 95 (November 2014), 753–54; Henry Mietkiewicz and Bob Mackowycz, *Dream Tower: The Life and Legacy of Rochdale College* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1988), 14, 43.
- 23 See Wilson, *Mindful America*, 33.
- 24 Cadge, *Heartwood*, 28.
- 25 The retreat was led by S. N. Goenka, a Burmese Buddhist, who taught a version of the "body scan" — now a prominent feature of the mindfulness movement. See Don Lattin, *The Harvard Psychedelic Club: How Timothy Leary, Ram Dass, Hudson Smith, and Andrew Weil Killed the Fifties and Usbered in a New Age for America* (New York: HarperOne, 2010), 154–55.
- 26 Kornfield met Trungpa at a party in Cambridge, MA, in 1973. Kornfield and Goldstein were invited to teach at the Naropa Institute by Trungpa and Ram Dass respectively. Allen Ginsburg also taught there that summer. See Cadge, *Heartwood*, 28; Fronsdal, "Insight Meditation in the United States," 167; Wilson, *Mindful America*, 32, 82.
- 27 Cadge, *Heartwood*, 15. Kornfield established Spirit Rock Meditation Center in California in 1981. Spirit Rock and IMS have become powerful sites for the propagation of mindfulness. See Wilson, *Mindful America*, 32.
- 28 See, for example, Fronsdal, "Insight Meditation in the United States," 166; Wilson, *Mindful America*, 32–33.
- 29 Fronsdal, "Insight Meditation in the United States," 167.
- 30 Cadge, *Heartwood*, 66, 94–98; 108–10, 124; Wilson, *Mindful America*, 46.
- 31 Judy Tzu-Chun Wu uses the term "radical orientalism" to encapsulate both North American activists' romanticization of "the East" to critique western society and to underscore the important role of Asian individuals and organizations in this process. See Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2013), 4–5.

- 32 Eugene Taylor, *Shadow Culture: Psychology and Spirituality in America* (Washington: Counterpoint, 1999), 193; Martin J. Verhoeven, "Americanizing the Buddha: Paul Carus and the Transformation of Asian Thought," in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, ed. Charles S. Prebish and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 218; Ira P. Helderman, "Drawing the Boundaries between 'Religion' and 'Secular' in Psychotherapists' Approaches to Buddhist Traditions in the United States," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 84, no. 4 (December 2016): 937–72.
- 33 Martin E. P. Seligman and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, "Positive Psychology: An Introduction," *American Psychologist* 55, no. 1 (January 2000): 7, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.5>.
- 34 Maslow was also deeply influenced by the philosophy of John Dewey. See Linda Sargent Wood, *A More Perfect Union: Holistic Worldviews and the Transformation of American Culture after World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 149–50, 157; Ellen Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 265.
- 35 Taylor, *Shadow Culture*, 263, 268–69.
- 36 Taylor, 265.
- 37 Robert Reinhold, "Humanistic Psychology Shows Its Force," *New York Times*, September 4, 1970, 13.
- 38 Boyce Rensberger, "'Hot Courses' on Campus: Dreams, Yoga and 'I Ching,'" *New York Times*, January 8, 1973, 93.
- 39 Harrington, *The Cure Within*, 209–19; Hickey, "Mind Cure, Meditation, and Medicine," 2; Wilson, *Mindful America*, 80. The term "mind-body medicine" did not become common until the 1990s. See Harrington, 244.
- 40 Anne L. Finger, "A Word in Favor of Meditation in Schools," *New York Times*, March 7, 1976, NJ27.
- 41 Lisa Hammel, "Children, with Help of Yoga, Become Residents of a Menagerie for an Hour," *New York Times*, May 26, 1975, 16. For an analysis of this case, see Brown, *Debating Yoga and Mindfulness in Public Schools*, chapter 2.
- 42 Davidson with Begley, *The Emotional Life of Your Brain*, xvi.
- 43 Wilson, *Mindful America*, 35, 84–85.
- 44 Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR, Skillful Means, and the Trouble With Maps," *Contemporary Buddhism* 12, no. 1 (May 2011): 286. Kabat-Zinn's *Full Catastrophe Living: Using the Wisdom of Your Body and Mind to Face Stress, Pain, and Illness*, rev. ed. (New York: Bantam Books, 2013), the canonical textbook on the practice of MBSR, acknowledges the influence of a variety of individuals key to the mindfulness movement such as Jack Kornfield, Joseph Goldstein, Sharon Salzberg, Philip Kapleau, Seung Sahn, Thich Nhat Hanh, and Ram Dass, among others.
- 45 Davidson with Begley, *The Emotional Life of Your Brain*, xvi–xvii, 177–78, 185. Kabat-Zinn, Goleman, and Davidson were not alone. For example, Jeffrey M. Schwartz, a neuropsychiatrist at UCLA, who was influenced by Buddhist philosophy in the 1970s, developed a new form of treatment for OCD that incorporated elements of mindful awareness. The book resulting from his research was dedicated in part to Ven. Mahāsi Sayadaw "for his monumental contribution to the practice of mindful awareness in this century." See Jeffrey M. Schwartz, *Brain Lock: Free Yourself from Obsessive-Compulsive Behavior: A Four-Step Self-Treatment Method to Change Your Brain Chemistry* (New York: Regan Books, 1996). Jeff Wilson notes that Daniel Siegel "is trained in vipassana meditation, and though he never frames them as Buddhist, his writings are peppered with keywords important to that Buddhist tradition, such a loving-kindness, compassion, and the concept that everything changes." See Wilson, *Mindful America*, 58.
- 46 Davidson with Begley, *The Emotional Life of Your Brain*, xv, 89.



- 47 Scholars note that "preliminary findings between 2005 and 2009 showed correlations between mindfulness training and increased thickness of cortical structures (i.e. grey matter) associated with attention, working memory, processing sensory input, EF, self-reflection, empathy, and affective regulation." See Meiklejohn et al., "Integrating Mindfulness Training into K-12 Education," 293.
- 48 Nikolas Rose and Joelle M. Abi-Rached, *Neuro: The New Brain Sciences and the Management of the Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 22.
- 49 Davidson with Begley, *The Emotional Life of the Brain*, xvi-xvii. As a graduate student, Goleman was similarly dissuaded from pursuing a line of inquiry into the effects of meditation on stress by his skeptical supervisors and "the inadequacy of the laboratory measures" available at the time. See Harrington, *The Cure Within*, 205.
- 50 Davidson with Begley, *The Emotional Life of Your Brain*, xvi.
- 51 Davidson with Begley, xvii, 185. The Dalai Lama was already involved in supporting dialogues between western scientists and Buddhists through the Mind and Life Institute. Organized by Francisco J. Varela, a neuroscientist, and R. Adam Engle, an American businessman and Buddhist, the meetings of five or six scientists, held every couple of years, has included, among others, Daniel Goleman and Jon Kabat-Zinn in 1990, Richard Davidson in 1995, and Mark Greenberg in 2000. In 2001, the institute held its meeting at Davidson's research lab at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, with a focus on neuroscience and meditation practices. See R. Adam Engle, "Appendix: About the Mind and Life Institute," in Sharon Begley, *Train Your Mind, Change Your Brain* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2007), 255-61. For more on the intersection of Buddhism and mind-body medicine, see Harrington, *The Cure Within*, 230-42, and Anne Harrington and Arthur Zajonc, *The Dalai Lama at MIT* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
- 52 See, for example, S. R. Laycock, "The Teacher's Influence on the Mental Health of Pupils," *The School* (November 1937), 191-95; Dudley M. FitzPatrick, "Integrative Teaching," *BC Teacher* 21 (December 1941), 183-84. For the incursion of the "new education" movement into Canadian schools in the first half of the twentieth century, see, for example, R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 81-86; Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), chapter 6; Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*; Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 21-22; Theodore Michael Christou, *Progressive Education: Revisioning and Reframing Ontario's Public Schools, 1919-1942* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905 to 1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006). For reference to the humanist psychologists, see Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology*, 264-75.
- 53 R. D. Gidney, *Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 74; Scott Davies, "The Paradox of Progressive Education: A Frame Analysis," *Sociology of Education* 75, no. 4 (2002): 279; von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, chapters 4 and 5; Ellis, *A Class by Themselves*, 207-08. For the British context, see Hyland "Mindfulness and the Therapeutic Function of Education," 123.
- 54 For examples of the continuation of some elements of traditionalism into the 1980s and 1990s, see, for example, Ellis, *A Class by Themselves*, 209; Paul Axelrod, "No Longer a 'Last Resort': The End of Corporal Punishment in the Schools of Toronto," *Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (2010): 282-83; Bruce Curtis, D. W. Livingstone, and Harry Smaller, *Stacking the Deck: The Streaming of Working-Class Kids in Ontario Schools* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves, 1992).

- 55 Axelrod, "No Longer a 'Last Resort'," 261–85; Scott Davies and Neil Guppy, *The Schooled Society: An Introduction to the Sociology of Education* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2010), 232; Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937–82* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).
- 56 For example, BC introduced guidance programs for secondary schools in 1937 and a Division of Educational and Vocational Guidance within the Department of Education in 1944. Saskatchewan created a guidance branch in 1944. See Harold P. Johns, "Guidance Services in British Columbia," *The School*, Secondary Edition, 33, no. 8 (April 1945), 688–91; T. M. Spencer, "Guidance in Saskatchewan," *The School*, Secondary Edition, 33, no. 7 (March 1945), 577–79. Kristina R. Llewellyn notes that guidance services were implemented in comprehensive secondary schools in the early 1950s to address "absenteeism, parental neglect, juvenile employment, delinquent behaviour, and health problems." See Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels*, 33.
- 57 Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education, *Better Schooling for Canadian Youth* (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1951), 16–17. My thanks to R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar for directing my attention to this report.
- 58 While experts such as Carl Rogers called for guidance counselling (as opposed to vocational advice) in the 1940s, and calls for such guidance could be heard in the Canadian educational press from the 1940s and 1950s onwards, the wide availability of such services are likely a phenomenon of the late twentieth century in Canada. However, more research in this area is needed. On Rogers, see Peter N. Stearns, *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Childrearing in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 92–93.
- 59 Humphrey, *Social and Emotional Learning*, 46; Martin E. P. Seligman and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, "Positive Psychology: An Introduction" *American Psychologist* 55, no. 1 (January 2000): 7, <https://doi.org/10.1037//0003-066X.55.1.5>. On developments in New Haven, see "Social and Emotional Learning: A Short History," *Edutopia* (October 6, 2011): 2, [www.edutopia.org/social-emotional-learning-history](http://www.edutopia.org/social-emotional-learning-history).
- 60 See [www.pathstraining.com/main/paths-developers/](http://www.pathstraining.com/main/paths-developers/).
- 61 Sheila M. Clonan, Sandra M. Chafoulas, James L. McDougal, and T. Chris Riley-Tillman, "Positive Psychology Goes to School: Are We There Yet?" *Psychology in the Schools* 4, no. 1 (2004): 102.
- 62 Martin and McLellan, *The Education of Selves*, 48, 50–52, 68–69; Clonan et al., "Positive Psychology Goes to School," 103–05. On Rogers, and for a strong indictment of this movement, see Stout, *The Feel-good Curriculum*. These emphases reflected the broader self-help movement that gained prominence in North America through the twentieth century.
- 63 Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, "Positive Psychology: An Introduction," 5.
- 64 Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 7.
- 65 Humphrey, *Social and Emotional Learning*, 38. For an important critique of Goleman's work, particularly its decontextualization of emotions from their social, cultural, and economic context, see Boler, *Feeling Power*, ch. 4.
- 66 Linda Lantieri, *Building Emotional Intelligence: Techniques to Cultivate Inner Strength in Children* (Boulder, CO: Sounds True, 2008), 17. For the increasing attention to self-regulation within educational policy documents in British Columbia, see Martin and McLellan, *The Education of Selves*, 53–54.
- 67 Clonan et al., "Positive Psychology Goes to School," 105. In the postwar period, child guidance clinics expanded, focusing on children considered "normal" but engaged in behaviour deemed problematic or "maladjusted." More recent programs extoll the preventative benefits of psychological insight for all youth. For the earlier period, see John Stewart, *Child Guidance in Britain, 1918–1955: The Dangerous Age of Childhood* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), and Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*. For the

- later period, see Kevin Myers, "Marking Time: Some Methodological and Historical Perspectives on the 'Crisis of Childhood,'" *Research Papers in Education* 27, no. 4 (June 2012): 410, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2012.690237>.
- 68 See [www.pathstraining.com/main/paths-developers/](http://www.pathstraining.com/main/paths-developers/). For this up-scaling, see Kimberly A. Schonert-Reichl and Molly Stewart Lawlor, "The Effects of a Mindfulness-Based Education Program on Pre- and Early Adolescents' Well-Being and Social and Emotional Competence," *Mindfulness* 1 (2010), 138; and Stuart Shanker, *Calm, Alert, and Learning: Classroom Strategies for Self-Regulation* (Toronto: Pearson, 2013), xx.
- 69 Humphrey, *Social and Emotional Learning*, 4.
- 70 SEAL (Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning) was implemented in English and Welsh secondary schools in 2007. A similar program had been implemented in primary schools in 2005. See Gagan, "Governing Emotions," 140. The 2004 document, *A Curriculum for Excellence*, a blueprint for redesigning the Scottish national curriculum, aimed to embed SEL throughout the school system. See Jeni Harden, "Good Sitting, Looking and Listening: The Regulation of Young Children's Emotions in the Classroom," *Children's Geographies* 10, no. 1 (February 2012), 84.
- 71 Martin and McLellan, *The Education of Selves*, 143–44.
- 72 Shanker, *Calm, Alert, and Learning*, 29.
- 73 Shanker, 47.
- 74 "Beyond the Naughty Step," *The Economist*, January 11, 2014, 27.
- 75 Martin and McLellan describe this process as the hybridization of two models within educational psychology, the "expressive self" and the "managerial self." See Martin and McLellan, *The Education of Selves*, 50–53.
- 76 *MindUP Curriculum*, 5.
- 77 *MindUP Curriculum*, 8.
- 78 In Canada, Dr. Kimberly Schonert-Reichl, of the Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology, and Special Education, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, is a leading researcher into mindfulness-based programs. See, for example, Kimberley Schonert-Reichl and Molly Stewart Lawlor, "The Effects of a Mindfulness-Based Education Program on Pre- and Early Adolescents' Well-Being and Social and Emotional Competence," *Mindfulness* 1 (2010): 137–51, and Jacqueline E. Maloney, Molly Stewart Lawlor, Kimberly A. Shonert-Reichl, and Jenna Whitehead, "A Mindfulness-Based Social and Emotional Learning Curriculum for School-Aged Children: The MindUP Program," in *Handbook of Mindfulness in Education*, ed. K. A. Schonert-Reichl and R. W. Roeser (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2016), 313–34. In 2005, there were twelve teachers in Vancouver trained to use this curriculum; by 2010, there were over a thousand. See Susannah Gora, "Golden Opportunity," *Neurology Now* (March/April 2010): 14–17.
- 79 See, for example, S. R. Laycock, "The Responsibilities of the Teacher in Developing Character," *The School* 35, no. 9 (June 1947): 706–07, 709. Historians have illuminated these character ideals fairly extensively, particularly in the context of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century middle-class amateur sport. See, for example, Catherine Gidney, *Tending the Student Body: Youth, Health, and the Modern University* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 61–63, and 222, notes 56–58.
- 80 See, for example, Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*; Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels*; Christou, *Progressive Education*.
- 81 For a more detailed explanation of the shift from character to personality, though in the context of higher education, see Gidney, *Tending the Student Body*, chapter 7.
- 82 Evidence of its increasing toehold in the US is reflected in its condemnation in 1979 by Christopher Lasch in his best-selling book, *The Culture of Narcissism*.
- 83 *MindUP Curriculum*, 6–11. While I have drawn from the pre-kindergarten to grade 2 version, the justification for, and outcomes anticipated from, the curriculum appear much the same as in the curricula aimed at grades 3 to 5 and 6 to 8.

- 84 *MindUP Curriculum*, 9.
- 85 *MindUP Curriculum*, 6.
- 86 “History and Research on Mind-Well,” <http://geoffreysoloway.com/Research.html>; Meiklejohn et al., “Integrating Mindfulness Training into K–12 Education,” 295; “\$1.2 Million Gift Helps UBC Educators Promote Mindfulness,” *UBC Okanagan News*, November 5, 2013, <https://news.ok.ubc.ca/2013/11/05/1-2-million-gift-helps-ubc-educators-promote-mindfulness/>; Douglas Todd, “SFU Offers First M. Ed in ‘Contemplative Inquiry,’” *Vancouver Sun*, December 3, 2013, <https://vancouver.sun.com/news/staff-blogs/sfu-offers-first-ma-in-contemplative-education>.
- 87 Campbell, “Breathe in, Breathe out”; Meiklejohn et al., “Integrating Mindfulness Training into K–12 Education”; “Toronto High School to Teach How to Cope with Stress,” *CTV Toronto*, January 19, 2014, <https://toronto.ctvnews.ca>; Judy Aldous, “The ‘Quiet’ Revolution: Mindfulness Training in Schools,” *Alberta Views* 3, <https://albertaviews.ab.ca/2015/08/18/the-quiet-revolution/>; “History and Research on Mind-Well”; Tania MacWilliam, “Teaching Your Tween Mindfulness,” *Parents Canada*, April 23, 2013, [www.parentscanada.com/school/tweens/teaching-your-tween-mindfulness](http://www.parentscanada.com/school/tweens/teaching-your-tween-mindfulness).
- 88 See, for example, Brendan Dunphy, “Workload, Expectations and Stress,” *ATA Magazine* 69, no. 3 (March/April 1989): 51.
- 89 Campbell, “Breathe in, Breathe out.”
- 90 John P. Miller, *The Contemplative Practitioner: Meditation in Education and the Professions* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1994), 122–23, 156–57.
- 91 Doug Allen, “Implementing Mindfulness in Schools: Reflections From a Principal,” *Education Week* 29, December 2015, [http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/leadership\\_360/2015/12/implementing\\_mindfulness\\_in\\_schools\\_reflections\\_from\\_a\\_principal.html](http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/leadership_360/2015/12/implementing_mindfulness_in_schools_reflections_from_a_principal.html). According to Judy Aldous, “Grandview became the first school in Alberta to incorporate mindfulness into its curriculum.” See Judy Aldous, “The ‘Quiet’ Revolution,” 3–4. For the US, see, for example, Katrina Schwartz, “Low-Income Schools See Big Benefits in Teaching Mindfulness,” *Mind/Shift* (January 17, 2014), [Blogs.kqed.org/mindshift/2014/01](http://blogs.kqed.org/mindshift/2014/01).
- 92 Aldous, “The ‘Quiet’ Revolution.”
- 93 Aldous, “The ‘Quiet’ Revolution.”
- 94 Bernie Froese-Germaine and Richard Riel, “Teachers’ Perspectives on Student Mental Health in Canadian Schools,” *Perspectives* 8 (June 2012), <http://perspectives.ctf-fce.ca/en/article/1973/>.
- 95 “Schools to Get Training in Mental Health,” *Globe and Mail*, January 28, 2014, A17. For similar concerns in Australia, see Albrecht et al., “Mindfully Teaching in the Classroom,” 1. On the need for skepticism regarding a “crisis of childhood” and on the difficulty of measuring psychosocial disorders over time, see Myers, “Marking Time,” 417.
- 96 Applied to business, it can be used primarily as a cognitive rather than an emotional practice, to learn focus, attention, how to let go in order to be more creative and productive, as well as develop management skills. See Macdonald, “The Science of Mindfulness,” 44. On emotion work, see, for example, Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), and Stephanie Olsen, ed. *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015).
- 97 Siobhan Downes, “Outrage ‘Won’t Stop Mindful Classrooms’ — Expert,” [stuff.co.nz](http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/10438459/Outrage-won-t-stop-mindful-classroom), [www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/10438459/Outrage-won-t-stop-mindful-classroom](http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/10438459/Outrage-won-t-stop-mindful-classroom); “Encinitas Schools to Expand Controversial Yoga Program,” July 31, 2013, KPBS city news service, [www.kpbs.org/news/2013/jul/31/sd-encinitas-yoga/](http://www.kpbs.org/news/2013/jul/31/sd-encinitas-yoga/); Stephanie Warsmith, “Plain Township School Stops ‘Mindfulness’ Program,” *Akron Beacon Journal*, April 15, 2013, [www.ohio.com/news](http://www.ohio.com/news); *The Current*, October 14, 2014.

- 98 Jon Kabat-Zinn has written, for example, that "the intention and approach behind MBSR were never meant to exploit, fragment, or decontextualize the dharma, but rather to recontextualize it within the frameworks of science, medicine (including psychiatry and psychology), and healthcare so that it would be maximally useful to people who could not hear it or enter into it through the more traditional dharma gates." See Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR, Skillful Means, and the Trouble With Maps," *Contemporary Buddhism* 12, no. 1 (May 2011): 288. Jeff Wilson, a scholar of religious studies, describes this as a process of mystification whereby "mindfulness's roots in Buddhism are made less overt in order to further various agendas." See *Mindful America*, 44.
- 99 Whether mindfulness-based programs should be considered secular, religious, or both, is contentious. In *Debating Yoga and Mindfulness in Public Schools*, Brown forcefully argues that such programs, promoted as secular, reflect Buddhist values, practices, and worldviews. Ira Helderman, however, contends that Brown's position effectively restricts "non-Christian teachings and practices to the margins of a Christian dominant society." See *Prescribing the Dharma*, 102.
- 100 Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Mindfulness-Based Interventions in Context: Past, Present, and Future," *American Psychological Association* 10, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 148.
- 101 Martin and McLellan, *The Education of Selves*, 154.
- 102 Kurt Danziger, *Naming the Mind: How Psychology Found Its Language* (London: Sage, 1997), 14–18; Martin and McLellan, *The Education of Selves*, 6–9.
- 103 Shanker, *Calm, Alert, and Learning*, xxi.