Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Investigating the Emotional Dimension of Subject Advisers' Work with Teachers

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DEDICATION

For Obi and Ikenna Onyeoziri… my beloved brothers who died before I could finish the PhD journey.

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My initial appreciation goes to Almighty God who gave me the strength to get to this point.

I would also like to express gratitude to the participating subject advisers in this study, who sacrificed their precious time and shared their experiences with me.

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I also appreciate the effort of Genevieve Wood who edited this thesis.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work completed under the supervision and guidance of my supervisor, Dr. Carola Steinberg. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Chioma Nwachukwu

11th August 2023

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAPS - Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement

CIF - Continuous Improvement Framework

DAS - Developmental Appraisal System

DBE - Department of Basic Education

DCES - Deputy Chief Education Specialist

DCST - District Curriculum Support Team

DoE - Department of Education

EEA - Employment Equity Act

ELRC - Education Labour Relations Council

ENCA - E News Channel Africa

GDE - Gauteng Department of Education

HOD - Head of Department

ICT - Information Communications Technology

MEC - Member of Executive Council

NEHAWU - National Education Health and Allied Workers Union

OBE – Outcomes- Based Education

PAM - Personnel Administration and Management

PED - Provincial Education Department

PLC - Professional Learning Community

PSA - Public Servants of South Africa

RCL - Representative Council of Learners

SACE - South African Council of Educators

SADTU South African Democratic Teachers Union

SASA- South Africa Schools Act

SASP - South African School Principals

SBA – School Based Assessment

SEE - Strongly Expressed Emotion

SES - Senior Education Specialist

SGB - School Governing Body

SMT – School Management Team

TP – Top Performing

UP – Under- Performing

WSE - Whole School Evaluation

ABSTRACT

This doctoral thesis investigates the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers. The emotional aspect of subject advisers' work is relatively under-researched. So, this study aims to find out how subject advisers in two differently performing Gauteng districts think and feel about their work with teachers.

A conceptual framework was developed using Nussbaum's (2003) understanding that emotions are always directed at an "object", Turner's (2014) understandings that emotions are a valued resource and are unequally distributed, and Frijda's (1986) understanding that emotions are relevance signalling mechanisms. The conceptual framework also draws on Hochschild (1979; 1983), Zembylas (2002; 2006) and Steinberg (2008; 2014) to operationalize the concepts of emotional rules and emotional labour. The conceptual framework comprises of three concepts: emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour, utilized as a conceptual and analytical lens for analysing subject advisers' work. The conceptual framework opens opportunities for further research into subject advisers' emotions.

Using a basic interpretive qualitative approach, the study focuses on nine subject advisers' experiences of their work with teachers. Individual interviews and document reviews provided most of the data for this study**.** Key findings that arise from this study are that the subject advisers are frustrated at the inability to mediate their monitoring and support roles, which generates tensions that complicate the interaction between subject advisers and teachers. Additionally, the disempowering emotions of subject advisers is caused by lack of influence. Even so, the subject adviser-teacher relationship is complicated by competing power dynamics. However, subject advisers are committed to their jobs despite the challenges they encounter. Their emotional labour shows that subject advisers struggle to escape the negative impressions teachers have about them, while aiming to better support teachers. Their emotional rules show how they strive to fulfil their personal moral mandate of improving the education system. The key insight gained is that subject advisers' relationship with teachers can be improved, if both teachers and subject advisers commit themselves to an open trusting relationship through proper teacher support. Real cooperation between teachers and subject advisers is possible if the work subject advisers do with teachers is premised on knowledge sharing, rather than on monitoring for compliance.

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CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and background to the study

This chapter presents an introduction and background to the study, the statement of the problem, the rationale for carrying out the study, the significance of the study, the research questions the study seeks to answer, and the definition of terms used. The delimitations/demarcation of the study as well as the chapter summary are also presented. The aim of this chapter is to give contextual background information as to why the researcher decided to carry out the study.

Diane Ravitch, a popular historian of education once said “You don’t improve education by demoralizing the people who have to do the work every day” (2011). This quote provides an insight to the researcher’s motivation to carry out this research. The study specifically investigates the emotional work of subject advisers specifically, as districts officials who work closely with teachers.

This study is not only concerned with subject advisers’ work with teachers, but their work in general. In essence, it is an analysis of not only subject advisers’ work with teachers, but with other colleagues, subordinates, and superiors in the district, which aims to deepen an understanding their structured role within the wider organisation.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Nwachukwu (2016) served to explore how age and career phase affected teacher participants' responsiveness to curriculum changes. The findings from that study portrayed the negative relationship teachers have with the Department of Education through their interaction with subject advisers. The teachers in that study tended to talk about subject advisers as the “bad guys”, rather than as partners in education. Below are some comments from the teachers in the Master’s study in relation to their interaction with subject advisers. All responses cited throughout this text are transcribed verbatim.

Lucy: "I feel sad, and even now the subject advisers are coming to check up on me and sometimes it isn't even policy, but to make their lives easier. The GDE are supposed to be listening to National, but because they have got so much work, they are putting more paper work on us so that they can collect all these papers so they can write their own reports. And it's not really supporting the learner or the teacher. If I need support, I can't get support from them [subject advisers]. *I mean, from my principal I can, and from my co-workers, but any problems I have here in the classroom, unless it's in the policy, the department won't help".*

Tshidi: "I think it would take away the black cloud that is hanging to not have to have these subject advisers that are coming and harassing us. As much as they claim that they are there to assist, there is no assistance whatsoever. It's a case of: "bring your books. I am here to count how many activities you have done and the quality and that's it."

Grace: "Ja! There is still that whole thing of ... [makes a hand gesture to indicate 'I am watching you!'] *'We are coming for you!' Like today, even, one of them actually came to my class and said 'I think I will be coming to your class next week Wednesday.' But it wasn't in a friendly way. It was like, 'You had better make sure everything is on point.' You know I am feeling indifferent like... I don't care. You can come in, criticise me, whatever, I don't care, because they come in and they don't have anything for us. They don't have workshops or training or any plan for us. They just come there for surveillance. They just come and they count, they see 'have you marked?' They don't check that the child is writing sentences. It doesn't matter. They just want to check what they want to check. Currently we have not received any help whatsoever".*

For the three teachers cited above, the subject advisers seemed to be a source of discomfort, as they believed that the subject advisers offered them no support, but instead, vilified them. The threats from the subject advisers, the amount of paper work the teachers had to deal with, and the unfriendly tone, coupled with the criticism from the subject advisers during the interactions described in the quotes are some of the reasons why the teachers regarded the subject advisers as oppressing, rather than supporting them.

Findings from my Master's research Nwachukwu (2016) showed that, because the teachers feel that subject advisers offer little or no support for them when it comes to the challenges teachers face at work, the relationship they have with subject advisers is dysfunctional.

Consequently, one of the recommendations arising out of the Master's research cited above was that the Education Department has a responsibility to "provide teachers with an enabling environment" (Nwachukwu, 2016, p.108), capable of supporting teachers' desire to bring out the best in their learners. I also argued that the dysfunctional relationship between subject advisers and teachers could be mended and assumptions changed so that teachers could work in a healthy system that enables learning and development for teachers and learners.

This recommendation informed the rationale for the current study, to examine the teacher / subject advisers' relationship from another perspective so as to determine how, specifically subject advisers themselves, understand, and feel about the work they do with teachers.

I am aware that, although the teachers' responses and some news articles have revealed that the relationship between teachers and subject advisers is in need of repair, it is necessary to consider the matter holistically. This study therefore focuses on how subject advisers understand and feel about their work with teachers.

1.3 Rationale for the study

The purpose of the PhD study is to investigate how subject advisers in two differently performing Gauteng districts understand and feel about their work with teachers, especially in relation to their support of teachers, and teachers' degree of accountability.

The choice of using emotions as a lens is a continuation of Nwachukwu (2016), where I observed that using emotions as a conceptual and analytical lens (asking not only about people's thoughts but also about their feelings) provides valuable insight that may otherwise have been missed. Nussbaum (2013) argues that "emotions involve intentional thought or perception directed at an object and some type of evaluative appraisal of that object, made from the agent's own personal viewpoint. This appraisal ascribes significance to the object in terms of the agent's scheme of goals and end" (p.399). Nussbaum's key point here is that emotions are elicited by and directed at 'objects' (issues, people, relationships and things) that we find valuable and that contribute to or threaten our well-being. Extrapolated to the context of this study, my argument is that, when using the lens of their emotions, we can find which objects (issues, people, relationships and things) at which subject advisers' emotions are directed, so that we can better understand and analyse their work with teachers.

Regarding the strength of using emotions as a lens, I have argued that if we look through the lens of emotions, we may be able to determine what 'objects' these subject advisers'

emotions are aimed, at and what we can learn from paying attention to these 'objects' (see section 2.5).

The plan is to gain a better understanding of subject advisers' work with teachers through the lens of their emotions. Using emotions as a conceptual and analytical lens to enquire can reveal motivations, perceptions, decisions, and problems. This study provides the perspective of subject advisers themselves concerning their work with teachers. Where other researchers show the contestations and the complexities embedded in the work of district officials, this study will provide a more personal, insider perspective.

Often, emotions, as they affect or impact our professional work lives, are neglected or relegated to the background. Hargreaves (1998b) argues that the emotional dimension of educational change is often ignored, and even when "emotions are acknowledged and talked about within educational change, it is only insofar as they help administrators and reformers 'manage' and offset resistance to change or help them set the climate or mood in which the really important business of cognitive learning or strategic planning can take place" (p. 837). Using emotions as a research lens may uncover valuable insights that may otherwise have been missed. In addition, my hope as a researcher is to contribute to the growing body of research highlighting the importance of the emotions in the educational sphere.

Additionally, Plato once noted that "human behaviour flows from three main sources; **desire, emotion and knowledge**"(Plato, Ferrari, Griffith, & Plato, 2001). Considering Plato's assertion, I argue that for us to fully understand and improve at district level in relation to district officials, it is important that the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work, especially in the area of support and accountability of teachers, receive scrutiny. Literature available (Bantwini & Diko, 2011; Langhan, Kariem & Velensky 2012; Mavuso, 2013, Mbanjwa, 2014) refer to what is involved in South African district officials' work, and how they understand it, but there is no research or literature that provides a deeper engagement and reflection on the answers subject advisers may provide, and that is where this study aims to make a significant contribution. This study hopes to provide a deeper engagement and reflection by investigating the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work. This focus on the emotional dimension will be useful because, as Spillane (2002) points out, "many reform ideas about teaching, learning and schooling are value-laden, so the substance of reforms affects the core behaviours that are central to one's self-image. Hence one's motivations, goals and affect come into play in making sense of and reasoning about reform" (p.401).

1.4 Significance of the study

The study seeks to shed light on the pressures on and the complexities embedded in subject advisers' work. It does so through the conceptual lens of emotions. As none of the previous studies Bantwini and Diko (2011), Langhan, Kariem, and Velensky (2012), Mavuso (2013), and Cibane (2020) engaged with the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work, this study can offer a novel contribution to research about subject advisers in South Africa, as well as contribute to the growing international field of emotion research in education.

The study provides useful insights from subject advisers about the nature of their work with teachers. By looking through the lens of the subject advisers' emotions, the study attempts to reveal what may be the trigger points of the relationship between subject advisers and teachers, and what makes it conflictual, by analysing which emotions subject advisers express as well as that towards which these emotions are directed.

1.5 Research Questions

The critical research question that this research seeks to answer is: **What do the emotions subject advisers have regarding their work with teachers tell us about the nature of this work?**

The following sub-questions will provide different paths from which the answer to the critical research question can be determined.

- What are the key 'objects' in their work that subject advisers feel strongly about?
- What do the emotions that subject advisers have in relation to these 'objects' tell us about the different aspects of their work with teachers?
- What emotional labour do subject advisers engage in so as to continue doing their work productively?

1.6 Definition of terms

District: "An area of a province which is demarcated by a Member of Executive Council (MEC) for administrative purposes. It is thus the first level administrative sub-division of a Provincial Education Department (PED). Depending on the context, the term district is used to describe either the geographical area or the administrative unit" (Department of Basic Education (DBE) Policy on the Organisation, Roles and Responsibilities of Education Districts, 2016, p.28).

Emotions: The definition of emotion is contested. See section 2.2 for a detailed description and discussion on emotions.

Subject adviser: "An office-based educator in a district or circuit office whose function is to facilitate curriculum implementation in schools and improve the environment and process of teaching and learning by visiting schools so as to consult with and advise school principals and teachers on curriculum matters" (DBE policy on Organisation Roles and Responsibilities of Districts, 2016, p.28).

Support: Assistance given to something or a person to keep them from weakening or failing (De Grauwe & Carron, 2007).

Monitoring: Continuous process of assessing, evaluating, and controlling the performance of an individual or group so as to identify strengths and weaknesses, and formulate practical proposals for action to be taken (De Grauwe & Carron, 2007).

1.7 Delimitation of the study

Specifically, the study focuses on the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers. This is because subject advisers are required to work closely with teachers in ensuring effective and efficient curriculum implementation in the classrooms.

In addition, the study focuses on subject advisers in a top-performing district (a district with top- to average-performing schools) and an under-performing district (a district with a lot of under-performing or poorly performing schools). The reason for this selection is to be able to determine whether there are any discernible differences in the emotions of the subject advisers regarding their work with teachers in these two differently performing districts.

1.8 Organisation of the study

This study is organised as follows.

Chapter One presents the orientation to the study. This chapter contains the introduction and background to the study, which specifies the general context of districts and highlights why it is important to focus on the emotions of subject advisers in relation to their work. It formulates a problem statement that serves to demonstrate how teachers and subject advisers have a dysfunctional relationship, rather than a progressive partnership. The rationale, significance of the study, critical research questions and clarification of key concepts used in

the study, are also presented in this first chapter. The delimitations, organisation of the study and the chapter summary are also included.

Chapter Two (A) presents the relevant literature used to provide a conceptual and theoretical understanding as this relates to issues such as districts and how they work.

Chapter Two (B) reviews relevant extant literature on emotions as the core operative concept of the study.

Chapter Three presents methodological concerns, namely research paradigms, research design, methods, population, data generation instruments and methods, data analysis, issues of trustworthiness, ethical consideration, as well as the limitations to the study.

Chapter Four is the first data presentation chapter and provides a descriptive analysis of the subject advisers' strongly expressed emotions about the Department of Education.

Chapter Five, the second data chapter presents a descriptive analysis of the subject advisers' strongly expressed emotions about teachers.

Chapter Six is the third data presentation chapter, and presents a descriptive analysis of the subject advisers' strongly expressed emotions about 'influential others**'**, such as teacher unions, school principals, and heads of department.

Chapter Seven is the last data presentation chapter provides a descriptive analysis of the subject advisers' strongly expressed emotions about 'Self'.

Chapter Eight is the first analytical chapter, and excavates the **emotional rules and labour** of subject advisers' work.

Chapter Nine is the second analytical chapter and it discusses the emerging themes from the data by making four claims, and provides an in-depth analysis of these claims in relation to the relevant literature.

Chapter Ten draws conclusions and makes recommendations based on the findings and analysis.

1.9 Chapter Summary

This first chapter has provided a background to the study. The sections on statement of the problem, the rationale for carrying out the study, and significance of the study make clear that

the study on the emotions of subject advisers was motivated by the findings from Master's research. The study investigates the nature of subject advisers' work with teachers through the lens of their emotions, by finding the key objects of the officials' emotions, and what these emotions say about the different aspects of their work with teachers. In addition, the questions aim to uncover the emotional labour that subject advisers engage in as they do their work. The definitions of some common terms used in the study are included in this first chapter. The delimitations of the study indicate that the primary area of focus of the study is on the emotions of subject advisers in two differently performing districts in Gauteng.

The following chapter is the literature review, which presents what other studies have been undertaken on districts and emotions, so as to demonstrate the gap in the literature, and highlight where this study makes a contribution to the already existing literature on district officials, in particular subject advisers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review is divided into two sections. The first reviews extant international and South African literature providing perspectives on school districts and its officials. The second section conceptualises emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour, and explains why these concepts are a useful lens when trying to understand subject advisers' work with teachers.

2.1.2 Brief History of Education Districts in South Africa

To understand why it is important to research subject advisers in the South African context, a brief history of school districts follows.

From 1948, when formal apartheid began in South Africa, education was provided within racial boundaries to serve perceived race-based skills and needs of the society. District offices already existed during the apartheid years in the various racially-defined South African education departments. The districts then reflected the authoritarian and controlling features of the apartheid era (Narsee, 2007). For example, in the then Cape Province, the Cape Provincial Department of Education was responsible for white schools, the House of Representatives Education Department for the coloured schools, the House of Delegates for Indian education, while the Department of Education and Training was responsible for schools for black students (Department of Education, 2010).

The Education Affairs Act 1988 provided for the establishment of regional offices, which were designed to be the extensions of central head offices. There were then circuit offices that served the regional offices. The circuit and regional offices served as the administrative machinery of the central head office S. E. Anderson (2003). At circuit level, there was an inspectorate system of administration, which put the schools under the control of inspectors who were generally experienced by teachers as antagonistic and fear-inducing, particularly in situations of racial difference. During the 1970s, the word 'inspector' developed a negative connotation. Generally, in many countries the inspectorate system of administration came to be seen as an old fashioned, non-democratic institution, and many countries began to get rid

of this system along with the supervision service itself (De Grauwe and Carron, 2007). Although the word ‘inspector’ is no longer officially used to describe officials, the conception of a subject adviser being an inspector still hovers in the minds of many, especially teachers, resulting in an inherently negative feeling regarding subject advisers (Bantwini, 2015).

- Following the advent of a democratically elected government in 1994, and the dissolution of the notorious homeland authorities that served as auxiliaries to the central apartheid regime, the education system was restructured in order to incorporate the different racial and homeland departments into Provincial Education Departments (PEDs). Considerable debate ensued on the form and function of district offices, and these debates led to the large-scale reorganisation of provincial departments of education and their supporting bureaucracies at provincial, regional, and district level (Roberts, 2001). District-level offices were incorporated into the new education system. Racially-defined district structures were dissolved, and new, “non-racial” districts formed, incorporating different types of schools. Through the devolution of duties from the national to the provincial education departments, it became necessary for district offices to take on some of the responsibility of ensuring good quality education for all South Africans (Roberts, 2001). This meant that the roles and responsibilities of the districts required delineation.

2.1.3 Roles and responsibilities of districts

In South Africa, as in many other countries, the State has decentralised quality management of teaching and learning to district offices, with the intention of narrowing the distance between supervisors and schools (De Grauwe and Carron, 2007). District officials are responsible for overseeing the implementation of all new policies developed by the National Department of Education and implemented by the nine Provincial Departments of Education. Education districts therefore play a key role in school success and in ensuring that all learners have access to high quality education, where

> District offices are [defined as] local hubs of PEDs (Provincial Education Departments) and provide the vital lines of communication between the provincial head office and the education institutions (e.g., schools) in their care. Subject to provincial plans, the task of district officials is to work collaboratively with principals and educators in schools, with the vital assistance of circuit offices, to improve educational access and retention, give management and

> professional support, and help schools achieve excellence in learning and teaching (DBE, 2016, p.28).

According to the DBE website (2017),

> District offices, supported by their circuit offices, have four main roles which they must execute, with due priority being given to the schools most in need of their services: In terms of **planning,** they are required to: collect and analyse school, circuit and district data to inform planning; assist schools with compiling school improvement or development plans; and integrate school improvement or development plans into district plans.

With regards to **support,**

> Districts are tasked with providing an enabling environment and targeted support for education institutions within the district to do their work in line with education law and policy; assisting school principals and educators to improve the quality of teaching and learning in their institutions through school visits, classroom observation, consultation, cluster meetings, suitable feedback reports and other means; serving as an information node for education institutions on education law, policy and administration; facilitating ICT connectivity in all institutions within the district; and providing an enabling environment by organising provision and support for the professional development of managers, educators and administrative staff members (DBE, 2017).

With regards to issues of **oversight and accountability,**

> District offices are required to hold principals of education institutions in their district accountable for the performance of their schools; account to the PED for the performance of education institutions in the district; and account to the PED in terms of performance agreements that stipulate the roles, functions and responsibilities of district officials in line with relevant policies (DBE, 2017).

Regarding **public engagement, "**Districts are responsible for informing and consulting with the public in an open and transparent manner; and upholding Batho Pele principles in all dealings with the public" (DBE, 2017).

Typically, functions of the school districts include administration, providing curricular and procedural support to schools, quality control and accountability to the public, about schools, where

> The main consideration in establishing district post providing norm is to ensure that each district has the capacity to bring effective, professional management and administrative services to educational institutions, in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning. Also, because districts vary in their educational needs as well as in their physical and social characteristics, equity in the distribution of staff support to institutions is therefore a principle that must guide their norms in order to achieve quality education for all learners (DBE, 2016).

The policy also outlines the roles of subject advisers, who need to work closely with teachers to ensure that curriculum implementation is done effectively and efficiently. The central role of districts in the education system makes it important to study how district officials like subject advisers feel about their work.

2.2. Historical international perspectives on districts functions and roles

This section explores historical international perspectives on educational districts and officials and shows how the thinking around the functions and roles of school districts have progressed over the decades. The main argument arising from this section is that in the education system, districts play a significant role in ensuring that educational objectives and outcomes are met and that, depending on the nature of the focus of their work, districts and their officials may face vastly different challenges.

In countries such as the US and Canada, the roles of districts are similar to that of South Africa, as outlined in section 2.1.2. The district offices constitute a bridge between schools on the one side, and state and federal departments of education on the other. The multifaceted work of districts indicates the extent of their influence. Hightower (2002) notes that

> districts are responsible for the development and enforcement of a wide range of functions, for example, attendance, transportation, educational goals, instructional guidance, personnel, operation, and maintenance of facilities, as well as teacher professional development. Furthermore, the district officials play an essential role in ensuring the success of new mandates and reforms instituted

> by the government as they strongly influence the strategic choices that schools make to improve teaching and learning (p. 56).

Hightower's (2002) study emphasises the extent of district influence. Districts responsibilities to school are crucial, and so officials tasked with these responsibilities play a vital role in ensuring success, or indeed failure, of government reforms.

Rorrer, Skrla, and Scheurich (2008) concur with Hightower (2002) regarding the multifaceted nature of districts responsibilities, as they view a district which comprises vital institutional actors, "as an organized [sic] collective that is bound by a web of inter-related and interdependent roles, responsibilities, and relationships that facilitate systemic reforms" (Rorrer et al, p.308). They emphasise the importance of the district officials, principals and teachers who have to do the work and the importance of the relationships between them, bringing the relationships between different groups of people into focus, while arguing that the quality of the relationships plays a significant role in sustaining educational improvement efforts.

In the 1970s and 1980s, efforts to improve education focused mainly on adopting new reforms and innovations, where school districts were tasked with ensuring reform implementation in the form of smooth running of schools, and in the provision of support and assistance to schools and educators in need. The support and assistance took various forms, yet many districts failed to achieve reform goals, mainly because they were adopting school programmes for motives that were either bureaucratic (i.e. compliance) or opportunistic (e.g. access to funds, to appear "innovative" (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978), rather than focusing on proper coordination between district, school, and classroom in the areas of curriculum and instruction (Hallinger, Heck, & Murphy, 2014) and the personal leadership and involvement of superintendents (La Roque & Coleman 1990), so as to ensure district effectiveness.

2.3 The shift in focus from policy reform to school accountability

In the 1990s, the Department of Education policy changed, so as to shift districts' focus away from adopting new reforms, towards building new accountability structures. The new focus on accountability involved the district officials redirecting the schools' move towards excellence by requiring schools to implement the national standards for each grade (Jennings, Noblit, Brayboy, & Cozart, 2007).

Internationally, district organisation and responsibilities have not changed significantly over the last four decades. Instead, it appears that the focus of most school districts since the late 2000s has been the development of accountability systems that have increased demands for evidence of student learning, and that the use of data in education has become increasingly prevalent in many countries (Marsh & Farrell, 2015).

Internationally, education departments and districts have focused on the use of data to drive decision-making. Increased availability of technology, financial support from policymakers, and greater accountability for student outcomes have all contributed to the increased focus on data use for educational improvement globally.

MacNeil, Butler, and Schnellert (2021) explain that

> throughout the 1990s and 2000s, educational reformers were successful in shifting the conversation away from community-based issues that caused poor academic performance to three core principles: (1) all students are taught according to common instructional standards; (2) students are tested throughout their academic career on their mastery of these standards; and (3) educators and schools are held accountable for the results of students on these standards. These three foundational pieces of educational reform efforts served as the basis for the reauthorisation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 2002 (known popularly as No Child Left Behind) and the "Race to the Top" initiative in 2009 (p.595).

This was a shift away from reform policies towards accountability policies.

Figlio and Loeb (2011) highlight school accountability as an important characteristic of educational reform in the 21st century, and describe it as "the process of evaluating school performance on the basis of student performance measures" and "administrative data-based mechanisms aimed at increasing student achievement" (p. 384). Similarly, Bae (2018) notes that "school based accountability is the process of evaluating school performance based on student performance measures and holding educators and school officials responsible for results" (Bae 2018, p.4). Bae (2018) notes that the shift towards accountability policies became necessary because "the challenges facing our children in the 21st century is rapidly changing. As a result, schools bear a greater responsibility to prepare students for college, career, and life and must be held accountable for more than just testing and reporting on a

narrow set of outcomes aimed at minimum levels of competency" (p.1). Thus, scholars, educators, and reform advocates have called for a more meaningful phase of school accountability; one that promotes continuous support and improvement, rather than mere compliance and efforts to avoid sanctions (Darling-Hammond, Wilhoit, & Pittenger, 2014). In this change process, accountability became the focus of districts.

To meet this challenge, school districts expanded their bureaucracies. Driver, Thorp, and Kuo (1997) conclude that the result of these expansions is that "…districts have not only grown larger, but also more homogeneous, as they all establish the same types of departments or offices to administer these new programs [sic]," and that furthermore, the wide array of federal, state and local policies has fostered a "highly rule-bound organisational culture in districts" (p.15). As such, over the past several decades, education policy has gradually shifted from holding schools accountable for policy compliance, to holding schools accountable for learning outcomes.

Darling-Hammond and Snyder (2015) state that "for an accountability approach to be truly responsible for the outcomes our children deserve and our communities require, it must support a system that is cohesive, integrative, and continuously renewing. It should enable schools to offer high-quality education, reduce the likelihood of harmful or inequitable practices, and have means to identify and correct problems that may occur" (p. 3).

In ensuring that educational objectives are met, districts face many challenges. These challenges are either process-related, or people-related. In highlighting the challenges, the literature reviewed herein indicates how and what an effective district is, or should consist of, and makes suggestions of what can be done to make districts work effectively.

2.4 What makes districts effective?

The studies reviewed indicate that the key to successful reform implementation lies in a combined strategy of addressing the real issues that may be plaguing the districts, as well as having superintendents or district leaders who are actively engaged in every area of operation.

Campbell and Fullan (2019) argue for the importance of districts and their officials in ensuring sustained educational change through the work they have to do with schools and teachers in particular. In their analysis, they argue that districts play an important role in establishing the conditions for continuous and long-term improvements for schools, as

schools cannot redesign themselves. Furthermore, they argue that, in order to sustain improvement efforts, there must be serious restructuring of the school, the district, and their inter-relationships, where schools and districts will never be able to manage innovation without radically redesigning their approach to learning and sustained improvement. The key argument here is that, for schools to improve and sustain any improvement efforts, the relationship between the district and the school is of vital importance.

Similarly, Leithwood, Sun, and McCullough (2019) argue for the importance of the interrelationship between people and processes, such that the district is a site of multifaceted interplay that could enable achievement of education goals. The authors found that district leadership has a significant effect on the features of school organisation, which influences the quality of teaching and learning (p.4). They argue that successful leaders set direction, build relationships, develop people, redesign the organisation to support desired practices, and improve the instructional programmes.

Cohen, Spillane and Peurach (2018) highlighted the importance of paying particular attention to how district officials' understand their work. They explained that district officials sometimes contribute to the non-implementation of new reforms by teachers, especially when they do not fully comprehend the vision of these reforms. This is because a district official's interpretation of the reform message is an important explanatory variable in accounting for implementation. This suggests that if the district officials do not understand or even misinterpret the reform message, it would have far-reaching effects on achieving the reform goals. The authors' core argument is that particular attention needs to be paid to how district officials understand not only the reform itself, but also what it is they are required to do, because they play a crucial role in achieving reform goals.

In recent years, the trajectory of research in US and Canada around district roles and effectiveness has focused on leadership. Weiss, Templeton, Thompson, and Tremont (2018) state that "effective school districts are those whose school board and superintendent work together collaboratively in the best interests of stakeholders. Intentional boards network, mentor, and are servant leaders. Given the character of human nature, however, conflict is bound to occur" (p.12).

Fullan and Quinn (2016) argue that school districts, as much as state systems, require focus, clarity and coherence if they are to succeed. Fullan and Quinn (2016) further argue that focusing on direction, cultivating collaborative cultures, deepening learning, and securing

accountability through strong leadership lies at the core of coherence that districts and school systems so badly need.

On the basis of the importance of leadership in ensuring the success of educational reform, Fullan (2020), Shirley, Hargreaves, and Washington-Wangia (2020), Peurach, Cohen, Yurkofsky, and Spillane (2019) show the development and focus on leadership, especially instructional. They observe that many public "school districts in the US are working earnestly to move beyond mass public schooling to instructionally focused education systems pursuing the central aims of systemic reform: all students engaging rich instructional experiences to master ambitious content and demanding tasks at the same high standards" (Spillane et al. 2019, p.33).

The literature reviewed above demonstrates the argument that school districts are key actors in the education system and act as authorised representatives that oversee and guide schools, that they have a vital role to play as institutional actors in educational reforms, and are also the major source of capacity-building for schools (Fullan 2019, 2020; Hargreaves, 2020). The meanings that school district officials make of reform and accountability processes meanwhile plays a significant role in the success or failure of those processes.

The literature I have presented in this section indicates that it is important to study school district officials, because they are significant role players in education, who are essential in achieving reform goals. Two main insights gained from this section are, firstly, that school districts are important in education, and secondly, that reform and accountability efforts ought to be approached holistically, whereby the processes (what districts do) as well as the people involved (in terms of their interrelationships) are adequately considered. The arguments presented indicate a consensus that focusing both on the objectives of the reform, as well as on the subjective meanings the people tasked with implementing the reform make, are a vital ingredient for reform success. Particular attention ought to be paid to the district officials as they are the direct link between schools, teachers, and the DoE, and are tasked with ensuring that policy is implemented, where as a result, the way in which they understand and interpret their work affects the achievement of policy goals.

2.5. The context of school districts in Africa

Lugaz, De Grauwe, and Baldé (2010) studied school districts in Senegal, Guinea, Benin, and Mali. In these West African countries, district offices mainly take up the role of ensuring policy implementation. Their research shows that

> districts' support to schools is less focused on the relationships between people, and more concerned with inspection and mandatory advice to teachers, whereby the officials give pedagogical evaluation of the teachers' work as well as advice. In this way, the policy assumes that teachers are engaged in continuous learning that leads to quality teaching and learning (Lugaz et al. 2010, p.42).

Lugaz et al. (2010) state that

> quality monitoring is a key task of the local education offices. Being responsible for improvement of education at a local level, they ensure that schools apply the policy properly, primarily through inspections and pedagogic supervisions. The monitoring includes collecting and analysing of statistical data and holding meetings with principals and teachers. The monitoring is done through inspection visits and pedagogic visits. Although a distinction was made between the two types of visits, the distinction became less clear when the same person was responsible for both inspection and support (p.43).

Monitoring refers to the system-level processes designed to collect, compare and report school-level information about the composition, organisation and function of schools. Inspection are formal site visits to schools by education authorities to observe classroom and management activities (Eddy-Spicer, Ehren, Bangpan, Khatwa, & Perrone, 2016, p. 3).

Lugaz et al. use terms like 'inspection' and 'mandatory advice', which are commensurate with terms like 'monitoring' and 'support' in a South African context, which are used to describe subject advisers' roles with teachers. The next section reviews available South African literature on school districts and officials.

2.6 South African perspectives on districts and their officials

The post-apartheid era was marked by the development and rollout of new policies to redress the injustices of the past committed by the apartheid regime. One of the efforts to redress these injustices was the re-definition of education departments and the roles of their officials.

Locally, district functions and responsibilities are similar to those mentioned in the international literature i.e., where school districts play a central role in ensuring proper policy implementation in the bid to provide quality education to all. The official and legislated function of South African school districts is to support the delivery of the curriculum in schools and to monitor and enhance the quality of learning experiences offered to learners. These different areas of operation ought to be aligned to support the district's primary purpose (Maringe & Prew, 2015, p. 2) .

As outlined by Roberts (2001), there are five possible areas of operation for districts, namely: policy implementation; leading and managing change; creating an enabling environment for schools to operate effectively; intervening in failing schools; offering administrative and professional services to schools and teachers (p.4). Similarly, Fleisch (2002) explains that there are four broad functions of district offices, namely to:

- provide personnel and procurement administration (some change with S21 of SASA)
- drive policy implementation – Outcomes-based education (OBE), Whole School Evaluation (WSE), South African Schools Act (SASA), Developmental Appraisal System (DAS), rightsizing, etc.;
- provide support service – learning area, psychological, audiology, etc.; and
- hold schools accountable (Fleisch 2002, p.9).

With these functions stated, districts were seen to be "the kingpin between the Provincial Education Departments (PED) and schools, and as such, districts are there to ensure regular and reliable feedback on policy implementation and school change" (De Clercq, 2002, p. 44). By bringing education authorities closer to schools, it was expected that their role would be to make schools more effective and efficient by providing education resources and professional support (Schoeman, 2004).

With these intentions and stipulations about school districts, the discussion moves to how school districts have functioned post-apartheid, and outlines the challenges with which they have been faced.

2.7 Challenges facing districts in post-apartheid South Africa

The typical functions of the school district include administration, providing curricular and procedural support to schools, quality control, and resource allocation in schools. Yet the

reality is that most districts are short-staffed and become unable to fulfil all their designated purposes with many unfilled posts in rural district offices, which in turn affects the work district officials are required to do, as they are so thinly spread (Research, Development, & Mphahlele, 1999). Mphahlele's (1999) research on school districts in South Africa showed that district sizes vary according to the density of schools in a particular area, with rural districts typically covering a far larger area than urban districts.

2.7.1 Challenges regarding lack of legislative documents defining and situating districts roles and responsibilities

Roberts (2001) described some of the challenges facing districts in South Africa, and he argues that there are both external and internal conditions that give rise to challenges faced by district officials in South Africa. At that time, six years into the democratic dispensation, there were several pieces of legislation (the South African Constitution, the South African Schools Act, and the Provincial Schools Act) that stipulate the powers and functions allocated to the National Department of Education, Provincial Departments of Education, and individual schools. However, for the most part, there were few legislative provisions that acknowledged the existence, role, or powers of district structures. This meant that district officials often failed to take decisions on particular matters (e.g., the teacher or learner discipline) as they were uncertain as to whether the resolution of these matters formed part of their legal competence.

Some of the issues that arose at the time were that the duties of districts were not defined by internal documents regulating the education bureaucracy. There was often a lack of communication between districts and regional / provincial offices. Districts were bombarded with directives and initiatives from various different directorates at regional, provincial, and national levels. In some cases, these directives provided contradictory information, or were not coordinated, leading to added pressure on districts and perceptions by others that districts were either unresponsive or unwilling to co-operate with these initiatives (Roberts 2001).

Confirming the presence of these problems, Fleisch (2002) notes that "struggling with mission overload, lack of adequate personnel, vehicles and other essential resources, as well as the absence of administrative systems and internal controls, the district offices – not surprisingly – failed to fulfil their mandates" (p.9). The new, restructured, district offices continued to be the weak link in the delivery of the routine four broad functions of education districts as per Mphahlele (1999), cited earlier.

Chinsamy (2002) argues that one of the reasons for the failure in education post-apartheid is due to the disregard of the "potential role of the education district offices, a largely neglected level of the system" (p.3). He explains that district offices need to keep both the maintenance and the development functions in their relationship with schools, and as such, they must provide support yet also exert pressure to be able to sustain change (p. 188). He argued that for education to improve, school districts need to "balance pressure on and support for schools", "balance maintenance and development of the work schools do with its operations on a day-to-day basis" (p.4), and also "balance necessary conditions for teaching and learning" (p.4).

Another challenge highlighted by Lewis and Motala (2004) is the focus on the form, rather than the substance of the policies. These authors show that emphasis had been placed firstly on the implementation of formal rules and roles, rather than on how the policy is put into practice; and secondly, on how school-level actors experienced decentralisation in terms of its expressed goals, post-apartheid policies were failing to achieve their goals. The authors argue that research is needed into how school level actors experienced the post-apartheid policies, because "research to date has […] taught us little about the impact of the policy" (p.33).

2.7.2 Challenges regarding lack of attention paid to district officials

Narsee (2007) notes that the problem lies in the lack of attention being paid to the officials who are tasked with doing the work. She states that "despite the critical role played by school districts, South African school improvement literature continues to show that districts and their officials hardly receive sufficient attention on their role in the curriculum reform process" (p.6). In her study, Narsee (2007) found that schools often experienced policy compliance pressures and they rarely experienced support. These schools experienced district intervention "more as pressure than as support" (p.178) and teachers complained that district officials spend most of their time on "monitoring and policy compliance activities, rather than school development activities derived from the problems of schools themselves" (p.178).

Narsee (2007) also argued that a combination of structural, organisational and resource challenges prohibited districts from providing effective services to schools (p.227). Narsee further points out that "it is evident from the picture presented by district officials about the nature of their work that they spend much of their time on monitoring and policy compliance activities, rather than school development activities derived from the problems of schools

themselves" (p.178). This corroborates the findings made in Nwachukwu (2016). What this shows is that policy expectations do not match what it is that district officials are concretely able to achieve.

As a result of all the debates and commentaries on how to improve districts and education in general, in October 2010, the then Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga and members of the nine provincial Executive Councils signed a Basic Education Delivery Agreement committing themselves to improving the quality of teaching and learning and undertaking regular assessment to track progress, where one of the ways of doing this was for district officials to monitor and support teachers in implementation of policy or in other areas they may require support (DBE, 2011, p.2-4).

The key problem from the challenges highlighted throughout the literature is a lack of legislative framework to guide the post-apartheid education districts. Bantwini and Diko (2011), as for Narsee, argue that "though South African school districts play a significant role in many ways, they still lack the legislative framework that spells out their powers and functions" (p.229), where Narsee (2007) adds that legislated district framework over the preceding decade had not yet born fruit (p. 177). Remarkably, the report on school district management dated July 2006 reports that:

> Job descriptions have been compiled for provincial and district staff. A work study investigation conducted in the provincial head office obtained union input during the compilation of job descriptions. All district managers have performance contracts with the General Manager: District Coordination, to whom districts submit their monthly reports. District performance is monitored on a quarterly basis through district, circuit and school visits. District managers have job descriptions and performance contracts in which their key responsibilities and performance indicators are outlined. The organogram of the district indicates the responsibilities of the district staff. Labour unions such as the PSA, NEHAWU and SADTU were consulted during the compilation of the job descriptions. At school level, principals and educators use the Educators Handbook as a guideline for their duties. Some educators consult old manuals, which they still find useful and relevant. They were not aware if the unions had any say in their job descriptions (School District Management Report, 2006).

The contradiction between the 2006 School Management Report and the claims by Narsee (2007) and others cited here indicates that officials lacked a legislated framework to guide them, so they also did not fully understand what exactly it is they were called upon to be doing. Having a job description did not guarantee that officials knew what they were required to do. This could also explain why officials focused more on monitoring than on the support of teachers, therein highlighting the ever-present gap between policy and practice.

At the time when Mphahlele (1999), Roberts (2001), Fleisch (2002), Chinsamy (2002), Narsee (2007) and Bantwini & Diko (2011) were writing, there was no definitive document that clearly spelt out the roles and responsibilities of district officials. In April 2013, a new policy stipulating the organisation, roles and responsibilities of education districts (Government Gazette 36324 of 3 April 2013) was finally published, and subsequently reviewed in 2016. This policy clarifies the concept of an education district; it outlines education district boundaries and norms; stipulates education district organisation functions and delegation; and describes the staffing of district offices.

The contents of this 2016 policy address some of the challenges mentioned by the writers cited above, such as having a definitive document that spell out exactly what education districts ought to do. For instance, the policy stipulates that district curriculum support teams (DCST) ought to inform schools about national and provincial policies and assist schools to implement these appropriately. This means that the problem of schools not receiving circulars and communications timeously was addressed. The officials must also manage curriculum support, including consultation with and advice to teachers, facilitate inclusive education, and report on school visits. The report describes the kind of support officials ought to offer to schools, such as

> providing an enabling environment and targeted support for education institutions within the district to do their work in line with education law and policy; assisting school principals and educators to improve the quality of teaching and learning in their institutions through school visits, classroom observation, consultation, cluster meetings, suitable feedback reports and other means; serving as an information node for education institutions on education law, policy and administration; facilitating ICT connectivity in all institutions within the district; and providing an enabling environment and organising

provision and support for the professional development of managers, educators and administrative staff members (DBE, 2016).

In addition, the officials also need to promote and organise the provision of professional development of education in cooperation with SACE, as well as to provide correct and timely learner and teacher support material.

With the introduction of this policy, some provinces began to make certain changes. For instance, Motala, Morrow, and Sayed (2015) detail that in an effort to mitigate some of the challenges faced by the districts, "in 2013, the GDE introduced an innovative model of school support. The District Office model implemented focused on multidisciplinary teams working in school clusters and circuits and this model was informed by the 2013 national policy for Education Districts" (p. 25).

Nonetheless, informal discussions held with a GDE official in January 2017 indicated that some of the challenges mentioned by Roberts in 2001 still exist 17 years on. The GDE official mentioned that a lack of communication and miscommunication, especially down the reporting structures, was still a distinct concern that needed to be resolved.

Bantwini (2011) found that some of the issues that plague districts are that teachers had negative perceptions that led to the belief that they were not receiving the support and tools they needed for professional development from their district. Furthermore, Moorosi and Bantwini (2016) state that school principals were dissatisfied with their districts' low levels of support, caused by a lack of district support on provision of resources; a lack of consultation in key decisions involving their schools; and district officials' lack of visibility in schools and responsiveness to change. Bantwini and Moorosi (2018) found that circuit managers are considered the weakest link in the education leadership chain, and these include: poor circuit office structure, the high vacancy rate of circuit managers, and external interference.

The studies discussed in this section reported on the challenges faced by districts as a unit of management. The next section reviews literature that highlights the dysfunctionality of the schooling system.

2.8 Perspectives on the 'dysfunction' in the schooling system of South Africa

Bergman (2013) states that "a dysfunctional school may be defined as a school, in which teaching, learning, or management are significantly impeded by intentional and unintentional

actions from, or positions of, one or more individuals, groups, or institutions by infringing on the school's educational goals, norms, regulations, or societal standards relevant to the school" (p.388). Grant, Jasson, and Lawrence (2010) indicate that majority of South African schools have inherited the legacy of dysfunction.

Pretorius (2014) argues that the South African education system is grappling with a vast number of dysfunctional schools. Based on international comparisons and annual national assessments of reading and mathematics achievement levels, it can be stated that the South African education system is, to a large extent, ineffective, with large numbers of schools considered to be dysfunctional (p.51). He further adds that dysfunctional schools are the symptom of the impaired functioning and decisions of the education system as a whole, lacking, as they do, the requisite vision and structured support from above (p.55).

So how then do district officials operate in a system where it appears that a large number of the schools are considered to be dysfunctional? If it is clear what school districts are, what they should do, how they should go about doing it - and yet school districts are not as efficient as they ought to be and in addition are still faced with many challenges, then it seems logical that the next line of enquiry ought to then focus on how the officials (tasked with carrying out the roles and responsibilities that would ideally make the districts work) understand and feel about their work.

The next section reviews literature about the challenges that district officials face in their work.

2.9. District officials' perspectives on the challenges of their work

Bantwini et al. (2011) write that "South African district officials' perspectives are seldom-heard voices, yet constitute nuggets of knowledge that play a critical role in the implementation of new curriculum policies, and also they constitute comprehension of the intricacies inherent in the reform implementation process" (p. 227). This call for research into South African district officials is an indication that, similar to international perspectives about the significance of the role of district officials in district effectiveness, there is local awareness of a current dearth of relevant literature.

The previous section that reviews district challenges in post-apartheid South Africa suggests that, although district offices are tasked with coordinating, supporting, and monitoring the

implementation of policies, including curriculum delivery in schools, many challenges are present, and some of the challenges experienced will be discussed in this section.

Bantwini and Diko (2011) have stated that there was a knowledge deficiency regarding how district officials collaborate, as well as regarding the factors that hindered their capacity to provide effective support to schools and teachers (p.228). They further stated that "most other scholars only hint at the challenges that district officials are confronted with in the process of supporting teachers without providing a deep analysis of the situation" (p.228). This statement is of particular interest in the context of this study, as it shares the same rationale.

In addition, Bantwini & Diko (2011) found that district officials' workload, in relation to what is feasible to accomplish at the district level, is a critical challenge in most districts, and this impacts on the officials' capacity to provide effective support to teachers. They understood contributing factors to be the large number of schools that officials in some districts were responsible for (ranging from 200-500), where there is the need to provide professional development on curriculum reforms as well as to monitor the reform implementation process; along with the need to provide ongoing school-based support.

Because the officials in the Bantwini and Diko (2011) study complained about their job descriptions and the related organogram (management structure), Bantwini et al. view the lack clarity about these issues as likewise causing a handicap in the nature of support that district officials were offering teachers. They also complained about insufficient resources, in addition to workload issues, particularly in the form of providing policy documents for all the teachers allocated to the district official. The study also indicated that, although teachers relied on the district officials for most information, meetings between teachers and the district officials for the purpose of professional development or other activities seldom took place. District officials were supposed to meet with teachers at least every six months, but that proved to be difficult, given the large number of schools and teachers that had been allocated to them (Bantwini and Diko 2011, p. 231).

According to Bantwini and Diko (2011), the district officials in the study also reported that they were further incapacitated in their mission to support schools through teachers' lack of understanding regarding the curriculum. District officials complained that "teachers would claim that they understood the vision of the policy, but when faced with challenges in their practice, they claimed nobody was there to assist them" (Bantwini & Diko 2011 p. 233). The

challenges the district officials highlighted is an indication of the reality of the hurdles that exist in the gap between policy vision and implementation.

Langhan, Kariem, and Velensky (2012) present similar findings to Bantwini and Diko (2011). They found that "lack of expertise, relationship dynamics and capacity challenges have left personnel at district level feeling challenged in terms of their ability to respond to the needs of schools holistically and in a coordinated, collaborative way" (p.26). In addition, they found that training and support for District officials was either inadequate or non-existent, and that many district and circuit officials themselves required support in understanding and interpreting the practical requirements of post-1994 policies. The findings presented by Langhan et al. suggest that not much has changed between 1999 and 2012, because, just like Mphahlele in 1999, they likewise mention that there are many vacant posts in district and circuit offices, which signals that curriculum advisers are too thinly spread to be effective. This brings to mind the corruption that rocked certain provinces in 2014 in the notorious 'jobs for cash' scandal as reported by the news channel eNCA, and the task teams that had been set up to investigate the allegations.

Langhan et al. (2012) also noted that district support emphasised administrative compliance, and that the relationship between district officials and schools was adversarial because, in their observation, district officials adopted judgmental rather than supportive attitudes while interacting with teachers. The district officials engaged more in monitoring schools than enabling schools to implement policy guidelines practically, before monitoring their compliance with them. Langhan et al. recommend that district officials should balance the provision of practical, hands-on training and coaching support on the one hand, with clear non-judgmental accountability expectations on the other (2012, p.7). This tension between the two sides of district officials' job, namely of monitoring and of giving support to teachers, is an important aspect of their work, and is worthy of attention by researchers.

Mavuso (2013) observed how subject advisers, IQMS coordinators and education development officers support teaching and learning in schools, where his findings indicated that "these district officials understand and practice support as administrative tasks. Their perception and implementation of support had the trappings of inspection, supervision and control, so the developmental aspects were neglected" (p. ii-iii). In addition, the findings suggest that district officials' conceptions and practices of support are characterised by a

tension between support and control. Mavuso also observed that district level support to schools lacked coordination between the three categories of officers who visit schools.

In his study, Mavuso (2013) referred to the 2011draft guideline on the organisation, roles and responsibility of education districts and as this said policy was finalised in 2013. So, in this study, it would be useful to find out how district officials have come to understand their work as stipulated by policy, as well as how they feel about the reality of their work.

Recognising the various challenges faced in education, Motala, Morrow, and Sayed (2015) argued that for policy to adequately address the on-going challenges in education, there must be three key changes in policy, namely:

- continued and coordinated policy planning and effective implementation (and a narrowing of the gap between the two);
- concerted attention to the nature of teaching and learning in the classroom; and
- improved support for and development of teachers (p.31).

It is in this area of improved support and development of teachers that district officials play a key role, and this underpins having subject advisers as the focus of this study.

2.10 Roles and responsibilities of subject advisers

Subject advisers are employed by the DBE as "specialist office -based educators in a district office or circuit office whose function is to facilitate curriculum implementation and improve the environment and process of learning and teaching by visiting schools, consulting with and advising school principals and teachers on curriculum matters" (Policy on the Organisation, Roles and Responsibilities of Education Districts 2016, p.28).

This statement suggests that the subject advisers need to complement and strengthen teacher practices. The district directive requires that 80% of subject advisers' duty is to provide support to the teachers, where the remaining 20% will be focused on monitoring how teachers implement policy (Handbook for Gauteng District Officials, 2013). Subject advisers are required to support effective curriculum delivery in schools, and they need to work in partnership with teachers to ensure this takes place.

Hargreaves and Shirley (2020) state that leaders at this middle level have their finger on the pulse of operations, so they can also conceive of, suggest, and set in motion new ideas that

may not occur to upper managers (p.96). Similarly, Balogun and Johnson (2004) write that middle managers are the strategic link that connects macro- and micro-level strategies in a given organisation, where they translate macro-level derived strategies into micro-level actions. Ideally, the role of the middle level is to help implement changes from the top, and to move around ideas and strategies that are percolating up from beneath (p.96). Subject advisers are middle managers, whose role is the link between schools and teachers at the bottom of the hierarchy, and management at the top of it.

2.11 Summary

The literature reviewed in this section indicates the challenges that district officials encounter in their work. Significantly, the tension between monitoring and support seems to be the most frequently mentioned challenge. Because the monitoring/compliance aspect is played out more in the interaction between teachers and district officials, this can easily make the relationship between teachers and district officials conflictual. Findings from Nwachukwu (2016) indicate that teachers have only negative emotions towards district officials, where it stands to reason that this cannot be beneficial, especially considering that both parties play important roles in the education system. This justifies examination of the emotional dimension of district officials' work with teachers.

My contribution is that an investigation into the emotional dimension of district officials' work with regards to teachers could possibly reveal significant insight into what could improve the relationship between these two significant role players in the education system. Lewis and Naidoo (2006) argue that "if we are to break away from the cognitive frame, researchers must seek to understand more deeply the ways which local actors are appropriating and re-enacting policy. Only then might we understand the nature of their participation and possibilities for supporting the democratic transformations of South African schools" (p.415). It is in this bid to "understand more deeply" that my study focuses on the emotional dimension.

The insights gained through reviewing the international and South African literature on education districts is that districts are important in the education system, because they constitute the intermediary between the national/provincial education departments on the one hand, and schools on the other. For a district to be effective, attention needs to be paid to the processes as well as the people involved in district operations. In particular, the district

officials who interact with schools and teachers contribute to the implementation or non-implementation of reforms, because the way in which they understand their job and roles affects how reform is received by teachers. Therefore, there is a need to understand more deeply and beyond the cognitive perspective, how they understand their work. More so, tensions in the work of South African district officials, especially the tension between monitoring and support, suggest that there could be a mismatch between what the district officials understand their work to be, and what the people they work with (teachers) understand the officials' work to be. This could be one of the underlying reasons for the dysfunctional relationship teachers seem to have with the officials. What this points to is the need to find out how district officials themselves understand and feel about their work, especially their work with teachers.

The next section continues the literature review chapter, and reviews literature on emotions, to provide a clearer understanding as to why and how they constitute a useful lens for understanding subject advisers' work.

CHAPTER TWO CONTINUED
REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE ON EMOTIONS

2. 12 Emotions…what are they and why are they a useful conceptual and analytical research lens?

This section of the literature review chapter reviews literature on emotions to enable a proper understanding of emotions as a useful conceptual and analytical lens.[1]

The word 'emotion' as defined by the Collins Concise English Dictionary refers to "any strong feelings such as joy, sorrow, or fear. It originates from the Latin word '*emovere*', which means to disturb, or to move from." While this definition provides a general sense, there is debate over the details of their nature. There are consequently many varying definitions or conceptions of what emotions are among social and personality psychologists (Nussbaum, 2001).

Scherer, Wranik, Sangsue, Tran, and Scherer (2004) state that there is still no generally accepted definition of emotion. The absence of such a definition has had a very negative effect on the field, for "without consensual conceptualization [sic] of exactly what phenomenon is to be studied, progress in theory and research is difficult to achieve and fruitless debates are likely to proliferate" (p. 695). However, Reisenzein (2007) argues that a proper definition of emotion is not necessary for fruitful research and successful communication. All that is needed for these purposes is a description that allows one to demarcate, at least roughly, the class of emotions, and thereby to identify one's research object to oneself and others.

Due to the complexity in providing an exact definition of emotions, many of the definitions from psychologists, philosophers and sociologists offer mainly descriptions of emotions, rather than exact definitions Frijda (1986); Kemper (1987); Thoits (1989); Gordon and Gordon (1990) Nussbaum 2001,2003; and Turner 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014.

[1] The literature review chapter is split into two sections in order to review literature that pertains to the two main aspects of the study, namely districts, and emotions.

These definitions and descriptions of emotions are embedded in different theories of emotions. There are biological theories, psychological theories, and socio-cultural theories of emotions. It is also important to state here that words such as mood, feelings, expressiveness, sentiment, affect and emotions are often used interchangeably (Turner, 2007). However, for the purpose of this study, the operative concept of emotion will receive exclusive use.

2.13 Theories of emotion

This section explains some of the key arguments in three major theories of emotion. These theories help us to understand the basic underpinnings of emotions from different perspectives. Proponents of these theories provide strong arguments to justify their positions. In this section, three theories of emotions namely ***biological, psychological, and socio-cultural*** are explored.

2.13.1 Biological theory of emotions

According to the biological theory of emotions, emphasis is placed on the biological origins of emotion. The prominent idea in this theory is that activation, expression, and experience of emotions are connected to the human body. From this perspective, emotions are activated in the neurological systems below the neocortex.

Wentworth, a prominent proponent of the evolutionary theory of emotion, argued that the biological capacity to arouse emotions has it foundations in natural selection, where emotions increase fitness as regulators of attention; stimuli to learning; memory formation and retrieval; regulators of self-awareness and identity formation; mechanisms by which most role taking and role making occur; motives for action and signals to others (Wentworth & Ryan, 1992). Wentworth et al. (1992) further argue that a few primary emotions, such as anger, disgust, fear, hatred, and sadness promote fitness by generating primal tendencies, to "flight, fight, fuck, feed, and startle" [all sic] (p.26). In the case of human primates, because our brains are larger, this has allowed for the development of culture and an expanded emotions repertoire. These two components are what enhances fitness, by strengthening social bonds attached to moral codes. So, for humans as organisms that use culture to form social bonds, emotions become a medium of communication that give affective significance to cultural codes.

Turner (2007) also supports this evolutionary theory. He states that "humans are highly emotional animals" (Turner 2007, p.1) and argues that as humans evolved from apes, so did their brain and mental capacity. He suggests that the first language among hominids was the

language of emotions, which utilised the cortices of the brain to generate emotional phonemes and syntax and even now, humans still use the body and face language when trying to read emotion. He argues that it was only much later in the evolutionary journey that homo sapiens (humans) specifically developed an auditory/verbal language. This argument proposes that verbal language is linked to the language of emotions (Turner 2009, p. 344).

Wentworth et al. and Turner agree that, at some point, the emotions take on a socio-cultural dimension, and these authors have strongly argued that because emotions involve somatic changes (involving *inter alia* the autonomic nervous system, musculo-skeletal systems, endocrine systems, neurotransmitter and neuroactive peptide systems), emotions mobilise and dispose organisms to behave in particular ways.

Turner (2014) argues for the sociocultural dimension of emotions, and makes a strong argument for considering the biological foundations of emotion in the study of emotions - he comprehensively relates the different parts of the brain to the functionality and emergence of specific emotions. Turner (2009) argues that "although emotions are almost always constrained and channelled by sociocultural contexts, the nature of the emotion and its intensity are still driven by biological processes" (p.3). Even though sociocultural contexts are typically what activate those body systems generating emotions like fear and anger (Wentworth & Yardley, 1994), once these body systems are activated, they are not wholly constrained or channelled by cultural vocabularies and norms.

Thus, Turner (2009) proposes that we must always consider the biology of emotions as a critical element in understanding how they operate. His key argument in the biological perspective of emotion is that "emotions often override […] sociocultural constraints, indicating that they have an independent basis in the reality of the human body, especially its autonomous nervous system, its neuro transmitters and neuroactive peptide systems, its more general endocrine system and its musculoskeletal system" (p.341).

2.13.2 Psychological theory of emotions

Although the concepts of *emotion* and *mood* are sometimes used interchangeably, in the field of psychology, they refer to two different things. Typically, the word *emotion* indicates a (generally conscious) subjective, affective state that is often intense and occurs in response to a specific experience. *Mood,* on the other hand, refers to a prolonged, less intense affective state that does not necessarily occur in response to something we experience. Unlike

emotions, mood states may not be consciously recognised (Beedie, Terry, Lane, & Devonport, 2011).

As we move through our daily lives, we experience a variety of emotions (which we often refer to as 'feelings'). From a psychological perspective, emotions are subjective states of being that, physiologically speaking, involve physiological arousal, psychological appraisal and cognitive processes, subjective experiences, and expressive behaviour. Emotions are often the driving force behind motivation (whether positive or negative) and are expressed and communicated through a wide range of behaviours, such as tone of voice and body language (Lumen Boundless Psychology, 2019). Similarly, Turner (2007) writes that, from a cognitive perspective, emotions can be understood as conscious feelings about the self and objects in the environment (p.2), where Beatty (2006) goes on to state that "emotions are seen as the causes, mediators, or effects of other psychological processes such as attention, memory, and perception" (p.28). Beatty (2019) explains that "emotions colour our thoughts, shape our reaction, load our dreams with obscure significance, urge decisions, trigger action, frame the moment, revise the past and alter the state of affairs" (p.2).

2.13.3 Sociocultural theory of emotions

The idea underpinning socio-cultural theories of emotion is that emotions exist in socio-cultural interactions, so our emotions influence and are influenced by the interactions we have with one another. Nussbaum (2001) and Turner (2007) provide very useful explanations of the operations of emotions. However, other authors prior to Nussbaum and Turner also provided useful conceptions of emotions.

From a sociology perspective, Hochschild (1979) describes emotions as "one of the unique qualities that make us human and our emotions are used to create, monitor and preserve social bonds" (p.1).

Hochschild (1983), argues that emotions function as signals for understanding an experience or situation, and that these signals are filtered through people's expectations about themselves and the world, stating that "when we do not feel emotion, or disclaim an emotion, we lose touch with how we actually link inner to outer reality" (p. 223). Hochschild argues that emotion cues may be the most important in human interaction, and are important elements in conflict, social movements and social change. This implies that our emotions "serve a socio-functional purpose as they are constituted and prescribed in such a way as to sustain or endorse systems of belief and value" (Armon-Jones, 2019, p. 57).

Presenting similar perspectives on the sociological function and nature of emotions, Frijda (1986, 2016) views emotions as relevance signalling mechanism, as he argues that emotions are "mechanisms whereby the organism signals to its cognitive and action systems that events are favourable or harmful to its ends" (p.132). From Kemper (1987)'s perspective, "emotions are relatively short-term, evaluative responses, essentially positive or negative, involving distinct somatic (and often cognitive) components" (p.47). Thoits (1990) explains that emotions involve four components, which are: appraisals of a situational stimulus or context; changes in physiological or bodily sensations; the free or inhibited display of expressive gestures; and a cultural label applied to specific constellations of one or more of the first three components" (p.318). However, Thoits adds that all four components need not be present simultaneously for an emotion to be experienced or to be recognised by others; for example, one can be afraid but not know why, and young children can harbour or display emotion without having acquired the words with which to communicate their experience (p.318).

While the descriptions above offer insight into the functions and characteristics of emotions, Nussbaum's (2001) conception of emotions and their functions provides a similar perspective to Frijda, Thoits and Kemper on the social nature of emotions, where she argues that "emotions shape the landscape of our mental and social lives" (p.1). However, she adds that emotions are always "about something" (p.27), which means they have an 'object' and, as such, are not "unthinking forces" (p.26), because this 'object' is an "intentional 'object' in the sense that it figures in the emotion as it is seen or interpreted by the person whose emotion it is" (p.27).

Here Nussbaum uses the word 'object' to refer to all categories of concern, including people, relationships and things. The conception of the word 'object' is thus different to how authors like Mitchell (2011), Turkel (2017) and Riggins (2021), limit the term object to inanimate objects and artefacts that elicits emotions from people.

Nussbaum (2003) then goes on to explain that emotions "embody beliefs, often very complex, about the object, beliefs which might be true or false, conscious or unconscious" (p.28). Just like Kemper (1987) and Thoits (1989), she agrees that bodily feelings present with emotions, and "on their own they do not tell us what emotion we are experiencing, instead, it involves "an inspection of the thoughts," (p.29) in order to distinguish between the different kinds and intensities of emotions. The thoughts about our bodily feelings are "concerned with value, they see their object as invested with value and importance" (p.30).

Despite the object's significance, we cannot control it, therefore "the emotion records that sense of vulnerability and imperfect control" (p.43).

Nussbaum's point on the intensity of our emotion is related to how important the object is in our own order of things. She states that "emotions involve intentional thought or perception directed at an object and some type of evaluative appraisal of that object made from the agent's own personal viewpoint. This appraisal ascribes significance to the object in terms of that agent's scheme of goals and ends" (Nussbaum, 2013, p. 399). Intense emotions are markers of vulnerability in relation to the things we value. Nussbaum also states that emotions are not just the fuel that powers the psychological mechanism of a reasoning creature; they are parts, highly complex and a messy part of this creature's reasoning itself (Nussbaum ,2001, p.30). This suggests that biologically speaking, reasoning and emotions are entangled.

Following Nussbaum's argument, in the context of this study, one can infer that because emotions involve value judgements about important things, this means that they can be a useful analytical lens to determine what subject advisers' judgements are about their work with teachers. From the emotions the subject advisers express, and in relation to what 'object', we are able to see how they regard that 'object' as important for their well-being.

One central tenet of Nussbaum (2013) is the idea that emotions have an important role to play in a decent political society. Emotions, as she argues, can destabilise a community and fragment it, or they can produce cooperation and a more energetic striving towards justice (p.10). Nussbaum (2003) argues that "emotions are not hardwired from birth, but are shaped in countless ways by social contexts and social norms" (p.16).

Turner (2007) states that there are two types of emotions, namely: primary and secondary emotions. According to this argument, primary emotions are those states of arousal that are presumed to be hard-wired in human neuro-anatomy. They include happiness, fear, anger and disappointment, sadness, disgust, and surprise, where, as humans, we have the capacity to display these emotions to varying degrees of intensity.

Turner (2007) explains "indeed, one of the unique features of humans is their reliance on emotions to form social bonds and build complex sociocultural structures. Emotions are used to forge social bonds and to create and sustain commitments to social structure and cultures and as well as tear down socio-cultural creations" (p.1). This implies that every dimension of

society is composed, organised, held together or ripped apart by emotional arousal. Turner (2007) also argues that emotions are embedded in social structure and culture in a two-way process, where "emotions are systematically generated under socio-cultural conditions and once aroused; they have effects on these conditions" (p.66). Turner explains emotions from multiple perspectives. He makes a strong argument for the biological origins of emotions, argues for the cognitive/psychological perspective of emotions, and also acknowledges the sociocultural dimension of emotions.

Turner underscores the extent of influence our emotions have, by tracing that our emotions indicate how relevant and valuable their objects are to our flourishing (Nussbaum), where we are able to make judgements and decisions based on this understanding that can either create, maintain, or tear down socio-cultural bonds. Thus, Turner (2010) adds the truism that,

> if we look at the world, we can see authentic emotions everywhere, pushing people into both individual and collective actions. People have real emotions whether positive or negative, and are prepared to act on these emotions under specifiable socio-cultural conditions. For instance, murder, terrorism, genocide, warfare, spousal abuse, gang shootings, street protests, and many other volatile events are fuelled by intense negative emotions. On the other hand, more positive emotions, at times mixed with negative emotions, are often the motivating force behind commitments to political and religious ideologies as well as to a variety of social causes such as movements devoted to reaffirming human rights or mitigating environmental degradation (Turner 2010, p.169).

Stets and Turner (2014) further explain that emotions are significant in our interactions, and argue "emotions can be viewed as resources; and like all resources, they are unequally distributed in a society and, hence, stratified. […] Emotions are not just an outcome response to inequalities of material resources, they are themselves highly valued resources when positive, and they have very large effects not only on people but also on social structure and culture at all levels of social organization" (Stets & Turner, 2014, p. 179). They further state that emotions are aroused among individuals in encounters embedded in corporate units (groups, organisations, and communities) and in categoric units (diffuse status characteristics or categories marking differences in moral worth among their members) and that "people's

experiences within institutional domains generate a legacy of emotions, just as institutional domains determine how much money, power, prestige, healthcare, or any other valued resource people come to possess" (p.170). The understanding that emotions are a resource suggests that within the context of the educational sphere, emotions will be unequally distributed, and as such stratified.

2.14 Classification of emotions

Turner (2010) uses primary and secondary classifications for emotion, in terms of how emotions operate in and shape human interaction. He provides an elaborate description of different emotions and posits a minimum of four primary emotions, viz.: satisfaction and happiness; aversion-fear; assertion-anger; and disappointment-sadness. Primary emotions, according to Turner (2010), are hardwired into the human neuro-anatomy, and hence, are invariant across all humans, although, like language, they often reveal wide variations in how they are expressed. (p.176) He adds that disgust, expectancy, and surprise could also be considered primary emotions.

2.15 Recognising and identifying emotions

Joshi, Bhat, Jain, Singh, and Modi (2022)state that there are different ways to recognise emotions and they argue that because emotions are complex and involve various factors such as age, sex, geographical location, culture, etc., it is important to understand, and also to recognise emotions. Thus, they posit that emotions can be recognised via written texts, voice, physiological changes and facial features/expressions. They argue that in relation to written material such as texts, emoticons can be used to recognise the emotions of a person under observation (p.175). Categorised words or phrases can be used to show emotions. They do however acknowledge that, "words can be edited and manipulated to project incorrect emotion" (p. 175) and furthermore there could also be ambiguity in usage of words. When it comes to the voice, they argue that voice samples can be collected and certain features can be used to determine the emotion of the speaker. Voice features such as energy, volume, and pitch may project more accurate emotions.

In relation to how the face can be a determinant of emotion, Joshi et al. (2022) argue that the face undergoes certain changes when a person experiences emotion. Changes occur in the facial expressions, such as a wide-open mouth, and raised eyebrows when astonished. Although they do not mention which exact emotions could possibly accompany the changes in facial feature they describe, they do mention that it is possible to study the patterns of

changes in the facial features and then categorise and classify them as enlisted sets of emotions (p.176).

Similarly, Steinberg (2014) noted that sometimes people (teachers) were emotional without using an emotion words in conversations, and their tone of voice did not translate into writing. She settled on the following characteristics of the teachers' speech as imbuing a response with strongly expressed emotions:

1. Words that signify emotion: e.g., frustrated, love, disappointed, angry

2. Strong descriptive adjectives or exclamations: e.g., horrific, absolutely atrocious, wow, etc.

3. Strong adjectival qualifiers: e.g., extremely long hours, can actually show, really think that, enjoy very much,

4. Repeated words for emphasis: e.g., very, very difficult, hours and hours and hours of marking time

5. Striking metaphors: e.g., feel like drowning, eroded away, groping in the dark

6. Laughter: may be used to express something one is too embarrassed to say

7. Gestures/movements: such as when teachers drop their arms and heads onto the table, signifying a sense of defeat.

8. Silence (Steinberg 2014, p.111).

2.16 Summary

The conceptions of emotions presented in this section indicate that because humans are social animals by nature, our lives are shaped by our emotions (Hochschild, 1979; Nussbaum 2001; Turner 2007), and "emotions are socially constructed in the sense that what people feel is conditioned by socialization into culture and by participation in social structures" (Stets and Turner 2005, p. 2). As Frijda (1986) explains, our emotions serve as a "relevance signalling mechanism", because they signal to our cognitive and action systems that events are either favourable, or harmful. These signals involve somatic and cognitive components, which involve the appraisal of a situational stimulus or context, often evoke changes in physiological sensations and may involve a free or an inhibited display of expressive gestures

(Thoits, 1989). They also have socially constructed cultural definitions and constraints on how emotions should be experienced and expressed in a given situation (Turner & Stets, 2005). Our emotions are always directed at an 'object' and are also a value judgement, as the intensity of the emotion signifies the importance of the object to our own flourishing (Nussbaum, 2001). Furthermore, our emotions are embedded in our socio-cultural relations, therefore they can be used to forge or tear down socio-cultural bonds (Turner, 2007). Significantly, our emotions are a valued resources and positive emotions are a symbolic media that can be exchanged (Turner 2014).

Because our emotions play such an important role in our lives, this means that when we talk about or even study any aspect of our interaction, whether on a personal or an institutional level, the emotional dimension deserves attention. Nussbaum (2001) and Turner's (2007) conceptions of emotions, reveal that emotions provide the energy and focus for our action. On this foundation, it is appropriate to conceptualise emotions as a lens for analysing district officials' understanding and feelings regarding their work especially with teachers, which can be useful in uncovering issues and people that impact district officials' work, which may otherwise be ignored. Thus, the focus on investigating district officials' work through the lens of their emotions can possibly yield valuable insight that may otherwise have been missed.

This section conceptualises emotions and shows that on the social plane, our emotions are embedded in our interactions and influence why and how we respond. The next section argues the case for emotions as a necessary lens through which to understand subject advisers' work with teachers. The next section reviews literature on emotions and work, so as to show the importance of studying emotions in relation to work.

2.17 Emotions and work

Showing emotion at work may feel counterintuitive. Nussbaum (2001) provides a valuable explanation of the idea that emotions interfere with work. She explains that "humans are the only emotional beings who wish not to be emotional, who wish to withhold these acknowledgements of neediness" (p.137), and, by doing so, reject their vulnerability and suppress their awareness of the attachments involved. The need for people to reject vulnerability often arises in the workplace due to pervasive performance pressure.

Muchinsky (2000) argues that emotions in the workplace have often been regarded as unwanted influences, which deflect us from the path of objectivity; forces to be controlled, if not sublimated. To be 'emotional' is seen to reflect a proclivity for weakness.

But if we consider that we are “highly emotional animals” (Turner 2007) and that our mental and social lives are “shaped by our emotions” (Nussbaum 2001), then it is important to acknowledge, accept and deal with innate emotions we may encounter in the workplace. Li, Ashkanasy, and Ahlstrom (2014) aver that traditional views of emotion which may understand them as a sign of irrationality, do not serve us.

Wharton (2014) explains that work, as a central institution in modern life, is an important arena for the sociological study of emotion, and advocates for the study of the influence of emotions in the workplace. The interest in emotions and work is attributed to Hochschild’s *The Managed Heart* (1979, 1983), providing the inspiration for a growing interest in work and emotion in the service industry. Since then, there has been an increased interest in both work and emotion. The interest in work and emotion has been a multidisciplinary endeavour in sociology, business and organisational research, where industrial and organisational psychologists have also contributed to the development of an expansive literature on work and emotion (Wharton, 2014, p. 3).

Most studies that focus on emotions and work are located in the fields of sociology and organisational development, and these have shown that emotion have made their way into virtually every aspect of the study of work, and helped to frame the understanding of fundamental workplace processes, like inequality, outcomes and performance, that are of particular concern to organisational research (Wharton, 2014). Many of the studies on the impact and influence of emotions in the workplace are beginning to show what far reaching effects our emotions have on our interaction, contribution, and motivation in the workplace.

2.18 Emotions in the workplace

Brockner and Higgins (2001) found that experiencing more positive or more negative emotions at work can predict the emotional valence of attitudes towards colleagues and behaviour at work. Miner, Glomb, and Hulin (2005) using the concept of emotional self-management, show that there are clear links between a person’s emotions and engagement in regular work tasks, work withdrawal behaviour, and organisational citizenship behaviour (e.g. helping a co-worker). Barsade and Gibson (2007) investigated emotional expression in the workplace. Their findings indicated that individuals experience a broad range of emotions in the workplace, and they argue that situational and transitory emotions are linked to perceptions of job satisfaction (p.36).

The data presented in these foundational research studies into emotions in the workplace provide proof of emotions being influential in the work place. The research indicates that emotions are important in understanding concepts such as job satisfaction (Locke, 1976), (Cranny, Smith, & Stone, 1992); performance related behaviours (Fisher, 2000) (Brief & Weiss, 2002) (Barsade, Brief, & Spataro, 2003; Barsade & Gibson, 2007); collaboration and group work (George & Brief, 1996), Barsade and Gibson (1998), J. N. Parker and Hackett (2012). The studies have also shown that people's work attitudes and behaviours are affected by differences in the nature and magnitude of their emotional experiences.

Over the years, research studies have further investigated workplace emotions. Ashkanasy and Bialkowski (2021) identified five levels of analysis of emotions research as applied to organisations: (a) within person temporal effects; (b) between person (personality and attitudes) factors; (c) interpersonal behaviours (perception and communication of emotion); (d) group level (leadership and teams); and (e) organisational level (culture and climate). Ashkanasy and Bialkowski's analysis of workplace emotions indicates that emotions research is required at every level of organisational development.

Several other studies that have investigated emotions in relation to different workplace issues show employee emotions during organisational change. Klarner, By, and Diefenbach (2011) show that emotions evolve during and across change processes. Khalili (2012) focuses on emotional intelligence in the workplace, to argue that accurate self-assessment together with conflict management are just some significant influences of emotional intelligence within organisations that would result in increasing organisational effectiveness (p.355). Bunk and Magley (2013) studied emotions and work place incivility to showed that emotionality may play an important role in showing why the experience of incivility is related to job-related outcomes; Mayer, Louw, and Baxter (2015) evidenced that managers across cultures share a positive organisational psychology approach on job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Diener, Thapa, and Tay (2020) show that positive emotions influence variables vital for workplace success, such as positive beliefs, creativity, work engagement, positive coping, health, teamwork and collaboration, customer satisfaction, leadership, and performance.

The studies reviewed in this section show that actions, inactions, beliefs, perceptions, attitudes and decisions in the workplace are inextricably linked to emotions and that the

influence and effect of our emotions in a work setting is significant from an individual level all the way up to the organisation-wide level.

2.19 Emotions and work in education

In education, the number of research studies concerned with emotions in education has grown. There is increasing literature that addresses emotions in education within the last three decades or so.

Hargreaves (1998b) explains that “emotions are dynamic parts of ourselves, and whether they are positive or negative, all organizations, including schools, are full of them” (p.835). He states that “educational change initiatives do not just affect teachers’ knowledge, skill and problem-solving capacity. They affect a whole web of significant and meaningful relationships that make up the work of schools and that are at the very heart of the teaching and learning process” (p.838). Hargreaves (1998a) meanwhile states that teaching and leading are emotional forms of work, yet not enough attention is being paid to the emotional dimension of the work of others like school leaders involved in the work of education. This suggests that studies focus mostly on teachers to the exclusion of significant role players in education such as district officials and other school leaders, who may not be receiving enough attention. The emotions of subject advisers in particular requires attention because they serve to support teachers to develop their skills.

Although research explores the emotions of teaching and teacher development in times of rapid change, Hargreaves (1998a) argues that these studies do not deal sufficiently with educational leaders' own emotional lives, which is an important topic that requires attention. He explains that the emotional lives of educational leaders must be treated “not only as matters of personal disposition or commitment, as psychological qualities that emerge among individuals, but also as phenomena that are shaped by how the work of teaching is organized, structured and led” (p.317). When Hargreaves discusses educational leaders, he does not make any distinction between the levels of leadership but instead refers to educational leadership in general. I understand his conception of educational leadership to refer to anyone above the teachers in the educational hierarchy.

Analysing the role of teacher heads of department, Schmidt (2000) illustrates how “when educators’ responsibilities shift, so do their emotions” (p.840). Schmidt found that three issues shape whether or not a leadership role is dominated by the emotions of frustration or of satisfaction: clarity (or not) of role and purpose, the experience of sufficient power and status

(or not) to execute the role; and the emotional (mis)understandings experienced in relationships with colleagues. Schmidt (2010) also argues that attention ought to be paid to emotions, and presents the importance of acknowledging the primacy of school leaders' emotions in leadership preparation programmes.

Zembylas (2007) notes that emotions are increasingly the focus of analysis across a number of disciplines and professional settings, including education (p.443). Later, Zembylas (2011) adds that emotions in education are increasingly the focus of a variety of investigations from different methodological and epistemological perspectives (p.31). He explains that findings from research in the field of emotions in education suggests that emotions are important to pedagogical practices, to student-teacher relationships, to issues of reform efforts and the process of change, and to an understanding of power relations and social structures in schools and society (Zembylas, 2011, p.31).

Hargreaves (2019) also proposes that in research and policy alike, it is exceptionally important to acknowledge and honour the emotions of teaching and leadership, and to cultivate their active development as an essential aspect of developing higher quality in education. Consequently, he argues that "if we ignore the emotions of education, we not only miss this opportunity but we also allow emotion to enter the world of teaching and leading by the back door, in damaging ways, when hyper-rational policies and initiatives alienate, anger, frustrate or sadden those who are obliged to implement them" (Hargreaves 1998a, p.316). Hargreaves holds that teaching and leading are profoundly emotional forms of work.

Various studies have investigated teachers' emotions in different dimensions: teaching as an emotional practice, the emotional dynamics of teachers relations with their colleagues (Hargreaves 1998, 2001, 2019); teachers' work lives, teacher vulnerability (Kelchtermans 1996; 2016); the functions of teacher's emotions (Winograd, 2003); teacher identity and change (Reio, 2005); teachers' stressors (Schulze & Steyn, 2007); commitment and resilience (Gu & Day, 2007); teachers and assessment (Steinberg 2008 ; 2013; 2015) teacher voice (Daniels & Strauss, 2010) (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014); trust (Louis & Murphy, 2017); dimenions of teacher burnout (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017); to mention just a few. Most studies that focused on emotions in the educational setting are concerned with teachers and students.

Nevertheless, there is a growing number of research publications that examine the emotional dimension of school leadership positions that work closely with teachers so as to ensure

effective teaching and learning. These include studies like ‘Burnout in school principals’ (Friedman, 2002); ‘Vulnerability among school principals’ (Gronn* & Lacey, 2004); ‘Emotional intelligence for school administrators’ (Moore, 2009); ‘Emotions of leadership’ (Beatty, 2013); ‘Leadership and emotions’ (Ryan & Tuters, 2015); ‘Expression and suppression of major emotions in educational leadership’ (Oplatka, 2017); correlations between perceived supervisor support, organisational identification, organisational citizenship behaviour, and burnout in schools (Tevfik, 2018).

These studies show that, since Hargreaves (1998a) made the point about a lack of focus on leading as an emotional form of work, there has been increasing focus on the emotions of leadership. Ashkanasy and Bialkowski (2021) argue that at every level of the organisational structure, there are emotions at play. These emotions are likely to be different depending on the context of the interaction, whether intrinsically, interpersonally, or collectively. Therefore, investigating the emotions of subject advisers is necessary and makes for a richer understanding of the educational infrastructure.

2.20 Emotions and the subject adviser

Hargreaves (1998a) states that “in policy and administrative agendas that are monopolised by targets, standards, benchmarks, performance management, development planning, market choices and committee work, teachers have been reduced to technicians whose work is defined solely in terms of knowledge, competence and skill, while leaders have been reduced to faceless bureaucrats and performance managers who hide their power behind policy and procedure and keep their cards close to their chest” (p.316). The question that arises in consideration of this is as to whether *teachers alone have been reduced to technicians. Could it be that subject advisers too have their roles reduced to performance managers or faceless bureaucrats?*

Schmidt (2000), when researching departmental headship in schools, argues that when professional roles are characterized by conflict, change and ambiguity, the consequence is often both intense and negative emotional reactions. She explains that while department heads' varying responses to their role may be due in part to the usual variations of human interpretation, other factors of uncertainty or instability that are inherent in the role itself often confront department heads with complex, emotionally charged, and also shifting sets of demands. These demands are experienced as department heads engage with their own and others' educational purposes, with the power relationships of secondary schooling that their

intermediary position highlights, as well as their relationships with others around them. Although Schmidt's study was concerned with departmental heads in secondary schools, the same tensions apply to subject advisers in this study.

Returning to Nussbaum's (2001) argument that emotions are not "unthinking forces" (p.26), but rather, are "about something", which means that "they have an object" (p.27). Emotions as an investigative lens can reveal 'objects' of subject advisers' emotions, by looking at what their emotions are directed at. This 'object' may for example be policy change, relationships, or anything the subject advisers experience as important. It can be argued that subject advisers' emotions will indicate judgements about whom and what affects their practice, because Nussbaum argues that emotions are judgements of value, as the emotion and the intensity of the emotion indicates the value of the 'object' in relation to our flourishing.

Archer (2000) explains that, as human beings, we have a "rich inner life" which is partly constituted through our engagement in a "continuous running commentary with the events going on around us" (p.193). Her position is that the 'inner dialogue' is generated by emotions that arise from different aspects of our physical and social worlds, which then inevitably generate a decision for action.

Learning from Archer (2004) and Nussbaum (2001), my understanding is that subject advisers are continually running internal commentaries on the events going on around them (especially at work), and are using their emotions to make judgements about who or what affects their practice/work. Their emotions will be stimulated by and directed at 'objects' (people or issues events or situations) which they consider to be valuable to their flourishing in the work place. As Wharton (2014) argues, the influence of emotions in the workplace has far-reaching effects and therefore it is possible that when one seeks to understand factors shaping individual and organisational performance, one can productively turn to emotions and their influence in the work context.

The next section conceptualises emotional labour, to gain a sense of how subject advisers are likely to experience the impact of emotions in their work.

2.21 Conceptualising emotional rules and labour

Emotional labour refers to the process by which workers are expected to manage their feelings in accordance with organisationally defined rules and guidelines. The term emotional labour was first coined by Hochschild (1983) in *The Managed Heart.* It was the result of

Hochschild's efforts to understand the social foundations of emotion and her interest in redirecting sociological attention to this issue. Hochschild (1983) defines emotional labour as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" thus calling attention to how people manage their own feelings as a way to create a particular emotional state in another person (p. 7).

Since then, there has been an outpouring of research on emotional labour. Leadership as emotional labour (Iszatt-White, 2012), leadership as compassionate and emotional labour (Gallos, 2012), middle managers' emotional labour (Turnbull, 2012), the dark side of emotional labour (Ward and McMurray 2015), emotional labour and midlevel leadership (Ayers & Gonzales, 2020), to mention a few. Wharton notes that "the sociological literature on emotional labour can be roughly divided into two major streams of research. Both include studies of interactive work and research directly focused on emotions and their management by workers. The first uses emotional labour as a vehicle to understand the organization [sic], structure, and social relations of service jobs, while the second focuses on individuals' efforts to express and regulate emotion and the consequences of those efforts" (Wharton, 2009, p. 147). Joining the latter focus, in chapter eight of this study, I analyse the emotional rules by which subject advisers are governed, and the emotional labour that subject advisers perform in relation to their work.

2.22 Emotional Rules

Hochschild (1979) illustrates that there are usually implicit emotional rules, including feeling rules and expression rules, in our societies. The feeling rules specify the appropriate feeling in a given social setting, while the expression rules guide overt expression and display of the appropriate feeling in a given social setting. As such, social actors need to adjust both their emotions and their emotional displays according to the feeling rules and expression rules of a given social situation (Tsang, 2011).

Hochschild (1983) in particular focuses on the idea of emotion management (or emotion work), a reference to how people actively shape and direct their feelings and the recognition that social structure and institutions impose constraints on these efforts. She uses the term "feeling rules" to describe societal norms about the appropriate type and amount of feeling that should be experienced in a particular situation. Similarly, Zembylas (2002) defines emotional rules as the "norms and standards that reconstruct inner experiences in cultural, social or organizational [sic] settings" (p.200). Emotional rules "delineate a zone within

which certain emotions are permitted and others are not permitted". They "reflect power relations and are thus techniques for the discipline of human differences in emotional expression and communication" (Zembylas, 2002, p.200). Emotional rules are seldom explicit; instead, they operate through ethical codes, professional techniques, or habitual pedagogical practices, such as teaching science as 'objective' or equating 'professionalism' with being reserved and withholding emotions (Steinberg, 2008, p. 32). Emotional rules vary across time and context, e.g. they differ depending on whether the institutional culture is more formalised, "with the dominant modes of social contact tending towards greater strictness and consensus" or more informal, tending "toward greater leniency, variety and differentiation" (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 46).

Within the context of teachers and teaching, Winograd (2003), Zembylas (2005) & Steinberg (2014) suggest the emotional rules of teaching may be implicit and disguised as teacher professionalism that constrains teacher's emotional activities. According to Zembylas, a general emotional rule of teaching is to avoid emotional extremes. More specifically, Winograd's (2003) self-study reveals five key emotional rules of teaching: (1) to love and to show enthusiasm for students; (2) to be enthusiastic and passionate about subject matter; (3) to avoid the display of extreme emotions like anger, joy and sadness; (4) to love their work; and (5) to have a sense of humour and laugh at their own mistakes and the indiscretions of students. From Steinberg's (2014) perspective, emotional rules "implicitly make demands on teachers' integrity (e.g., teachers need to be concerned about the possibility of causing humiliation in learners, not just avoid doing it; teachers need to gain a sense of satisfaction from doing something of value for learners) and more demanding of what is required for assessment tasks to be 'good' (e.g., assessment deserves trust only if certain conditions of task fairness and support for learning are met). Thus, the emotional rules give teachers a certain independence from professional norms, policy and department officials by taking it as given that each teacher personally makes the judgement as to whether assessment tasks, processes and results are trustworthy or not" (Steinberg 2014, p. 257).

On the basis of these descriptions of emotional rules, it proves important to determine the emotion rules regarding subject advisers' work. Excavating the emotion rules pertaining to subject advisers could show the unspoken emotion rules in the broader organisational context of the Department of Education. Chapter Eight analyses the different emotional rules by which subject advisers operate.

Winograd (2003) argues that the external control of teachers' emotions is not a legal matter, but instead "comes in the form of cultural expectations [...] usually subtle and indirect" (p.1647) of how teachers ought to feel. In the context of this study, subject advisers, having been teachers, have internalised and are guided by the same professional rules as teachers, and have also developed other emotional rules as subject advisers. Consequently, analysing which emotional rules they are governed by and how this influences their work with teachers may offer valuable insight.

2.23 Emotional labour

Although frontline service jobs constituted an initial focus of the study of emotional labour, according to Wharton (2014), research in this field has gradually expanded to consider interactive work in its broadest sense. This includes professionals' interactions with clients and co-workers, as well as interactions involved in caring and family work. Within the field of education, however, the focus of research on emotional labour has focused on teachers. Based on Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotional labour, the research on the emotional labour of teaching has focused on two research questions, namely whether or not teaching involves emotional labour, and, if so, asks what effects this emotional labour has on teachers (Tsang 2011). This study asks what forms of emotional labours subject advisers perform, and what the effects of this emotional labour have on their performance.

As social actors, the expectation is that a professional needs to be able to adjust their emotions and emotion displays according to the feeling rules and expression rules of the social situations that arise in the profession. Someone who is unable to make these adjustments becomes an emotional deviant (Thoits, 1990). To avoid becoming emotional deviants, professionals need to manage their emotions, and change their emotional displays in appropriate ways. This act of emotion management is also called emotion work (Hochschild, 1983, 1990). Hochschild (1983, 1990) identifies two kinds of emotional management: (1) surface acting (changing expression to change feelings); and (2) deep acting (changing feeling to change emotion expression). She argues that to some extent, every social actor always does emotional labour throughout their life (Hochschild, 1983).

Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) demonstrate that the performance of emotional labour is an important aspect of the reality of teaching, and has an impact on teachers' commitment, satisfaction and self-esteem. The authors further explain that emotional labour is both positive and negative. They argue that teachers are knowledge workers, engaged in mental

labour, but they are also service workers, engaged in nurturing. They therefore suggest that the emotional labour that teachers experience can be both alienating and liberating because, although there may be unfavourable consequences to emotional labour (self-alienation, disappointment or frustration), it can also produce favourable results in the form of increased work satisfaction, self-esteem, and psychological well-being. It therefore carries both alienating and liberating consequences (p. 132).

There is a dearth of research investigating the emotional labour of subject advisers in South Africa, which may be due to the emotional dimension of district subject advisers' work, the challenges of which are often overlooked. Subject advisers are tasked with supporting teachers, yet teachers and subject advisers have an adversarial relationship (Langhan et al., 2012). At the same time, subject advisers have to support and monitor teachers, so as to ensure that teachers are adhering to and implementing policy in the classroom. The subject advisers themselves are also under pressure from their superiors to show compliance to policy. These tensions are indicative of an emotion laden work, yet there is little focus on the emotional dimensions of the work of subject advisers.

2.24 Conclusion

The first section of this literature review has explained school districts, and how they function. International and South African literature regarding districts was reviewed and this highlighted the importance of districts, and by extension, the work of district officials in ensuring that educational goals and outcomes as set out by policy are met. Four noteworthy issues from the review are that: firstly, most studies focus on districts per se, where not enough attention is paid to the district officials who do the work or the emotional dimension of the work. Secondly, before 2013 in South Africa, there was no legislative framework guiding district officials' work due to the fact that the policy on the organisation roles and responsibilities of education districts was only formulated in April 2013, and subsequently reviewed in 2016. Most of the studies regarding district officials were done prior to the 2013 policy, and it was as a result of these studies that the working contexts and purpose of district officials were subsequently specified. Thirdly, as a result of the 2016 job descriptions/responsibilities, tension arose between the monitoring and support aspects of subject advisers' work descriptions. Lastly, this tension affects subject advisers' relationship with teachers.

The second section of the literature review examined at emotions and showed how emotions are a useful lens to look at district officials' work by conceptualising emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour. The major argument made is as follows: firstly, our emotions are significant aspects of our being because they shape our mental and social lives (Nussbaum 2003). Secondly, our emotions are always directed at an 'object' and they signal its subjective value (Nussbaum 2001). Thirdly, our emotions can both build and destroy socio-cultural bonds (Turner 2014).

Because emotions play such significant role in our lives and are so powerful, gaining a fuller understanding of how our emotions shape our responses to issues and actions in the workplace is a useful lens through which to understand subject advisers' work with teachers. In addition, because emotions are involved when we do any work, we often perform emotional labour (A. Hochschild, 1983) while we work i.e., we are expected to manage what we feel so as to adhere to socially acceptable norms (Hochschild 1983; Winograd 2003, Zembylas 2006). This management can result in emotional experiences ranging from alienation to liberation, even in the educational setting.

Although the reality of professional work is that some form of emotional labour is always experienced, there is a lack of focus on the nature of the emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour experiences of subject advisers. Therefore, emotions can be a useful conceptual and analytical lens to understand subject advisers' work with teachers.

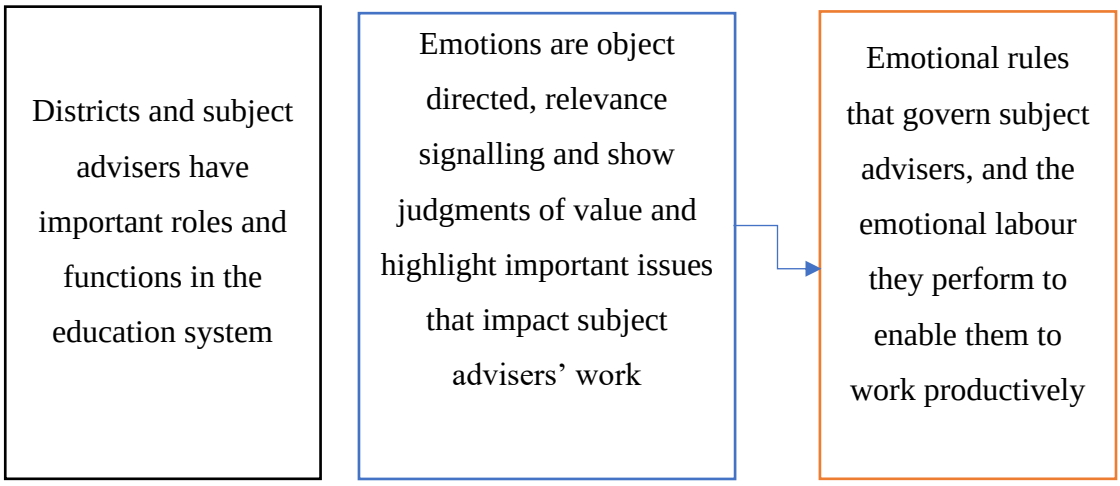
Although the general idea gained from the literature review is that districts ought to be structured in such a way that they offer greater service and support to their school, and district offices must have a clear plan for supporting their schools in a meaningful system (section 2.2), there is insufficient focus on how the officials in the districts tasked with carrying out these duties themselves understand and feel about their work. The studies that engage with the district official's perspectives on their work (Bantwini et al., 2011, Langhan 2012, Mavuso 2013) highlight the tension in their work e.g., the tension between monitoring and support, working conditions, relationship with teachers and relationship with policy, but do not provide a deep engagement with the tensions it highlighted. Thus, this study aims to explore on a deeper level with that which receives focus from subject advisers themselves, investigating their experience through the lens of their emotions.

While conceptualising emotions and how they could be a useful lens, Nussbaum (2001) helps us understand that our emotions are always directed at a given object, when defining

emotions are value-judgements about objects/ issues we find important to our flourishing. Because our emotions are so significant, they are a useful lens by means of which to understand issues that affect us daily, whether at work, or in other facets of our lives. Wharton (2014) enabled us understand that emotions in the workplace should not be ignored, because our emotions are ever present in our work space, and our actions or inactions are linked to them. As our emotions are present at any level of interaction, emotional labour may be inevitable.

The underlying assumption is that subject advisers' work is emotionally charged because they are constantly under pressure of making sure that policy is adhered to, even in the face of other inhibiting factors, which puts them in a challenging position. So, what is their own perspective on the reality of their work?

Figure.1. Key arguments from extant literature



The next section provides the conceptual framework that guides this study.

2.25 Conceptual Framework

Henning, Van Rensburg, and Smit (2004) maintain that, at the end of a literature review, it is important to create an "alignment" of the key concepts of the study (p.26), where the essence of a conceptual framework is to provide a network of concepts that will help to analyse the data collected. Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) explain that a conceptual framework explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied—the key factors, variables, or constructs—and the presumed relationships between them. Frameworks can be simple or elaborate, common-sensical or theory driven, descriptive or causal (p. 20).

Ravitch and Riggan (2016) state that a conceptual framework refers to a series of sequenced, logical propositions, the purpose of which is to ground the study and to convince readers of the study's importance and rigour (p.26).

As noted, the key concepts of this study are**, emotions, the objects of emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour.** These concepts, as well as the insights gained from the literature review, help create a framework that gives meaning and validity to the collection and analysis of the data.

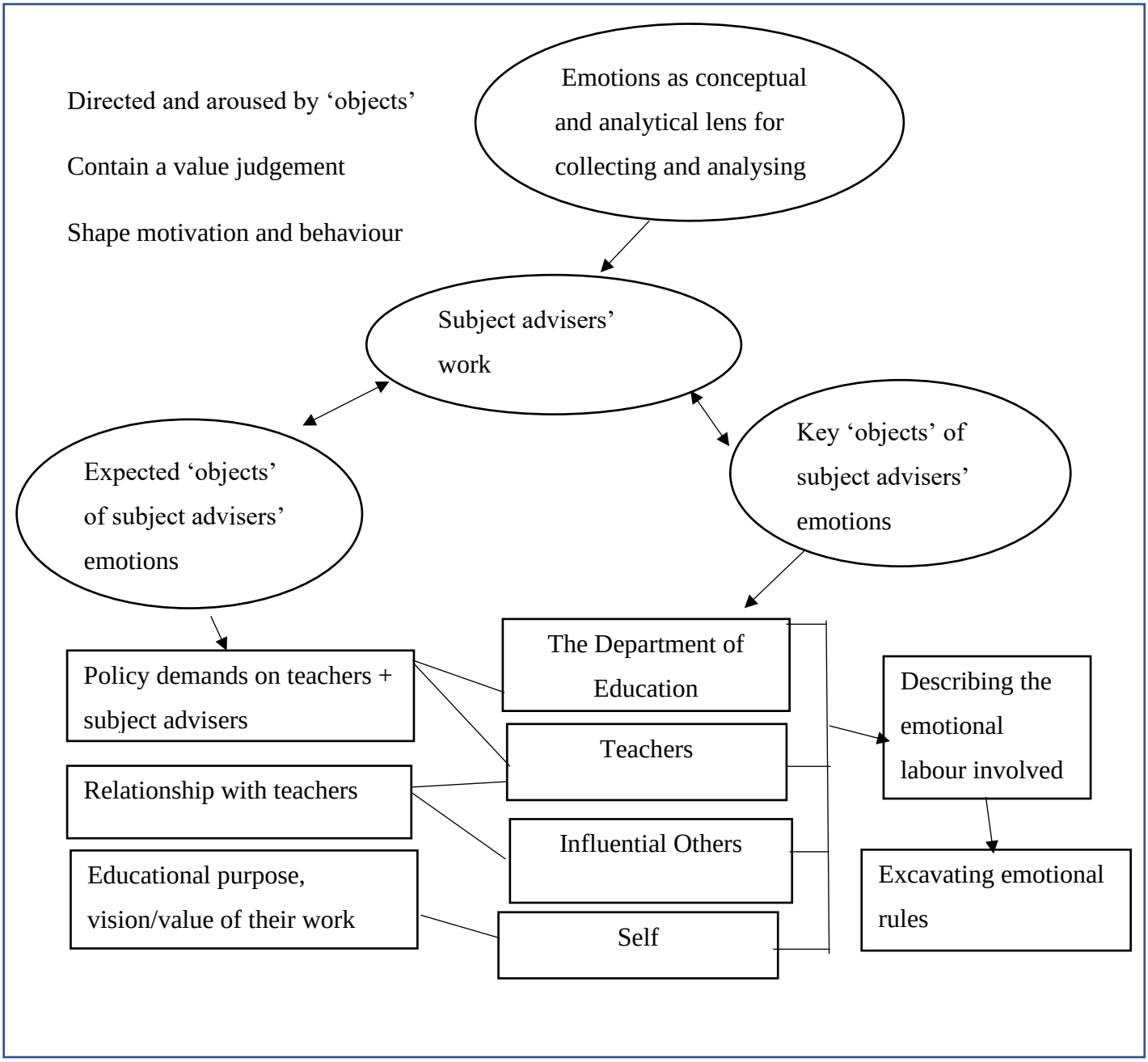


Figure.2 Diagram showing how the concepts fit together

2.26 How the concepts fit together

The diagram in Fig.2 shows emotions as a conceptual and analytical lens for collecting and analysing subject advisers' responses about their work. It shows that subject advisers' emotions are 'directed at' (Nussbaum, 2001) or 'aroused by' (Turner, 2007) certain 'objects', because they find these 'objects' important to their flourishing, as represented by the two bi-directional arrows. Initially, I expected that the objects of subject advisers' emotions would

be ideological in nature, thus my initial expected objects of subject advisers' emotions as indicated in the diagram were *policy demands on teachers and subject advisers, relationship with teachers, educational purpose, vision and value*. However, the data revealed the 'objects' of subject advisers' emotions to be more concrete in nature, as the key 'objects' of subject advisers' emotions are the Department of Education (DoE), Teachers, Influential Others (teacher unions, school principals and heads of department), and Self.

The shift between the expected 'objects' and the actual key 'objects' of subject advisers' emotions takes place because the subject advisers were much more concerned about the concrete than the ideological. They are working with reality, and the reality overwhelms the ideals. They are concerned with the practical things they want to achieve in order to make things work. So, subject advisers' emotions are also a judgment of value about the purpose and value of their work, and those emotions shape their' motivation and behaviour towards the different aspects of their job. Specifically, these key 'objects' are significant to subject advisers, as they are employed by the DoE, interact closely with teachers for policy implementation, their relationship with teachers are influenced by others (teacher unions and school leadership) and on a personal level, they too are, affected by their work.

The emotions that subject advisers expressed regarding these 'objects' enable me to excavate the emotional rules by which subject advisers are governed, as well as to recognise the emotional labour they perform in order to work productively. Using this network of concepts, I identified, the conceptual framework enables answers to the critical and sub-research questions posed in section 1.5.

The key argument in the literature review is that, because subject advisers constitute the bridge between teachers and the district, and for that fact are significant role players in the education system, exploring their object-directed emotions, which signal their value judgements, may reveal greater insight into how they understand and feel about their work.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

There are nine sections to this research methodology chapter. This introduction provides a general overview; after which the chapter describes the research paradigm, which is conducted as a basic interpretive study; outlines the research population; explains the data generation methods employed; describes how the data generated was analysed; discusses issues of trustworthiness in relation to the study; outlines the ethical considerations; explains the limitations to the study; and lastly, presents a summary.

3.2 Research Paradigm and Design

There are broadly three kinds of research: quantitative research, qualitative research, and mixed methods research. Quantitative data are numerical, and can be added, manipulated, and transformed into efficient data displays (Bansal, Smith, & Vaara, 2018). Qualitative research is presented in the form of texts, images, movies, audio recordings, cultural artefacts and more (Kuckartz, 2014, p. 2). This often involves an analysis of the quality and an interpretation of the phenomenon being studied, in contrast to quantitative research, which offers mostly numerical representations or occurrences of the phenomenon being studied. Similarly, Oswald and Plonsky (2010) state that qualitative research uses non-standardised methods of data collection and interpretive methods of data analysis, where the interpretations are not only related to generalisations and conclusions as in most quantitative methods, but also to the individual cases (p.75). Then, mixed methods research is a combination of both quantitative as qualitative research. It seeks to respond to the phenomenon being studied from a quantitative and qualitative perspective and aims to provide an interpretation of the quality of the numerical data relating to the phenomenon in question (Kuckartz, 2014).

3.2.1 A qualitative approach

Denzin (2018) states that

> qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experience, introspection, life story, interview, artefacts, cultural texts and productions, along with observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives. Accordingly, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. It is understood, however, that each practice makes the world visible in a different way (p.43).

This study is qualitative in nature, as it sought to investigate the emotions of subject advisers. Emotions are better explained from a qualitative perspective as they do not render as quantitative metrics.

Moriarty (2011) notes that qualitative research is aimed at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants by learning about their social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives, and histories. Usually the research population/samples are small in scale and purposively selected on the basis of salient criteria. The data collection methods usually involve close contact between the researcher and the research participants, which are interactive and developmental, and allow for emergent issues to be explored, producing data that are highly detailed, information rich, and extensive.

This study fulfils Moriarty's criteria of qualitative research, as there are nine participants and through the individual interviews conducted, where there has been close interaction between, the researcher and the participants. These interviews were semi-structured in nature, thus allowing for interactive, development of ideas. By asking about how the subject advisers felt about different aspects of their jobs, I was able to generate detailed and information rich data.

Importantly, Bansal, Smith & Vaara (2018) argue that qualitative research offers critical tools that advance and foster 'new ways of seeing'. By building theory inductively, research based on qualitative data offers insights that challenge taken for-granted theories and expose new theoretical directions (p.1189), giving additional insight into qualitative studies. In this study, the focus and concern were to provide an in-depth understanding of subject advisers' work with teachers, by looking through the lens of their emotions, in an effort to uncover what objects/issues the subject advisers find important to their flourishing. By looking through the lens of subject adviser emotions, this study offers insights that expose new theoretical directions, one of which is using emotions as a conceptual and methodological lens.

Furthermore, Maxwell (2021) presents a very insightful perspective: he argues that in a qualitative research design, the design ought to involve a reflexive process through every stage of the study. He developed a model of research design which has five components, each of which addresses a different set of issues that are essential to the coherence of the study. Maxwell also mentions that the **Goals** explain why the study is worth doing and the issues the study seeks to clarify, as well as what practices and policies the study hopes to influence. He adds that the study must explain what motivates the researcher to conduct the study as well as why the results of the study are significant. These issues mentioned by Maxwell as the guiding goal of a study have been addressed in the first chapter of this thesis, where the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose and rationale for carrying out the study, as well as the significance of the study have been explained (see sections 1.2 - 1.5).

The next component of a qualitative research design, as Maxwell (2021) points out, is the **conceptual framework**, which provides an explanation as to what the researcher thinks is going on with the issues, settings, and people that will be the focus of the study. So, the conceptual framework explains what theories, beliefs and prior research findings guide or inform the study and what literature, preliminary studies or personal experiences the study will draw on for understanding its focus. The conceptual framework of this study is premised on three claims arising from the literature review (see section 2.25).

Maxwell's (2021) third component is the **research questions.** Here, the focus is on what specifically one wants to learn or understand by undertaking the study. What does the researcher not yet know about the things he/she is studying that he/ she want to learn? What

questions will the research attempt to answer, and how are these questions related to one another? The research questions this study seeks to answer are:

- ***What do emotions of subject advisers regarding their work with teachers tell us about the nature of their work with teachers?***
  - What are the key objects in their work that subject advisers feel strongly about?
  - What do the emotions do subject advisers have in relation to these objects tell us about the different aspects of their work with teachers?
  - What emotional labour do subject advisers undertake so as to continue doing their work productively?

The fourth component or **methodology** explains in detail what the researcher will actually do in conducting the study, what approaches and techniques the research will use to collect and analyse data and how these approaches and techniques constitute an integrated strategy. The next sections that follow provide detailed explanations of how the data was generated and analysed.

The fifth component is **trustworthiness**. This refers to ensuring that the results obtained and the conclusions drawn from the data analysis and presentation process are valid and trustworthy. It involves a process of questioning, for example, how might the results or conclusions be wrong; what may be plausible alternative interpretations and validity threats to the results, and how has the researcher dealt with them? It also refers to how the data that was collected can support or challenge the researcher's ideas about the subject under scrutiny.

Maxwell further explains that **ethical concerns** must be involved in each of the steps mentioned above.

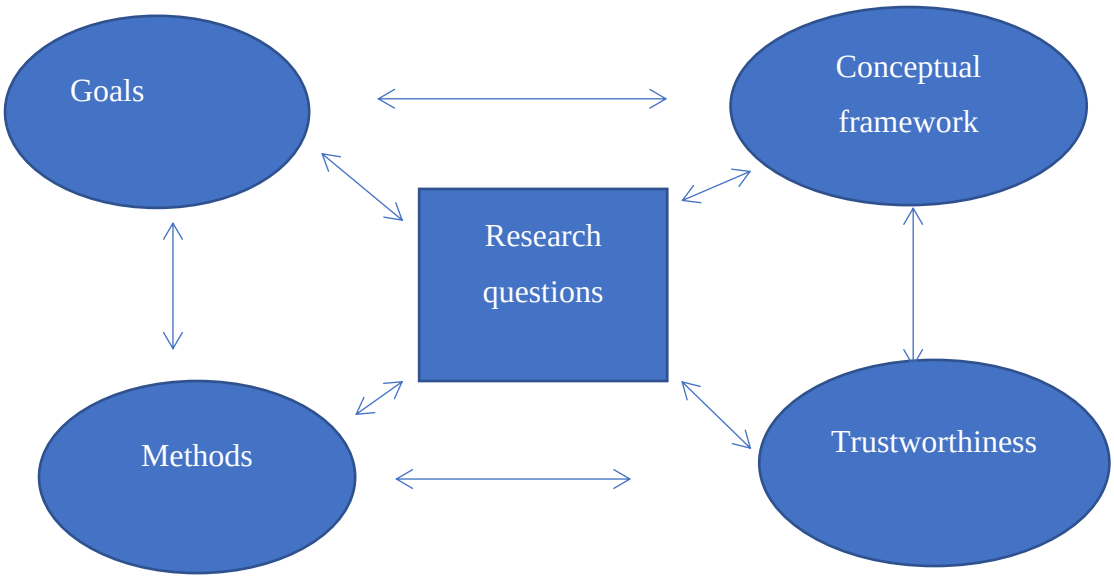


Figure 3 An interactive model of research design (Maxwell 2005)

Maxwell's model explicitly identifies components of research design. With each section of the study, it can be observed that a bi-directional arrow is used to indicate that each section of the study is related to and interdependent of the other sections. For instance, considering that the goal of this study was to show the emotions of subject advisers in their work with teachers, and how their emotions can be a significant lens for showing what they find important to their flourishing, I employed a conceptual framework that would enable a coherent analysis of the data generated by using Frijda, Nussbaum, and Turner's conceptions of emotions as 'relevance signaling mechanisms', which indicate which 'objects' are important to a person's flourishing and that shape motivation and behaviour. This enabled using subject adviser emotions to show the 'objects' that are important to their flourishing. Moreover, the goal of the study determined the methodologies I employed in carrying it out. So, considering that emotions are a cornerstone of the study, it made sense to go via the route of basic interpretivism. As the researcher, I could not validate the emotions expressed by the officials regarding each object of their emotions, but I could only make sense of whatever 'objects' they noted to be important to their flourishing, based on which emotions and the intensity with which they were expressed in relation to each object and sub-object. I trust that the methodology and conceptual framework employed has been able to adequately respond to the research questions posed, as well as ensure the trustworthiness of the study in totality.

Using Maxwell's' interactive research design process shows that research does not occur in a linear pattern, it also ensures that important issues are thus less likely to be ignored, and as such, can be dealt with in a systematic manner. In addition, it emphasises the interactive nature of design decisions in qualitative and applied research and the multiple connections among the design component. More so, it provides a model for the structure and justification for a qualitative study; one that clearly shows and justifies the major design decisions and connections (Maxwell, 2008, p. 216).

3.3 Research Type

3.3.1. A basic interpretive qualitative study

This study has the three characteristics pertinent to a basic interpretive qualitative study as described by Merriam and Grenier (2019). Firstly, it sought to understand how subject advisers in two differently performing Gauteng school districts, interpret the reality of their work, by looking at their emotions in relation to their work with teachers (p.6). It was important to identify the emotions elicited by the different issues that subject advisers are faced with at work, so as to understand the underlying meanings that they make of the work they have to do with teachers. Secondly, as the researcher I was the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Thirdly, because this study sought to undertake an initial exploration to gain insight into how South African subject advisers understood and felt about their work with teachers, this study took an inductive approach to uncovering themes that emerge from the data. These three characteristics give this study all the characteristics of a basic interpretive qualitative study.

Elliott and Timulak (2021) note that in a basic interpretive research study, the formulation of the research problem is guided by the traditional questions: e.g., what do we know about the phenomenon? Why is it important to know more? What has influenced previous research findings (methodology, social context, researcher theory)? What do we want to make clearer by means of the new study (p.149)? In the context of this study, there was a dearth of knowledge regarding the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers in South Africa. This study now provides insight into the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work: as it makes visible the key objects of subject advisers' emotions, the emotions directed at each object and what those emotions reveal about subject advisers'

work. The study also uncovers the emotional rules that govern the subject advisers, and the emotional labour the subject advisers perform.

In addition, the research questions in a basic interpretive study lend themselves towards employing qualitative data collection and analysis strategies, which are usually open-ended and exploratory in nature. Pistrang and Barker (2012) suggest that exploratory questions, suitable as the base for qualitative inquiry are typically used when: (a) there is little known in a particular research area; (b) existing research is confusing, contradictory, or not moving forward; or (c) the topic is highly complex. In this study, not only is the topic highly complex, because emotions are often perceived to be a no-go area especially in the workplace, but also because prior to the start of this study, I found research on emotional rules and emotional labour of teachers in the South African context, and I only found research on the emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour of district officials internationally, but not in the South African context.
Thus, this study conducted as a basic interpretive study, focuses on subject advisers in two differently performing Gauteng districts, to reveal the "objects" of subject advisers' emotions, as well as the emotional rules and emotional labour present in their work.

3.4 Research population and sampling

In selecting the participants for this study, purposeful sampling and snowball sampling were employed.

Purposive sampling, according to L. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2000) is often a feature of qualitative research, whereby the researcher invites the cases to be included in the sample based on their possession of particular sought characteristics. In this case, I purposefully selected the category of subject advisers, i.e., department officials, who are tasked with supporting and monitoring teachers, because subject advisers are supposed to have more contact with teachers than other officials in the district. I then approached two differently performing districts, pre-selected as one top - and one under-performing district. Within those districts, some subject advisers responded to the general invitation to participate in the study sent by their district office. They then signed an agreement form with me. The participating advisers are thus purposefully selected for their type of district (top- or under-performing), yet are voluntarily self-selected for participation in the study.

Snowball sampling is one of the most popular methods of sampling in qualitative research, central to which are the characteristics of networking and referral. Parker et. al. explain that it is a technique for finding research subjects where one subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on (C. Parker, Scott, & Geddes, 2019). The researchers usually start with a small number of initial contacts (seeds), who fit the research criteria and are invited to become participants within the research. Consenting participants are then asked to recommend other contacts who fit the research criteria and who potentially might also be willing participants, who then in turn recommend other potential participants, and so on. This process of snowballing is based on the assumption that a 'bond' or 'link' exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, allowing for a series of referrals to be made within a circle of acquaintance (Berg, 1988). Snowball sampling is often used as an 'informal' method to reach a target population. If the aim of a study is primarily explorative, qualitative and descriptive, then snowball sampling offers practical advantages (Hendricks, Blanken, Adriaans, & Adriaans, 1992).

My initial rationale for employing snowball sampling was that I wanted the participating officials to be able to select colleagues with whom they are comfortable having personal discussions about how they think and feel about their work. This decision also stemmed from ethical considerations, where I wanted the subject advisers to feel free and comfortable to talk about how they felt, and not feel coerced to have discussions with colleagues they may not be comfortable with (bearing in mind that there may be political or bureaucratic alliances in these departments). The subject adviser may then suggest to me which of their colleagues they felt comfortable to be in a focus group discussion with.

3.5 The process of data collection

I interviewed nine subject advisers from two differently performing districts. At the beginning of the data gathering process, I did not know any subject advisers, so I was dependent on the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) office to direct me. All participants are cited verbatim in this study.

First, I required ethical clearance from the Wits School of Education Ethics Committee and a permission letter from the GDE. Armed with all the necessary ethics documentation, I introduced myself and my project to the GDE and was told which districts were top and underperforming. The GDE also provided me with the names and contact details of two

school districts, viz. one in which most of the schools were top-to average-performing schools (top performing) and another containing underperforming or poorly performing schools (under-performing). The reason, as stated earlier (section 3.2), was to be able to see if there were any discernible differences in the emotions of the officials in these two differently performing districts in their work with teachers. I then selected two districts (one top and one under-performing) located in areas I could easily access. Because this study was self-funded, I needed to approach appropriate districts that would not require large cost implications for travelling to and from the selected districts.

I contacted the selected district by writing to the circuit manager and introducing myself and my project, presenting the necessary documentation, and requesting a meeting. After the meeting the circuit manager then gave me a list of names and contact details of subject advisers I could contact in the district. One important point to add here is that, contrary to my expectations, I was accorded and attended to with the utmost respect and kindness by the district offices I went to. It was a bit surprising to me, considering that when I had wanted to embark on this study, a few of my colleagues had told me that it would be difficult to speak to the district officials and they would possibly not want to have anything to do with me as a researcher. So, although I confidently went out to these districts for data gathering, I experienced some apprehension as to how I would be received.

I sent emails to the subject advisers suggested by the circuit manager, introduced myself, and attached all the necessary supporting documents. After more than two weeks with no response from any of the officials I had contacted, I then went back to the district to see if I could meet them in person. I would often not meet them in the office, they were busy people. On one of my visits, I met one of the subject advisers who told me that his colleagues were often at schools most of the week, but asked me to come back on a specific date when they would have a meeting at the district. I went back on that date and found some of the officials ready to meet. Of the six subject advisers I went to see, only two agreed to participate in the study. They gave me dates and times that were convenient for them to be interviewed. Of the two, one declined to be recorded. The subject adviser preferred a lengthy interview (where I would make detailed notes) to a shorter audiotaped interview.

I went to the other district and again introduced myself and my project. In this district, one of the secretaries took me to each of the subject advisers personally to organise interviews. Her facilitation led to four individual interviews that day.

I was told by the other officials in the district to come back on a different date, which we agreed on, but there were several deferrals made.

I was introduced to another two subject advisers by a colleague and was able to interview them. Despite subsequent efforts, no further interviews materialised.

The difficulty in obtaining interviews was reasoned by one of the participants as follows:

"*I have also often found with district officials that we would rather attend meetings than have a one-on-one with someone, so it is an easier route out. Some of us also don't see value in someone who is coming in for research purposes. The nature of the system is that we get instructions from above and we comply, and complain later. So sometimes, having a one-on-one with someone who can't really change anything for you is regarded as a time-waster. So even with some of the meetings we attend, we are just going for the sake of going, because nothing is really going to change. So, we resort to going to the meeting and keeping quiet because we know whatever we say won't change anything and I think that has affected us and the way we think. So, a one-on-one interview with a researcher like you who has no influence on the outcome of our work, will often be regarded as a time-waster because, whatever is said to you will not help the department come up with solutions. As long as it is not coming from someone up there in the hierarchy of the department, it will be regarded as a time waster. That is why I think it has been difficult for you to find subject advisers to interview about your research."*

At some point, I spoke to an academic who advised me to see if I could get a higher-ranking district official to introduce me to other subject advisers, despite the fact that this may colour their answers or undermine their willingness to be candid. So rather than ask to be introduced to subject advisers, I interviewed two senior GDE officials for their own views. It is important to say here that the responses from the interviews with the senior officials have not been used as data for the study. Rather their responses have allowed me a better understanding of the operations of and expectations from the districts.

Although I had intended to have focus group discussions, it did not prove feasible. However, ***snowball sampling*** was used when my colleague who had worked with district officials before introduced me to a subject adviser who, in turn, introduced me to his colleague, who I also interviewed as they preferred to be interviewed individually.

Three years after the initial data collection happened, I was introduced to a person who has worked as a teacher, then became a subject adviser in an underperforming district, and after many years of serving as a district official, became a school principal. This participant was unique in the sense that he had served in three roles, and could provide valuable insight into the work that subject advisers do. Additionally, because I interviewed him during the data analysis phase, I was able to pose richer questions.

3.6 Profile of Participants

Participant	Type of district	Subject Specialty	Years of experience as subject adviser	Interview dates and number of hours
Grace	Top performing	Languages (isiZulu)	8 years	(04/07/2018, 3 hours)
Devin	Top performing	Geography	10 years	(16/05/2018- 2 hours 10 minutes) (22/06/2021- 57 minutes)
Vernesh	Top performing	Mathematics & Information Technology	7 years	(08/04/2018- 2hours 6 minutes)
Thandi	Top performing	Languages	8 years	(28/05/2018- 1 hour 48 minutes)
Elmarie	Under-performing	Social Science	18 years	(16/03/2018- 2 hours 34 minutes)
Thulani	Under-performing	Mathematics & Technology	12years	(21/03/2018- 1 hour 33 minutes)
Phumla	Under-performing	Languages (Setswana)	6 years	(16/03/2018- 1 hour 31 minutes)
Selwyn	Under-performing	Social Science	1 year	(16/03/2018- 1 hour 21 minutes)
Wesley	Under -performing	Social Science & Arts	5 years	(26/03/2021- 57 minutes, 19/06/2021- 3 hours)

Table 1. Profile of participants

3.7 Data gathering instruments

3.7.1 The researcher

"A characteristic of all forms of qualitative research is that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis." In view of the fact that understanding is the goal of this research, the human instrument, which is able to be immediately responsive and adaptive, would seem to be an ideal means of collecting and analysing data (Merriam & Grenier 2019, p.5). Additionally, Merriam & Grenier (2019) state that questions that don't "work" in an interview can be changed, as can sites for observations and fieldwork. Other advantages are that the researchers can expand their understanding through non-verbal as well as verbal communication, process information (data) immediately, clarify and summarise material, check with respondents for accuracy of interpretation, and explore unusual or unanticipated responses. Further to this, because the human instrument can simultaneously analyse data, as the data are being collected, adjustments in data collection can be made that may yield a more robust analysis and understanding of the phenomenon (Merriam & Grenier, 2019, p. 5).

Merriam & Grenier's point emphasises the central role that the researcher plays in data collection and analysis, as the instruments used rely heavily on the skill and orientation of the researcher. As a researcher, I had been through a research design course during my Masters' program, and have also interviewed participants during my Master's research, which provided me with first-hand experience. Subsequently, I have conducted other interviews for marriage counselling and as such I am aware and I acknowledge that I can only tell this story based on what the subject advisers themselves say, and not make any assumption about what they might feel. Following Merriam & Grenier (2019) I asked questions where clarification was needed.

Merriam & Grenier (2019) argue that a researcher acting as the primary instrument for data collection is limited by being human, and so is prone to making mistakes, missing opportunities or being swayed by personal bias. He/she must have a tolerance for ambiguity, in the sense that he/she must be able to recognise that the best way to proceed in the research process may not always be obvious and so must adapt to unforeseen events and be able to change direction in the pursuit of meaning (p.5). Also, the researcher must be sensitive to the context and the variables within it, including the physical setting, the people, the overt and covert agendas and the non-verbal behaviour. The researcher must be sensitive to the

information that is being gathered. The researcher also needs to be a good communicator, one that empathises with the participants, establishes rapport and, very importantly, needs to create an atmosphere of trust. The researcher needs to be a good listener, one who looks and listens actively. It is only by "listening to many individuals and to many points of view that a value-resonant social context can be fully, equitably and honourably represented" (Merriam 2019, p. 6).

From both Master's and professional church-based relationship counselling experience, as well as attending to four children at home, I was able to listen intently and in a nuanced way, to hear not only what is said, but also what is implied, and noting the silences (Merriam 1998, p.23).

This study used two sources of data. The first was data (information regarding the different aspects of their work, and their thoughts and feelings regarding these different aspects of their work), collected from the participants during the individual interviews conducted. The second was an analysis of several policy documents put out by the Department of Education, so that I could compare subject advisers' understanding of policy to the actual policy stipulation.

3.7.2 Individual interviews

The first source of the data for this study came from individual interviews. Interviews are a naturally powerful way of collecting data in that they accord participants the opportunity to make explicit their perspective (L. Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013). I conducted individual interviews with nine participants, all of whom were subject advisers in two differently performing districts in Gauteng. This enabled me get a sense of their concerns in relation to their work and teachers. It also enabled the participants to provide answers at length, explaining every detail they wanted me to capture without feeling pressed for time, while at the same time enabling me to ask for clarifications and probe further. I gave each of the subject advisers the interview schedule (see Appendix G) to look at beforehand, so that they had time to ruminate over which points they wanted to raise. Due to time constraints and the context of the meeting, four participants had only about 15 minutes to go over the questions before the start of the interview (see section 3.5). According to Steinberg (2013), giving the research participants the questions beforehand allow them to feel in control of the process and think beforehand about what they want to say. I was truthful with the subject advisers about my research intentions, which set them at ease to answer truthfully.

3.7.3 Document Analysis

A document analysis involves a systematic analysis of the content rather than the structure of a communication (Bryman, 2017). In this study a number of documents were reviewed to enable a robust and in-depth comprehension of the expectations from a policy perspective of the job of subject advisers. Reviewing these documents offered an initial and crucial starting point into understanding what is required of district officials when it comes to their work. The following documents were reviewed:

- Policy on the Organization, Role and Responsibilities of Education Districts.
- Policy on the South African Standards for Principalship
- South African Schools Act
- Personnel Administrative Measures (PAM) document Government Gazette number 39684, 12 February 2016
- Employment of Educators Act
- Collective Agreement no 4 of 2017 18 October 2017 Job Descriptions of Office Based Educators
- Impact of District Model
- Creating a Culture of Support: Handbook for Gauteng District Officials, 2014.
- A GDE 2015 job advert for the post of a subject adviser
- Circular 02/2014, 04 June 2014 Guidelines for filling vacant office-based educator's posts

My main aim in analysing these policy documents is to understand the role envisaged by policy for district officials. I analysed the above-mentioned documents for finding changing or inconsistent descriptions of roles and job descriptions of district officials. This enabled an analysis of the responsibilities and tensions in the job of the officials.

3.7.4 Interview schedule

The interview schedule was used as a guideline, used with some flexibility. The questions were clear and concise, and allowed the participants to answer freely. The first set of questions concerned how they understood themselves as district officials. The next set of questions asked about their roles and job descriptions, analysing the relations between what policy prescribes in their job description, and what they actually do in the reality of their work. The last set of questions concerned their emotions, how they felt about different

aspects/ interactions of their work with teachers, and the purpose was to understand the emotions they experience in this work.

A short inquiry form requesting their profile information was handed out to participating subject advisers. This personal data was useful, as it enabled me to link the information, they gave me to their experiences over time (see appendix F).

3.8 Trustworthiness

Rossman and Rallis (2016) state that data trustworthiness involves trusting the integrity and credibility of the data, and the historic criteria to judge data trustworthiness are validity, reliability, generalisability, and objectivity. In trying to conform to issues of rigour, I have included the instruments used during the research (see Appendix A-G). It is argued that the trustworthiness or rigour of a given study may be established if the reader is able to audit the events, influences, and actions of the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

For Shenton (2004), trustworthiness in qualitative research is needed. Trustworthiness refers to the way in which qualitative researchers make sure that a study evidences: transferability (ability to generalise the results of the research), credibility (confidence in the truth of the results or information and the context in which the research is undertaken), dependability (consistency if research is repeated with the same participants in the same context) and confirmability (the degree to which results are a function solely of the participants and conditions of the research and not of other biases, motivations and views) (p.63).

This study fulfilled all four criteria of trustworthiness. In order to ensure transferability, sufficient information regarding the interviews and background of the participants (without compromising anonymity and confidentiality) is provided (see section 3.6). Credibility is provided through including sufficient information about and direct quotes from the participants in the data presentation chapters. To ensure that the study is dependable, details of the data collection and analysis process are provided (in section 3.9) to enable the reader evaluate the effectiveness of the process of inquiry undertaken.

Furthermore, Merriam and Grenier (2019) state that, because qualitative research is designed to understand a phenomenon from the participants' perspectives, the product of a qualitative inquiry is richly descriptive. Rather than relying only on numbers, words and sometimes pictures are used to convey what the researcher has learned about the topic of the study. In order to convey this understanding, the write-up of a qualitative study usually includes

descriptions of the context, the participants involved, and the activities of interest. The "findings" of a qualitative study are supported by quotations from participant interviews, selections from documents or the researcher's field notes, descriptions of artefacts, excerpts from videotapes, photos, and so on. A reader can think of these data as "evidence" for the findings of the study. In this study, I included selections from documents and direct quotes from the participants and used their own words to tell the story in the data presentation chapters 4 – 7.

With regards to confirmability, I undertook this research to satisfy my curiosity regarding the seeming dysfunctionality of the relationship between teachers and district officials. I am neither a registered teacher affiliated to any teacher union, nor am I a district official, and I am not employed by the Department of Education. I am a neutral party concerned only with better understanding and shedding light on the work of subject advisers.

To ensure credibility, the questions in the interview schedule were chosen with careful justification and formulated such that the responses are able to address the research questions posed at the beginning of the study. Somekh and Lewin (2005) argue that in qualitative research, the truth of the findings is established by ensuring that they are supported by sufficient and compelling evidence. The questions were ordered such that the officials were led from extrinsic to intrinsic subjects. As such, in this study, credibility was ensured by first engaging in informal discussions with some of the participants to build trust and give them the interview questions so as to pave the way for reliable responses that elicit and reflect the true feelings of the participants. I carefully formulated the questions such that they did not cause offense or embarrassment to the officials, nor gave them the impression that I am looking for particular answers. The questions were phrased such that it allowed the officials to tell the story of the reality of their work (see Appendix G). I also included the participants in the ongoing development of ideas for the analysis, by giving them the data chapters for comment. This ensured that their conceptions, ideas, and perspectives were properly analysed and included in the write up, thereby enhancing validity. Two participants provided feedback, the first giving recommendations about how the subject adviser/ teacher relationship may be improved, while the second participant explained the underlying tensions in the monitoring and support roles of subject advisers.

Morse (2022) states that to ensure rigour and trustworthiness, all participants are asked the same questions in the same order, with the researcher controlling the interview, and the

participant responding. The researcher knows (and controls) the type of information obtained, and the duration of the interview depends on the number of questions. Interpretive research interviews, while led by the researcher, give control to the participant. The researcher takes a role of listener, interrupting only for clarification. While apparently passive, the researcher is making sense of the participants' story, and piecing it together and linking it with the other participant's narratives (p.383). As a consequence, in this study, for all the participants, I asked all the questions on the interview schedule in the same sequence, only making exceptions when the next question had been answered by the participant in giving response to a previous question. So, in that instance, I would ask for clarity, or reiterate the point the interviewee had made so as to be sure I understood his or her point clearly.

Morse (2022) argues that accuracy and consistency are important for descriptive research. Therefore, care is taken with transcription accuracy, and member checking, where the return of the transcription to the participants for checking may take place (p.385). To further support the accuracy of the collected data, the subject advisers were requested to verify and proofread transcripts and notes taken during data collection so as to ensure that there were no misunderstanding or misinterpretation of views between the participants and the researcher. Only two of the participants came back with a suggested changes and further clarification.

3.9 Data Coding and Analysis

Cohen et al (2007). note that "Qualitative data analysis involves organizing [sic], accounting for and explaining the data, so as to make sense of the data using participants' definitions of the situation, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities" (p.461). The first formal interaction with the data was via Thematic Content Analysis (TCA). Anderson (2007) describes TCA as a form of "low hovering" over the data and writes that "in conducting a Thematic Content Analysis, the researcher's epistemological stance is objective or objectivistic. The researcher groups and distils from the texts a list of common themes in order to give expression to the communality of voices across participants" (p.1).

3.9.1 Coding the data

Bell, Harley, and Bryman (2022) state that it is almost impossible to devise coding manuals that do not require some interpretation by the coder. It seems unlikely that there is ever a perfect correspondence of interpretation between different coders (p. 305). So, to code the subject advisers' responses, I adopted the categorisation developed by Steinberg (2014),

which lists characteristics of the teachers' responses indicating a response with strongly expressed emotions. It is important to note here that, in cases where there may be no explicit expression of emotive words, differences in tone or body language can also indicate how the subject adviser feels. The examples given below come from this study, after Steinberg (2014, p.111).

1. Words that signify emotions: e.g., frustrated, sad, disappointing, angry, excited, pleased, happy.
2. Strong descriptive adjectives or exclamations: e.g., Oh Gosh, incredibly frustrating, wow, etc.
3. Strong adjectival qualifiers: e.g., extremely time consuming, can actually show, really think that, enjoy very much.
4. Repeated words for emphasis: e.g., very, very difficult; ask, and ask, and ask, all the time.
5. Striking metaphors: e.g., used as panic buttons; seeking whom to devour.
6. Laughter indicating nervousness (preserved in square brackets).
7. Body movement e.g., sighed very heavily, shaking head, or sneering.

From the language of discourse analysis, (Oteíza, 2017), the first two characteristics can be referred to as "attitudinal lexis" (p.460), in the sense that they are vocabulary items that express an emotional attitude. The words themselves express the emotions i.e., happy, sad etc. The next two characteristics consist of "intensifiers" (p.463), these words that indicate gradations of intensity of feeling. According to Martin and Rose (2003), metaphors are a subcategory of attitudinal lexis, which, through their vividness, have an amplifying effect (p.41). The last three characteristics are physical rather than verbal expressions of emotions, which occurred infrequently and which I took note of, as my focus was on the verbal expression of emotion. I took subject advisers' expressed emotions at face value, being careful not to ascribe emotions that were not expressed.

Additionally, because basic interpretive research allows the data to emerge in the description of individual experiences, responses to the interviews were coded according to themes that were emerging from the data in relation to the research questions and conceptual framework. In order to make sense of the data the emotions expressed for each response underwent careful

scrutiny, where a note was made as to whether the emotion was positive, negative, or neutral. Then I painstakingly went through each response and identified what 'objects' these emotions were directed towards (see Table 2). When I noted what 'object' the emotions were directed, at, I then looked at what exactly about the 'object' the comment was about, labelling these sub-objects (See Figure 4).
Each response is represented with the actual word of the participant in italics. Each response begins with the pseudonym assigned to the participant, then (*UP)* to indicate that the official is in an underperforming district or (*TP)* for a top performing district and a numeral to indicate number of the response in the interview sequence.

For reference purposes, each response was numbered and the pseudonym of the subject adviser speaking was also indicated. e.g., '3 (Thulani UP)' would indicate that it was the third response in the interview and it was made by Thulani, a subject adviser in an underperforming district. I coded the responses as strongly expressed emotion (SEE), and then subsequently indicated what the 'SEE' was directed at. Frequently, the responses did not have just one object at which the emotions were directed, but were directed at two or three different objects. Allocating these codes demanded a lot of reflection. It was quite a lengthy process, as I decided how long to make the coded section, which code to allocate, and which combination of codes best described the section.

I realised that when allocating codes, I needed to carefully code for what 'objects' and 'sub-objects' the subject advisers were talking about, not 'sub-objects'. For example, the code 'work expectation and demand' developed in response to what the subject advisers were saying about their duties in the Department and how they carried out each task. A careful analysis of what they were saying about their work expectation and demand further revealed the particular issues that elicited their emotions, such as too many schools and teachers to work with. So, the Department of Education is the object, while work expectation and demands became the sub-object and too many schools the issues under discussion.

This careful method of coding enabled themes to emerge in the description of individual experiences, and responses from the interviews were categorised based on themes that emerged from the data in relation to research questions and literature review. These themes provided me with frames within which to work, and also aided in the selection of literature to use in interpretation. It was interesting to note that the female participants were more emotionally expressive about how their job made them feel than the male participants.

Elmarie, a female subject adviser in an underperforming district was the most emotionally expressive of all the participants, so her comments are featured more than others in the presentation and analysis of the data.

3.9.2 Making sense of the data

Bansal, Smith & Vaara (2018) state that "although qualitative data can be digitized, synthesized, and even counted, doing so first requires interpretation of the data to discern patterns and insights" (p.1189). This is a pertinent distinction, as it seeks to dispel the idea that numbers may not feature in qualitative research. By coding and counting the responses, it emerged that there are four key objects of the subject advisers' emotions, namely: **Department of Education, Teachers, Self** and **Influential others.**

The table below presents a numerical representation of the relevant responses directed to these key objects.

Key objects	Total responses	Positive Responses	Negative responses	Neutral Responses
Department	197	28	156	13
Teachers	151	35	111	5
Self	81	69	12	0
Influential others	77	0	77	0
Total number of responses	**506**	**132**	**356**	**18**

Table 2: Numerical representation of the responses from the participants in relation to the key objects of their emotions

Each of these key objects mentioned above further consists of sub-objects, and the figure below is a diagrammatic representation of the key object and the sub-objects of the subject advisers' emotions.

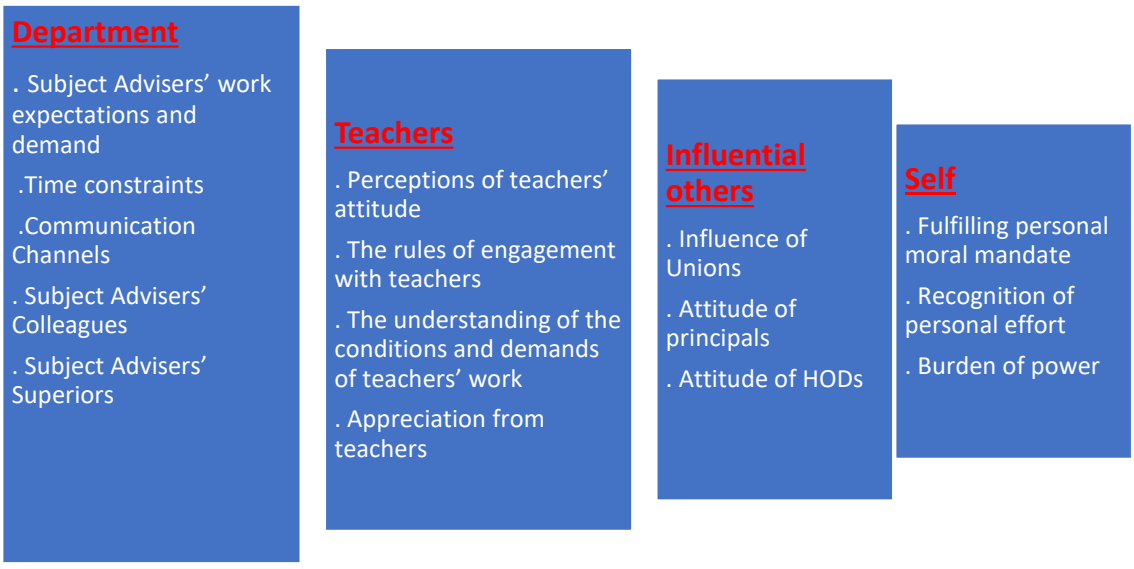


Figure 4: Diagram showing the key objects and sub-objects of subject advisers' emotions

The non-linearity of research became even more apparent to me when analysing the data, where I realised that subject advisers showed commitment to their jobs, in spite of the many challenges they encountered. So, I went back to the data and coded for the different types of

commitment the subject advisers expressed, as well as the targets of their commitment. The coding showed that subject advisers had three targets of commitment, namely: teachers, the teaching profession and policy, and there were three different types of commitment – affective, normative and continuance directed at teachers, the teaching profession and policy (see section 9.4).

3.10 Analysing the data

Schwandt (2014) suggests that data analysis should involve the process of organising, reducing and describing the data, which then enables the drawing of conclusions or interpretation of the data. I employed names for the 'objects' and 'sub-objects' from the actual words of the participants, and grouped them in a manner that directly reflected the text as a whole. Although sorting and naming of the themes requires a level of interpretation, I kept interpretation to a minimum. Only later, in the discussion chapter, did the interpretation of the meaning of the identified themes occur.

In response to the research question, I analysed the data to show the key objects of subject advisers' emotions, so as to ascertain what those emotions say about the work with teachers of subject advisers. I also had to analyse the emotional labour of the district officials. So, I looked through the data to select narratives of subject advisers' stories of their good and bad experiences of their work. Narrative analysis codes for structure of the stories, how the narrators position or portray themselves (Henning, Van Rensburg, & Smit, 2004, p. 114). The narrative analysis enabled me uncover the emotional rules subject advisers have regarding their work, and also the emotional labour they perform.

The inductive method of data analysis afforded me the opportunity to provide a more in-depth analysis of aspects of the data that form trends and patterns, considered vital and significant to the study. For instance, in analysing the data, I noted that some of the subject advisers did not frequently use emotion words to describe their experiences, so I used Steinberg's' 2014 lists of characteristics of responses indicating strong emotions to determine their emotions (see list in section 3.9.1). I speculated that the reason for this non-explicit emotional expression may be due to the belief that being emotional especially in the work environment is unprofessional, and later on in the concluding Chapter 10, I address these speculative reasons.

I make five key claims in Chapter Nine that explain what the emotions of subject advisers tell us about nature of their work with teachers. I then discuss these claims using the relevant literature.

3.11 Ethical issues

Before contacting any of the district officials who participated in this study, I first sought permission from the University of the Witwatersrand's Ethics Committee (see Appendix H). I also gained permission from the Gauteng Department of Education for access to districts and the subject advisers (see appendix I).

To make sure that the study is ethical, participation in the study was voluntary and the participants were told what the study was all about. An information letter and a consent form were given to the participants in which they indicated whether or not they would participate (see appendix A-E). The subject advisers were not coerced nor bribed to participate in the study. All participants were assured that data collected was for the purpose of the fulfilment of the doctoral degree, reassuring them that the information provided would not be used for anything other than academic purposes.

The interviews were conducted at a time and venue convenient for the subject advisers. Interview questions were also given to the participants beforehand, so that they could think about possible answers to the questions and therefore not feel pressured into providing answers. To ensure the anonymity of the subject advisers and the districts in which they work, I have made sure that no information that could lead to their identity being revealed has been used in the final write-up. I used pseudonyms throughout, both for the subject advisers and the districts. To abate any possible harm, I have not described any subject adviser or district in a way that insiders can identify them, in spite of the pseudonyms. The consent forms only require their signatures without including their real names. I have also not included the consent forms signed by the participants in the appendices attached to the final thesis, as this would inadvertently reveal their true identities. As such not even my supervisor knows the real identities of the subject advisers or their districts.

Risks that this study may present to its participants, such as psychological risks, were adequately considered. Those interviewed were eager to share their experiences.

3.12 Limitations of the Study

The study was conducted within certain limitations. This research is based on a study of only two districts in Gauteng. Economically, and in terms of human resources, Gauteng Province is well-resourced and better placed to provide effective services to schools, given its relatively small geographic size compared to other provinces in the country. Therefore, while the conclusions reached by this study may have broader relevance, the specific findings on the districts involved cannot be generalised to the country as a whole.

Additionally, had I more interaction and interviews with the subject advisers in more visits and over a longer period of time, this may have allowed some of the subject advisers develop trust for me as a researcher, and be more inclined to speak more freely and more openly about their emotions.

The perceptions of the subject advisers in this study cannot be generalised to the wider population of subject advisers in the districts, as only a small sample of subject advisers were interviewed. The insights provided by the interviews allowed the study to make reasonable analytical claims about how subject advisers generally think and feel about their work with teachers.

3.13 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter describes the research process undertaken. It explains that the study is conducted as a basic interpretive qualitative study with the researcher playing a central role in the data collection process, utilizing semi-structured individual interviews and document analysis as a means of collecting data. Nine subject advisers from two differently performing districts - one top performing and one underperforming district, were interviewed individually at their preferred location. Using an inductive method of coding the data allowed themes emerged from the data. In line with the conceptual framework elucidated in chapter two, using the subject advisers strongly expressed emotion as a conceptual and analytical tool it emerged that there are four key objects at which the subject advisers strongly expressed emotions was directed at or elicited by. These objects are the Department of Education, teachers, Influential other (teacher unions and school leadership), and Self. The next four chapters provides detailed information regarding each of these objects.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUBJECT ADVISERS' STRONGLY EXPRESSED EMOTIONS ABOUT THE 'DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION'

4.1 Introduction

In this first data presentation chapter, I present the subject advisers' thoughts and feelings about the Department of Education. Subject advisers are office-based educators, employed by the Department of Education, where it came as no surprise that their thoughts and feelings about the 'Department' elicited the greatest number of responses.

The chapter begins with an overview, followed by five themes about the Department that emerged from the data coding process, starting with the theme which elicited the most emotion responses from the officials. The list below contains the themes, or subsets of the key object 'Department' at which the subject advisers' emotions, be these positive, negative, or neutral, were directed:

- ***Subject Advisers' work expectations and demand***
- ***Time constraints***
- ***Communication Channels***
- ***Subject Advisers' Colleagues***
- ***Subject Advisers' Superiors***

.

Sub-objects	Total number of responses	Negative responses	Positive responses	Neutral responses	Responses from top-performing district (4 subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (5 subject advisers)
Subject Advisers' Work Expectation and Demand	**70**	47	14	9	Negative = 20 Positive = 8	Negative = 27 Positive = 6 Neutral = 5
Time Constraints	**43**	43	0	0	Negative = 18 Positive = 0	Negative = 25 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0
Communication Channels	**30**	30	0	0	Negative = 12 Positive = 0	Negative = 18 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0
Subject Advisers' Colleagues	**29**	15	12	2	Negative = 6 Positive = 5 Neutral = 2	Negative = 9 Positive = 7 Neutral = 0
Subject advisers' Superiors	**25**	21	2	2	Negative = 7 Positive = 2 Neutral = 0	Negative = 14 Positive = 0 Neutral = 2
Total number of responses	**197**	**156**	**28**	**13**	Total = 84 Negative = 63 Positive = 15 Neutral = 6	Total =113 Negative = 93 Positive =13 Neutral = 7

Table 3: Numerical representation of the responses about the Department

As seen from the table above, more than of the total number of responses were about the subject advisers' work expectations and demand. As the subject advisers had only negative responses about 'Time Constraints' and 'Communication Channels', this indicated to me that the lack of time and poor communication channels were sources of frustration for subject advisers. Regarding both their 'Colleagues' and 'Superiors', the subject advisers made more

negative than positive or neutral comments, indicating that there may be problematic areas in the interaction subject adviser have with their colleagues and superiors.

Since more than two-thirds of the total number of responses were negative, this indicated that the 'Department' was a source of strongly expressed negative emotions for all the subject advisers. The subject advisers in the underperforming district also gave noticeably more negative responses than their counterparts in the top performing district.

The next sections present the comments from the subject advisers regarding each theme. Each section begins with the numerical representations of the responses elicited about the theme, and then presents the reflections of the subject advisers relating to the theme.

4.2 Subject advisers' work expectations and demand

This section concerns the subject advisers' thoughts and feelings about the expectations and demands of their jobs. The position of the subject adviser is one that requires a subject adviser to be an adviser, mentor, and leader to teachers (Norms and Standards for Educators). Therefore, there are expectations and demands that come with the position.

I read through the Personnel Administrative Measures (PAM) document to understand the expectations for subject advisers. The PAM document stipulates that subject advisers' duties and responsibilities "include but are not limited to subject advisory services, administration and policy development processes" (p.48). Their job encompasses leadership, communication, financial planning and management, strategic planning and transformation, policy, research and development, curriculum delivery, staff development and general record keeping and information management.

When I interviewed the subject advisers, they spoke about the challenges and successes they experienced in their jobs.

Table 4. shows responses from nine subject advisers' regarding their work expectations and demand

Work expectation and demand	Responses from top-performing district (4 subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (5 subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	20	27	**47**
Positive responses	8	6	**14**
Neutral responses	4	5	**9**
Total responses	**32**	**38**	**70**

Table 4: numerical representations regarding their work expectations and demand

From the table above, two thirds of the responses about work expectations and demand were negative (47/70). While coding and grouping the responses, it was apparent that the subject advisers from the underperforming district gave more negative and neutral responses than their colleagues in the top-performing district (27 as compared to 20), (5 as compared to 4), while the subject advisers in the top-performing district gave more positive responses (8/6) than those in the underperforming district. This indicates that, although there was no significant difference in number of responses given by both groups of subject advisers, there is significant difference with regards to the valence of the emotions. The subject advisers in the underperforming district were more frustrated at some of the demands of their job, than their counterparts in the top-performing district. In the next sections, I present the reflections of the subject advisers concerning the expectations and demands of their job.

4.2.1 Feeling helpless about the number of teachers and schools they work with
When I asked what their duties were and how many teachers, they are responsible for?

3 (Elmarie UP) "I work with 240 schools and more than 600 teachers. I don't have the actual number because I've got it on my data. If I don't have all the educator's data… one of the big challenges is my time. So, it ***means I need to sit the whole day*** *for teachers that I didn't get and I must call all the 240 schools, phone all day and say, 'is this the number? Is this the*

exact number of teachers you have?' And this ***is very time consuming****. And there are just too many teachers and schools to work with.*

Although it is not possible to verify these numbers, Elmarie's sense of helplessness can be felt in the last sentence. She highlighted two issues that bothered her the most: the amount of time it takes to capture and accurately record the data; and the sheer volume of the work involved.

Elmarie was not the only one who complained about having too many schools and teachers to work with. Wesley and Selwyn also complained about the number of schools they had to support.

6 (Wesley UP) So when I was at the district, I had a very large group of about 464 schools. Not teachers, I mean schools. ***That was heavy, hey. Jassis!*** *It is a lot because in each school you find about 3-2 teachers, sometimes you get two or three, but for me it was for grades Four, Five and Six, so I was working with the Intermediate Phase.*

4 (Selwyn UP) Well, I work with a lot of schools and teachers. So, in terms of the exact figures, well, currently I am working with 240 schools. And that is a lot of schools to support in a manner that will benefit the teachers, especially those who are in schools that are struggling. Of course, we don't get to see them as often as I personally think will be beneficial to them.

Wesley, who had previously been a subject adviser but had now returned to schools in a different role, complained about the large number of schools he was responsible for in his days as a subject adviser. While given the number of schools they worked with, and the teachers they needed to support in those schools, Selwyn was concerned about the quality of support that teachers received. This is mainly because having too many schools to work with did not allow for adequate and meaningful support to be given to teachers who were struggling. The key issue for Selwyn here is the quality of support given to the teachers.

These comments from these subject advisers in the underperforming districts indicate that in the underperforming districts, the subject advisers work with no less than 240 schools. In contrast, comments from the subject advisers in the top-performing district showed that they worked with less schools than their colleagues in the underperforming district.

2 (Devin TP) With regards to the number of schools I visit, the figure is almost 150 schools. So, the number of teachers will depend on the size of the school. But let's say it is an average of 4 teachers per school. And this can be ***a bit too much*** *for one to adequately support the teachers in a way and manner that they deserve.*

It was noteworthy that Devin, a subject adviser in a top-performing district, thought that working with 150 schools was too much, bearing in mind that in the underperforming districts, the subject advisers work with about 240 schools. He also referred to the quality of support that was offered to teachers. Just like Selwyn, Devin also believed that working with too many schools did not allow for adequate support to be given to the teachers.

Just like the other subject advisers talked about the number of schools and the quality of support, given, Vernesh added that, in his case, priority of support was given to better-resourced schools.

5.(Vernesh TP) I am responsible for 180 schools. But the schools are supported according to priorities and programmes. So, in my district, there are 35 schools that are part of the E. solution programme, so I have to prioritise those schools in terms of support. Again, priority is given to schools that have resources.

I could see that subject advisers in the top-performing districts work with fewer schools than those in the underperforming district because the number of schools they indicate to work with, are no more than 180 schools.

This difference in the number of schools that the subject advisers in the two differently performing districts work with, suggests that the officials in the underperforming district have to do more work than those in the top-performing districts. And from their comments, I understood that the subject advisers said that having so many schools to work with affected the quality of service and support being rendered to the schools in question.

When analysing the Policy on the Organization, Roles and Responsibilities of Education Districts, I saw that the policy states that "No district should have fewer than 250 schools and no more than 400 schools" (Number 40464, Government Gazette 2 December 2016, section 35, p. 18).

The National Education Policy Act (NEPA), 40464, December 2016 stipulates that the staffing of subject advisers should be organised as follows:

Subject Adviser (SES): Foundation Phase (Gr R - 3) - 4 per 80 schools with Foundation Phase learners (for each of the 4 subjects).

Subject Adviser (SES): Intermediate Phase (Gr 4 - 6) - 9 per 80 schools with Intermediate Phase learners (for each of 9 subjects).

Subject Adviser (SES): Senior Phase (Gr 7 - 9) - 12 per 80 schools with Senior Phase learners (for each of 12 high -enrolment subjects).

Subject Adviser (SES): FET Phase (Gr 10-12) - 14 per 30 schools with FET Phase learners (for each of 14 high- enrolment subjects). Subject Adviser (SES): Low- enrolment subjects - 16 per 960 schools. (Source: NEPA policy number 40464, 2nd December 2016)

The stipulation by the NEPA policy therefore indicates that from a policy expectation standpoint, the subject advisers are working with too many schools. This conflict in policy staffing expectations, and the subject advisers' experience, highlights the conflict between policy expectations and the experiences of the subject advisers.

I asked the subject advisers about their duties and what this entailed.

4.2.2 Overwhelmed by very demanding and time-consuming tasks

1(Elmarie UP) My duty basically is to support educators. I think a subject adviser is at a level higher than what teachers are. So as an official, you need to see that your schools are supported and that the curriculum is being implemented. You need to see that School-Based Assessment (SBA) tasks have been marked, you need to see that teachers understand the content that they are currently teaching.

Ja! Then we also have other major priorities, where we need to do office work and create data, we need to write reports, and we need to send it to the provincial office. Other major work we do is to keep an analysis of results, looking at which schools are your performing schools and which are under-performing. Then we have other projects you need to ensure, like the Olympiads. And then you support the district with other priorities like going to check and monitor examinations, matric examinations. We also have the common paper that you moderate. Actually, you don't just moderate, you oversee whether the exams are running smoothly.

Besides just curriculum support, you need to do SBA tasks. You also need to set up question papers. You need to make sure you set up tasks. And you need to ensure the scaling up of

*information to head office. That is **very important**. So ja! all of those things I have to do as a subject adviser, and it **is very demanding and time consuming**.*

Elmarie understood that her job as a subject adviser had different facets. At a basic level, it entailed being a support for teachers and ensuring curriculum implementation. At a district level, it entailed ensuring that district-led projects run smoothly, also monitoring and moderating examinations including Matric examinations. At a provincial level, it entailed lots of office work "major priorities" i.e., data generation, writing reports and upscaling information to head office.

Elmarie's outlining of her job showed that from an accountability perspective, she considered the provincial level duties as "major priorities". This suggests that, although the policy expectation and district directive was that subject advisers spend 80% of their time supporting teachers and schools, Elmarie's major focus/priority was on administrative compliance (accountability). From Elmarie's perspective, she felt her duties demanded a lot of effort and time from her.

On the other hand, Thulani understood that his job was primarily to be a support for teachers, as they implemented the curriculum.

8 (Thulani UP) I am here to support the teacher, and the teacher maybe requires additional classroom tasks. I am able to make that available based on the topic that the teacher needs assistance in. In my own case in particular, I put those tasks up on the website I have created for easier access.

5 (Phumla UP) Well, my duties are to ensure that the curriculum is being implemented effectively. In doing that, I need to support the teachers in any area where they may need support. I have to make sure that teachers are teaching the specified content at the time they are supposed to. I make sure that assessment tasks are being administered to the students properly. It is also my responsibility to help the district with moderating of exams. I also need to make sure that other district projects and initiatives that we are concerned with are running smoothly.

For Thulani and Phumla, who work in an under-performing district, they understood their job to be primarily a source of support for teachers for curriculum implementation. Yet all the verbs (highlighted in red) Phumla uses to describe her curriculum support work for teachers, describes aspects of compliance also known as monitoring.

21.(Wesley UP) Ok… that is an interesting one. I love the interesting ones, because we were never told before you got to schools what our duties were, we just learn from experience. You'd just be told 1, 2, 3, these are the expectations and you just do it. The district then tells you, now we are going to monitor you through the PMDS. So, there are two parts. The monitoring part, which can also be known as accountability. So, for the monitoring part, I monitor whether teachers do lesson plans and if they do follow the lesson plans and then I check do they keep the files… can you see resources for them to implement CAPS… and the Syllabi coverage: how far are they, do they follow the annual teaching plan? Basically that. And then, when it comes to assessment policy, it was checking for compliance from the teacher: they account to me first, then I check why this has not been done, or why did you have this challenge, and so on. So, they will have to explain and I would say I don't see this and that. So that is how I will approach it, rather than saying: 'it is disturbing that …….

Wesley provided a bit more insight into what a subject adviser does. It was significant that he stated that subject advisers are not formally trained. And I wondered how this affects each subject advisers' interpretation of the policy, and what they consider to be activities of support or monitoring, as well as how this affects their interaction with teachers. Although he acknowledges there are two parts to his job, namely the monitoring and support, all his descriptive words are all about compliance.

The perspectives of the subject advisers in the top performing district did not differ from those in the underperforming district, because both groups considered supporting teachers in order to implement the curriculum as the fundamental aspect of their job.

4 *(Vernesh TP) Well, I support schools, I support and monitor the usage of information and Communication Technology (ICT) in schools. So, if I visit a school, I support them and share with them good practices on how best to use ICT in the classroom. So, part of what I do is to check if ICT is being used effectively in teaching and learning in the classroom. That is just basically that. I close the gaps where there are gaps, and I also mediate where there is a need to mediate.*

1. (Devin TP) In a nutshell, I provide support to teachers in curriculum implementation and assessment processes. Support with basically anything they need to be able to make sure that curriculum is implemented the way it should be. So, like SBA tasks, and making sure they are teaching the right content at the right time, workshopping them in areas where they may need additional assistance. Ja! things like that basically.

Grace mentioned an important point regarding the ratio of support to monitoring.

1.(Grace TP) My main responsibilities as a district official are to monitor policy implementation, but that has changed to 80% support and 20% monitoring. And this is the 9th year of the emphasis on support rather than monitoring. So as a senior education specialist (SES) or better known as a subject adviser, I have to analyse the policy first and then, simplify it for the teachers to implement. I need to organise and facilitate workshops where I can better educate and inform the teachers on certain issues, strategies that may be helpful for them in the classroom. I also mediate lesson plans and mediate resource creation. Personally, I have developed tools for teachers for self-monitoring.

Grace understood her job to be an intermediary between the policy and teachers. She had a clearer understanding of her job. The verbs she uses to describe her role as a subject adviser, indicate less emphasis on compliance. Therefore, reflecting the recognition of the 80/20 rule she mentioned in the first sentence of her comment. Importantly, she considered her duties to be necessary steps in ensuring proper policy implementation.

In general, these subject advisers understood that supporting teachers for curriculum implementation was the fundamental aspect of their job. Their comments showed that, although they know that the core responsibilities of the officials are monitoring and supporting teachers in curriculum implementation, their descriptive words suggest that they most of them dwell on monitoring rather than the support aspect of their job. There were other district related tasks that they also needed to attend to, and Elmarie considered these other district related tasks to be "major priorities" (*to do office work and create data, we need to write reports and we need to send it to the provincial office)* that were just as important as ensuring curriculum delivery and support to teachers.

When I asked how often they saw teachers in a year.

4.2.3 Unable to see each teacher individually

8 (Grace TP) I am not able to see each teacher personally, however I meet with the HODs once per term, and with the cluster of teachers once per term and during workshops. In fact, it just depends. In most cases, the teachers plan Professional Learning Community (PLC) meetings and invite the subject adviser. That is how we mainly get to see teachers.

3 (Devin TP) So, school visits are maybe like once a year, unless there is a need to, or a follow up visit that must be scheduled, depending on the findings. Outside of school visits,

then we will see the teachers at trainings and workshops. We also see them at PLCs and those are organised once per term, except in the fourth term, because it is very hectic due to exams and reports. And also, because we are monitoring Grade 12 examinations, so we are unable to see them in the fourth term. If you visit 10-15 schools in a month, for instance, you look for the common themes across those schools, so when you get to the PLC meetings, the subject adviser starts off with the issues he/she has come to address. So, in that one-hour meeting, we may end up only looking at the issues that the subject adviser has presented, and there may not be time to address the challenges teachers may have.

I noted that, on average, the subject advisers saw teachers a maximum of four (I school visit and three workshops) times in a year, and in those instances, teachers were generally seen in group settings, for example at PLC meetings.

The subject advisers in the underperforming district saw teachers on average three times a year and there were no meetings in the fourth term because of Matric exams. However, in some instances, certain teachers were seen more often than average.

9 (Elmarie UP) I can say maybe certain teachers I can see three times in a year and that is the most. Sometimes I see them only twice per year. Look, the reason for that is because you want to focus on a teacher that you ***are forever, forever needing*** *to support. Those teachers that you see twice a year, it is a mandate from the department that schools that are underperforming (below 40%), you need to visit them about every second week. But you have to take into consideration that there are so many of them in our district. Then there are other schools that are not so underperforming. So, there is a lot demanded of us that is* ***frighteningly*** *not workable sometimes.*

For Elmarie, being in an under-performing district where there were more teachers who struggled, the mandate was that such teachers required visits more than three times per year. The teachers who were struggling the most needed to be seen every second week, which is more than the average three times per year as Departmentally mandated. This means some schools and teachers will be visited more than others. Nonetheless, Elmarie also supported other schools and teachers within the district. This, according to her, was '*frighteningly not workable sometimes'* due to the time, energy and effort required.

Elmarie's comment indicated that the work demand for the subject advisers in the underperforming district was very different from their colleagues in the top performing

district. Having more schools to support and having to see the teachers who struggled more often than the usual, may suggest that subject advisers in underperforming districts are doing more work than those in the top performing districts.

14 (*Wesley UP) One of the questions I read this morning from your questionnaire, was about the number of teachers and how many times I see them per annum. You see that is a simple but complex question. So that question is about how many times I see the teachers individually. And I thought to myself:* ***Wow****, this really is about dynamic assessment. And how regularly would we do that at the district? It looks so simple,* ***but it is complicated****. You see typically, we see teachers about thrice a year, because in the fourth term there are the Matric exams. And even so, when we see them, it is in a group setting. So sometimes it is not easy to assist those ones that are struggling and shy to ask questions in the group setting. That's what* ***complicates it****. In a year… it would depend on whether it is one on one. It would depend. So, we had this programme where every term, especially terms 1,2 and 3, we must have subject meetings where we set the tone, expectations and so on. So, what it is about? We are coming to check on and also the support dates that we will be having that are spread in a term, and which cluster, and where, and so on. That is what we will do. Then we will hold these meetings in different clusters.*

Wesley noted that seeing teachers on an individual basis did not happen often. Reflecting on that question alerted him to the reality that dynamic assessment of teachers and their needs seldom happened in their interaction with teachers, which was noteworthy. I noted that those meetings with teachers became administrative meetings, as the focus is not on content or discussion with teachers in a way that support teachers with insight.

For Thulani, his subject specialty (Mathematics) demanded that he saw the teachers every month and not only once per term. As with the other subject advisers, the teachers were seen in group settings and not individually.

2 (Thulani UP) When I see almost all the teachers, it is once per term when we have PLCs. But we still have special trainings for Mathematics, so I also get to see them there. I have trainings every month where I see all those teachers every month. That is how I see them.

The key issues highlighted here are the infrequency of interaction with teachers, as they are commonly seen three times a year, and the context of those interactions. Both groups of

subject advisers all said their interactions with teachers often happened in group gatherings like PLC meetings, when teachers are generally seen and supported in group settings.

Their perception is that seeing teachers in group settings can be limiting to offering adequate support to teachers it may suggest that there is little or no one-on-one contact with each teacher. My perception is that group setting can be very useful, as they can be less intense, less judgmental atmosphere for useful interaction with peers, as teachers can benefit from the questions asked by other teachers or the comments made by peers. However, it appears that problem with the group meetings lie with the substance and content of the meetings.

The subject advisers' perception of the dichotomy between the quality of group and individual interaction with teachers suggests that the type of interaction they have with teachers impacts the quality of support they offer to teachers. Additionally, their comments suggest that the primary mandate to support teachers is impacted by the infrequency of visits.

Subject advisers' minimal personal contact time with each teacher may be disadvantageous in terms of offering support to the teacher, because, as Wesley stated in his comment, some teachers may be unable to converse with the official in a way and manner that allows for openness and willingness to let the subject adviser know what issues he/she may be struggling with. It is also significant that teachers were seen in groups during those three times in a year – so they might have not felt confident enough to use those group meetings as an opportunity to express the need for and then receive the help and support they needed.

I asked the subject advisers about what aspects of their job they considered the most or the least important. They all said that supporting teachers was the most important aspect of their jobs and the administrative component of their jobs was the least important.

4.2.4. Frustrated and unimpressed by the time spent on paperwork

11 (Elmarie UP) The most important part of my job, I think, is supporting teachers. I would like to support teachers more. The least important is just certain administrative work I feel has the least importance, like writing all those reports.

Elmarie acknowledged that supporting teachers is the most important aspect of her work with teachers, and also wished that she could support teachers more. This indicated that she felt that the amount of support currently offered the teachers was inadequate to cater to their needs. It may also indicate that the subject advisers feel compelled to spend time on aspects of their job they consider unimportant.

17 (Thulani UP) The most important part of my job, and the first thing we should have in our minds, is that we are going there to support, because 85% of our job is to support. The least important is all the paperwork. Just like teachers, I don't like paperwork and all that time spent on paperwork takes away from the time and energy we could have spent supporting the teachers.

15 (Selwyn UP) I feel like some of those reports we write ***are not useful*** *yet we spend a good amount of time writing them. Yes, I get that one has to be accountable, but sometime the accountability part happens to the detriment of the support of teachers. There are too many report forms and admin stuff to do. So that is the least important part of my job. I feel that the most important is the actual job of supporting teachers. Some of the teachers I work with constantly need to be supported, so attending some of those meetings scheduled impromptu and writing tons of reports takes us away from what is our core responsibility and I find that* ***frustrating*** *to say the least.*

13 (Phumla UP) The most important part of my job is the support of the teachers. Eighty-five percent of our job specification is to support teachers, and so I have to spend my time to support them, but the least important part of this job in my opinion is the administrative work, like writing reports and filling out the relevant paperwork and the meetings that we have to attend. Unfortunately, sometimes these meeting times encroach on our planned time to really support the teachers. I would like to spend more of my time supporting teachers in the way I think they really need to be.

These comments from Elmarie, Thulani, Selwyn and Phumla, who are subject advisers in the underperforming district, suggest that they were unhappy with the amount of paperwork and meetings they had to attend. The prominent issue highlighted here is the problem of administrative compliance overshadowing the fundamental work of supporting teachers. From their perspective, valuable time, energy and effort is being diverted to administrative work, because their complaints are about the time and energy that paperwork and writing reports take away from what they considered to be their core duty, which was to support teachers.

Wesley also did not like the weekly reports that were required by the Department, as he felt the information gathered in those reports did not yield any meaningful change.

35 (Wesley UP) So as a subject adviser, there was no aspect of my job I considered least important. Otherwise, I would be fooling you and fooling myself. So, the admin part of my job i.e., the planning, was very important, because I have to go to the people organised, and be able to motivate them to also do their own part well. So, the admin part is very important, as I have to set an example to the people. What I ***disliked*** *was weekly reports to the Department, because that was just compiling information so that it appears that there was so much that we were doing, without any meaningful change.*

These subject advisers in the underperforming district thus considered the administrative aspects of their jobs to be non-productive, yet more time consuming. This highlights the tension between the intrinsic moral responsibility to care for and support teachers in a meaningful way, versus structural administrative tasks that need to be completed (which they consider non-productive).

The subject advisers in the top-performing district share the same view with their colleagues in the underperforming district regarding the encroachment of administrative work over supporting teachers.

23 (Vernesh TP) Yes, yes… look, I think the issue of supporting is more important than holding unnecessary meetings, because at times we are being called off the ground to attend meetings, and I find them not relevant and not necessary because senior management can set certain things and I feel they have to take decisions and communicate by emails so that we are not being called from the ground to say there's a meeting. Whatever they have decided could have been easily emailed to us or they send messages or something like that. So ja! Those are the things that I think. And again, having to belong to transversal[2] *teams for example… My core duty is to support schools in ICT related issues, but then I get sent to go to schools to check the number of toilets that are working, to check how many learners are present by doing head counts, go to monitor exams and other things. These I find less important because I am deviating from my core duty and I am doing someone else's job. I feel like even if I do these other things I mentioned, I am not doing them to my best ability.*

For Vernesh, a core concern was not just the paperwork and reports that needed to be written. It was also about being called away from his "core duty" of supporting teachers to instead attend meetings he considered to be of no value. Because he is an ICT specialist, he

[2] Teams that are collaborate across the organisation.

considered monitoring examinations and undertaking headcounts a deviation from his core duty.

Grace and Thandi said that they considered all aspects of their jobs as important, yet from their comments, there seemed to be some emphasis on certain aspects. For Grace, it was curriculum and performance, while for Thandi, it was supporting teachers.

26.(Grace TP) I think there is nothing that is not important. And, like I said before, the curriculum and performance are a big deal for me, and I have to ensure that it goes well. So whatever it takes to ensure that, I take very seriously. So, I can't say that there is any aspect of my job that I find least important.

24 (Thandi TP) Well, I think that all aspects of my job are important. Mostly because my job is to support teachers, so most of my duties and activities are geared towards supporting the teachers. Of course, I think we can do more in terms of support, but still, I won't say that there is any part of my job that is not important.

Grace and Thandi had similar views, as they regarded all aspects of their job as important. Both are officials in a top performing district. Grace mentions that curriculum and performance are a big deal for her, while Thandi specifically mentions that supporting teachers is the crux of her job, but requires improvement, while acknowledging that other aspects of her job also important.

I could tell from their comments that these subject advisers feel some of the activities they are engaged in are meaningless, thus taking away time from more important activities. I think they felt this way because they know they are being judged by the quality of their admin and attendance of meetings, rather than by the quality of support given to teachers.

I found it important to also ask the subject advisers what aspects of their job they spent most of their time on, as that would give me an indication of what aspect they valued most.

4.2.5 Time spent on monitoring curriculum implementation

22. (Devin TP) Most of my time is spent on school visits. Because on average it is Monday to Thursday that we would be visiting schools. So, it will be necessarily monitoring curriculum implementation and supporting on the basis of the findings on site rather than the trainings and workshops, because those are done once per term.

24. (Vernesh TP) I spend most of my time doing the Member of Executive Council (MEC) programme and other ICT issues that come up in the department. We have got MEC ICT programs that deals with ICT resources ranging from learner tablets smartboards and teacher laptops. So that is an e-solution program that is an MEC initiative. And in my district, we have got about 35 schools that are part of that MEC E-solution program, so I support those schools. We also have other ICT programs or projects supported by private partnerships like corporate sponsorship that provide programs that can help improve learner performance in terms of Grade 12 matric content and they provide content in relation to that.

27. (Grace TP) I spend time on all aspects of my job because one really cannot spend time on only one aspect, it will affect the other aspects. So, you have to devote time and energy to all aspects.

25 (Thandi TP) I spend most of my time ensuring that curriculum is being delivered and ensuring that the resources to do that are available to teachers. So be it training material or lesson plans or any other thing they need, I spend my time making sure that it is available, ready and being utilised.

Vernesh, Grace and Thandi's comments about which aspect they spent most of their time on confirms their previous comments about what aspects of their job they considered important, which is school visits and providing resources to teachers.

In general, the subject advisers in the top performing districts said they spent most of their time on school visits, ensuring curriculum implementation, and making resources available to schools and teachers. It is necessary to determine whether these aspects of their jobs are geared towards monitoring or support.

Similarly, the subject advisers from the underperforming districts expressed similar views to their colleagues in the top-performing district regarding what they spent most of their time on.

27 (Elmarie UP) I spend most of my time on school visits.

On this particular question, Elmarie was the only subject adviser in the underperforming district who said she spent most of her time on school visits. Thulani, Selwyn and Phumla said they spent most of their time supporting teachers, and I wondered what the difference was between school visits and supporting teachers.

Thulani's comment below shows that he considered teacher support to be a greater part of his job, but berates the priority given to activities that "overlook the curriculum".

19 (Thulani UP) So, in terms of what aspects I spend most of my time on, you see, sometimes when you get to the district, I spend 95% of my time supporting teachers. Sometimes you find there are other activities that are given priority but ***that overlook the curriculum****, which is what is important, like checking school readiness, to monitor the SGSM to see whether they received the books and what, what. So, I spend most of my time in the curriculum delivery and making sure the resources are available to the teachers. For instance, now I am busy doing an exam for the training of teachers, and developing materials for the teachers.*

Selwyn emphasised not only the activities of supporting teachers and ensuring curriculum implementation, but also included the times he spent writing reports and attending meetings.

16 (Selwyn UP) I spend time at schools supporting the teachers, ensuring curriculum delivery, making the right resources are available for the teachers, I also spend time writing up reports and all, attending meetings, and in short, I spend my time on all aspects of my job or else I will have a lot being piled up and waiting for me to get it done.

15 (Phumla UP) School visits and writing reports is basically what I spend my time on.

Ensuring curriculum delivery was a key aspect that most participants reported spending their time on. There did not seem to be any significant difference in terms of what they spent most of their time doing, between high-level officials and those in the underperforming district. However, while they mentioned that they spent most of their time on school visits, they had previously complained that administrative tasks and responsibilities took time away from their core duty of supporting teachers.

Thulani made a significant point when he said that "*Sometimes you find there are other activities that have priority but* ***that overlook what is important****, which is the curriculum."* This comment indicates that he considered those kinds of activities like checking for school readiness irrelevant and non-productive to achieving the main focus/goal, which is curriculum implementation and delivery.

4.2.6 Pleasures of the job

When asked what the best/worst thing about their job, the officials were quick to give those details.

The subject advisers laughed or smiled when they described the best thing about their jobs. There was sense of levity about them as they described what they enjoyed about in their jobs.

*21 (Vernesh TP**) laughs heartily**……. The best thing is that you become flexible with time, you manage your own time and manage your own operations and resources. Everything fits within the scope of work. If you were monitored 24/7, it would not be good. The fact that I am a manager at this level, I am able to make my plans accordingly, I am able to plan my schedule accordingly and I am able to do that. For instance, I can visit two or three schools today and then tomorrow maybe visit one school and so I am not bound to visit four schools in a day. You could also visit one school and spend the whole day there, depending on the issues you encounter there and have to deal with. So, in essence, you deal with schools according to their need.*

On the flip side, the worst thing is that because of the flexibility part of it, at times you will become lazy to go to schools and you plan for three schools and because of human nature, because of fatigue and other things you will postpone and not be able to support the schools. And also, because you are flexible in your timing and plan, you can always rearrange and account for why you didn't visit those school at those times.

For Vernesh, being able to control one's time and activity was the best thing about his job, yet on the other hand he admitted that the flexibility also posed challenges, such that one who is not conscientious, could easily get carried away or even become lazy in attending to their different responsibilities.

I considered this point very important, because it showed that although some subject officials may think they are just like teachers or are in similar circumstances as teachers, the flexibility of time is not an aspect where they share similarity with teachers, as teachers cannot be that flexible with their time and responsibilities.

For Grace, making a contribution, or being part of the process of curriculum implementation and performance was the best. On the other hand, instances where negativity came up had a not-so-pleasant effect on her.

*25 (Grace TP) **The best thing** is having a contribution to curriculum implementation and performance, and the **worst thing** is maybe when things don't work out as planned, or where there is negativity. Seeing that teachers get it and are able to translate the policy, implement it well and eventually help learners, I think is what matters most to me.*

Devin focused only on the best part, which was supporting teachers, and he didn't consider anything to be the worst.

19 (Devin TP) There is actually nothing that I would say is the worst. Everything I encounter, I can cope with and I think is also reasonable. So, the best thing is doing my actual job of supporting teachers. ***I derive pleasure*** *from that.*

The subject advisers in the under-performing district had similar viewpoints with those in the top-performing district. The benefits of the job that they described included working with and supporting teachers, as well as the flexibility it allows.

19 (Selwyn UP) The ***best thing*** *about my job is having to interact with teachers in an effort to make a difference. I also enjoy the challenge that comes with the job, to do things that I am exposed to.* ***It keeps me on my toes****. The* ***worst part*** *of my job is the uncertainty of the new things that you will encounter, so you don't know what it is until you go through there, then its fine.*

17 (Phumla UP) Well, for me the ***good thing*** *about this job is the flexibility that comes with it, and also, I am able to help teachers to improve themselves, the learners and the system in general. I like working with teachers, so it makes it easy for me. Of course, there are* ***difficulties*** *associated with the job and that's the part that gets to me. I* ***really do not enjoy*** *when teachers are not being supported in the way, and manner I think will benefit them in a meaningful way. There are a lot of issues that contribute to that, and some of those issues lie beyond our reach or influence.*

For Selwyn and Phumla, the difficulties or the worst part of their jobs were those aspects they considered to be beyond their control, and the best thing for them was working with teachers. I think their expressions of happiness and joy at working with teachers indicated that these were instances where these subject advisers felt they were flourishing, despite all other uncertainties they faced.

Commonly, the comments from all the subject advisers indicated that they enjoyed working with teachers, as most of their comments on the best thing about their job included the pleasure and joy, they derived from working with teachers. They also spoke about the level of freedom they experienced. Vernesh mentioned flexibility (freedom/ power) to determine where and how they spend their time, as there seemed to be not a rigid time plan that the advisers complied with in their day-to-day activities. This showed that, in a way, they are

their own boss, however they must exercise discipline in how they spend their time, mainly because, although they may not be bogged down with a time sheet that detailed their activity and time spent, they knew that they had to actually do the work they are employed to do.

Notwithstanding, I wondered how diligently they ensured that a lot of their time was not spent on other issues unrelated to teacher or school support.

It is noteworthy that Elmarie, an official in the underperforming district, did not specify anything as being the best thing about her job, dwelling mostly on the worst thing about her job.

*49 (Elmarie UP) I think the **worst thing** about my job is that if we are not focused and consistent in what we are required to do, **it demotivates me**. I feel communication is the worst thing about my job and we are not 100% focused, because things can change at any time. So ja! it's communication between the different departments, or units.*

Elmarie specifically felt demotivated by the inconsistencies regarding communications and what she was required to do in her job. Unlike her colleagues in the same district, who did not seem to express so strongly how the difficult aspects of their jobs made them feel, Elmarie's strongly expressed negative emotion indicated that the inconsistencies affected her flourishing as a subject adviser.

Specifically, all the subject advisers' expressions about the best and worst parts of their jobs, suggests that they loved working with teachers. They cited various issues pertaining to the worst part of their jobs, such as poor communication, not being able to adequately support teachers, the uncertainty of new things, things not working out as planned. It is interesting to note that all of these points relate to structural issues that were beyond their control.

However, it was remarkable to see that Vernesh admitted the flexibility of his job as being both the best and the worst thing about it. He did not refer to any external influence that could constitute the worst part of his job, unlike the others.

It was also noteworthy that there were no significant differences in the responses of the officials in top and underperforming districts.

In summary, the responses of the subject advisers about the expectations and demands of their work suggests that they have too many schools and teachers to work with, and are consequently unable to support teachers as they desired and as the teachers required.

Additionally, having too much paperwork took up a significant amount of their time. and this meant that time that could have been spent supporting teachers was spent on administrative compliance concerns. From their perspective, their tasks and duties were considered as highly demanding and time consuming, because they constantly needed to ensure that resources were made available for teachers and schools, and that curriculum was being delivered appropriately.

Their comments shed light on the emotional dimension of their work, and revealed that there was a mismatch between the expectations of their jobs and their actual experiences of the job. They felt sad, disappointed, frustrated and even demotivated at the tensions created by the mismatch between policy expectation and practice.

On the positive side, being able to have and maintain control of their working hours pleased the subject advisers.

4.3 Time Constraints

'Time Constraints' i.e., not having enough time to adequately and effectively offer support to teachers was one of the challenges about which the subject advisers were emphatic.

Time Constraints	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	18	25	**33**
Positive responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**18**	**25**	**33**

Table 5: numerical representation of responses regarding 'time constraints'

The subject advisers felt strongly negative about time constraints as can be seen from the table above. There was no significant difference between the responses of advisers from both districts.

When I asked the subject advisers what sort of issues came up in their conversation with teachers, they all talked about not having enough time to do their jobs effectively. As I analysed their comments, I realised that the issue of time constraints was twofold, namely: insufficient time with teachers, and too many administrative obligations.

4.3.1 Unhappy about not having enough time with teachers

Firstly, the officials complained about not having enough time to interact with teachers in order to determine what their challenges and struggles were, and so as to offer teachers meaningful support to overcome or deal with any issues that they may be grappling with.

7 (Vernesh TP) Look, they complain about us as officials coming to their schools and not finding enough time to deal with their issues. This is because when we visit schools, the teachers are expected to be in their classrooms teaching, and yet at the same time they are expected to interact with us, and they are ***not happy*** *with that. More so, because we don't have enough time with teachers, now if you make an appointment to talk with them during lunch, they feel you are taking their lunch time and they are* ***not happy*** *about that because they feel they are entitled to have their lunch without any interruptions.*

Vernesh expressed his concerns about the quality and duration of interactions with teachers. The challenge for Vernesh was finding time to interact with teachers during school visits. Teachers were often busy with their core responsibility of teaching and being in the classroom, yet they were expected to interact with the visiting subject advisers.

Although they were not explicitly complaining, the tone of their voice indicated that Grace and Devin were somewhat displeased by time constraints.

13 (Grace TP) Another big issue is that we have so many schools and teachers to support, and we don't have enough time to see them all in a year. More so, there is very minimal contact time with the teachers that we are meant to be supporting. That is ***really not nice****.*

5 (Devin TP) You see, I think teachers ***need more training and more training****, however there is the challenge of manpower in the sense that when you see a teacher once, you may only get to see that teacher again only in the next year. On average, you have 200 school days in a year, and so it is not possible to see all of them. So that is a* ***challenge,*** *because we as officials are unable to support and assist the teachers in the way that they desire.*

For Thandi, in addition to not having enough time to interact with teachers, she felt that some district meetings were unnecessary, as it further limited the time available to interact with teachers.

*11 (Thandi TP) Time is **really a challenge** for us at times, because we have schools to visit and support and yet we also have to attend meetings in the district. Yes, we have a schedule or plan, but you find that sometimes meetings are called you are mandated to attend and it just disrupts your schedule. Like last time, this interview had to be rescheduled because of a meeting. It then affects what you as an official have planned for the day. If I was scheduled to go to a school, I would then have to reschedule, and yet at the same time, the schools and teacher feel that maybe **you don't care enough** about them, and that is why you have rescheduled your meeting with them. It can **be annoying, and it gets to me sometimes**.*

All the subject advisers from the top-performing districts felt there was not enough time to interact with teachers. They expressed their discontent about the limited time and interaction they had with teachers, and they considered it a big issue, because it directly affected the quality of support they provided to teachers and schools.

The perspectives of the subject advisers in the under-performing district were similar to their colleagues in the top-performing district.

14 (Thulani UP) You know they say time is money... [laughs] *In our own situation, time is a very scarce commodity. There is **not enough time** in the week or even the year to really offer teachers the kind of support I think they deserve.*

*14 (Phumla UP) Time is **one big challenge** that we are having. I used to think maybe I didn't know how to manage my time well, and that is why I always felt like there were never enough hours in the day to do my finish my job. Actually, this job never gets finished. I understand that now. Anyways, like I was saying, I thought it was me until I realised that my colleagues were also having the same problem. We really don't have the time to support the school and teachers well. You find that sometimes, we are on our way to school, and then we are told by our superiors that there is an important meeting we need to attend. Sometimes these meetings are just meaningless if you ask me, and all that time that should have been spent at schools supporting them has now gone. So, it **really frustrates** me in that aspect. I would like to spend more time at schools supporting teachers. The policy says it is 80% support and 20% monitoring but time is like… I don't know really where it goes.*

Being overwhelmed by unaccomplished tasks or work left undone led to Phumla feeling frustrated. The limited amount of time available to do her job frustrated her, and she admitted to self-blaming, until she realised it was not a personal problem, but a common problem. She realised her challenges were not due to incompetence, but rather a systemic and collective problem.

For Selwyn, it was a bit different. The problem was not just limited interaction time with teachers, but the fact that he sometimes had to interact with HOD's instead of teachers.

22 (Selwyn UP) One thing I can say that is a very big issue for us here is the issue of time. There is never enough time to meet with teachers and support them in a way that I think will really benefit them. I say this because when you go to schools, we hardly see the teacher or even spend time to really get to know what their actual struggle, challenges or even successes are. You know when you say we have to support the teachers - we also have to support them even when they are not having any challenges. It's like we need to be there for them at all times. But here you find that sometimes you get to school and you are only interacting with the HOD or the files and learner books, not even the teachers that you are supposed to be supporting.

Being unable to interact with the teachers was a key issue the Selwyn complained about. Not actually meeting with teachers at the school, or interacting with other people rather than the teachers they are to support, did not sit well with Selwyn.

The Guideline for Office Based Educators states that one of the roles of a subject adviser is to visit classrooms during teaching time to assess the quality of classroom interaction. The Education Labour Relations Council collective agreement also requires that a subject adviser conduct regular on-site support visit to teachers in schools (p.16).

However, the subject advisers' comments indicated that the policy expectation of "on-site interaction with teachers", as well as "visiting during teaching time to assess the quality of the classroom interaction" was unmet in reality. This is because teacher unions forbade subject advisers from visiting teachers in the classroom.

The subject advisers' comments highlight the internal professional struggles. On the one hand, they want to and are expected to spend more time at schools supporting teachers, and on the other hand, they are obligated to attend these meetings they felt did not contribute significantly to their jobs. This annoys and frustrates the subject advisers, as they are torn

between two district expectations: visiting and supporting teachers, and attending district meetings.

The balance between expectation and reality required the subject advisers to push aside their displeasure at the conflicting expectations to do their work, thereby engaging in emotional labour.

The problem of time constraints extends to the administrative aspect of the subject officials' duties.

4.3.2 Complaints about "meaningless reports and that is time consuming".

Secondly, the subject advisers complained about the amount of paperwork they had to complete, because the time spent on the administrative compliance issues took away from the already limited time, they had to support teachers.

45 (*Vernesh TP) Too much admin and paperwork take away from the already limited time we have to interact with teachers. You find that those above require you to write* ***tons of sometimes meaningless reports****, and that is time consuming. You see, the minute I get an instruction from head office that has got* ***unfriendly timelines****,* ***it pushes me to push educators*** *and surely, they won't be happy. They won't start developing a negative attitude towards Head Office, it will be towards me, because I am the face of the Head Office to them.*

Vernesh understood the impact of unfriendly timelines from above had on his relationship with teachers. He knew he became the recipient of the negativity from teachers because he was a representative of head office, and that put him in the difficult position of having to bear the consequences of someone else's action or inaction. The negativity from teachers was the result of accountability demands.

46 (Grace TP) There is a lot of reports to write to those at head office. I guess that is how they keep us accountable. These reports are time consuming. For example, after this interview there is a report, I have to write and send off to those above. It takes up a lot of time. In these reports you need to write what your successes and challenges are in relation to your interaction with the schools and teachers. But the funny thing is that if you say what your challenges are in these reports, you are still expected to go back and find the solutions, with little or no help from them. Surely if I knew how to resolve these challenges, then I would not regard them as challenges?

For Grace, having to be administratively compliant was time consuming, in addition it required diagnosing and correcting the challenges she encountered as she performed her duties. The last sentence of her statement suggests that the subject advisers themselves also require support. Grace recognised that although she is expected to be subject specialist, sometimes she too needs to be supported.

Devin, in his comment below, made a slightly different point from that made by Grace. His concern with the administrative time constraints was that, in addition to having to write reports and fill out paperwork, new and inexperienced teachers who had received training from different institutions, needed to be constantly supported, and this took up more time than those who have been in the system for a while. This was another issue that took up his time.

*8 (Devin TP) The truth is that the job can be **challenging**. There can never be a time when you can say that your work is complete. New teachers keep on coming and the quality of teachers that are being produced from the institutions where they were trained differs. I can see the gaps; we can see that is what Wits is doing or UJ is doing. So, we constantly need to support teachers and that means that there is no time that I can say that my work is finished.*

The subject advisers in the underperforming district also expressed very strongly how they felt about administrative tasks and time constraints.

*14 (Elmarie UP) These days I am **so exhausted**. I was just on my phone now because there is information on teacher's data that I have to compile and complete. I need extra time for that. I don't have the time to just set up all my emails. I have to have this data on my cell phone, so that I can work from anywhere. This **eats into my family time**. On the weekends you want your family time, but because now I have to sit and compile this because it is **demanded now, now**. So, I sit during weekends to do it. It takes away from my time with my family. It is **the demand that kills me**. It will make my life easier to send all the emails and the data or whatever you have to, to schools, your letters and I really need to reach that point. That's the goal for me.*

Elmarie was frustrated at the filing and compiling that was required, but specifically, she was frustrated because her job encroached into her personal world and her family time. Her job was beginning to take up more than she had anticipated.

37 (*Selwyn UP*) *What **really frustrates** me is not having enough time to complete all the reports and forms that I have to fill out. (**Sighs... And hisses)** It is just…. **Sad, frustrating**, and you know the **most annoying** part is that it is the same form that you have to fill out each time. They just change what they call it or change the layout but basically it is the same information that they require. Before you came in here, I was just about to start writing a report and here, look, this is one of the forms that I have to fill out too. Yet I have teachers and schools that I need to attend to more importantly.*

For Selwyn, it was the repetitive information demanded by the forms and reports that frustrated him. Having to do the same thing over and over, yet presented differently, was the crux of his frustrations.

For Phumla, the frustration came from the disruptions and pressures that have been put on her by the need for administrative compliance.

*30 (Phumla UP) There is a lot of stuff to do, but not enough time. There are many schools that need our support in our district and on top of that there are a million and one reports and forms to submit, and everything needs to be compiled and completed on time. So, there is a time pressure on us to get everything done. Then, while you are busy doing these things, you get a memo that says there is a meeting at so-and-so time. Yet you have already scheduled to do other important things at that same time. So, you are left with no option than to postpone the school visit or the other things you were meant to do. **Another thing that gets to me** is that these forms are just a waste of time, if you ask me. It basically asks for the same information **over and over again**. I could have spent that time doing more productive things. It is **just frustrating** to say the least.*

Carefully analysing their words and expressions, I could see that the subject advisers in the under-performing district were more emotionally expressive than those in the top-performing district. They stated in emotionally-specific words how the issue of time constraint affected their administrative duties. However, the subject advisers in the top-performing districts were less emphatic and less emotional when expressing their opinion.

Nussbaum (2001) argues that emotions always involve thought of an object combined with thoughts of the object's salience or importance, and in that sense, emotions always involve appraisal or evaluation. The subject advisers in the underperforming district felt so strongly

about time constraints and their impact on their administrative duties because failure to fulfil them carried costly consequences.

Frustration, sadness and exhaustion were the dominant emotions expressed. These emotions not only stemmed from the amount of paperwork, time, and effort needed to accomplish those tasks, but also because it encroached into other aspects of their lives beyond the workplace.

From these comments, it was evident that time constraints (in terms of limited number of contact hours with teachers and administrative tasks taking up already limited time) was a major challenge for these officials. Their frustrations centred on not having enough time to complete the administrative tasks, not having enough time to spend at schools supporting the teachers, and having their limited time encroached on by incessant meetings that in their opinions don't really add any value to their work. All the negative emotions elicited by this theme 'time constraints' indicated to me that these subject advisers valued their work with teachers, so not having enough time to make a meaningful impact directly affected their flourishing as subject advisers responsible for ensuring proper and effective curriculum implementation.

4.4 Communication Channels

Communication is an important aspect of any interaction manner and quality of communication plays a significant role in determining how well or how poorly the interaction goes. In the context of this study, communication as described by the officials was poor. The table below is a numerical representation of the official's responses about communication channels in the department.

Communication Channels	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	12	18	**30**
Positive responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**12**	**18**	**30**

Table 6: numerical representation of responses regarding communication channels

Communication was another theme the subject advisers felt strongly negative about, because whenever the subject advisers spoke about how information was conveyed and received in the Department, they described the communication channels as being a problematic.

4.4.1 Frustrated by communication challenges

When I asked the officials what kinds of issues came up in their conversations/meetings with teachers, they stated that communication was a problem.

3 (*Thulani UP) One of the key things that always comes up in my conversation with teachers is communication. You see, communication is a* ***challenge****. Often when a communiqué is sent from above, it either doesn't get to us on time, or the time frame is too short.* ***One of the difficult things*** *that happens when we visit schools, is when the school does not get the memo informing them that the district is coming on this day. So, what then happens, is that when you get there, the perception they have is that you are there* ***as a fault-finder, then you get an attitude****. But when you get there and they know you are coming to help them, they can also allow you into the classroom.*

Thulani acknowledged that the communication channel in the department was problematic, which had a cascading effect when vital information was not given to teachers timeously. This poor communication affected both subject advisers and teachers, because the expectation was that the subject advisers and the teachers would act timeously on any information or communication that had been sent to them. When the communication had not been acted on timeously, teachers often bore the blame. This poor communication is a clear example of the mismatch between the expectation and the reality that information will be received and acted on in a timely manner, and it created tensions in Thulani's relationship with teachers.

Dissatisfaction about communication was no different for Elmarie, as she described communication as one of the worst things about her job.

47 (Elmarie UP) One of the worst things about this job, I feel, is communication. I feel that we are not 100% focused. Because you can come into the office today and they say things have changed. Communication between the various departments or units. It shows we are not focused and consistent in what we are doing and it ***demotivates*** *me.*

In this instance, Elmarie was not just complaining about the communication sent to teachers and schools. She decried the lackadaisical communication between divisions and branches of the department of education. And she felt that such poor communication reflected badly on them (subject advisers).

For Thulani, his challenge with communication was primarily the inconvenient timing of communication sent to teachers, while for Elmarie it was the manner in which information was being disseminated within the Department. Phumla's comment below corroborate Elmarie's, as she described how she was left uninformed of a new directive that was being implemented.

37(Phumla UP) I don't know how many times I can say this, but ***communication, communication, communication is a big challenge for us****. In this day and age, it is supposed to be so simple and easy, but Ja! It is not. I can say that the communication in the job is so poor. I say this because sometimes I come in and my colleague is doing something. I ask what is this and she will say 'Oh, haven't you heard? This is how we are supposed to do this now' or 'There was a new memo that said so and so.' Just last week it happened to me. And I get* ***so frustrated****. It's not even funny.*

*45 (Wesley UP) There were **several difficulties**, for example, where you have to abandon your own plan. That was a **very difficult** thing to deal with. For example, where there is a national activity, they bring those activities at awkward times and say it must be done now, to say this must be completed now, so drop whatever that you are doing. And **it's like, 'really?'** **[rolls eyes]** you have to stop whatever. The DCES and the director may say I want everyone to come to the district, there is information from above. That was boring for me. That **was really boring**. Why could it not be communicated earlier, or we are given sufficient time to do whatever they are asking. So, Ja! That is one of the **difficulties** of the job.*

The problem of poor communication was not just limited to the under-performing district, because the officials in the top-performing district also indicated that communication was a challenge for them.

4.4.2 Communications sent to teachers are sometimes unfriendly and they don't get enough time to comply.

For Vernesh, the difficulty with communication lay in the inconvenient timing of communication sent out to schools and teachers, as well as the communication channels.

*37(Vernesh TP) The problem we are having in the education system is that the things we want teachers to do, especially when it comes to getting things done, they are **so unfriendly**. The department sends out a memo that says, 'please submit next week Tuesday', and we send out the memo, like, this week Tuesday, and sometimes this memo will only reach the teachers on Monday (the day before the submission deadline). So, this makes the teachers not have enough time to comply. Sending communication to the schools and teachers then becomes **a challenge**. In addition, I feel like the department is not at the level where everyone in schools is having access to information. Having information centred around one person makes managing and supporting those schools far **much difficult**.*

Similarly, Thandi and Grace spoke about the impact that poor communication has on their work with teachers.

*37 (Thandi TP) I can say that the issue of communication is one of the key challenges we have. I mean, sometimes the memo from above comes a bit late, and yet we are expected to implement. Also, sometimes you find that you pass on a communication to schools, and when you arrive at the school, you find that the teachers had no idea, because they didn't receive the communication. **It's just a mess**. I tell you.*

30 (Grace TP) There are communication issues that we deal with constantly, whereby if there is a change, by the time word gets to us it is late. I think the communication platform and hierarchy can be improved.

39.Another instance is, one of the days I had a meeting with teachers in a particular school. I had arranged with the HOD that the meeting would start at 1.30pm. It was a Friday, so my thinking was to give them a few minutes after school to gather themselves before the meeting. But the HOD told them 1pm. So, I got there and was waiting in my car. So, like at 25 past 1pm. I was thinking to myself let me go in a few minutes early... Yoh! … When I got to the venue of the meeting it was total chaos, they were already ***agitated****. They kept saying that I made them wait and kept them waiting for a whole 30 minutes for a meeting I had convened myself. So, we have communication issues between those above and us, and also between us and teachers. And I think that should be improved.*

These comments from Vernesh, Thandi, and Grace point to the problematic nature of communication in the department.

In summary, the poor state of communication in the department bothered all the subject advisers in this study because they all indicated that the lines of communication with those above them in the hierarchy, and communication with teachers needed to be improved. Their concerns about communication suggest that the channels of communication as well as timeframes for the implementation of communication were in dire need of reassessment and improvement, because important messages, instructions, directives and even avenues for offering support to teachers were severely impacted by poor communication.

I considered the subject advisers' comments about poor communication to be a key problem that also besets many other aspects of their jobs. Their comments suggest that because they considered communication to be an important component of their jobs and interactions with teachers, when communication was not at its best, problems that arose became difficult or even impossible to address. Moreover, they understood that poor communication had implications for policy implementation, as well as proper day-to-day functioning of the department in general. Both sets of subject advisers were dissatisfied with communication and expressed their concerns about the far-reaching effect poor communication had on their job and interaction with teachers. It suggested to me that poor communication cut across district lines.

The next section presents the reflections of the subject advisers about their colleagues.

4.5 Subject Advisers' Colleagues

Every organisation is constituted by individuals who work together to achieve the common objective of the organisation, and people are an organisation's most important asset (Schermerhorn Jr, Osborn, Uhl-Bien, & Hunt, 2011, p. 2). The interactions between these individuals could either be positively or negatively inclined. However, regardless of whether the interaction is positive or negative, the general assumption and norm is that all must put aside their differences and work together productively. In the context of this study, 'Colleagues' refers to anyone at a similar level with whom the subject advisers work within the department.

Table 7. number of responses made by subject advisers about their colleagues

Colleagues	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	6	9	**15**
Positive responses	5	7	**12**
Neutral responses	2	0	**2**
Total responses	**13**	**16**	**29**

Table 7: Numerical representation of responses regarding their colleagues.

The table indicates that when the subject advisers spoke about their colleagues, they expressed a variety of responses because they had negative, positive, and neutral responses. There were more negative than positive or neutral responses. The table also indicates that between the advisers in top and under-performing districts, their responses differed by two responses in the positive and neutral categories of responses, differing by one response in the negative category. Therefore, from a numerical point of view, there is a slight negative bias.

During the interviews, I asked the subject advisers if they ever came to a point where they no longer wanted to quit. Some of the responses they gave were about their 'colleagues', meaning that their colleagues were the object of their emotions at that time.

4.5.1 "Demotivated by a colleague"

For instance, Vernesh at some point decided to quit being a subject adviser, because he felt he had been unfairly treated by his colleague.

43 (Vernesh TP) ……. ***Laughs****. Yes, I have come to point where I wanted to quit, but it wasn't because of teachers, no. It was because of a difference between me and a colleague. So, I felt would rather be at schools teaching than to be in the district and have to work with that kind of a person.*

4.5.2 Judgemental attitude of some subject advisers towards teachers

For Grace and Thulani, they acknowledged that some of the fray in the relationship with teachers was as a result of some of the attitudes of their colleagues towards teachers.

22 (Grace TP) I can understand why some teachers don't like subject advisers. The truth is that teachers struggle with some subject advisers. When the job gets tough, some of my colleagues, you know, become judgmental and the teachers don't like that, and I don't like it either. This air of superiority takes over and it ***all then goes downhill*** *from there, because the teachers now begin to see them as fault finders and not as someone who is there to offer support.*

39 (Thulani UP) You know, sometimes I wonder how some people got this job. I see where the official is being like really hard on the teachers. And this thing of pointing out what is wrong rather than saying "ok you did well here, but here you can improve on this and this", ***it can really make a difference*** *to how the teacher responds to the official and what he is coming with. Sometimes we are the problem, not always the teachers. I know the job can lead one to* ***frustration****, but we have to rise above it to succeed.*

It was significant that although Grace and Thulani are from differently performing districts, they expressed similar concerns about the attitude of some subject advisers towards teachers.

Their comments suggested that subject advisers themselves also contributed towards the perceived negative attitude of teachers towards them, because they acknowledged that being judgmental towards teachers contributed towards the negative impression teachers had about

the advisers. In addition, Vernesh's comment also demonstrated that a subject adviser's own colleague can sometimes be a source of discomfort and unhappiness.

Although the subject advisers sometimes got upset by the attitudes of their colleagues, there were instances when a subject adviser's own colleague was a source of comfort and strength. For instance, when I asked the subject advisers how they dealt with the emotions they felt in their jobs, Selwyn was quick to speak about his own experience with a colleague.

4.5.3 "Motivated by older colleague"

40 (Selwyn UP) There are times when I have, I almost quit. The ***stress was getting to me****. But when I spoke to my colleagues, I could see they had gone through some of the things I was experiencing and they really helped me* ***overcome my struggles****. Knowing that some of my older colleagues experienced the same challenges and came through, helped me to* ***see the light at the end of the tunnel****. When you get past all of that, you see that it can be a* ***very rewarding*** *job. Laughs… not financially, but, I guess, like personal motivation wise.*

36 (Devin TP) With whatever emotion I feel, I share it with my colleagues. Normally we are three or four in an office, so we share with the others and also check to see if the others are coming across the same kinds of issues, then you discuss. They could say: "Oh yes, it is like this or not, or yes, it is the whole school." Then you feel like, "yes, they are not doing it just to me, so it's not a personal thing, it's just how the school is. ***It is dysfunctional.****"*

42 (Vernesh TP) When things get ***really frustrating****, often we* [subject advisers] *would want to talk to someone who can at least give you a listening ear. So, you find a colleague to* ***unburden your soul to****. Especially your senior colleague, whom you know has been through the same issues and can offer reasonable advice or comforting words, or one who will come in and resolve the issue.*

Selwyn, Devin and Vernesh's comments demonstrated that although subject advisers' colleagues may sometimes be a source of frustration, their colleagues were also a source of comfort and support when things seemed to be difficult. Their comments indicated that subject advisers had informal debriefing sessions with one another, and these sessions were a support system for those who were experiencing challenges or difficulties.

As I analysed these responses, I realised that regardless of the type of district they worked in, the subject advisers referred to experiencing difficulties that often led to frustration and would seek support and solace from their colleague to get through those trying times. When I

analysed what the women said, I realised that there was an absence of any mention about being supported by colleagues in difficult times. I found this surprising, but it was too late for further investigation.

4.6 Subject advisers' superiors

Because the subject adviser had talked about how their colleagues made them feel, it did not seem out of place that they also spoke about how they felt about their superiors/ bosses. The subject advisers report to these people on matters that pertain to their jobs at schools and in the district. Therefore, this section presents the subject advisers' thoughts and feelings about their superiors / bosses.

Table 8 below indicates the number of responses about 'Superiors'.

Superiors	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	7	14	**21**
Positive responses	2	0	**2**
Neutral responses	0	2	**2**
Total responses	**9**	**16**	**25**

Table 8: numerical representation of responses regarding their superiors

Table 8 above indicates that most of the subject advisers' responses about their superiors were negative. This suggests that the interactions between subject advisers and their superiors were negatively inclined. Significantly, while the subject advisers in the top performing district had two positive responses, the subject advisers in the underperforming districts did not have any positive responses, however there were two neutral responses.

When I asked the officials interviewed about the best and worst thing about their jobs, some of their responses on the worst thing about their job were directed at the lack of support they got from those above them in the hierarchy of the Department.

4.6.1 Feeling unsupported by superiors

40 (Devin TP) They (superiors) expect you to find challenges, develop strategies to deal with them and take it back to schools. So, if you have challenges, you are the very same person who has to resolve them. There is no input from them to say, 'ok here is how we can assist you to resolve those challenges. ***You are on your own, whether you sink or swim****.*

Devin felt his superiors offered no support to him. He felt they left him to diagnose and self-correct, thus making him feel they didn't care how he overcame his challenges. Similarly, Wesley felt subject advisers were unsupported, so much so that they didn't have any union to speak on their behalf, and this caused feelings of powerlessness.

36(Wesley UP) We also do need support as subject advisers and ***it is a pity*** *that support is limited for us.* ***Very limited****. We don't even have a union that will also protect us. So, you have to fight for yourself and protect yourself. There is no one speaking for you,* ***so you are powerless****.* ***We are struggling*** *as to say: I am* ***not winning with the teachers****, I am* ***not winning with those above me****, the higher officials. So, what about me?*

4.6.2 Frustrated by lack of constructive criticism"

Elmarie provided a detailed account of her experiences of being unsupported by her superiors

51 (Elmarie UP) You know what? You see, like I said, there is not the additional support for us although we come together at the Continuous Improvement Framework (CIF) and then we design manuals and things. What ***frustrates*** *me is that we can talk about challenges, but we never talk about solutions. And that kills me. We will have a meeting, they* [superiors] *will identify that you do A, then you do this now, then they say 'because you have to support schools, you don't do that'. At the end of the day, they don't say to you 'listen here, these are the possible solutions. I also need support, just like teachers need support. I need support that enables me support my teachers. There is so much to do. They say to you 'be at this school by nine o'clock, you need to be a support to other people', but who supports me?* ***Absolutely nobody!*** *So, what do you as a person see when you are* ***burnt out****? They will often say to you, 'just learn to work smarter'. And then they don't see the challenges you are also facing. And*

that is where I want my coordinator. For instance, they did a school visit yesterday. I don't get a report back from him.

I need feedback from him. I know what my teachers are doing wrong but, from another perspective, what is it that you think they are doing wrong or how do I need to improve my support or assistance to them? I need to know where am I. He needs to come say to me, your teachers didn't have this in their books. I can now say, I gave them or I didn't give them.

What are the additional things that he as a person above me needs to give me? He needs to at least tell my where my gaps are. I need a person who gives me the gaps so I can improve. That is my problem.

53. I once did this leadership assignment. Then my Chief Education Specialist (CES) who is now my District Chief Education Specialist (DCS), he was my coordinator then. I went with this questionnaire to him like he asked me. I asked him, "for this leadership course, what do you think are my short comings?" He couldn't tell me what my shortcomings were. Now I am telling, you up till now for this past 28 years that I was teaching, nobody could tell me, this is your fault or even give me some constructive criticism. So, one will keep doing what they are doing, thinking they are doing fine. So, because I don't get any feedback from anyone, now that is where I do reflect a lot, I ***really reflect*** *a lot.*

Elmarie was emotion-laden as she complained about the lack of support from her coordinator and others above her. She understood the importance of feedback and support from her superiors, because she felt it was an important ingredient for personal and professional growth. Her frustration stemmed from the uncaring attitude of her superiors on different occasions where she reached out and asked for support and guidance, receiving none.

Devin, Wesley, and Elmarie's comments show that although subject advisers were considered subject specialists in their areas, they too encountered challenges and required additional support to flourish. They understood the need for growth, and were open to strategies and processes that could foster personal and professional growth.

On a positive note, however, the lack of feedback from her superiors leads Elmarie to reflect, relying on her inner strength to continue to be a good support to her teachers. Elmarie's experience highlights the emotional labour subject advisers perform as they carry out their duties. Additionally, it suggests that for subject advisers to flourish, they need to be able to reach inward to access the impetus and drive to continue to do their job effectively.

4.6.3 Unconcerned Superiors

Thulani and Vernesh were concerned about their superiors being oblivious to the reality of their jobs, and this sometimes led to a diversion of time and attention required to complete other important priorities.

*28 (Thulani UP) Sighs… There are times where you have too much work and you are expected to complete that work within a certain amount of time, or the instruction comes from above, and you find there is another priority that takes you out of your own priority of going to the schools. They **don't want to know what else is happening**, they will just call to say we need you here, and on that day, there may be a training that then forces you to divert from what you already planned.*

45 (*Vernesh TP) I think the issue of supporting is more important than holding unnecessary meetings. Sometimes we are called off the ground to attend meetings. I find them not relevant and not necessary, because senior management can set certain things and I feel they have to take a decision and communicate to us by emails, so that we are not being called from the ground to say there's meeting. There is also a tendency within the department to push instructions down from the top without due consideration of the actual situations on the ground. **It kills me. It hits me below the belt.** I understand that we need to follow policies, I understand we need to be seen as working, but I mean, poor management on someone else's side should not impact negatively on my side. Because if you are failing to plan and you push things down my throat, I will **definitely not be happy about it.***

*I often get blamed for something that is not my fault. When head office sends down an instruction that is not clear and with **unfriendly timelines**, I have to action all that, working with teachers, and it becomes a problem. All their negative attitude is then directed towards me, because for them I am the face of head office and so head office is off the hook. I will often say to the teachers, someone above me is looking for this information and someone above me gave this **unfriendly timeline,** and that is why I am giving you this **unfriendly timeline**. So, I will say, if you see a memo that says submit this, my wife and kids don't need that, someone above me does. So, they will often laugh but still complain about it.*

Vernesh particularly felt unhappy and victimised because of his perception that his superiors had the tendencies to make demands that had negative impact on his relationship with teachers.

This mismatch between the expectations of his superiors and the real situations and context of the job had implications for how policy is received and implemented by those on the ground, especially teachers. As Vernesh rightly pointed out, subject advisers are the face of the department to teachers, and they become an easy target for negative attitudes from teachers, especially when there is a problem.

Subject advisers perform invisible emotional labour to mitigate the effect of teachers' negativity towards them. For subject advisers like Vernesh, who are caught in this line of fire, it requires careful emotional regulation for the purposes of self-preservation.

Generally, the subject advisers were emotion-laden when they spoke about their superiors, as they expressed sadness, unhappiness, and frustration at the content of their interaction with their superiors.

4.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the focus was on the 'Department of Education' as a key object of subject advisers' emotion. This object 'department' elicited many emotion-laden responses from the subject advisers. A closer examination revealed that the subject advisers' work demands and expectations, time constraints, poor communication, subject advisers' colleagues, and subject advisers' superiors were the sub-sets of the object 'Department', at which the subject advisers' sadness, dissatisfaction, frustration, feelings of powerlessness, demotivation, and in one instance hope were directed.

Most of the responses the subject advisers proffered about the 'Department' were negative, indicating that it was a source of strongly expressed negative emotions for the subject advisers. Their comments highlighted the tensions and contradictions that exist between policy expectation and the reality of the contexts and situations of their jobs. Comparing some of the policy documents showed that there were some diametrically opposed imperatives, instructions and expectations contained in these documents. Yet, subject advisers were expected to fulfil these contradictory expectations. Furthermore, the subject advisers understood that, although policy expectation may never match reality, some of the policy requirements in fact restrict its proper implementation.

The subject advisers faced many challenges in their work. They stated that having a glut of schools and teachers to support meant that there was never enough time to adequately support each school and teacher as required. In addition, they felt that having too much admin work

and insufficient personal contact time with teachers ensured that curriculum policy did not fulfil its intentions. The issue of time constraints also created instances where subject advisers were unable to carry out their duties as effectively and efficiently as they desired to.

Poor communication within and across the different structures of the department was another significant challenge the subject advisers faced in their work. Poor communication delayed and prevented dissemination of important information, thus the actioning of directives often fell short of expectations and set targets. As a result, the poor dissemination of information at the department creates a lack of organisation, with negativity setting in amongst some of the officials. This poor communication also affects the interaction and relationship between important role players in the department, such that some subject advisers become frustrated by their colleagues who are not adhering to or who are circumventing procedures and policies.

The subject advisers also felt that management, or those in senior positions, were unable to support them in a way that benefitted and motivated them to strive for better output, thus leading to unhappiness and frustration.

The next chapter focuses on ‘Teachers’ as another key emotional ‘object’ of the subject adviser.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUBJECT ADVISERS' STRONGLY EXPRESSED EMOTIONS REGARDING TEACHERS

5.1 Introduction

By analysing the emotions directed at different aspects of their relationship with teachers, it was possible to assess what makes their relationship with teacher conflictual, as well as beneficial. There were 151 responses coded as 'strongly expressed emotion (SEE) 'Teachers'. Subject advisers had different emotions elicited by 'Teachers'.

Sub-coding yielded the following categories:

- subject advisers' perceptions of teachers' attitude;
- rules of engagement with teachers;
- subject advisers' understanding of the conditions and demands of teachers' work; and
- appreciation from teachers.

These became the sub-sets of the relationship that subject advisers have with 'Teachers", at whom the subject advisers' emotions, be they positive, negative or neutral, were directed. The emotions expressed indicated that the subject advisers' emotions towards teachers will differ, depending on which aspect of their relationship they were referring to. So, depending on the aspect of the relationship they were referring to, the subject advisers expressed frustration, sadness, despair, happiness, and hope.

The Table 9 below is a numerical representation of the responses directed at teachers by the subject advisers. The table is organised to show each sub-objects of the subject advisers' relation with teachers and the corresponding number of total responses. The first column shows the sub-objects, the next column shows the total number of responses relating to the sub-object, the next columns then show the number of positive, negative or neutral response to each sub-object, and how many of those responses were provided by advisers in the top or underperforming districts.

Sub-object	Total number of responses	Negative responses	Positive responses	Neutral responses	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)
Perception of teachers' attitude	**68**	53	13	2	Negative = 28 Positive =9 Neutral = 2	Negative = 25 Positive = 4 Neutral = 0
Rules of engagement with teachers	**32**	29	0	3	Negative = 19 Positive = 0 Neutral = 2	Negative = 10 Positive = 0 Neutral = 1
Understanding of the conditions / demands of teachers' work	**29**	29	0	0	Negative = 14 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0	Negative = 15 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0
Appreciation from teachers	**22**	0	22	0	Positive = 13 Negative = 0 Neutral = 0	Positive =9 Negative = 0 Neutral = 0
Total number of responses	**151**	**111**	**35**	**5**	Total = **87** Negative = **61** Positive = **22** Neutral = **4**	Total = **64** Negative = **50** Positive = **13** Neutral = **1**

Table 9: numerical representation of the responses about 'Teachers'

This table shows that the most frequent concern of subject advisers was their perception of teachers' attitudes towards aspects of their job requirements, with an almost equal number of responses coming from both sets of subject advisers. Significantly, 'Rules of engagement' elicited largely negative responses, with only a few neutrals, and zero positive responses.

Similarly, 'Understanding of conditions and demands of teachers' work' elicited negative responses only, as there were no positive or neutral responses given in this regard.

In contrast, ‘Appreciation from teachers towards subject advisers’ elicited no negative or neutral responses. The show of appreciation from teachers towards the advisers elicited positive responses only. Summarising the table, more than two thirds of the total number of responses about ‘Teachers’ were negative, indicating that ‘Teachers’ are a source of strongly expressed negative emotions for the subject advisers.

The next sections present in more descriptive detail, the subject advisers’ reflections about their relationship with teachers. Each section uses actual quotes from the responses of the subject advisers as signposts. The purpose of this approach is to capture the essence of the subject advisers’ comments. This shows how the subject advisers feel about the different dynamics at play in their relationship with teachers.

The discussion begins with their perception of teachers’ attitudes.

5.2 Perception of teachers’ attitude towards aspects of their job requirements

Perception of teachers’ attitude	Responses from top-performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	28	25	**53**
Positive responses	9	4	**13**
Neutral responses	2	0	**2**
Total responses	**39**	**29**	**68**

Table 10: numerical representation of responses regarding perception of teachers’ attitude

The table above indicates that more than two thirds of the responses about teachers’ attitudes were mostly negative, more positive responses coming from subject advisers in the top performing district.

When I asked what issues came up in their conversations and meetings with teachers, the subject advisers spoke about the particular issues that came up, as well as the attitudes of the teachers with whom they interacted. Based on their comments, I observed that the subject

advisers were concerned about teachers' attitudes towards policy directives, resource management and the subject advisers themselves. In sections 5.2.1-3, I present their reflections about teachers' attitude towards these three issues.

5.2.1 Expectation of teacher adherence to policy directives and recommendations

There was a general perception by the advisers that teachers had a tendency to ignore or deviate from the recommendations they gave teachers. They believed their recommendations were valuable to teachers, and they expected teachers to appreciate and implement the directives issued by policy and the recommendations given by subject advisers themselves.

So, the subject advisers' perception of teachers' deviation from policy directives and subject adviser recommendations made them feel sadness, frustration, disappointment, and anger towards teachers.

5.2.1.1 I get disappointed when teachers are not adhering to policy

*27 (Selwyn UP) I get **disappointed** when I see that teachers are not adhering to policy or to the advice, we give them. When they are not complying with the basics, and because you know the expectation, you start to feel **disappointed**.*

*35(Devin TP) Where it becomes **sad** and f**rustrating** is when you realise there is no teaching happening. You know, our curriculum is paced in terms of weeks, and the work that needs to be covered. Now, as a subject adviser, you get to the class*

*15 (Elmarie UP) The other thing where we become **frustrated**, if you mentor and coach one teacher, or you give recommendations, the biggest challenge is when that teacher doesn't implement. The problem is that when you leave them, that is when the teachers also pack away the materials and information and forgets about it.*

Here Selwyn discusses 'knowing the expectation' and 'feeling disappointed' when teachers were not meeting the expectation. The expectation is that subject advisers will get teachers to adhere to and implement policy, be it timing of teaching, or content stipulated by policy. In this process, the subject adviser expected teachers to understand the need for policy adherence, as adherence is the 'basics', i.e., fundamental to their work as teachers. So, Selwyn felt disappointed at teachers for non-compliance.

Devin's perspective on the issue of non-compliance was about the effect it had on learners. He interpreted the delay in teaching the specified content to mean that no teaching had been

happening. It was his understanding of the situation that saddened Devin, because he felt the learners had been deprived of an opportunity to learn. The snowball effect caused by loss of teaching time is the main cause of frustration for Devin. It was not just about the teachers and the policy, but also about the learners falling behind on their school work.

Elmarie's frustrations arose from what she viewed to be the "biggest challenge", that is, seeing teachers not utilising the materials that had been given to them and not implementing the recommendations she gave.

The ELRC collective agreement stipulates that "subject advisers need to work collaboratively with schools to ensure the implementation of the curriculum" (no. 4, 2017 section 4B, p.16). This collaboration with schools requires that subject advisers support and co-operate with teachers so as to jointly ensure proper implementation of the curriculum.

Selwyn, Devin and Elmarie expected that when they gave teachers policy directives, advice or recommendations, the teachers would go ahead and act on those recommendations. When this expectation was not met, it both saddened and frustrated the advisers. I gathered from their comments that the subject advisers' problem with teachers was that of unmet expectations. Their sadness or frustration arose because, as subject advisers, they expected that the teachers would know better. Their expectations of teachers were that teachers ought to know that policy needed to be adhered to and that their (teachers) non-compliance had implications for the learners, teachers themselves, and the subject advisers.

In some instances, the subject advisers gave their reasons why they felt teachers were nonchalant about the recommendations given.

5.2.1.2 "They (teachers) do whatever they want"

Elmarie attributed teachers' attitudes towards policy directives and recommendations to a lack of respect and regard for the status and position of a subject adviser/ district official.

10 (Elmarie UP) The other thing is also that we found in those years, the early years, there was a type of respect, or a type of honour, when subject advisers got into the schools or maybe the inspector. Lately, there is a bit of undermining of our position and the status of the work that we are doing. Because it seems almost like that sense of authority is actually no more. And the problem is because teachers can easily call and cancel a school visit. They can easily stay absent; they can easily do whatever they want, because they have got backup. So, you can't be strict with them anymore. They do whatever they want. At the end of the day,

they say, 'oh… she is too strict, she is racist you know' and all that kind of stuff, then it becomes a union issue. So, all this is like you need to have that good relationship. So, just do your work, are you fine? Can I… now you have to come with another kind of relationship. And not that firm, strict type of authoritative type of thing. Although you need to be firm, but at the end of the day, that's one challenge…

Elmarie's comment is an example of how subject advisers understand their position and authority, especially in relation to the directives and advice they give teachers. She felt that in the times past there was a sense of respect and authority accorded to subject advisers, who used to be called inspectors in those days. Her comments imply that there has been some sort of power shift in the post-apartheid years. Thus, she felt the position was now being undermined by teachers.

In addition, there was a complex issue of authority and racial dynamic that Elmarie faced. This was highlighted by the last sentence of her comment where she stated that "At the end of the day they say: 'oh, she is too strict' or 'she is racist'". This showed that there were other underlying issues at play.

5.2.1.3 Demotivated by teachers' attitude

Grace also felt teachers were nonchalant. Grace felt demotivated and unimpressed by teachers' attitude of non-implementation of directives and recommendations.

11 (Grace TP) If I see that a teacher hasn't made an effort towards implementation even after mediation, it ***finishes the passion*** *and I begin to feel* ***depressed and defeated****. I almost want to hold them and shake them up and say 'show me some effort'. I have put in all this time and energy in coming up with these tools and plan. I need some show of effort from the teacher. It is at these times that I pray to GOD and say: 'give me more ideas to encourage these teachers. Give me* ***more grace*** *so that I am* ***not demotivated****'.*

Grace's comment highlights the emotional toll the perception of teachers' non-compliance with policy directives or recommendations takes on subject advisers. "Feeling defeated, depressed and a finished my passion".

Selwyn, Devin, Elmarie and Grace expressed negativity at teachers' attitude or unwillingness to implement recommendations. Their perception of teachers' attitude impacted the subject advisers in different ways, and so their emotional responses differed. Where one felt

depressed, another felt disappointed, while yet another felt undermined. One thing was clear: they didn't feel good when they felt teachers were not adhering to recommendations.

I observed that despite the similarity of their emotional responses to the situation, their personal beliefs may have determined how they reacted and responded in those situations. Specifically, Grace reached out to a higher power (God) to be able to dig herself out of the state of "depression and feeling defeated".

I understood from their responses that the subject advisers wanted to be acknowledged by the teachers. They had put in time, energy and effort to make those recommendations. They needed teachers to acknowledge and reciprocate by implementing those recommendations.

5.2.2 Unimpressed by teachers'' attitude towards resource management

Another issue that concerned the subject advisers was their sense that teachers had a negative attitude towards resource management. For the subject advisers, their perception of teachers' negative attitude stemmed from how they understood teachers' approach to adapting, utilising, and managing resources.

The Guideline for Office Based Educators acknowledges that resources are insufficient for all schools and learners to utilise. Since subject advisers expected teachers to know resources were limited and thus needed to be carefully managed and utilised, they felt that teachers were unwilling or reluctant to use resources that had been made available to them.

The Guideline for Office Based Educators stipulates that subject advisers should:

- *provide and or source relevant teaching and learning materials to improve performance in the subject; and*
- *ensure that teachers have all the requisite curriculum and assessment documents for the subject. (p.13)*

These stipulations mean that the onus lies with subject advisers to make sure that teachers have resources. It requires the subject adviser to source these materials if they are unavailable within the department. Additionally, the Handbook for Gauteng District Officials requires that "All staff become experts in the specific needs, strengths, goals, and character of each individual school in their case load and work to provide high-quality, responsive services, appropriate to their individual schools" (p.16-17).

This handbook further states that officials are obliged to ask themselves some key questions to ascertain whether or not they are enabling quality teaching and learning and these questions include: “What kinds of resources do they need and how can I help them secure them?” (p. 18). The second part of the question “how can I help them secure them?” suggests that the official must assist the school to secure the resources that they need. Therefore, subject advisers as district officials are required to ensure that schools have the resources, they need to deliver quality teaching and learning.

This handbook specifies that subject advisers are responsible for ensuring that schools and teachers have the necessary resources and teacher are responsible for utilising these resources. Consequently, subject advisers expressed frustration when they perceived teachers showed a lack of attention and concern regarding the use and management of the resources.

Vernesh expressed his frustration at teachers’ unwillingness to embrace the use of technology.

5.2.2.1“It becomes frustrating for me to see those teachers having a negative attitude”
*41 (Vernesh TP) It becomes **frustrating** in this day and age to have a teacher who is not willing to understand that information and communications technology (ICT) is here to stay. Who is not willing to learn anything ICT-related. They will try to compare how they were taught vis-a-vis how these learners are being taught today. So, ja! It **frustrates** me to have to make sense of someone who is using a smart phone, and who allows their child to use their phone, but who then turns around, and **acts like a chameleon** by seeing ICT in schools as something that is bad.*

Vernesh is responsible for teachers who use ICT in their subject teaching, and his assumption is that teachers ought to understand that ICT is an important and relevant aspect of the curriculum in the 21st Century. However, he also recognised that teachers’ reluctance to embrace the use of ICT may be related to their fear of the unknown.

*41b (Vernesh TP) Look, I know they have **fears**, and all those things, because of not having enough knowledge or they cannot see the affordances that come with having ICT, but it is also becomes **frustrating** for me to see those teachers having a **negative attitude** and not being willing to learn and play ball. It is **frustrating, it’s incredibly frustrating**, and to be defensive about their wrong doing **adds more salt to the injury**.*

In this case, Vernesh acknowledges teachers' fears regarding the use of ICT, but the frustration stems from what Vernesh thinks to be teachers' unwillingness to even attempt to accept, or learn how to incorporate ICT into their teaching. His comment indicates that he is not oblivious to the inner turmoil the teacher experience in relation to the use of ICT resources. Nevertheless, he expected them to be open and willing to give it a try and then possibly see the benefits. It was also the act of teachers trying to defend or justify their unwillingness to use the resource that was "incredibly frustrating" for him. His use of a strong adjective "incredibly frustrating" to qualify his emotion, is an indicator of how deeply upset he was about teachers' attitudes.

As an ICT specialist, Vernesh knows that the failure or success of the introduction of ICT to schools and classrooms depends on how teacher embrace and utilise the technology. His comments indicated that he expected teachers to not give into their fear of the unknown, but be open to embracing the use of these "new" resources.

Similarly, Wesley found it difficult to condone teacher's refusal to utilise resources that have been made available for their use.

(Wesley U) ***Particularly difficult*** *in my job with teachers, would be my emotions, when I see teachers not doing what they are supposed to do, or not even using the resources that the department spends millions to provide them to use, like projectors, videos, paints, brushes, drawing books, microscopes, and you find teachers are not using that. So it would* ***be difficult for me to contain myself and keep quiet****. So, the difficult thing was my emotions. To keep quiet about that, and not voice it out, was* ***really difficult*** *for me.* ***I would be dying inside****. So, I would then find a diplomatic way to go approach the issue*.

The issue of teachers not using resources was described by both sets of subject advisers, where it appears to be a problem that is not specific to district performance.

5.2.2.2 "They are losing the documents we give them"

Teachers misplacing and losing important documents that have been given to them by the subject advisers was another issue that irked the subject advisers.

16 (Elmarie UP) It is ***exhausting*** *to ensure that all the schools have the documents, and then you come there and find that some teachers don't have the document. And it is not because it was not given to them, but because they have lost it. Teachers are losing their own documents that you give them. You give them handouts, they grab it from you, just to go home*

with something. They don't even read the document. They only take it from you just to have something at the end of the day. They don't read it; they just file the things. They are not working with it. So many resources are just being lost and getting wasted. Or teachers are not implementing, they don't see the value of those resources, and that is such a problem.

Elmarie's perception that the teachers lose the documents and in other cases never use or refer to the documents again, made her feel that teachers were not appreciative of the effort she expended to make those resources available. Having to repeatedly replace lost documents on behalf of teachers drained Elmarie.

Elmarie's expectation is that having sourced this document for the teachers as stipulated by the guideline, the teachers should at least find it sufficiently useful and valuable to not mislay it. Her demeanour and body language[3] communicated that she was affected by her perception of teachers' nonchalance. This led me to presume that when teachers had lost or hadn't bothered to use the documents, their disinterest indicated to subject advisers that teachers find the documents (and, by implication, their interventions) useless.

My presumption about subject advisers feeling undervalued by the teachers was further fuelled by Elmarie's comment below.

5.2.2.3 "They just use us as panic buttons"

14 c (Elmarie UP) The other thing I have learnt is that teachers don't like to follow protocol; they want the easy way out, so they [teachers] ***just use us*** [subject advisers] ***as panic buttons****. Whenever they want something and the deadline is approaching, they come to you and you must give them whatever they need, yet it's* ***so hard to get things from them****, but they will want things from you. They will ask me for school-based assessment* [SBA] *tasks. Last year already, I've asked them to submit all their SBA tasks, so that I can select the good ones and start compiling a resource, they didn't do it. Yet now they are asking me for guidelines, everybody is asking me for an exemplar.*

Elmarie described the feeling of being used as a manner of 'panic button'. Her expectation was that there should be some form of reciprocity in that interaction with teachers. She understood that the relationship between subject adviser and teacher ought to be one of

[3] The field notes from my interview with her showed that she slouched her shoulders as she spoke about teachers losing their documents.

mutual respect and understanding, yet for her, it seemed that it was a parasitic, rather than a symbiotic relationship.

My analysis of the responses presented so far is that, in general, the subject advisers perceived teachers as careless and wasteful with some of the resources provided to them. This lack of discipline and mismanagement on the part of teachers was a source of frustration and unhappiness for these officials who are responsible for them.

Moving from resources like documents, the next comment focuses instead on time and money as a resource.

5.2.2.4 "Teachers are not willing to do stuff for government"

36 (Thulani UP) Another huge problem is that teachers are not willing to do stuff for government. If there is a workshop somewhere, they are unwilling to spend their own money to attend, regardless of whether the workshop benefits them or not. So that is another ***huge challenge*** *that we are facing. Teachers are not willing to support the government. They are unwilling to use their own data to get resources that benefit them and the learners. So, they are asking why must they use their finances to support the government rather than seeing it as using their resources to support the learner. Essentially, this means that these teachers are not looking at what works in the best interest of the learner. They are* […] *let me not say teachers rather I'd say people, are only looking at what they will benefit from the given situation. So, they are seeing it as if it is the Department that is benefitting, and not the child/learner.*

In the comment above, Thulani's perception of teachers' attitudes towards resource management was related to teacher's own money as a resource. In this instance, he was not talking about documents or ICT technology or other tangible resources. He believed that teachers ought to be willing to spend their money to attend workshops and seminars, because that is what is ultimately in the best interest of the learner. He also believed that teachers needed to see the work they do as a service to the learner, instead of government. In his view, teachers ought to be willing to do whatever it may take to ensure that learners are given the best.

Thulani also presumes that teachers must be willing to "go the extra mile" without seeking financial compensation, because the teacher ought to work in the "best interest of the learner".

In his comment below, he talks about the time as a resource i.e., the time teachers spent on activities outside school time, that are still part of their job requirements.

36 (Thulani UP) Sometimes teachers are expecting payment, yet they are not giving their best. For instance, if you look at the sports issue, the teacher must participate in the sport thing, yet they expect someone to pay them for those extra hours that they will spend on the field with the learners. So, it's like what are they doing is for government and not for the learners.

So, if they can change that mentality, then things will begin to be different. So, when you say you have to go the extra mile, they will ask you: 'who will pay for that?' And that is a ***big challenge****. But if we all can look at the child as our government, then things will change. Because essentially, they are our government. We are all here for the children. For instance, a patient is the government to the person who is working in the hospital. In education, our government is the learner.*

Thulani believed that teachers must be willing to go above and beyond as they carry out their duty. In his opinion, teachers ought to be prepared to use their own data, and their own money for petrol and transport, without first expecting compensation from the Department and government, as it is ultimately in the best interest of the learner.

Thulani's presumption about how teachers ought to act, conveyed the expectations some officials have concerning teachers. On first consideration, it may seem that Thulani expected too much from teachers in terms of their use of time, however, the Personnel Administrative Measures (PAM) document lists the following as duties of teachers:

3.1 (i) DURING THE FORMAL SCHOOL DAY

a) Scheduled teaching time

b) Relief teaching

c) Extra and co-curricular duties

d) Pastoral duties (ground, detention, scholar patrol etc.).

e) Administration

f) Supervisory and management functions

g) Professional duties (meetings, workshops, seminars, conferences etc.)

h) Planning, preparation and evaluation

(ii) OUTSIDE THE FORMAL SCHOOL DAY

a) Planning, preparation and evaluation

b) Extra and co-curricular duties

c) Professional duties (meetings, workshops, seminars, conferences etc.)

d) Professional development

In section 3.1 (i) g and (ii) c, under the scope of teachers' professional duties inside and outside the classroom, teachers are expected to attend workshops and seminars. This suggests that Thulani's expectations of teachers is in line with policy expectation.

Furthermore, section 3.2 c) specifies that

> All other duties are specified and allocated by the principal after consultation with the educator staff. Educators will be expected to perform the core duties, as outlined in paragraph 3.1(b), both within and outside the formal school day, and with the understanding that none of these may diminish the overall amount of scheduled teaching time or negatively impact upon the curriculum (p. A18).

Here, it is made clear that duties such as attending workshops and supervising extracurricular activities are part of the basics of teachers' duties.

5.2.3 Concerns regarding the relationship between subject advisers and teachers

The subject advisers noted that teachers exhibited certain attitudes towards them. In responding to what made it difficult to support teachers, the subject advisers often felt frustrated that teachers either did not see them on time, as agreed, and sometimes did not implement the recommendations that the subject adviser had made.

5.2.3.1 “You make an appointment to see them, and they make you wait for a long time.”

*32 (Vernesh TP) It **becomes difficult** when you go there and they have not implemented any of the things that you talked about. It becomes **so frustrating** and also there is this new tendency that I have seen. You make an appointment to see them, and they make you wait for a long time. It’s **frustrating**, I really don’t want to lie. I don’t know whether they are trying to balance their teaching time with seeing you or what. Yes, the teacher will ask you to come at 10am on so and so day. And yes, I know they are expected to be in the classroom at that time. But they have said to you ‘come at this time, it is my free period’, but they will make you wait for so long. And that is **really frustrating**.*

Vernesh was frustrated that teachers made him wait for a long time when they had previously agreed on a convenient time and date to meet. This feeling of frustration indicated to me that certain subject advisers like Vernesh felt powerless and this powerlessness stemmed from a perceived lack of power to change the teacher’s stance or actions.

I assume that in that waiting period, the adviser may be wondering whether the teacher would eventually see them. The uncertainty elicited frustration.

When probed, Vernesh attributed this attitude of teachers to a power struggle.

33 (Vernesh TP) Look, the teachers know that if you are a learning area specialist, for you to excel in your job, you [adviser] *also need them to excel in theirs. Meaning that, if they are not doing well, it is also a reflection on you too. If they are underperforming, it also means that you as a facilitator are underperforming too. They understand that you need them as much as they need you, so it is possible for them to **push those buttons**.*

From this comment, I understood that there seemed to be a nuanced power struggle between the teachers and the subject adviser. Emotions are political, and in this instance, Vernesh’s frustration was coming from an assumed attempt by the teacher to undermine the power of the subject adviser.

Based on the last sentence of the comment, Vernesh assumed that teachers may have been trying to show that they [teachers] also had some power over the subject adviser, and so made the official wait for as long as they wanted them to. They are aware that the advisers’ performance profile is dependent on the teacher’s performance too.

Vernesh's last sentence of the comment also made me realise that the subject advisers' frustrations about teachers' attitude in this section may have been precipitated by the fact that their performance depended on teacher performances. I then surmised that Vernesh's analysis of the teachers' attitude highlights the conflict of authority paradigms[4] in the subject adviser-teacher relationship.

While Vernesh's comment may have highlighted the conflict of authority paradigms, Thulani's comment indicated that the incidence of a negative attitude towards subject advisers cannot be squarely put on teachers.

5.2.3.2 "The way you present yourself to the teachers determines which way the interaction goes."

Some of the subject advisers acknowledged that teachers' attitudes towards them was also dependent on the attitude of the subject adviser. For instance, when I asked how officials thought teachers felt about them, some of their comments indicated that a teacher's attitude and behaviour towards the official is dependent on the subject adviser's approach and the teacher's perception/ notion about that particular subject adviser.

16 (*Thulani UP) I can also say that if the teachers know you are coming to help them, they may even allow you into their classroom. But if you go there as a fault finder, you will never get anything. You won't achieve anything there. So, essentially, your attitude as a subject adviser going there is what determines how you will be received. So, the way you present yourself to the teachers determines which way the interaction goes. So, the important question then is "Are you going there to help or are you going to monitor them?"*

18 (Vernesh TP) So there are those that ***feel pleased*** *to have us in their school and there are those that* ***feel intimidated****, they feel like you are there to police them. They think you are there to pick up issues and basically point fingers at them. Some don't think we are there to support at all,* ***they think we are there to fault find****.*

Thulani and Vernesh's comments show that the quality of the interaction between subject advisers and teachers is equally determined by the attitude of both teachers and subject advisers. While Thulani notes that the way a subject adviser presents himself to the teacher is a key determinant of how the interaction takes place, Vernesh notes that if the teacher feels

[4] by this I mean the relationship between co-operation, power and control

threatened or intimidated by the official, the interaction will be negative. Given Thulani's last sentence, it seems that the perception of support is accompanied by a positive attitude, while having a sense of being monitored will elicit a negative attitude. Thulani seems to be taking individual responsibility for his approach to teachers, while Vernesh places the responsibility on the teacher.

Based on Thulani's statement, teachers' emotional responses towards the officials would appear to be determined by how valuable they perceive the support being offered by the adviser to be. Vernesh's statement supports this conjecture:

18 (Vernesh TP) There are those teachers that see you and they value you; they value your visit and they value your support. Then there are those teachers who are feeling like 'I wish this person can go,' and they wish you don't come to their schools again. Because often we make an appointment with schools, we visit them, and if we pick up issues we make follow-up visits, which will be informed by the nature of the matter that is being picked up on. So, if an issue has been picked up, we will say follow-up will be next week or the week after, to follow up on those issues. Sometimes you will find a defensive person, you will see how the person comes up with stories and says 'I don't think that will be the right time to come', and they will never be able to give you a convenient time to come, because they really don't want you to come.

Vernesh believed there were two kinds of interactions with teachers. On the one hand, if a teacher finds value in what a subject adviser is offering, then the teacher's response is more positive. However, there are teachers who do not want to interact with the advisers, and so will make excuses to avoid the interaction.

5.2.3.3 "But again, there is misinformation about what the subject adviser's role is to the teacher."

Wesley's comment below shows how subject advisers' interaction with teachers can improve relations between teachers and other stakeholders. He explains that misinformation and other external influences affects teachers' perception and attitude towards subject advisers.

51 (Wesley UP) With me, I had a problem between the principal and a particular teacher in my subject. But I could really tell that because of the way the principal approached the teachers, the teacher decided to resist. And that principal, a well-known unionist, had to call upon me to intervene. Think about it. I had to intervene! I sat down with the teacher and we

made an understanding: I had to help the teacher complete the task, because he did not submit the task for moderation. He had not even done it. And this was in defiance against the principal. So, the power struggle emanates from the attitude.

I realised that if I go to the teachers to instruct them, rather than to give them some knowledge, strategies and skills, and then back off, then come back and say to the teacher, 'how did you find that?' it is easier to work with such teachers, as it bridges the negative attitude. It is important to have an open line of communication with the teacher and say to the teacher: if you struggle, let's talk. If not so, the power struggle will always be there.

But again, there is misinformation about what the subject adviser's role is to the teacher. So, if teachers are misinformed, they will not understand. They will think… the subject advisers are here just to instruct us, to monitor, to report us and to talk bad about us in the corners at the district level and so on. "We are ***being blackmailed as teachers****; this is* ***too much for us".*** *So, for teachers, it's like subject advisers are l****ike a ton of bricks hurling at them and on their heads like that.*** **[gestures at something falling on the head**]. *So, misinformation, bad influence from other circles, like the unions, also causes that kind of tension between teachers and subject advisers.*

5.2.3.4 "They assume we are there to judge them."
Unlike Thulani and Vernesh who think teachers' attitudes towards the subject adviser is determined by their interaction in the present, Devin attributed teachers' negative attitude to a previous history of negative interaction with another advisor.

39(Devin TP) There are all kinds of teachers in the system. You find that some teachers understand your job and the reason you have to constantly check on them. So, they appreciate your visits and are willing to engage with you. Then you also find the others who don't want to even hear the word 'subject adviser' and they are ready to ***frustrate your efforts*** *to support them. I think maybe because they assume we are there to judge them. And really, we are not. We are only there to help and support them. I find also that some of those teachers who don't like us may have had a previous* ***unpleasant experience*** *with some other officials and so they now cast aspersions on the rest of us.*

Devin recognised that a teachers' previous negative encounter with a subject adviser can predispose the teacher to being fearful and wary of subject advisers. Nussbaum suggests that human vulnerability itself is the source of fear. I argue based on Nussbaum's understanding

to that because the teacher's shortcoming was exposed by the previous adviser, and if the adviser they interacted with did not assist them in overcoming the shortcoming, this may cause the teacher to feel vulnerable in the current interaction with a subject adviser, where the feeling of vulnerability arises again, thereby causing a fear of subject advisers. Consequently, the current subject adviser bears the brunt of this fear, and is treated with initial suspicion.

Although Devin talked about how a teacher's previous history with a subject adviser could affect the current interaction with a subject adviser, he also noted that there are teachers who understand and appreciate the interaction with the subject adviser.

5.2.3.5 It takes a lot of time and patience to deal with some teachers
Interacting with teachers who have negative preconceived notions about subject advisers presented its challenges.

43 (Devin TP) We all become fault finders in their eyes. It takes a lot of time and patience to deal with such teachers. Sometimes you win them over, sometimes they have made up their minds not to like you, regardless. So, in such instances, I just carry on with my job, regardless of how they feel about me.

Devin admitted that it required a lot of time and patience to deal with such teachers, yet he refused to be burdened by their attitude, so as not to be deterred from or delayed in doing his job. Devin's response highlights some of the emotional labour taking place in the relationship between subject advisers and teachers. This evidences the view that emotional suppression results in effective workplace interaction.

Grace, like Devin, also faced a teacher with a preconceived notion and negative attitude towards the subject adviser. She responded differently when faced with a similar situation.

5.2.3.6 "So I kept putting up this bright and happy face and attitude whenever I had to interact with her.**"**
When I asked the advisers to tell the story of a time when decisions they made worked particularly well or when the decisions, they made didn't work out the way they wanted them to, Grace commented on a teacher who had been openly hostile and disapproving of her and her attempts at intervention and support.

20(Grace TP) There was once this teacher who needed a lot of intervention, but her attitude was like 'Grace, I don't like you'. I kept feeling like 'how do I even go about assisting

someone who almost cannot stand the sight of me?' Yet I had never even had any negative interaction with her before.

The quality of this interaction between Grace and this particular teacher suggests that preconceived notions and assumptions about subject advisers influence a teacher's attitude and actions towards subject advisers. It places the subject adviser in the doubly-difficult situation of trying to first navigate the emotional hurdle of getting the teacher to be positive and open to receiving support, and only then tackling the other logistical challenges that may also need to be addressed. This requires emotional labour on the part of the subject adviser.

Comparing Grace's to Devin's responses to a teacher with negative preconceived notions, I could see that, despite being faced with similar situations, their responses to teachers in those situations differed. While Devin disregarded any emotional display from the teacher, Grace engaged with the emotional display. Grace's comment below shows that her approach was to counteract the negative emotion display with a positive emotion display.

20 (Grace TP) Well, I decided that her attitude would not deter me from rendering the support I knew she really needed. So, I kept putting up this bright and happy face and attitude whenever I had to interact with her. Eventually she said to me one day, "you know, I didn't like you at all before, but now I can see that you really want to help and you are good at what you do." That was the moment I would say that ***broke the ice****. She and I have become really good friends. You see, if you are not strong, such experiences can actually* ***frustrate and depress you****. A negative energy from teachers can actually* ***demotivate*** *subject advisers.*

Grace's response to the negativity from the teacher shows how committed a subject adviser needs to be to perform their job well. Grace showed her level of passion and commitment by pushing past the negativity. Her positive emotion displays, coupled with an unrelenting effort, eventually conquered the negativity and a healthier relationship was formed. Grace's approach exemplifies Nussbaum (2018) suggestion that "we must not approach opponents with anger, but with love" (p.14). The responses of these subject advisers regarding a teacher's attitudes towards them highlights the emotional work they have to do in order to do their job.

In summary, this section on subject advisers' perception of teachers' attitude highlights the emotional challenges that they faced as they worked to get teachers to adhere to policy directives or recommendations. It illustrates how subject advisers thought teachers were

unwilling to adhere to directives or recommendations given, and how this often frustrated the subject advisers. In addition, because subject advisers had to make sure that resources are available to schools and teachers, it irked the subject advisers to see that teachers were dismissive of or careless with resources that had been provided for them, since these resources were in fact limited. Additionally, the subject advisers felt their relationships with teachers were laden with emotion. However, one subject adviser acknowledged that the attitudes that dominated their interactions were equally determined by themselves, as well as the teachers. In cases where the negativity could affect their jobs, the committed subject advisers found positive ways of alleviating the negativity.

There didn't seem to be any significant differences between the responses of the officials in the top and underperforming districts in relation to these issues presented. This may suggest that their perceptions of teachers' attitudes in relation to the three perspectives highlighted: teachers' attitudes towards policy directives, towards resource management and towards the subject advisers themselves, are similar regardless of district performance.

The next section presents the reflections of the subject advisers towards the rules that guide their interactions with teachers.

5.3 Rules of engagement with teachers

This section, 'rules of engagement with teachers', refers to rules and policy expectations regarding the interaction between subject advisers and teachers. Put another way, 'rules of engagement' refer to the systemic and the structural issues in the interaction between the subject advisers and the teachers they support.

Rules of engagement with teachers	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	10	19	**29**
Positive responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	2	1	**3**
Total responses	**12**	**20**	**31**

Table 11: numerical representation of responses regarding rules of engagement with teachers

Speaking about the rules of engagement elicited strongly expressed negative emotions from the subject advisers. The responses they gave were largely negative responses, a few neutrals, and no positive responses. This indicates that subject advisers feel strongly negative about the way in which their relationships with teachers are structurally constrained.

5.3.1 Dissatisfaction with how interaction with teachers is structured by policy

When I asked the officials about what parts of their job they didn't enjoy, the subject advisers generally spoke about the concerns related to how their interaction with teachers is structured by policy. For instance, Devin found that interacting mostly with learner books and teacher files was an inadequate means of supporting teachers.

5.3.1.1 "We interact with a teacher's file and learner books, and on that basis, you make recommendations and findings*"*

The specification that subject advisers need to interact with teacher files and learner books, more than with teachers directly, was one of the key issues that bothered Devin.

15 (Devin TP) In terms of difficulty, it is the structure of how we should be and are interacting with teachers. The fact is that we interact with a teacher's file and learner books, and on that basis, you make recommendation and findings. More often, when you try to check

from the teacher what are the challenges, they will tell you "These learners…" But for me as the official, I don't really have any evidence to say why the learners are doing so poorly. The teachers will say these learners don't understand. Teaching goes beyond the content knowledge; you will also want to know the pedagogy. How the teacher conducts himself in class also has an impact. So, regarding the arrangement, or lack of arrangement, whereby you cannot visit a teacher while he is in class to observe what he or she is doing so as to have a proper understanding of why they are grappling with whatever, I think that is the ***difficulty*** *for me.*

Devin felt that direct observation was important in order to observe pedagogical skills. In his opinion, teaching involves more than just books and files. It involves methods and techniques of teaching that impact on the outcome. Thus, he found it difficult to interact with and support teachers on the basis of seeing only learner books and teacher files.

The Guideline for Office Based Educators (2016) stipulates the following in this regard:

School visits should also include drawing samples of learners' written work to:

- Establish pace, depth, and sequencing of curriculum coverage;
- Compare written work to teacher planning and availability of resources;
- Check frequency and management of home and class work as well as usefulness of feedback to improve learner understanding;
- Visit classrooms during teaching time to assess quality of classroom interaction;
- Assess strategies to pick up on learner difficulties and school systems to provide remedial lessons or additional support to learners that need it.

The fourth point shows that the guideline expects subject advisers to visit teachers in the classroom while they are teaching. There is a disjuncture between the DBE Guideline for Office Based Educators and the ELRC collective agreement. In the DBE guideline, it is required that the subject advisers visit teachers in the classroom, however, the ELRC collective agreement 4 of 2017 does not include classroom visits.

The ELRC collective agreement 4 of 2017 specifies the duties of the subject advisers include "guide and support educators in effectively delivering the curriculum in the classroom. Support teachers in strengthening their content knowledge and organise relevant/related co-

curricular activities. Yet there is no specification of how this "guidance and support" of teachers needs to happen, and the subject advisers confirmed to me that, as per the collective agreement, they are not allowed to visit teachers in their classrooms (see section 6.2.2).

This contradictory imperative in the Guideline for Office Based Educators and the Collective Agreement shows the ambiguity in policy that generates conflicting pressures on the subject advisers. The advisers are in a dilemma: do they align themselves with the approach of support contained in the guideline, or do they follow the collective agreement?

Subject advisers are effectively already doing emotional labour even before they got to the schools to support teachers. From the comments and concerns of advisers like Devin, it became clear to me that there is a conflict of interest happening when it comes to how support is being given to teachers, because the collective agreement is negotiated in response to union demands that the subject advisers do not visit teachers in the classroom (In Chapter 6, the influence and impact of teacher unions on the interaction between subject adviser and teacher will be presented in detail).

For subject advisers, this discord between the Guideline and the Collective Agreement generates a dilemma. Their difficulty lies in knowing that classroom visits could be helpful in providing meaningful support, but they are not able to do so without incurring the displeasure of unionised teachers. This is a key tension present in the interface between policy expectation and practice. In this case, subject advisers feel they need to visit teachers in their classrooms, but unions as per the collective agreement do not allow subject advisers to do so.

Another issue the advisers had to contend with was having teachers constantly being moved between phases.

5.3.2 "There is a change of teachers every year"

Elmarie decried the tendency to rotate teachers every year because this meant that there was no continuity of support with each teacher. At an administrative level, this meant that she needed to ensure each year that resources and materials are available for the new teachers. At an emotional level, this frustrated her, because she has to build new relationships with teachers each year.

*14 (Elmarie UP) The other thing that is **really also frustrating** is what is currently happening in the schools. In our senior phase, there's a change of teachers every year. **I'm finished, I am exhausted. I really don't enjoy** the rotation of teachers. The teachers who are now*

*teaching General Education and Training (GET), maybe next year, if they see that the teacher is very good, then they take her to Further Education and Training (FET). Then what do you do? That new teacher will phone you and say I need lesson plans; I need all the documentations for the subject. And they call you again. By then you say to yourself, "**I was there yesterday, I did all this before!"***

ELRC collective agreement 4 of 2017 section 4.1H requires subject advisers to "build CAPS knowledge and understanding among educators and keep files and records regularly updated with recent and relevant subject policy documents and ensure that educators in the schools have the same" (p.18).

The stipulation of the collective agreement shows that subject advisers are required to continuously ensure that teachers are provided with up-to-date policy documents and that they need to maintain each teacher's support plan and file.

For Elmarie, the effort needed to ensure that the new teacher is adequately supported. The new teacher would need to be provided with all the necessary documents and be supported so as to meaningfully implement the curriculum. Importantly, Elmarie needed to establish a relationship with each new teacher, and this was the challenge for her.

The PAM document section 4.6 E (i), states that from a leadership perspective, a subject adviser is required to "create and maintain sound human relations among colleagues and enhance the spirit of co-operation at all levels."

This statement provides an example of policy making emotional rules that subject advisers need to follow. Policy wants the subject adviser to "create and maintain sound human relations", and this means that subject advisers need to act and respond to the teachers they support in a manner that will ensure good working relationship, which involves them doing emotional labour.

The policy rule "to maintain sound relations" with teachers, in spite of the frustration from yearly teacher rotation, causes Elmarie to perform emotional labour in order to do her job. Elmarie's frustrations may suggest that internally she is frustrated by a lack of continuity and success.

Elmarie's situation is an example of policy making emotional rules and the officials having to engage in emotional labour to do their job, and this will be further analysed in Chapter 8 of this study.

When asking subject advisers whether they encountered resistance with teachers, the issue of teachers not complying with directives was raised once again. However, this time the subject advisers acknowledged that in some instances, the policy directives were unfriendly, which affected how teachers and advisers performed their duties.

5.3.3 Some of the things we want teachers to do are so unfriendly

37(Vernesh TP) There are teachers who don't comply with policy directives. Look, the problem we are having in the education system is that some of the things we want teachers to do, especially when it comes to getting things done, are ***so unfriendly****.*

Sometimes the timelines are ***unfriendly*** *and the requests are unclear. At times too, because the structure of the district is so huge and complex that teachers also don't know who to speak to, their challenge becomes unresolved because they don't know who to speak to. So sometimes we find ourselves tapping into other people's territory.*

In the comment above, Vernesh found the obstructive reporting structure in the department to be one of the issues that affected the work of all involved. Not having a clear and easily reachable management person impacted negatively. In this case, Vernesh acknowledged that the policy directives were stipulated in a way that made them difficult to implement, not that teachers were unwilling to adhere to policy. Vernesh's comment highlights some of the unrealistic expectations of policy demands on teachers and subject advisers. It also suggests that policy expectations sometimes compel subject advisers and teachers to perform emotional labour, because even in the face of an unfriendly request or directive, subject advisers and teacher are expected to adhere to the unfriendly request.

Unfriendly requests were not the only problem affecting subject advisers and teachers. Thulani stated that dealing with unqualified teachers in the system posed a challenge for him, mainly because those unqualified teachers were unsure or inept in their jobs.

5.3.4 Having unqualified teachers in the system is a challenge

23 (Thulani UP) Most of my interactions with teachers are positive, but you find that the more you go to teachers who are not qualified […] *Often you find that in the lower grades especially, they have just put anyone there, not a qualified person to teach that grade. That is*

where we experience challenges. With an unqualified person, you will never get a good response, because it is not his or her field of work.

I perused the Employment of Educators Act, to check what the rules were about teaching without the proper qualifications. Chapter B states that "a teacher may not be employed if (iii) the candidate is not registered, or does not qualify for registration, as an educator with the South African Council for Educators (SACE)" (p. 44). **The South African Council for Educators Act No.31 of 2000 meanwhile states that** "No person may be employed as an educator by any employer unless the person is registered with the council" (section 2.1. 2).

Although the Employment of Educators Act and the SACE Act clearly state that an educator needs to be qualified and must be registered with SACE, Thulani's comment confirms that there are teachers in schools who are not qualified, who can be found teaching in schools. Having unqualified teachers teaching in schools is a clear indication of a policy contravention that impacts the quality of teaching and learning, and which also requires more effort from the subject advisers to support unqualified teachers.

This proved to be another example of the reality not matching policy. This mismatch between policy expectation and the reality of schools posed a challenge for the subject advisers. In this particular instance, an unqualified teacher lacked the content and pedagogical knowledge, and this had implications for curriculum implementation, as implementing the curriculum effectively became a challenge. It also meant that such teachers required even more support, because they were deficient in certain aspects of their job. Consequently, subject advisers needed to put in more effort in interacting with and supporting such teachers.

So far, the issues highlighted from the subject adviser's comments about the rules of engagement with teachers suggests that interacting mainly with learner books and teacher files, and not having enough personal interaction with teachers in their classrooms, affected the quality of support the subject advisers offered to teachers. Additionally, conflicts between policies, having unfriendly policy mandates, dealing with unqualified teachers, as well as a yearly rotation of teachers between phases created "difficulties" and "frustrations" for both parties. In order to overcome these difficulties and challenges, subject advisers need to engage in emotional labour.

Importantly, there was no significant difference emotionally and otherwise between subject advisers in both districts. This was because the subject advisers in the top- and under-

performing districts had similar emotional responses to the issues that bothered them about the rules of engagement with teachers. This suggests that many challenges faced by subject advisers cut across district performance lines.

5.4 Understanding of the conditions and demands of teachers' work

This section presents the perspectives of subject advisers regarding teachers' working conditions. At first glance, it may appear as if the categories 'Rules of engagement with teachers' and 'Subject advisers' understanding of conditions and demands of teachers' work' are similar. However, when the subject advisers spoke about these issues, there was a subtle distinction made. Regarding 'Rules of engagement', both subject advisers and teachers were equally affected by the 'Rules of engagement', but with 'Conditions and demands of teacher's work', the subject advisers spoke about issues they felt primarily affected teachers.

The emotions expressed in relation to the conditions of teacher work show that subject advisers are empathetic to the teachers' work situation.

Subject advisers' understanding the conditions of teacher's work	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	14	15	**29**
Positive responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**14**	**15**	**29**

Table 12: numerical representations of responses regarding 'conditions of teachers' work.

The subject advisers had strongly expressed negative emotions about the conditions of teachers work because all the responses they gave were negative, with no positive or neutral responses. The only slight difference between both sets of subject advisers is that the subject

advisers from the underperforming district had one response more than their counterparts in the top-performing district.

When I asked the subject advisers what kinds of decisions, they were able to make about teachers, their comments highlighted some of the dilemmas of teachers. The action responses of the subject advisers in those instances showed empathy to be the dominant emotion being expressed. In some instances, the subject advisers had to put themselves in the line of fire just to ensure that ultimately the teacher is able to do his or her job effectively.

5.4.1 Too strict control of policy implementation

Elmarie specifically mentioned that she had to deviate from policy, in order to accommodate the challenges and situations that had arisen in the real classroom and school context.

38 (Elmarie UP) Sometimes I deviate from policy **[nervous laughter].** *When I see that a teacher has been absent for a term, and there has been no provision made for a substitute teacher. (Yes, it happens like that sometimes…) Don't look at me that way….* ***Are you shocked?...*** **[laughs again].** *It will be* ***really unjust*** *for those learners to come to school with no teacher to teach that subject. So, when it comes to Term 2, I will say to them, you know what, I'm giving you, the school an exception to write only the exam for this term. So, I make those kinds of exceptions and decisions. I try to simplify it for the teachers and make their life easy. I feel sometimes if there's too much strict control of policy implementation, I have to twist it a bit and make it user friendly for the teacher. Because if I say it must be done the way policy demands, then I will have a* ***miserable*** *teacher that is not going to teach. So, in essence, I do what is relevant.*

Elmarie understood that the gap created between policy expectation and the reality in classrooms required that subject advisers adapt the policy implementation process to match the reality of the classrooms and teachers. In Elmarie's context, rather than insisting on implementing policy as it was written, she made concessions in order to make implementation a simpler and friendlier process. Admitting that she deviated from policy seemed to make her a bit nervous, as indicated by her nervous laughter in the face of an external observer.

The Guideline for Office Based Educators provides guidelines expects subject advisers to do in instances where classroom contexts did not allow policy to be implemented as is. The guidelines state that subject advisers need to "support teachers in effectively delivering the

curriculum in the classroom" (p.28). In Elmarie's instance, supporting the teachers and learners involved adapting the policy. Elmarie affirmed that following policy strictly could result in a miserable teacher. This concurred with Vernesh's statement in the previous section about policy expectation sometimes being *"unfriendly"*. Vernesh explained that *"policy is unfriendly when it makes demands on teachers that are impossible to accomplish, especially when you consider that at a classroom level, all teachers are not in the same context."*

Based on Elmarie's comment, subject advisers can be observed to understand that teachers are more likely to implement policy that is easy and simplifies their work lives, and anything different would be difficult to ensure compliance. In such instances, subject advisers have to adapt policy to make it workable, and are acting as a buffer between policy and teachers. Being a buffer makes demands on the subject advisers, especially emotionally. Elmarie's nervous laugh gives credence to the emotional toll it takes on subject advisers. Therefore, because the onus of ensuring that teachers implement policy properly falls on subject advisers, taking away the unfriendliness of policy and making it "user friendly" for teachers, involves the subject advisers performing emotional labour.

Vernesh's feelings regarding the unfriendliness of policy was a worrying concern for him, as he felt it caused teachers to be unduly labelled as resistant.

5.4.2 Unfriendly policy demands and labelling

Vernesh explained that teachers' reaction to policy unfriendliness was misinterpreted as teacher resistance by certain subject advisers.

37 (Vernesh TP) Some policy demands are so unfriendly, yet when ***the teachers don't manage*** *to do what we have asked, at times we call it resistance, only to find out that* ***they are not resistant****. It is often just plain unrealistic expectation, because* ***they didn't receive the information on time****.*

In his statement, Vernesh admitted to policy being unfriendly, where teachers bore the brunt of this by being labelled 'resistant', yet in reality, the problem was that policy expectation was unrealistic. Looking at the phrases in bold indicate that there is a sense of empathetic understanding at the blame teachers were subjected to when it came to the mismatch between policy expectation and the reality of classrooms.

Vernesh's stance in this instance is different from Elmarie's, who took on the burden of bridging the gap between policy expectation and practice. Vernesh did not take on the burden, but acknowledged that the blame need not be put on teachers, but instead on the unrealistic policy expectations. It is important to point out that although both Vernesh and Elmarie were empathetic towards teachers' plight, their actual response in those situations showed that their approach differed. Their different approaches to handling complicated policy situations may suggest that in the face of similar work problems, subject advisers may respond differently, where one takes on the burden of policy expectation and practice disparity, and another does not take on the burden.

5.4.3 Administrative work encroaching on teaching time

The subject advisers understood that the demand for administrative compliance negatively affected teachers' work. Besides the policy gap highlighted, another issue that subject advisers understood overwhelmed teachers was the demand to complete administrative tasks in addition to teaching. This burden of administrative tasks featured in a number of sub-objects in this study where it became clear that administrative compliance was the hydra-headed matter that teachers and subject advisers had to contend with.

25 (Vernesh TP) You know what? Teachers are supposed to be teaching, they are supposed to be in class delivering content and that is the most important thing. Yet, there is also the administrative part that teachers find themselves doing and teachers ***are complaining*** *about it. It is just too much and draining. The curriculum is such that* ***demands a lot of time*** *to be devoted to admin work and that takes up much of the teaching time. If we as officials are going there to support teachers, then we expect their files to be ready and things like that actually take time to prepare. At times, I find that we* [DoE] ***make demands of unnecessary*** *paperwork rather than giving the teachers enough time to dedicate to their teaching.*

In this statement, Vernesh discussed the demands of bureaucratic compliance. He understood that teachers had to bear the brunt of administrative compliance. Vernesh knows that this demand for administrative compliance requires time and effort. Time and effort are valuable resources in the teacher's work life, yet remain in limited supply. Policy expects that teachers will use their time meaningfully, yet too many unrealistic administrative demands are being placed on teachers. In Vernesh's opinion, more time is needed to be spent on teaching rather than on administrative responsibilities.

In the PAM document section 3.1, the expectation is that *"each educator must be able to account for 1800 actual working hours per annum"* (p.8). In Section 3.2 the expectation is that *"each educator should work not less than seven hours per day during formal school time. And the seven hours includes breaks and the period when learners are not in school"* (p.8).

Section 3.3 The allocation of scheduled teaching time should be done in such a manner that it:

maximises the individual abilities of all educators; optimises teaching and learning at the institutional level; in general terms, the following may be considered as guidelines in determining the scheduled teaching time.

PRIMARY SCHOOL: Post Level 1 between 85% and 92% (Principals at Post Level 1 are expected to teach 100% of the scheduled teaching time). SECONDARY SCHOOL: Post Level 1 between 85% and 90%. Section 4.5 specifies the duties and responsibilities of the teacher (section A4, pg. A7-9).

The comments of the subject advisers about teachers, and the specifications and expectations of the PAM document, show how policy expectations conflicted with teachers' realities. From a policy perspective, teachers are expected to spend most of their allocated time on teaching. However, Vernesh noted that the reality for teachers, is that not all of that time is spent on teaching, because accountability demands cause teachers to spend some of their teaching time on filling forms and writing reports, which can compromise allocated for teaching.

Turner (2014) argues that people's experiences within institutional domains generates a legacy of emotions. In this case, because Vernesh views the policy demands as being unfair to teachers, he is inclined to empathy towards the teachers in this instance. I realised that Vernesh's feeling of empathy could have been precipitated by emotional understanding. Vernesh and other subject advisers are caught up in situations similar to teachers. The demand of administrative compliance was also a reality for the subject advisers. As described in the previous chapter where the subject advisers' work demands and expectations are presented, the subject advisers also found the demands of administrative compliance distressing. Therefore, Vernesh, being in the same situation, felt empathy for teachers.

Another important point to highlight from Vernesh's comment is that the "curriculum demands a lot of time to be spent on administrative work". This is because the teacher files and learner books are the primary basis for subject advisers' support to teachers, so those must be up to date, as evidence of compliance. Importantly, Vernesh's comment suggests that in reality, 'support' is more focused on monitoring teacher's compliance with policy directives.

I then realised that because subject advisers like Vernesh understand that monitoring is not support, yet often overshadows support, it affirmed the subject advisers' desire for more one on one interactions with teachers, rather than with files and learners. Subject advisers realise that what is often termed support is, in reality, monitoring.

5.4.4 Limited time for intervention

When I asked the officials "What do you think are the important aspects of a teacher's job as prescribed by policy that teachers should comply with?" They considered compliance with curriculum to be an important aspect of a teacher's job.

Elmarie acknowledged that teachers were often so focused on compliance that they had no time to support learners who were struggling.

56 (Elmarie UP) ***Teachers need to comply with policy*** *to ensure that they do curriculum coverage. They need to comply in terms of the core base assessment.* ***Even then, also support the learners. Now teachers don't get time to do that. There is very little time for intervention****. There is a lot they need to do to keep records of the learners and not enough time to support the learners in a meaningful way. So, for me as a subject adviser, I have to support teachers and they in turn have to support learners,* ***but there is still all this admin work to do in addition to all their teaching*** *that they still have to do and there's the pacing of the curriculum as well. So,* ***it is very demanding and incredibly frustrating to try and juggle all of that.***

Elmarie highlights many issues teachers are obliged to try and balance in order to do their jobs. For instance, not having enough time to comply with assessment demands yet needing to keep proper records and support learners. She understood that the prescriptive nature of CAPS and its pacing in some instances prevented teachers from being able to assist and support learners who required additional support. Consequently, because CAPS paces the

teachers and learners, teachers were unable to find enough time to assist and support those learners who have not fully understood the concepts before moving on to the next concept.

This inability to give adequate support and intervention to struggling learners presented a challenge for teachers. Teachers also needed to show that they were following the pace of the curriculum to prove to the subject advisers that they are complying with the curriculum, yet their reality was that they never had enough time to complete all that was required of them.

Elmarie understood teachers' dilemma because subject advisers also find themselves in a similar position, where they are unable to offer teachers meaningful support due to the nature and structure of their interactions with teachers.

Having been a teacher herself, and now only one step up on the hierarchy ladder, she understood the challenges of teachers' work through her own experiences. She felt frustrated at everything teachers had to juggle in their jobs, and because it resonated with her, she felt empathy towards teachers' plight.

5.4.5 Barriers to effective teaching

In addition to the challenges of teachers completing their administrative tasks timeously, Thulani highlighted language as another issue that posed a challenge in teachers' work.

30 (Thulani UP) There is a lot of admin work that takes away from the valuable time that could have been spent on the actual teaching and so a lot of time is spent on trivial things that don't really contribute to the teaching. Language is also a barrier. That is another thing we are experiencing whereby 90% of our learners come from townships and yet they are expected to learn everything in English.

For Thulani, in addition to the issue of too many administrative tasks, teachers having to teach in language unfamiliar to the learners added to the difficulty of the job especially in districts close to the townships. Thulani's point is that the difficulty arises because the language of instruction is English, and the learners from Grade Four upwards have to be taught in this unfamiliar language, without adequate consideration that they had previously been taught in their home language in Foundation Phase. Thus, he highlights the ever-present gap between policy expectation and the reality of schools and classrooms.

5.4.6 Resource malfunction - hamper teaching and learning

The subject advisers felt teachers faced a lot of challenges. For instance, although the introduction of technology was meant to aid teaching and learning, subject advisers like Vernesh observed that this was not always the case.

The introduction of smart boards and other technologies in the classroom was done in a bid to enhance the quality of teaching and learning in classrooms. The White Paper on e-Education (2004) states that "the introduction of ICTs to our schools is creating new ways for students and teachers to engage in information selection, gathering, sorting and analysis. In addition, ICTs have the potential to enhance the management and administrative capacity of schools" (Government Gazette No. 26734 p.6).

Although the intention is that ICT would enhance teaching and learning, in some instances the ICT resources malfunctioned, which became a hindrance to both teaching and learning, and with which teachers have to contend.

14 (Vernesh TP) From the ICT perspective, when devices malfunction and they are not attended to immediately, they can hamper teaching and learning, and it ***becomes difficult*** *and no-one can continue. I as the ICT specialist now have to see that those issues, when reported, are attended to promptly, so as to make sure that* ***teachers' frustrations*** *are minimal. Even with the new technology of smart boards and paperless classrooms, challenges abound.*

Vernesh's comments show that, in reality, the use of ICT in classrooms created new challenges for teachers, especially when devices malfunctioned. Teachers already had other challenges in the classroom, so the malfunction of a resource that is supposed to enhance their teaching added to their frustrations. In such instances, teachers and subject advisers had to ensure that teaching and learning went on in spite of the challenges that abound.

For the teachers who struggled with using the technology, a malfunctioning device only heightened their levels of stress. Vernesh understood the plight of the teachers, and he tried to ensure that repair or replacement of the malfunctioned device was attended to promptly.

In this case, Vernesh performs emotional labour as he ensures that teachers' frustrations are minimised, because he needs to 'manage their frustrations.' Additionally, because he understands the impact that any delay or disturbance of malfunctioning technology has on teachers, he is inclined to be empathetic towards teachers in those contexts.

5.4.7 Undisciplined learners

A noteworthy aspect of subject advisers' empathy for teaching conditions relates to the level of ill-discipline in some schools.

The South African Schools Act (SASA, Chapter 2, section 8) states that schools must establish "A code of conduct aimed at establishing a disciplined and purposeful school environment, dedicated to the improvement and maintenance of the quality of the learning process" (p.7-8). Chapter 2 section 10 of the SASA meanwhile clearly states that "no person may administer corporal punishment at a school to a learner. Any person who contravenes the above subsection is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a sentence, which could be imposed for assault (p.8).

In some schools, teachers had difficulty disciplining learners, who are both unruly and ill-disciplined. Phumla recalled her experience as a teacher who had to deal with unruly learners.

45 (Phumla UP) I have seen situations where students are being unruly and disruptive, yet the expectation is that the teachers will go and teach in those classrooms. They [teachers] *are expected to control the classrooms, and learners, then teach. How do you control learners who are stronger than you, and sometimes even carry weapons? Discipline issues are a huge problem in some schools. Sometimes* ***I feel happy to have left the classroom****, and it is for these kinds of reasons. You need extra grace and wisdom to be a teacher in these times. This generation is very low on respect and quick on violence and it is because we are not allowed to discipline them properly.*

Phumla understood how teachers who had discipline issues in their classroom felt, because as a teacher, she had similar experiences. When teachers are not able to do much in terms of learner discipline, especially in situations where the learners are armed and dangerous, this poses a risk for the teacher and other learners too. For Phumla, not having to deal with such situations of violence and ill-discipline made her happy to have left teaching. Her past experience also helped her empathise with teachers currently facing those situations.

Phumla emphasised that teachers having little control or influence over how the learners ought to be disciplined contributed to the ill-discipline. In the SASA, and the Employment of Educators Act, there is no mention of any recourse when a teacher is threatened by a learner. Yet there are paragraphs and sections contained in the documents that address the repercussions for teachers should they be unjust or intimidate a learner in any way.

This gap in the policy suggests that the issue of learner violence against teachers has not been adequately considered. However, this issue affects teachers, especially those in schools where ill-discipline and violence is rife.

5.4.8 Too much pressure on teachers

Elmarie added to the issue of ill-discipline in schools, indicating that the number of learners a teacher is responsible for also made controlling the class a challenge, thus frustrating teachers.

*16 (Elmarie UP) Most of the teachers are **very frustrated** because of what they undergo. The pressure is just too much. Remember, for some teachers it is different. The high school is different from the primary schools. In primary school they have two classes and they may be sitting with 30-40 learners or more in each class, or maybe a group of learners. But in high schools, all those learners from primary go to secondary schools, and the educator sits with 326 learners, depending on the teacher's subject specialty. That is one challenge. Teachers **are so frustrated**; they feel **so tired and burnt-out**. They are **burnt-out** and there's too much paper work - that is how they feel.*

*17. The other thing that they also feel, based on the conversations I have had with them, is about the unruliness and ill-discipline, the ill-discipline of the learners, and the teachers can't move. So, as much as they try their best, there's no win-win situation that is happening at the schools. The morale of the schools has dropped basically. There are certain schools that are of a very high standard, while other schools don't have that. The **other challenge** with that is, if you don't have a stern School Management Team, and a firm one, and one that is really moving and really leading, then **it is the school's turn to die**. So that teacher that is getting **demotivated** mostly can be the hardworking teacher that is now surrounded by **this negativity** of the school. There is nothing going on, the learners are not doing any work, there's late coming, the **list is endless**. So that is a challenge. Most teachers are **complaining** about ill-discipline, that there are no resources to teach and that the learners don't do their work.*

Elmarie here lists many of the challenges that teachers face, and how these challenges overwhelmed teachers, leaving some of them demotivated and burnt out. She highlighted some of the factors that contribute to undisciplined classrooms and learners. She noted that class size often led to disruptive behaviour by some learners. This disruptive behaviour gives rise to ill-discipline and, in more serious cases, to violence. The lack of discipline, in addition

to other issues such as lack of resources, leads to low morale of the school in general. She understood that the solution to the problems teachers faced lay beyond the teachers. She felt some teachers were burnt out and demotivated by the situations they encountered in schools.

Subject advisers like Elmarie and Phumla could see the reality of these teachers' conditions and were able to empathise with them. The subject advisers' empathetic dispositions emanate from an emotional understanding of teachers' situation. Having been teachers themselves, they were able to relate to the difficulties of being a good teacher in times of such challenge. The frustration of teachers thus became real for the subject advisers, because they too had lived through those experiences.

These issues of ill-discipline in schools resonated even more with the subject advisers in the underperforming district. Those in the top-performing district mentioned that teachers spoke about issues of discipline, but did not go into further detail to explain the phenomenon. This indicates that discipline or lack of it was a significant emotional issue for teachers and subject advisers in the under-performing district, but not for subject advisers and teachers in the top-performing district.

In summary, the subject advisers' understanding of the 'conditions and demands of teachers' work' elicited empathy, due to their emotional understanding of teachers' contexts. This was primarily because these subject advisers were once teachers themselves, and were at some point faced with similar challenges, so they were able to better understand how teachers felt because they too had felt the same way when they were teachers, and in some cases, were facing similar challenges in their current position within the educational hierarchy.

These subject advisers in some instances managed to adapt policy to make it a friendly and workable document and process for teachers. Unrealistic policy expectation, demands of administrative compliance, inadequacy or lack of resources, and ill-discipline in schools were the issues that teachers and subject advisers were forced to contend with. In spite of all of these challenges, teachers and subject advisers still had to make sure their jobs were done well, so that the system functions well. This placed an emotional burden on teachers, and subject advisers as well.

The feelings of empathy or sadness at teachers' plight and attitude of bearing the burden, expressed by these subject advisers indicated that subject advisers engage in emotional labour as they attempt to comply with the rules present in the Department. The mismatch between

policy expectation and reality of the classrooms, as well as some of the contradictions and omissions in policy documents such as the SASA and EEA led to subject advisers performing emotional labour (see Chapter 8 on emotional rules and labour).

The next section presents different dynamics to the subject adviser-teacher relationship. It shows a side of the relationship where no negativity resides

5.5 Appreciation from teachers

The subject advisers felt and expressed positive emotions when they felt that teachers valued and appreciated them.

Thus, this section refers to teachers being appreciative of the efforts of the subject advisers. There was a certain notable radiance that came over the subject advisers when they spoke about being appreciated by teachers.

Appreciation from teachers	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Positive responses	13	9	**22**
Negative responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**13**	**9**	**22**

Table 13:numerical representation of responses regarding 'appreciation from teachers.

The table above shows that subject advisers gave only positive responses when they felt teachers appreciated them. 'Teachers' appreciation' was the only sub-object that elicited exclusively positive responses. This indicates that subject advisers felt strongly positive about the times when teachers showed that they appreciated the work done by the subject advisers.

Accordingly, appreciation from teachers resonated well with the subject advisers, because when I questioned the subject advisers on what makes them pleased about supporting

teachers, their faces lit up and their responses showed how pleased they were when teachers appreciated their efforts.

5.5.1 Pleased with teachers' show of appreciation

*32 (Vernesh TP) For me, I **feel pleased** when I see that the teacher appreciates what we are giving them. It makes you **feel pleased** and you say, actually "they see value in what I am doing".*

32 (*Grace TP) When I see that my intervention is helping the teacher in policy implementation, I feel really good. When teachers see me and say 'oh, that intervention has helped me', it takes me to **a happy place**. I **feel really good** and I know how good it is to have someone who helps you achieve. So that **motivates** me to really do my best when it comes to supporting teachers*.

*32 (Thandi TP) **laughs… I get a spring in my step** when a teacher says to me 'oh, thank you for so and so, it has really made my job easier'. A teacher once told me I was a life saver. I promise you, for weeks I was so high with energy. It just makes you **feel good** when they appreciate you, even if it doesn't happen enough…* [laughs].

Vernesh, Grace, and Thandi's comments indicate that the subject advisers' sense of value was tied to teachers acknowledging their efforts. The subject advisers talked about how happy and pleased they felt when teachers openly acknowledged and showed appreciation. Grace said, "it takes me to a happy place and motivates me to really do my best."

5.5.2 Positive impact on teachers and teaching

This feeling of hope and satisfaction as expressed by the subject advisers relates to Nussbaum's point that when people feel or perceive that they are seen as capable of good, they usually try to live up to that expectation (Nussbaum 2018, p. 218). Selwyn's comment below thus substantiates Nussbaum's point, because he said the teachers expressing their appreciation gave him the courage to persevere.

*39 (Selwyn UP) I **feel pleased** when I can see that the teacher has made an effort and worked with the intervention and it yields positive results. More than that, **I feel good** when they turn round and say, 'hey, thank you' for anything, it is that I or my colleagues have done for them. It tells me that I can make a difference, no matter how small. It also shows me that nothing is insignificant. It makes me **hopeful** that one day it will be alright. And it is moments like that,*

*that give me the **courage** to persevere. I think without those sorts of small moments, one may lose interest. In this job every glimmer of **hope** is huge. I never take anything for granted.*

Selwyn's comment showed that courage and hope are much needed emotions for subject advisers whose position in the hierarchy of the Department of Education placed them in situations where they had to bend over backwards to make sure that theirs and the teachers' jobs were done satisfactorily. In the light of this, I believe that hope becomes a motivating force that keeps the subject advisers going, where appreciation from teachers feeds that hope.

As Nussbaum points out, hope is crucial to the energetic pursuit of a difficult goal, and if the goal is a genuinely valuable one, then there is a powerful reason to embrace hope (p.210). It is because subject advisers need to act and work in a way that promotes genuinely valuable goals, that hope becomes an important and significant emotion in the lives of the subject advisers.

5.5.3 Happiness from teacher acknowledgement

For Wesley, engaging with teachers individually created room for teachers to confide in him and this made him and the teachers happy. He believes that it bred trust between him and the teachers, thereby making his work with them easier.

*27 (Wesley) When I engaged with teachers one-on-one, they did talk about everything, but more so about other issues. For instance, some will talk about the politics in the environment they are in and how it impacts them and the teaching and learning. So, they tend to feel like: 'if I offload to this person, he may give me a solution'. The teachers would **be happy** after talking to me and say, 'thank you giving a listening ear to my issues', and I too **would be happy** that the teachers are **happy** and that would make my job with them easier. It helps **breed trust** between us.*

Wesley's comment highlights the value of one-on-one interactions, and the importance of trust relationship between subject advisers and teachers.

5.5.4 Paving the way for teachers

While most of the other subject advisers liked teachers showing appreciation for what they (subject advisers) do, Elmarie was also grateful to be able to create opportunities for teachers to become leaders and possibly improve themselves.

47 (Elmarie UP) One quality of a good leader is being open to learning, and I think it's the best way where you give, where you give your teachers opportunities to also start coming in and to do the things that you need to do. You give them opportunities to become cluster leaders, giving them opportunities to lead. That is what I try to do.

For Elmarie, imbuing teachers with skills and opportunities that would help them further in their career path was significant.

Hope, gratitude, appreciation can lead to love. It is these sorts of feelings of positive emotions that Nussbaum (2018) says are a key to creating a facilitating environment in which fears can be allayed and democratic reciprocity can thrive.

In this section, I recognised that the subject advisers were not focusing on the ways in which some part of their work lives failed to meet their ideal, rather, they were focusing on the part that is great. In doing so, they could overcome some of the concerns and worries they have, such as their fear of not offering meaningful support to teachers or their fear of not contributing meaningfully to the system as a whole. Their comments suggest that these subject advisers have embraced hope that their jobs can get better and teachers will find value in the work that they are performing as subject advisers. Therefore, teachers' gratitude and recognition sustain the hope and efforts of subject advisers in performing their duties.

5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the thoughts and feelings of subject advisers towards teachers. Because subject advisers work closely with them, 'Teachers' are stipulated a key object of the subject advisers' emotions. The subject advisers' perception of teachers' attitude as presented, showed that the subject advisers felt that teachers had primarily negative attitudes towards policy directives, use and management of resources; and sometimes even towards the subject advisers themselves.

The subject advisers were mostly frustrated by the teachers' negative attitude towards recommendations, use of resources, and even the subject advisers themselves. This is because they understood that teachers' performance had implications for their own performance management (from Chapter 4). Thus, they felt teachers' attitude impacted the effectiveness and efficacy of teachers' own output, consequently impacting the subject advisers. The subject advisers understood that their performance would be evaluated based on teachers'

performance, therefore if teachers were not performing well, this also suggested that subject advisers were not doing their jobs well.

However, it was noteworthy that the subject advisers realised that their own attitudes towards teachers in some ways determined teachers' attitudes towards them. This suggests that teachers' attitudes may also be a consequence of subject advisers' own approach and attitude towards teachers. In addition, I think the rules of engagement of interacting mainly with teacher files and learner books, the frequency of the interaction with teachers also contributed to the negative perceptions the subject advisers had about teachers' attitude, because those rules sometimes complicated the interaction subject advisers had with teachers. The rules of engagement with teachers affected teachers and subject advisers alike.

The 'rules of engagement with teachers' show that, from the onset, policy expectation about how teachers and subject advisers ought to interact created difficulties that possibly led to teachers' negative attitude. Additionally, variations and contradictions between policy documents put subject advisers in difficult position, even before they arrived at schools to support teachers.

The emotions expressed by the subject advisers ranged from sadness and frustration at their perceptions of teachers' attitude, to feelings of empathy when it came to the 'conditions and demands of teachers' work'. The subject advisers, having been teachers themselves, understood some of the difficult conditions and demands with which teachers were faced. Their previous experiences thus made them more empathetic to teachers' plight. The reason for this shift in emotions can be attributed to the subject advisers' emotional understanding of the difficult contexts and conditions within which teachers work. Yet, they also understood that policy expected teachers to give their best, in spite of the difficulties teachers encountered in their work.

Additionally, because subject advisers act as a buffer between policy and teachers, they were caught in the web of mismatch between policy expectation and reality. Therefore, subject advisers are burdened not only administratively, but also emotionally, as they perform their duties, thereby giving rise to emotional labour.

Eventually, when teachers are able to see and acknowledge the role that subject advisers play in trying to make their work lives more manageable, they become appreciative of the subject advisers and their efforts. The subject advisers' perceptions of that shift in the teachers'

attitude from negative to positive gave the subject advisers hope, courage, and impetus to continue to do their jobs and possibly even love their jobs.

In the next chapter, I will present subject advisers' emotions in relation to other people who in one way or another influence their interaction with teachers, by presenting and unpacking their emotions in relation to 'influential others'.

CHAPTER SIX

SUBJECT ADVISERS' STRONGLY EXPRESSED EMOTIONS ABOUT 'INFLUENTIAL OTHERS'

6.1 Introduction

This third data chapter presents the subject advisers strongly expressed emotions about those I have termed 'influential others'. Influential others are those whose actions or inactions have an impact on the job of the subject advisers through their interaction with teachers. These 'influential others' from the subject advisers' perspective have a negative influence on teachers' work, and thus have negative effect on their own work. For this reason, 'influential others' in this study are the teacher unions, on the one hand, and school leadership i.e., principals and heads of departments on the other. The reason is that these groups of people do not work with subject advisers in the department offices, and yet they have significant influence on the outcome of subject advisers' interaction with teachers, being in a position of having some power over teachers. 'Influential others' elicited only negative responses from subject advisers.

When constructing the conceptual framework, I had anticipated subject advisers' relationships with policy (Department)with teachers (Teachers) and with the educational purpose, vision and value of their work (Self) would be the expected 'objects' of their emotions. However, it was interesting for me to see that other people whom the subject advisers encounter in their work (Influential others) were also a common 'object' of their emotions.

I organised and presented the previous data chapters according to the 'object', with the greatest number of responses. However, in this chapter (6) and the next (7), I have done it differently. I have presented the subject advisers strongly expressed emotions about 'influential others' before 'self', in spite of the fact that 'self' had more responses than influential other. Holden (2011) notes, the relationship with ones' self, sets the tone for any other relationship they have. So, I felt that presenting the data about self in the last data presentation chapter will make it an introspective chapter that leads into the analysis chapters.

Therefore, this chapter presents the subject advisers' reflections about 'Influential Others' whose power positions influenced teachers and thus also impacted subject advisers' own work. I classified the issues raised as

- perception of influence of teacher unions;
- perception of attitudes of principals; and
- perception of attitudes of heads of department (HOD) at schools.

So, these became the sub-objects according to which the subject advisers strongly expressed negative emotions about 'influential others'.

Table 14: Table showing subject advisers' responses related to 'Influential others'

Sub-object	Total number of responses	Negative responses	Positive responses	Neutral responses	Responses from top-performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)
Perception of influence of Teacher Unions	**41**	41	0	0	Negative = 20 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0	Negative = 21 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0
Perception of attitude of School Principals	**18**	18	0	0	Negative = 9 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0	Negative = 9 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0
Perception of attitude of HODs	**18**	18	0	0	Negative = 9 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0	Negative = 9 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0
Total number of responses	**77**	**77**	**0**	**0**	Total Negative = 39 Total Positive = 0 Total Neutral = 0 **Final Total** = 39	Total Negative = 38 Total Positive = 0 Total Neutral = 0 **Final Total** = 38

Table 14: numerical representation of the responses about 'Influential Others'

Table 14 above indicates that, in general, the subject advisers had only strongly expressed negative emotions about teacher unions, school principals and heads of department, also

referred to herein as ‘Influential others’. There was no significant difference between the responses of subject advisers from under-performing or top-performing districts, as indicated by the similar number of responses from subject advisers in both districts.

6.2 Negative perception of the influence of teacher unions

Trade unions are active participants in the South African workforce, in the sense that every sector of the workforce has trade unions affiliated to it, where teachers are affiliated to different teacher unions. In the interactions between the subject advisers, schools and teachers, the subject advisers felt that teacher unions negatively influenced their interactions with teachers. As the table below indicates, the subject advisers gave no positive responses regarding teacher unions and their influence on teachers.

Perception of influence of teacher unions	Responses from top-performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Positive responses	20	21	**41**
Negative responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**20**	**21**	**41**

Table 15: numerical representation of responses regarding the perception of influence of teacher unions

The ELRC collective agreement to better understand the contexts in which the subject advisers interact with or encounter teacher union representatives as they carry out their duties does not present any information that suggests that subject advisers directly interact with union representatives. However, the ELRC[5] states that the responsibilities of the CES,[6] DCES,[7] and SES[8] in developing others, are to: “promote constructive employee relations”,

[5] Education Labour Relations Council.
[6] Chief Education Specialist.
[7] Deputy Chief Education Specialist.
[8] Subject Education Specialist.

and also to “provide support on the interpretation of policies and collective agreements” (p.21).

Subject advisers do not interact directly with union representatives, but they are required to ensure that the agreements reached collectively between the teacher unions and the Department of Education are adhered to.

During the interviews, when I asked the subject advisers what makes their jobs difficult, they explained that sometimes, teachers were resistant to their recommendations, because they had the backing of the union.

6.2 1 Our work with teachers becomes difficult with union interference

32 (*Grace TP) Our work with teachers becomes difficult with union interference. The unions make it seem as if we just want to victimise the teachers, like we are there to punish them or something. It makes no sense at all. Because all we are doing is to make sure that the system works right. But when they* [unions] *are telling the teachers what to do and what not to do, it seems as if the officials and the system just want to punish teachers and make them scape goats. Yes, unions have that much power* [smirks and shakes her head in disappointment. And hisses]

Grace expressed her disappointment at the false impression teachers have of subject advisers due to the influence and impressions created by unions. It annoyed her that union interference in their relationship with teachers created disharmony. Her statement below indicates that union interference makes her job as a subject adviser more difficult.

33 (Grace TP) Union influence complicates the relationship between us and teachers because they make it seem like we are the devil seeking whom to devour. It really makes our jobs tougher.

6.2.2 Teachers in a way use the unions to back up their wrong doing

Other subject advisers also shared similar views as Grace, regarding the influence of teacher unions in their interaction with teachers.

36 (Vernesh TP) Getting teachers to comply with policy can be so, so difficult. You know teachers belong to different unions and they in a way use the union to back up their wrong-

doing. So, it is very challenging. Even when you give instructions that are reasonable, it ***becomes difficult*** *to get them to comply with the instructions because of union influence.*

Vernesh bemoans the difficulty arising when teachers hide behind the influence of the union to justify what he perceives to be wrong-doing. He felt that teachers deliberately disregarded or rebuffed instructions from the subject advisers, because they know that teachers have the backing of the union.

Devin also expressed his concern about union influence in the interaction with teachers.

16 (Devin TP) You see, traditionally, unions don't want us in classrooms observing teachers. So, it is a union influence. It has never happened in my ten years as a subject adviser that a teacher would invite me. Of course, we can only go to the classroom to observe if we are invited. But as far as it stands, the unions are very clear to say we do not visit classrooms as per the collective agreement, the Performance Management and Developments [PMDs], *the Integrated Quality Management Systems* [IQMS]. *They only allow a HOD and a peer to observe the teacher in the classroom. We as outsiders cannot.*

The last sentence of Devin comment is significant, in the sense that Devin understands that teachers and union officials see subject advisers as outsiders, who may not have the best interests of the teacher at heart. Therefore, unions are inclined to protect teachers from this external threat. HODs are less threatening to the teacher, where the unions will allow them to visit teachers in the classroom. Devin's comment provides a context for the influence of unions in the relation between subject advisers and teachers.

6.2.3 The unions make it seem like we are playing for opposing teams and that is what frustrates me

Phumla was also frustrated at union interference in the relationship with teachers.

16 (Phumla UP) Unions give us ***big headache*** *with teachers. They give teachers the backbone to be incompetent sometimes. Because the teachers know the unions will back them. The unions make it seem like we are playing for opposing teams and that is what* ***frustrates*** *me. We are working for the learner. Ok, well, we and the teachers - I don't know about the unions, and in whose best interest they are working. But anyway, that is a topic for another day.*

Phumla was particularly frustrated by her perception that the unions make subject advisers and teachers out to be rivals, rather than collaborators. Phumla understood that teachers and subject advisers ought to work together in the best interest of their learners. Therefore, when unions through their interference made it seem otherwise, she felt frustrated.

6.2.4 So misinformation, bad influence from other circles, like the unions, also causes that kind of tension between teachers and subject advisers

52 (Wesley UP) But again, there is misinformation about what the subject adviser's role is to the teacher. So, if teachers are misinformed, they will not understand. They will think, 'the subject advisers are here just to instruct us, to monitor, report us and talk bad about us in the corners at the district level. We are being blackmailed as teachers; this is too much for us.' So, it's like subject advisers are like a ton of bricks hurling at them and on their heads like that [gestures like something falling on his head]. *So, misinformation, bad influence from other circles, like the unions, also causes that kind of tension between teachers and subject advisers.*

Wesley attributed the tension between teachers and subject advisers to the misinformation and bad faith in which unions at times partake.

In summary, subject advisers perceive union interference to negatively affects their relationship with teachers. Advisers prefer their relationship with teachers to be collaborative relationship, rather than contentious. Therefore, they feel frustrated, disappointed, and alienated when union influence threatens their relationship with teachers.

Just like unions, the attitudes of School Principals and HODs also elicited negative emotions from the subject advisers. The next section presents subject advisers' thoughts and reflections about the attitude of school principals.

6.3 Negative perception of the attitude of school principals

This theme refers to the subject advisers' perceptions of the attitudes of school principals and how they interact with principals during school visits.

I read through a few policy documents to determine what the expectations are with regards to subject advisers and school principals. The policy on the South African Standard for Principalship (SASP) states that

> Principals working with school management teams (SMTs), school governing bodies (SGBs), representative councils of learners (RCLs) and wider communities must effectively manage, support and promote the best quality teaching and learning, the purpose of which is to enable learners to attain the highest levels of achievement for their own good, the good of their community, and the good of the country as a whole (p.5).

The SASP policy further states that "The principal has the overall responsibility for leading and managing the school and is accountable to the employer (Provincial Head of Department) and, through the SGB, to the school community" (p.10). This policy makes no mention of any co-operation with subject advisers.

However, in terms of governance and support, the Guideline for Office Based Educators stipulate that "subject advisers provide guidance to school principals, school management team (principals, deputy principals and heads of department) and governing bodies (SGB)" (p.18). This policy stipulation demands that subject advisers work closely with school principals, SMTs and SGBs. The discrepancy between the policy expectation of principals and subject advisers suggests a policy problem, in the sense that, while subject advisers are told to give guidance to school principals, principals have no obligation to subject advisers.

The data presented in this section suggests that subject advisers may not have pleasant relationships with school principals, as their responses regarding their perception of school principals were all negative.

Table 16 showing number of responses regarding attitude of school principals

Perception of attitude of school principals	Responses from top-performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	9	9	**18**
Positive responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**9**	**9**	**18**

Table 16: numerical representation of responses regarding 'attitude of school principals'

The table shows that the subject advisers had only strongly expressed negative emotions when they talked about the attitude of school principals, they interacted with during school visits. This may suggest that subject advisers do not have a healthy work relationship with school principals.

There was no difference between the responses of subject advisers in both districts.

When I asked the subject advisers about school visits they particularly enjoyed or found difficult, they mention the attitude of some school principals to be one of the difficulties they encountered.

6.3 1 Even principals see us as fault finders

The subject advisers felt that school principals contributed to the difficulty of supporting teachers.

21 (Vernesh TP) Not only do we deal with teachers seeing us as fault finders, which is something that is not ok, even the principals go to the extent of asking you what you want here [in the schools], *because they have no challenges. They don't see support as something that is broad; the principals feel that if they have no challenges, therefore they don't need support, so we cannot support them. Yes, you are right, they don't see monitoring as support, so they don't see it as something that has to happen throughout. Their perception is that they would want to be supported when they have challenges, so they don't want support if they have no challenges. They don't see any reason why the subject adviser should check usage or check out how they are doing things or monitor their day-to-day operations, they don't see that.*

Vernesh's comment above indicates his perception that principals contribute to the problematic perception of subject advisers as faultfinders. He felt that principals took an accusatory stance and would refuse support. However, his statement "they don't see monitoring as support" confirms that in reality subject advisers conflate monitoring and support. In the sense that subject advisers consider monitoring to be support, recipients [teachers and school principals] recognise and understand that monitoring and support are very distinct, and cannot be considered to be the same.

6.3.2 "Sometimes the principals also contribute to the communication problem"

37 (Vernesh TP) Sometimes the principals also contribute to the communication problem. Yes, there are powers across levels, because at times you will find a principal where information is centred around him, and information is not disseminated to teachers, so when you call the teachers for a particular submission, they will tell you they didn't receive this particular information.

36 (Selwyn UP) Some of the principals also make our lives difficult. I find that sometimes, when I give information to the principal to pass on to the teachers, that information or communication never gets to the teachers. Eish! I just get upset. It's just really embarrassing to find out that the teacher is unaware of what you are talking about because they didn't receive the information.

Vernesh and Selwyn found it distressing that some principals contributed to the difficulty of their job by withholding important information to be passed on to teachers.

The SASP policy stipulates that principals need "to ensure that departmental circulars and other information received which affect members of the staff are brought to their attention as soon as possible and are stored in an accessible manner. It also requires principals "to handle all correspondence received at the school" (p.33). The stipulations of the SASP policy show that it is not out of place for the subject advisers to expect principals to pass on information and communication to teachers.

In summary, the data presented in this section suggests that the relationship between subject advisers, principals is problematic. Subject advisers believe that principals are concerned with protecting the teachers from outsiders, like subject advisers, who are seen as faultfinders.

6.4 Negative perception of the attitude of Heads of Department (HoDs)

Perception of attitude of Heads of Department	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from underperforming district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Negative responses	9	9	**18**
Positive responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**9**	**9**	**18**

Table 17: numerical representation of responses regarding attitude of HODs

The table shows that the subject advisers had only strongly expressed negative emotions when they talked about the attitude of the HoDs they interacted with during school visits. This suggests that subject advisers do not have a healthy work relationship with HoDs.

There was no difference between the number of responses of subject adviser in both districts.

When asked about school visits that they may have either enjoyed or found difficult, subject advisers made mention of the attitude of some HODs as one of the difficulties they encountered.

6.4 1 HODs are not managing the curriculum like they are supposed to

12 (Elmarie UP) The problem is the HOD's are not managing the curriculum like they are supposed to. When we have meetings with them, they don't have their documents in order.

Elmarie's comment was concerned about HODs being lax in performing their duties. I read through the Personnel Administrative Management (PAM) document to find what exactly HODs are supposed to do.

According to the PAM document, HODs are required:

- To be in charge of a subject, learning area or phase;
- To jointly develop the policy for that department;
- To co-ordinate evaluation/assessment, homework, written assignments, etc. of all the subjects in that department;
- To provide and co-ordinate guidance:

- on the latest ideas on approaches to the subject, method, techniques, evaluation, aids, etc. in their field, and effectively conveying these to the staff members concerned;
- on syllabi, schemes of work, homework, practical work, remedial work, etc.;
- to inexperienced staff members; and
- on the educational welfare of learners in the department (p.27).

From Elmarie's perspective, HODs were not performing their duties satisfactorily and her evidence for that is HOD's not coming to meetings with their documents and reports.

Wesley also commented on HODs not performing their duties properly.

*30 (Wesley UP) Well, what **I did not enjoy**, is when one has to call a teacher to order. Issues of discipline. There are teachers that are not doing well at all. Simply because at the school where they work there is less attention paid to managerial or curriculum or instructional delivery leadership. So, the people like the HOD are not playing their role to assist the teacher perform, by supervising. When teachers are not monitored, nothing gets done properly. So, who suffers is the learner, because whatever we are doing is to enable, to help the teacher reach that learner better. So that the results, the transmission of knowledge, skill and values by that child, is one of the best. You are selling your skills to the department, but your skills should be reflected through the learner achievement. So, calling the teacher to order as a subject adviser, and seeing the weaknesses of the internal accountability was one of things that I did not enjoy.*

Wesley's comment above attributes some of the gap in teachers' performance to gaps in an HOD's own performance, suggesting that the lack of performance of an HOD has a knock-on effect on teachers' own performance. This he refers to as the weakness of internal accountability, which he as a subject adviser does not enjoy, as it requires him to then call the teacher to order.

6.4 2 HODs not giving teachers the onsite support they need

Devin also thought HODs did not do their jobs well.

*14 (Devin TP) To be honest with you, **the greatest problem** we have, particularly with primary schools, the **greatest challenge** is that teachers are not getting the onsite support*

they need from their HOD. We understand why the HODs are not providing the necessary support: it is because they are not subject specialists. They are grade heads. For example, they are heading economic management science (EMS), social science, languages, math and science, yet the HOD is only specialized in vernacular. As a result, teachers will ***not have trust*** *for that particular HOD. But with us, because we are subject specialists, there is trust that we are able to offer more assistance than the HOD, because we know our story.*

Devin started off by pointing out that HODs were not doing their jobs well, yet he conceded that HODs often did not have the right qualifications and specialisms to be able to adequately support teachers. In this case, he is not laying blame like Elmarie was. Rather, he is pointing to the inadequacies of the HoDs. He explains that it is the structural context of the work that is to blame, where HoDs are grade heads, not subject specialists, and by definition they are unable to offer subject knowledge support.

The last sentence of Devin's comment seems to suggest that teachers trust subject advisers more than HODs, due to their (subject adviser's) competence.

Thulani, like Devin, was also concerned about the lack of support teachers experienced as a result of what he understood to be unqualified HODs.

26 (Thulani UP) One of the things I experienced from teachers especially in the primary schools is that they are not getting sufficient help from their superiors like their HOD. And that is because, in primary schools, the HOD is the head of different subjects, and they are not even qualified in some of those subjects. In that case, when I go to the school, I only help with my subject area, so then I capacitate that HOD on my subject. If the HOD is not a math expert, I won't expect the HOD to moderate the task, I won't expect the HOD to comment on the analysis and the level of difficulty of that question paper or task, because he is not qualified in that area. And that is where we will need other people to be able to interpret what is given to the learner. But that is the job of the HOD (to moderate tasks and so on); but because it is not being done well by the HOD, the effect is that, and now we are not getting what the curriculum deserves. Because something is lacking there.

Although Thulani was not explicitly complaining, his tone suggested that he was nonplussed when conveying the difficulty that the HOD's lack of subject knowledge created for teachers, the curriculum and himself.

6.4.3 HOD incompetence

*35 (Devin TP) I get sad when I see that no teaching has been happening and **it makes me sad**, and I wonder why I as the outsider am the one picking this up, I wonder where the HOD is and why they have not picked up on it before I came. There is someone like the HOD who is supposed to have detected the issue, so is it a case of 'the teacher is at school but not in class or what? Did the HOD not see this?*

Devin was upset and saddened by what he considered evidence of HOD's incompetence. He knows that, HODs are required "to co-operate with colleagues in order to maintain a good teaching standard and progress among the learners and to foster administrative efficiency within the department and the school" (PAM document, p.38). Therefore, Devin was saddened when during school visit, he found a teacher had not been teaching and the HOD had not investigated and resolved the issue before the arrival of the subject adviser. His expectation is that such matters should have been resolved and addressed internally before the arrival of an outsider.

I noted that this was the second time Devin had referred to himself, and by extension other subject advisers, as outsiders. This classification would appear to derive from assumptions and beliefs that subject advisers have about how teachers and others in the schools perceive the officials to be. There seems to be an administrative assumption regarding who is responsible for fixing the problem. So, Devin considering and referring himself and his colleagues as outsiders may be interpreted to indicate an emotional self-defence mechanism as a way of protecting himself. In this manner, subject advisers appear to be developing an emotional self-protection mechanism, which over time develops into an emotional rule that they are not responsible when things go awry in the classroom.

6.4.4 Untrustworthy HODs

*37 (Devin TP) In my experience, I have learnt that when it comes to findings in the schools, it is good to escalate the matter so that everybody knows what your findings are. So that it becomes public knowledge in the school, then maybe it will yield results. More often than not, if you make negative findings, for lack of a better way of putting it, and you relate it only to the HOD, the HOD also wants to protect himself, they won't go to the deputy or principal to say: 'I have found the following, and I cannot manage this teacher...' So having realised that, I immediately make it public in the school reporting line to say: deputy principal, these are our findings. Here is your copy. If **you don't trust me**, here are the learner books. Go to the*

principal, here is the evidence. That way, everybody in the School Management Team (SMT) ends up knowing. So that is how I deal with such situations. So, if I put myself in the forefront, it won't help, because I am there today and gone for three months and the teacher remains doing the same thing. So maybe working on their conscience, it is mine is to say, let me make it public knowledge because this is a public institution. It also forces everybody to be accountable, but in a way that they are not exposed and they now compel the teacher to do something about the issue.

Devin's comment above indicates the dynamics between subject advisers (outsiders) and HODs and SMTs (insiders). Although in the literal sense, subject advisers are not part of the school leadership, the nuanced undertone of being unwanted in the use of that word "outsiders" to describe themselves may indicate a contentious relationship between subject advisers and school leadership.

Devin described a scenario that suggests that, as a subject adviser, he will try to find ways to force the school to take notice of what is not working or to stop the ignoring the incompetence, by making public his findings in an effort to "work on their conscience". The use of this phrase implies that, under normal circumstances, HODs will attempt to sweep negative findings under the carpet. Thus, Devin "in his experience" exposes the findings, to mitigate such deception, in the hopes that making public the findings will compel the HODs and SMTs to action.

In summary, one commonality in the comments of the subject advisers about Heads of Department is that some of the HODs are unqualified to give teachers the kind of subject-specific support they require. It was also evident from Devin's comments that subject advisers are considered outsiders, suggesting that the relationship between subject advisers and school leadership may be unhealthy.

6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by presenting subject advisers' thoughts and reflections about the 3rd key 'object' namely, 'influential others'. Three themes emerged: 'subject advisers' perception of the influence of teacher unions and subject advisers' perception of the attitude of school principals and subject advisers' perception of the attitude of HODs. Remarkably, only negative responses were elicited by these themes. The subject advisers expressed lack of

trust, sadness, and frustration regarding these influential others. Thus, when the direct or indirect relations and interactions with the 'influential others' negatively impacted their jobs, they expressed their emotions in negative terms, such as saddened, disappointment, and frustration.

In particular, the subject advisers felt that teacher unions complicated their relationship with teachers by creating the impression that subject advisers were teachers' rivals, rather than collaborators. The subject advisers also felt that teachers' incompetence, backed by union support, was unacceptable. The impressions subject advisers have of teacher unions thus made them feel like teacher unions influence made a subject adviser's job that much more difficult.

The comments of the subject advisers about school principals and HODs suggested that there is an unhealthy dynamic between subject advisers and school leadership, as it seemed that subject advisers were considered outsiders, from whom teachers must be protected. The subject advisers felt school principals and HODs made their jobs difficult, because their perception was that HODs incompetence complicated their jobs and the accusatory attitude of school principals towards subject advisers sometimes made it difficult to support schools and teachers effectively.

In conclusion, the data presented in this section indicates that subject advisers' interaction and relationship with teachers is significantly influenced by teacher unions and school leadership. Advisers were not pleased about this. Importantly, the subject advisers understand it to be important to have a positive healthy collaborative relationship with teachers, where as a result, other role players tried to negatively influence teachers knowing that emotionally, they know these 'influential others' impact their (subject advisers') flourishing.

As Nussbaum (2013) argues, "the ones who will stir deep emotions in us are the ones to whom we are somehow connected through our imagining of a valuable life, or circle of concern" (p.11). The relationship with others, be it the 'Department', 'Teachers' or 'Influential Others' is significant for subject advisers work and flourishing. Importantly, the relationship with 'Self' holds even greater significance, as it determines how well or not these other interactions will go.

The next chapter presents data about 'self" as an 'object' of subject advisers' emotions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUBJECT ADVISERS STRONGLY EXPRESSED EMOTIONS ABOUT 'SELF'

7.1 Introduction

Palmer (1998) states that "teaching like any truly human activity, emerges from one's inwardness for better or for worse" (p.2). This chapter considers the self that advises, supports and monitors teachers.

The subject advisers' thoughts and reflections about their self are presented as the last data presentation chapter, providing a good gateway into the data analysis chapters. Along with having looked at the other 'objects' of their emotions like the 'Department of Education', 'Teachers' and 'Influential Others', is appropriate in order to present a holistic view to look inwards to see how these objects affect the subject advisers personally.

Coding the data revealed that the subject advisers expressed strong emotions about how their jobs affected them as individuals. This came as no surprise, as in the conceptual framework, I had anticipated that one of the objects of the subject advisers' emotions would be the educational value and the purpose of their work. This is because, as Palmer puts it, the most practical thing we can achieve in any kind of work is insight into what is happening inside of us as we do it. (Palmer 1998, p.5). Therefore, I expected the subject advisers to emotionally express how their work made them feel on a personal level.

There were 81 responses coded strongly expressed emotion (SEE) 'Self'. As I was coding the data, I realised that the subject advisers' emotions about 'Self' could be further sub-coded into sub-objects within 'Self', at which their emotions were directed. These received the following classification:

- fulfilling personal moral mandate
- recognition of personal effort
- burden of power

These became the sub-objects I used to describe the subject advisers' emotions about themselves, be these positive, negative, or neutral.

This table presents the subject advisers' responses about 'Self'.

Sub-object	Total number of responses	Positive responses	Negative responses	Neutral responses	Responses from top performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)
Fulfilling personal moral mandate	**41**	41	0	0	Positive = 24 Negative = 0 Neutral = 0	Positive = 17 Negative = 0 Neutral = 0
Recognition of personal effort	**31**	28	3	0	Positive = 13 Negative = 2 Neutral = 0	Positive = 15 Negative = 1 Neutral = 0
Burden of power	**9**	0	9	0	Negative = 1 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0	Negative = 8 Positive = 0 Neutral = 0
Total number of responses	**81**	**69**	**12**	**0**	Total Positive = 37 Total Negative = 3 **Final Total = 40**	Total Positive = 32 Total Negative = 9 **Final Total = 41**

Table 18: numerical representation of responses about 'Self.'

The table above indicates that, in general, the subject advisers felt mostly positive about their self. Their emotions ranged from discomfort to love, but predominantly, the subject advisers were happy about themselves as their performed their duties.

Fulfilling their personal moral mandate elicited only positive responses, and having their personal efforts recognised elicited mostly positive responses. This suggest a sense of fulfilment and pride, knowing that the educational purpose, vision and value of their work are realised and recognised. In the instances where negativity was expressed, it was the response to the effect of having power.

We often assume that having power makes a person feel positive and in control. In this case, some of the responses of the subject advisers showed that power can sometimes have negative effects. This 'burden of power', will be explored in more detail in section 7.4. of this chapter. I found no emotionally neutral responses about the object 'Self.'

It is worth noting that in this chapter, there are some instances where no policies or documents have been included to confirm or refute the position of the subject advisers. This is because the comments in this section are based on the personal feelings of subject advisers about their selves, in relation to their job. Thus, no policy or document can capture how subject advisers feel about their jobs.

I begin the story of 'Self' by presenting their thoughts and reflections about fulfilling their personal moral mandate.

7.2 Fulfilling personal moral mandate

Policy expects subject advisers to be subject specialists, and to provide all-round support to schools, and teachers in particular. Among other responsibilities, subject advisers are expected to be good leaders and to "provide an environment that creates and fosters commitment, confidence and collegiality among colleagues and teachers" (PAM, p. 45).

The subject advisers have their own personal goals and mandates they expect to fulfil in congruence with those stipulated by policy. Primarily, the subject advisers sought to make a meaningful difference in the system, as they often spoke about wanting to make a meaningful contribution to the education system. It was this desire to make "meaningful contribution" that fundamentally motivated most of them to become district officials and subject advisers in particular.

From their perspective, it was particularly important for them to feel that they had in some way achieved their moral mandate, as this was tied to their sense of job fulfilment. The advisers had the belief that, having been teachers who have a vocation to care and make a difference, the onus lies with them to make sure that those teachers still in the classroom are supported and assisted effectively to be able to help and empower the learners with meaningful knowledge.

Table 19 below shows the number of responses that related to this sub-object 'fulfilling personal moral mandate'

Fulfilling personal moral mandate	Responses from top-performing district (four subject advisers)	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Positive responses	24	17	**41**
Negative responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**24**	**17**	**41**

Table 19 numerical representation of responses regarding fulfilling personal moral mandate

In this section, I used the responses coded Strongly-expressed Emotion (SEE) about Self (moral mandate). Significantly, the desire to fulfil their personal moral mandate elicited only positive responses from the subject advisers. This suggests that the subject advisers found that being able to fulfil their personal goals was important to their flourishing. Fulfilling their moral mandate transcended the notion of simply doing one's job. Instead, this resonated on a deeper level for them, as the subject adviser' motivation to press on, even in the face of challenges that sometimes would appear overwhelming, was tied to fulfilling this personal moral mandate. So, the subject advisers spoke about how contributing positively to the education system made them feel.

7.2.1 I think I have always had a passion for making a difference in the education system
When I asked what motivated them to become district officials, all the subject advisers noted that the desire to make a significant and positive difference in the system motivated them to become officials.

6 (Devin TP) "*Being with teachers is a nice thing. You know I am a teacher so every time I meet with teachers, I feel like I just joined the district yesterday… Laughs… So, it is exciting for me to be meeting with teachers.*

21 (*Elmarie UP) I think I have* ***always had a passion*** *for making a difference in the education system and in a way, I felt that moving up* [career ladder] *will allow me accomplish that. I have been a teacher. Don't get me wrong,* ***I loved*** *working with learners, but I always wanted a better challenge, so I wanted to do it with teachers. I said to myself: if I can get it right with my learners in class, because I used to get 100%, then… I thought, maybe I can do the same*

with teachers, and help other teachers with the skills I have. So that is why I became a subject adviser. Funny enough, this morning I was saying to myself, I never knew that being a subject adviser will be this challenging. There are a lot of challenges, but I am ***still proud*** *of what I do*.

The dominant emotion for Elmarie in the comment above is love and pride (in its positive sense). These feelings are elicited by her innate passion to see the education system as a whole be improved. She expresses a personal determination to improve the lives of teachers that goes beyond adhering to policy directives. The way she describes her motivation to become a subject adviser suggests that it was not about a position of power to oppress, but a position to be able to help teachers, to impart some of her knowledge and skills to other teachers, to share good practices that her experience of teaching had given her.

Elmarie is passionate about making a difference in the whole system, and realised the need for improvement not just with learning, but with teaching, therefore her desire to work with teachers. However, she noted that being a subject adviser was more challenging than she had anticipated.

In spite of the challenges, she is still "proud of what she does". For subject advisers like Elmarie, the desire to make a difference is paramount. Elmarie's innate desire is sustained by the positive emotions of love and pride, because she has an affinity for making a difference in the lives of teachers, and the education system in general, which pride comes from seeing that she makes a difference in the lives of teachers.

This innate desire to make a difference provides the energy to forge ahead despite the challenges. Love and pride provide the impetus to work and contribute meaningfully to the system. This gives credence to Nussbaum's (2015) suggestion that emotions directed at the nation and its goals are frequently of great help in getting people to think larger thoughts and recommit themselves to the greater good (p.3). Elmarie is on a mission to make the system better, thus helping to feed into the national goal of an improved education system that empowers the citizens.

For Wesley, love is the key part of teaching and a leading, if one is to succeed.

7.2.2 So approaching teachers, teaching and leading with love helps me be fulfilled and do a good job, and be better at what I am doing

*57 (Wesley UP) Martin Luther King talked about **power with love**, which according to him is more developmental and more constructive than power without love, which is dangerous and drains you emotionally like that. So, we are all teachers anyway: when you are a subject adviser, you are a teacher of the teachers; as a teacher, you are a teacher of the learners; and as a principal, you are a manager and a teacher as well. The one thing that binds you in all these positions is teaching and learning, curriculum delivery. That is what binds you, that is the pillar, the golden thread, the fibre that brings us together. That is the insight to say: whatever you do, life or your work will always throw challenges at you, because of changes that are always taking place. Then our interactions are driven by values. You have to be **committed to your work**, in order to be productive and gain meaning from what you are doing in life and also to appreciate what you have and the position you are in. So, approaching teachers, **teaching and leading with love** helps me be **fulfilled** and do a good job, and be better at what I am doing. I **have loved** every role I have had.*

For Wesley, who has had the position of teacher, subject adviser, and now school principal, he stated that the key to his fulfilment and success in his roles has been love. He explains that in spite of the challenges that come with the teaching, as a teacher must lead with love.

7.2.3 I want to make a difference to teachers and by extension to learners

For Grace, her motivation and desire for better quality teaching and learning also contribute to fulfilling her personal mandate.

*16 (Grace TP) You see, I **really love** helping teachers teach reading to their learners, and so, because I think I have what it takes to enable that, I want to make a difference to teachers, and by extension to learners. You see, I got this job by the special grace of God. I had wanted to get to a position where I could add more value. Not that I wasn't adding any value as a teacher. No. I just wanted to get to a position where I could really add more value on a bigger platform. From being a teacher, I became a subject adviser. I skipped the ranks, because God gave me this job and I am grateful. It was an answered prayer, so I have vowed to make sure that I don't disappoint in this position. So even when things get tough, I go back to the one (GOD) that gave me the job to ask for strength and for guidance. And he never fails to show me the way.*

Grace wanted to be in a position that would allow her to share her knowledge and experience with other teachers so as to improve the system. She attributed attaining that position to the help of a higher divine power. Grace come across as a woman in touch with her spirituality and uses it as a support to overcome the challenges of the job.

Grace's position was different in the sense that the impetus to do her job emanated from the feeling to gratitude to God for making her dream of "helping others from a bigger platform", come true. Grace felt the need to always make sure that she is doing her best, because for her the responsibility of supporting teachers is not just a policy demand that needs to be adhered to, but a divine calling and mandate that must be fulfilled.

Positive emotions like love, joy and pride have been the emotions expressed by Elmarie, Wesley and Grace.

7.2.4 When I have individual interactions with teachers, it really makes me feel good.
A substantial aspect of the subject advisers fulfilling their personal moral mandate was the need to make a meaningful difference and have an impact on the lives of teachers. This requires significant time and effort. It required more than just contact with learner books and teacher files. Vernesh made this clear when he said:

*39 (Vernesh TP) For me, when I have individual interactions with teachers, I **feel better** because I **feel like I am making a difference**. I can go deeper into what the person needs, and I am able to help them more. Yes, **I enjoy** the training sessions with teachers together, but it is with the individual interactions that I feel I have more impact. So, when I have individual interactions with teachers**, it really makes me feel good. (Smiles**)*

Vernesh's statement gives prominence to the value of human interaction in the quest to make education better. His comment suggests that, because there is not enough personal interaction with teachers, when these sorts of personal interactions do happen, they hold meaning and significance. Vernesh felt he was able to make more impact through personal interactions when they occur, and knowing that he made an impact made him feel good.

Vernesh's sense of satisfaction and happiness can be attributed to knowing that in some ways, he is able to achieve his personal goal of helping to make a difference in teachers' lives. Being able to access this moral reward is necessary if committed subject advisers like Vernesh are to continue doing good work with teachers.

Although Vernesh's comment highlights how rewarding it is to be able to make significant impact through individual interaction with teachers, he notes that his personal interactions with teachers did not happen as often as he felt was necessary to constitute meaningful support.

The Guideline for Office-based Educators stipulates that subject advisers need to "engage with teachers and HODs on their academic improvement plan for the subject the adviser is responsible for". It also states that subject advisers need to "support teachers in effectively delivering the curriculum in the classroom; support teachers in strengthening their content knowledge" (section 4.1, p. 18).

In this guideline, there is no specification of what types of interactions need to take place between the subject adviser and teachers, nor how often these interactions need to happen. This leaves it at the discretion of the subject advisers to determine how and what kinds of interaction they have with teachers. The comments in chapters 4 and 5 suggest that although they would like to better support teachers, through more personal interaction, subject advisers are constrained by bureaucratic and logistic issues, thereby highlighting the mismatch between policy intention and reality.

Subject advisers noted that they often saw and interacted with teachers in a group setting, either at Professional Learning Communities (PLC) meetings or during training and workshops. In their experience, these kinds of group interactions did not offer enough opportunities to engage and deal with the actual challenges teachers might be facing.

According to Vernesh, it is generally when there are personal, individual interactions with teachers, that subject advisers feel they are able to make a significant impact in alleviating the challenges teachers might be experiencing. Vernesh's comment indicates that 'feeling good' stems from satisfaction and happiness, and is present when the advisers are able to interact with teachers individually.

I presume that 'feeling good' and 'feeling proud' are indicative of happiness, pride, and joy at being able to accomplish their personal goals and objectives. These feelings arise from the moral reward of making a meaningful impact, no matter how small. Subject advisers felt that they were in some way fulfilling their personal moral mandate of improving the work lives of the teachers.

In summary, Elmarie, Wesley, Grace and Vernesh's comments suggest that, when subject advisers see that schools, teachers and learners are doing well, this intensifies their feelings of pride and joy, thereby ensuring that their personal moral mandate is fulfilled.

The sense of fulfilling this moral mandate is also tied to the 'others' recognising the personal effort the subject adviser has put into their job. The next section explores this further in the theme 'recognition of personal effort'.

7.3 Recognition of personal effort

This theme is linked to the previous one discussed above. When others acknowledge the effort, someone has put into their job or the activity, it is likely to allow the person who has been acknowledged to feel more positive and motivated to achieve even more. Conversely, if others are unable to recognise the personal effort one has put into their job, this could demotivate and deter one from putting their best foot forward. The subject advisers had strongly expressed emotions in relation to others recognising the personal effort they put into their work. I refer to it as personal effort because the subject advisers described the effort as something beyond the stipulations made by the policy or guidelines.

Recognition of personal effort	Responses from top-performing district (four subject advisers	Responses from under-performing district (five subject advisers)	Total responses
Positive responses	13	15	**28**
Negative responses	2	1	**3**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**15**	**16**	**31**

Table 20: numerical representation of responses regarding recognition of personal effort

The subject advisers expressed mostly positive emotions when they spoke about how they felt when others recognised the extra effort they put into their roles. Feeling mostly positive suggests that the subject advisers acknowledge and appreciate the importance of approval from others, in order to reap the moral rewards of the job. It also indicates that they (subject advisers) value others' opinion about them.

7.3.1 Sometimes it feels surreal that I, Grace, developed a phonics programme for the whole nation. It started small on my desk, and now it has grown in leaps and bounds.
When I asked the subject adviser what about school visits they particularly enjoyed or found difficult, one of the comments made was about recognition from others

24 (Grace TP) I developed a self-monitoring tool that initially angered teachers. laughs… They really wanted to kill me. Policy requires percentages, and it often involves a lot of thumb sucking. There has been significant improvement since then. Teachers now love the tool and are even asking for it. So, for me, ***it is encouraging*** *that I am making a difference with this tool I developed. Sometimes* ***it feels surreal*** *that I, "Grace", developed a phonics programme for the whole nation. It started small on my desk, and now it has in grown leaps and bounds. That's* ***really exciting for me****. I am making a difference.*

Grace was excited that her work and effort had yielded two results that were nationally recognised and being implemented. Her excitement stemmed from being recognised by others. In this case, she has provincial as well as national recognition, because the tools she developed is being used by teachers across the nation. More importantly, the teachers she worked directly with also shifted from a negative to positive stance in relation to the tool she developed for their use, thus affirming for her the value she adds to teachers and the system as a whole.

Grace's feeling of excitement could be linked to fulfilling her sense of purpose in the system, because she knows she can make a difference, and has been recognised for making a difference.

7.3.2 I have stayed up at night trying to make sure that whatever I am giving to the teachers will work for them
20 (Selwyn UP) I have not done this job for a long time, but one thing I know for sure is that when I see that my intervention has worked, it gives me ***immense pleasure****. Sometimes I have stayed up at night trying to make sure that whatever I am giving to the teachers will work for them. You see, it is not every time that we get positive feedback from teachers about our job, but the few times they have said to me "hey Selwyn… this and this that you suggested really worked well for me in class", I* ***feel elated****. It* ***gives me hope*** *hey!* **[laughs heartily].**

Selwyn, like Grace, spoke of feeling elated and having immense pleasure at teachers acknowledging and appreciating the intervention he suggested to them. For Selwyn, he sacrificed his sleep and leisure to ensure that he created something that will help the teachers. Therefore, the teachers' acknowledgement and appreciation made his sacrifice to have been worthwhile.

Selwyn's comment shows that because subject advisers do not often receive positive feedback from teachers, it made a significant impact on Selwyn when the teachers he worked with gave him any form of positive feedback. Receiving positive feedback gave Selwyn hope.

Nussbaum (2018) states that "hope is crucial to an energetic pursuit of a difficult goal. Then, if the goal is a genuinely valuable one, we have a very powerful reason to hope" (p.210). Nussbaum's statement confirms that the teachers' positive feedback provided Selwyn with reasons to hope, because it indicated to him that the goal of making teachers' work lives easier and improving the education system, although difficult, is a valuable goal that can be attained. For this reason, Selwyn embraced hope.

7.3.3 I have had instances where I think I went beyond the call of duty to assist a teacher.
21 (Thandi TP) I have had instances where I think I went beyond the call of duty to assist a teacher. I mean, she was really struggling and at her wit's ends. I could see that it was not because she didn't know what to do or maybe she was being difficult. The situation she found herself in was just too tough. I took it upon myself to mentor her and in some ways reignite the passion for teaching. Sometimes the system has the potential to mess you up such that you forget why you even got into teaching. After my meetings and conversations with her, I could see how that made a huge difference to her. I could see the smile come back to her face and for me personally I could also ***feel my passion being also reignited****. It is small moments, yet big in the way they make you feel, that make this job worthwhile. What she may not have known is that while she thinks I saved her, she also saved me, and you know,* ***lifted my spirit and passion****.*

Thandi's comment above was particularly significant, because it showed that others recognising her personal effort allowed for self-reflection and self-appreciation. For Thandi, helping the teacher reignite her passion also helped reignite her own passion and allowed for self-appreciation: "*It is small moments, yet big in the way they make you feel, that makes this job worthwhile.* This sentence is a powerful and insightful statement. It showed that although

moments of appreciation may not happen often, when they do, they have far-reaching effects, such that, what may seem like a small instant of gratitude, becomes a generator of hope, love, and happiness.

Thandi's comment revealed that those moments of appreciation and acknowledgement become part of the indelible moments of a person's career life. Nussbaum (2018) writes, "I don't believe that everyone will love everyone all the time, just often enough to make a difference" (p.215). The teacher's smile showed Thandi that her efforts were worthwhile, and that it was significant enough to make a positive difference for Thandi.

Importantly, Thandi understood that the circumstances were beyond the teacher's control, as she recognised that the teacher was making an effort yet was not succeeding. This interaction between Thandi and this teacher shows the impact and importance of looking beyond the processes and focusing on the people. It also showed how empathy, understanding, and trust can turn a situation around.

Significantly, Thandi's assertion that "*What she may not have known is that while she thinks I saved her, she also saved me and you know, lifted my spirit and passion,"* indicates that there are certain emotion rules that subject advisers like Thandi live by. Thandi acknowledges that the teacher saved her and her spirits were lifted, yet she did not openly acknowledge to the teacher how she made her (Thandi) feel.

7.3.4 I am doing all this work, putting in all the extra time and effort yet I am being told the results are poor. What about everything I have put it, doesn't it count for something?
The stories about recognition of personal effort were not all positive. Elmarie and Thandi's comments below show the negative side to 'recognition of personal effort' in this case, unrecognised personal effort.

81 (Elmarie UP) ***People will often assume*** *that subject advisers are not working, yet I take work home.* ***It eats into my family time****. My children said to me the other day, 'When you were a teacher, it seems you had more time to spend with us. Now there is always a paper in front of you.' We don't have holidays; they don't pay us for working on Saturdays. Like we said****, people need to understand the context and the situation instead of just making assumptions.*** *For instance, last week I was working here at my table and someone came in and said 'don't you get off at lunch?' I said no. 'We work in our lunchtime. We will have our bottle, we will have our tea, we eat, we drink - we work while we are having our break.' So*

basically, we don't take lunch, we work through our lunch hours. ***We are not being compensated for that kind of thing****. The* ***worst frustration*** *is to be accountable for results that you don't have control over.* ***That one kills me.*** *I am doing all this work, putting in all the extra time and effort,* ***yet I am being told the results are poor****.* ***What about everything I have put it, doesn't it count for something?*** [Voice cracks with emotion, hisses….and shakes head.]

I could see how troubled Elmarie felt when she spoke about others not recognising her personal effort. Her shoulders hung low and she no longer maintained eye contact with me and her voice cracked with emotion as she spoke. I remember thinking that she was soon going to cry, but she did not.

Elmarie was frustrated that results did not reflect the extra effort she put in, and that as a result, others did not recognise the extra mile she went to in order to ensure that her job was done. It was disheartening for her to see that her efforts were unrecognised because the results did not reflect that she had made sacrifices and effort in this regard.

I assumed that when personal efforts went unrecognised that this would demotivate the subject advisers. However, Elmarie's comment below showed that in her circumstance, she considered alternative solutions, not wanting to give up.

84 (Elmarie UP) I came with an innate passion to make a difference and that is what I am feeling here. I also got to a point where I felt that, despite my efforts, it still wasn't enough. I remember saying to myself that, if there is someone better than me that can come into my place to ensure that results go up, then why not. But ***I don't want to give up****. I want to keep trying till it comes right.* ***When you fall, you get up and try other avenues****. I think I can get it right, if I can work on my own roster, on my own plan, on my own time, and I can show that results can improve. But here we have a plan, you need to follow the plan, you need to follow the debates. Tomorrow there is a meeting and we must attend.*

Elmarie's comment above shows her commitment to improving her results. Her comment also shows that she does not have the freedom to decide what aspect of her job she will work on, but she is compelled to follow a plan. I juxtaposed this with Vernesh's comment that subject advisers have flexible timelines, and can decide which aspects of their job to focus on at any given time. It is a question as to whether Elmarie was forced to follow a plan, because she works in an underperforming district.

From Elmarie's perspective, it would seem that despite following a pre-set plan and timeline, as well as sacrificing family time, the results were still poor. It left her feeling her personal effort was not recognised.

Thandi also felt her sometimes her effort went unrecognised and unappreciated.

63 (Thandi) I have also had instances whereby I have put in all this energy into something, yet it seemed like the people I was doing it for didn't care. I remember being so sick one day, I knew I had to call in sick, but I just held on and went for a school visit. I got there, made recommendations and suggestions, sent follow up emails, and sent some extra information I found useful and thought would help the teachers in that school. Do you know, when I went back a few weeks later, it was as if I had never been to the school. Things were just the same. When I asked about the recommendations I made, the two teachers involved gave me a 'story'.

I tell you, I was ***deeply hurt****, because I knew how sick I was and what it took out of me to develop those documents I had given them. It also made me realise that if I died on this job, life will still go on. But when you are passionate about helping others, making a difference, imparting knowledge, it is in your blood, you just never give up. My mom was a teacher, so it runs in my blood. I have a motto: "****when it gets tough, I get tougher"*** **[laughs loudly]**

Thandi felt her sacrifice went unrecognised when the teachers in that particular school failed to implement her suggestions and recommendations. In this instance, the focus is not on the attitude of the teachers, but on Thandi's sense of hurt. She was hurt because, although she knew she could call in sick, she rather carried on to visit schools despite her health predicament. So it hurt Thandi when the teachers did not recognise her sacrifice.

Significantly, Elmarie and Thandi, in spite of feeling underappreciated, did not dwell on the negativity. Elmarie noted, *"But I don't want to give up. I want to keep trying till it comes right. When you fall, you get up and try other avenues."* And Thandi said, "*But when you are passionate about helping others, making a difference, imparting knowledge, it is in your blood, you just never give up."*

These statements from Elmarie and Thandi were significant, because it showed how passionate and resolute, they are in making a difference to the system. This indicates that in spite of the challenges and the negativity that it elicits, subject advisers like Elmarie and

Thandi are willing to look beyond the frustration, sadness, and hurt and to strive for better outcomes.

Elmarie and Thandi's response affirm Turner's (2010) position that positive emotions, at times mixed with negative emotions, often prove to be the motivating force behind commitments to political and religious ideologies (p.169). In this case, their passion for improving the system combined with the frustration and hurt at their personal efforts being unrecognised are the motivating force behind their commitment to make the system better.

Elmarie and Thandi's responses above indicate that, beyond the feelings of sadness, frustration and hurt, there is hope, and they seem to be guided by the emotional rule of hoping beyond reason.

Importantly, I think that because subject advisers find the opinions of others, like teachers, important for their flourishing, receiving recognition of personal effort ties with fulfilling their personal moral mandate in the sense that when their extra sacrifices, energy, and effort are recognised by others, this empowers them. On the other hand, when they felt they had not fulfilled their personal mandate, it was disempowering, in the sense that they felt their effort was not good enough.

In summary, when it comes to recognition of personal effort, the reflections of the subject advisers suggest that when the personal effort, time, energy and sacrifices of the subject advisers are appreciated and recognised, they felt happy and hopeful. Yet, when their effort was unrecognised, it elicited frustration and sadness. Nevertheless, in spite of those negative feelings, they remained determined to give their best.

Importantly, there was no significant difference in the emotional disposition of the subject advisers in both districts.

The next section presents the reflections of two subject advisers who expressed how being subject advisers affected them on a deeper personal level. This reveals on a more personal level the challenges and issues that certain subject advisers find challenging.

7.4 Burden of power

This theme concerns the impression of power that the position of 'subject adviser' accords, and how this power or influence affected the subject advisers. When I asked the subject advisers whether it becomes difficult for them in their positions, most subject advisers discussed the challenges they encountered in their jobs, which have been discussed in the other sections (5.2, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4) of this study. However, when Elmarie and Thandi answered this question, they were more forthcoming:

Burden of power	Responses from top-performing district (one subject adviser)	Responses from underperforming district (one subject adviser)	Total responses
Negative responses	1	8	**9**
Positive responses	0	0	**0**
Neutral responses	0	0	**0**
Total responses	**1**	**8**	**9**

Table 21 numerical representation of responses regarding burden of power

The table indicates that both subject advisers only gave negative responses regarding the burden of power.

7.4.1. I never wanted to go to the same schools where I used to teach

44 (Elmarie UP) There's the younger teachers, and older teachers. The people that are a bit of the same age, they are the people that don't have respect, they think you are their friend. So it becomes difficult sometimes. My challenge is that because of how they [former colleagues] *see me in the area where I grew up. They see me as someone who is different now, with maybe more authority. You know,* ***it was difficult*** *for me to get to the schools in that area. The reason for that is that I didn't want to go to my former colleagues. I never wanted to go to the same schools where I used to teach, to go mentoring and coaching, and sometimes I have to attend meetings with people who were my senior colleagues. When it comes to accountability, I have to sit in those meetings with them* [senior colleagues], *of which there were many of such meetings. But the thing is that I* ***felt uncomfortable***, ***very uncomfortable*** *because here I used to be at the same level as my peers, yet suddenly I'm a*

level higher. Now those who were my superiors, are now at the same level. I just felt that is not what I want.

In the comment above, Elmarie expresses how uncomfortable it was for her as a subject adviser to go to schools where she had taught previously. Her comments indicate that she found it difficult to return to schools where she had previously been a teacher, because the change in authority triggered emotions, assumptions and beliefs about how her former colleagues would receive her. She elaborated in the comment below about how being a level higher than her former colleagues has made her feel.

*45 (Elmarie UP) I **don't want people to elevate me**, I don't. If I can avoid going to this specific place I do, I do my work, but I avoid it. Then I find in my same community, when they… I was not that kind of person that was like… I wasn't loud, I wasn't the leader, because you know how they associate leadership with talk and being bold, well I am not. I am quiet, but I do my work. And now when I get back there, I am sure they all ask, 'oh, how did she get the post?' Does she deserve the post?' So, I would get some kind of attitude from them. When I go to my meetings there, I get this kind of vibe, they sometimes try to be funny or they have this distance. And then you know what I do? It's almost like, at the back of mind I have to prove myself.*

The statement above shows Elmarie's internal struggles as she attempts to carry out her responsibilities in her own community. The first sentences of the statement "I don't want people to elevate me" shows that she is aware of the assumption, respect, and power that comes with her position, but is afraid of accepting it. She struggles with her own perception of people's judgement about her, and she resorts to trying to prove to others that she deserves the position, and the power that comes with it.

7.4.2 At the beginning it made me feel so sick. You know, getting panic attacks and things like that because of work.
Elmarie's inner turmoil is so significant that her body reflects her struggles. She recounts what she felt in the comment below.

*46 (Elmarie UP) **I got so ill, I got so ill** here, because I had that mentality, that how you see yourself as a district official: you need to have all the knowledge, you need to have a perfect life, like you need to have it all under control and you need to be a professor of some sorts*

and you have to have it all together to be there, I mean. And then, when you get to the schools you feel like that's the type of attitude and that is how people see you. Which means, if people still see you like that, if you go, you need to have all the knowledge. And then, at the beginning it made me ***feel so sick****. You know* ***getting panic attacks*** *and things like that because of work.*

According to Hay (2001), the physical reaction of being sick (vomiting) signifies a violent rejection of ideas, and getting panic attacks (anxiety) indicates not trusting the flow and process of life. So, Elmarie's physical reaction to her position as a subject adviser and the accompanying power, coupled with her assumptions about other's opinions about her in that position, shows she is struggling with the responsibility and influence of the position. Internally, Elmarie is experiencing a violent rejection of the idea that, because she now a subject adviser, she is better or more knowledgeable than her peers.

7.4.3 As a subject adviser I am a leader, I am managing my teachers, I am a manager, but it doesn't mean I need to have all the knowledge in the world.
Eventually, Elmarie was able to come to terms with her position and influence.

45 (Elmarie UP) And now that I am no longer in that cycle, I have found myself. You know what? When you are no longer in the cycle, then you see it is okay. So, the more experience I have, I see I don't have to do things the way they should be done, I can do it differently. And you know what, I have learnt, I've told people I am not knowledgeable. One thing I have learnt as a subject adviser is that, I am a leader, I am managing my teachers, I am a manager, but it doesn't mean I need to have all the knowledge in the world. Because somebody can have all the knowledge, and still not be a good leader or teacher. So, I need to take that type of initiative. I have to lead teachers, to manage them, to make sure that everything is fine and everything is in order. And then, if I don't know, I just go to the textbook or someone else who knows and I say you know this, so show me how to do it. So, I also learn in the process.

At some point, Elmarie understood that being anxious and fearful of the influence of her position was not helpful, so she changed her mind set and approach to her job. The unhealthy cycle of fear seemed to have awakened a new sense of resolve, and it allowed her to understand that the power and influence of her position need not overwhelm and intimidate her, but can spur her on in the quest to improve the work lives of teachers. She understood that she had to take on the role of leading and managing teachers.

7.4.4 It gets to me in the sense that I don't want to be the enemy, I don't want teachers thinking bad of me.

Elmarie was not the only subject adviser in this study who contended with the position of power. Thandi also struggled with the influence and perception that comes with the power of the position of a subject adviser.

64 (Thandi TP) Although I think I am a good official, sometimes all of this just gets to me. It gets to me in the sense that I don't want to be the enemy, I don't want teachers thinking badly of me just because I am a subject adviser. It hurts. I am also a teacher in my innermost being and I… [voice trails away and after a few seconds] *You know, I never want to be the bad guy or the enemy. We are supposed to be a team working together in the best interest of the learner. I* ***really do feel sad when*** *I sense that teachers don't like me, because I am a subject adviser. It can be* ***depressing****, considering where I have come from. I mean, we are one. Hey, I am a teacher in my soul and being. It is who I am.*

Thandi felt hurt that teachers sometimes perceived her as the enemy rather than a friend or companion. Elmarie and Thandi's perception and experiences of position power shows the negative impact that power and influence can have on a subject adviser. Importantly, Elmarie's shift in emotion and perception confirms Palmer's (2017) assertion that fear can be debilitating, but it can also be useful. Palmer (2017) suggests that teachers need to embrace their fears and try to transcend them, so as to reconnect with the reality of teaching and learning. In this case, Elmarie's fears and her subsequent clear-headedness showed that she was able to transcend her fear and this helped her reconnect with the reality of her job.

In summary, the responses related to 'burden of power' showed some of the fears as these relate to self that subject advisers encounter in their jobs. The fear of being judged; the fear of position power; and the fear of not living up to expectations.

For Elmarie and Thandi, these fears sometimes affected their sense of self, especially when they felt burdened by the power their positions afford them.

Significantly, this showed how fear can also yield positive outcomes, because Elmarie's fears of being judged and not living up to expectations propelled her to become a better leader by transcending her fear and realising that leadership doesn't mean all-knowing, but is an opportunity to serve and strive for better with opportunities to learn more.

7.5 Chapter summary

Three themes emerged from describing the relationship that subject advisers have with 'Self': fulfilling personal moral mandate, recognition of personal effort, and the burden of power. These themes emanated from the subject advisers' reflections about the educational purpose, vision, and value of their work.

In fulfilling personal moral mandate, it is possible to see how subject advisers' view themselves and feel about the educational purpose vision and value of their work. Specifically, when they spoke about fulfilling their personal moral mandate, the subject advisers expressed only positive emotions. One commonality among all the subject advisers is that they were passionate about making a positive difference in the education system. So, fulfilling personal moral mandate indicates that, when subject advisers reflect on how they feel about doing their job, they feel happiness, joy, and pride at being able to make a difference in the education system as a whole and to teachers in particular.

Recognising personal efforts reveals how others' perceptions about the value of subject advisers' work makes subject advisers feel. When they spoke about how others recognising their personal effort made them feel, the subject advisers felt mostly positive, however, there were a few instances where negative emotions such as frustration and sadness were expressed. The subject advisers were particularly happy and felt good when they felt that others recognised the extra sacrifice, energy, and effort they put into their work. On the other hand, when subject advisers like Elmarie felt their efforts went unrecognised, it frustrated them deeply. Fortunately, in spite of the frustration she felt, Elmarie was able to rise above the negativity, and seek alternatives to ensure the school and teachers' results reflected her efforts. This theme shows that subject advisers value others' opinion of their efforts, and found positive feedback to be inspiring and motivating, and negative feedback to be demotivating. Therefore, positive feedback about their work feeds their hope that the education system can improve, where doing so fulfils their vision of a better education system.

The burden of power shows some of the inner turmoil that subject advisers deal with as they do their work. Remarkably, only two subject advisers spoke about the burden of power and it elicited only negative responses. This indicates that, although subject advisers have some power and authority over teachers, the power dynamic can sometimes take an emotional toll on them. This could be seen when Elmarie and Thandi felt distressed at some of their

experiences (feeling inadequate and not living up to expectation and being judged by others), and even having physical reactions (vomiting), with the effect of being in a position of power.

This ‘object Self’ shows that, by fulfilling their personal moral mandate, others recognising their personal effort and feeling burdened by power, these subject advisers find value in how they and others realise their educational purpose, vision, and value of their work. Importantly, the emotions of hope, happiness, joy, pride, worry and even fear they expressed suggest how important fulfilling the educational purpose, vision, and value of their work is to their flourishing as subject advisers.

Having in the last four chapters discussed the key objects of the subject adviser emotions, and the sub-objects that elicit these emotions, the next chapter excavates the emotional rules that govern the subject advisers, and describes the emotional labour that they perform.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EXCAVATING THE EMOTIONAL RULES AND LABOUR OF SUBJECT ADVISERS' WORK

8.1 Introduction

Earlier in the literature review section 2.12, I explained Nussbaum's insight that all emotions have an 'object'. Then, using Nussbaum's (2001) understanding of emotions as evaluative judgements in relation to 'objects' that we consider important to our flourishing, I showed in chapters 4-7 that the key 'objects' that subject advisers' emotions are directed at are the 'Department of Education', 'Teachers', 'Influential others' e.g., teacher unions and school leadership and 'Self'. Thus, chapters 4-7 provide response to the first research sub-question, ***what are the key objects of their work that subject advisers feel strongly about?***

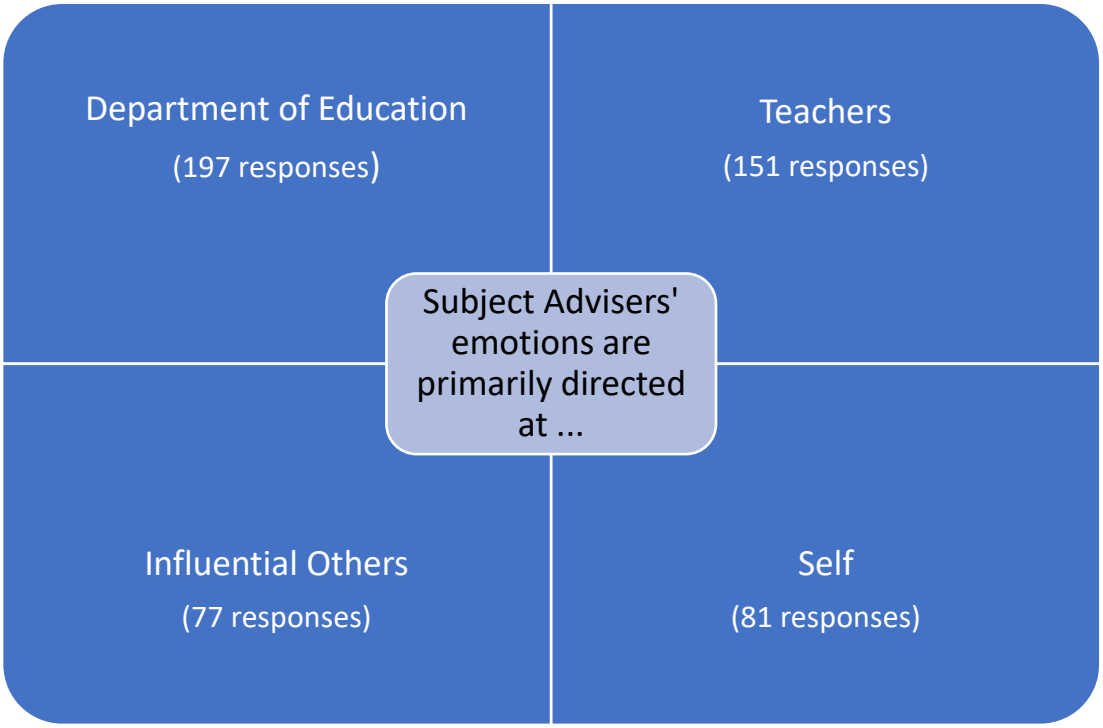


Figure 5: showing the key objects of subject advisers' emotions

This chapter responds now to the third research sub-question: ***What emotional labour do subject advisers engage in so as to continue doing their work productively?*** This chapter utilises the data presented in chapters 4-7 to excavate the emotional rules that govern subject

advisers, and to make visible the emotional labour they perform as they carry out their professional responsibilities.

Before excavating the emotional rules and labour of subject advisers' work, I find it pertinent to explain the significance of the 'objects' (Department of Education, Teachers, Influential Others, and Self), and how they relate to the processes (the emotional rules and labour) under discussion in this chapter.

8.2 The significance of the 'objects' of subject advisers' emotions

Like Nussbaum, Turner (2007) states that emotions are conscious feelings about self and the object in the environment. In the context of this study, the subject advisers' expressions and responses indicate how they consciously felt about their selves and the 'objects'[9] in their work environment (The DoE as their work environment; Teachers as the people they directly work with; and Influential Others as those who influence their work with teachers).

8.2.1 The Department of Education

Archer (2004) argues that "emotions are about something and those somethings are the things we care about most or cannot but care about to some extent" (p.327). These subject advisers are employed by the DoE, and are accountable to the Department, so it was not unexpected that the it constituted a key object of their emotion.

Subject advisers' work is centred around the Department and its needs. As intermediaries between schools and teachers on the one hand and the DoE on the other, subject advisers are important role players in the education system. They are the representatives and the face of the Department in schools. Therefore, from an accountability perspective, subject advisers have no option but to care (Archer, 2004) about the Department and its outcomes.

Turner (2010) states that emotions are aroused under two conditions namely expectations and sanctions (p.186). The subject advisers mainly expressed frustration, disappointment/ sadness towards the department, because they felt the conditions or requirements set out by the Department did not allow them to flourish in their jobs. For instance, when Elmarie said "*all of the things I have to do as a subject adviser are very demanding and time consuming",* there was an expectation and underlying assumption from Elmarie that her job as a subject adviser would be flexible enough to allow her to support schools and teachers adequately, yet the accountability demands of attending district meetings and writing reports infringed on the

[9] Recall that Nussbaum uses the term 'objects' to refer to issues, people, relationships, and things.

time and effort she needed in order to offer support to schools. In addition, she had too many schools and teachers to support, further impacting the quality of support she could offer the teachers, and the time available to support all those schools and teachers.

From a policy perspective, as outlined in the PAM document, subject advisers are required to spend most of their time supporting schools and teachers in effectively implementing the curriculum. However, the reality and contexts of subject advisers (section 4.2.) evidence that they spend a significant amount of their time fulfilling administrative compliance requirements, rather than actively supporting teachers and schools.

The Department is a central feature of subject advisers' working lives, because their job as subject advisers for the DoE provides them with an opportunity to fulfil their passion of making a difference in the education system. So, when the subject advisers' expectations of adequately supporting schools and teachers go unmet, due to the pressure of accountability demands by the department, negative emotions arise.

8.2.2 Teachers

Teachers were another key 'object' of the subject advisers' emotions. Apart from subject advisers' colleagues in the office, teachers are another group of people with whom subject advisers interact frequently. The perceived bureaucratic need for surveillance of teachers and teaching quality provides the purpose for employing subject advisers. Consequently, monitoring and support of teachers is the key purpose of subject advisers' work.

Additionally, subject advisers' own performance is tied to the performance of teachers, because subject advisers' performance appraisals are determined by how well the teachers and schools they support are performing (section 5.2.3.1). Importantly, several of the subject advisers interviewed expressed a personal moral mandate to support teachers, where in order to reap their moral rewards, they have to see that the teachers they support have indeed benefitted from the support and intervention subject advisers have offered (section 7.2). Vernesh's comment "I feel pleased when I see that teachers appreciate what we are giving them", suggests that the interaction between subject advisers and teachers is symbiotic, in the sense that both subject advisers and teachers need each other to do well for the benefit of our current education system. However, the quality of the interaction is where the crux of the matter lies. For subject advisers to flourish morally and administratively, they need to feel they have supported teachers in effectively teaching and implementing the curriculum. So, not only do committed subject advisers like Vernesh care about teachers morally, they cannot

help but care for teachers administratively. Their relationship with teachers is an important component of their work lives, where teachers are a key object of their emotions.

8.2.3 'Influential Others'

'Influential others' (Teacher Unions, School Principals and Heads of Department) impact the interaction subject advisers have with teachers. On the basis of subject advisers' interaction and relationship with teachers, subject advisers cannot but care about those 'influential others', whose involvement impact upon their relationship with teachers. Unions regard subject advisers as employers of teachers, because subject advisers are representatives of the Department of Education. In the subject advisers' interaction with teachers, they experienced the unions' impact and influence via teachers' perceptions of and behaviour towards themselves. The subject advisers expressed the opinion that teacher unions negatively influenced teachers, by giving teachers the impetus to be resistant to subject advisers' recommendations. Thus, they expressed only negative emotions towards teacher unions. School principals as well as heads of department also appeared to frustrate the purposes of subject advisers, as the subject advisers explained that principals often gave teachers the impression that subject advisers are bullies, from whom teachers must be protected. Additionally, subject advisers' perception was that some HoDs were incompetent in their jobs, where this incompetence also affected subject advisers' own jobs, because they often had to step-up to perform part of an HoDs responsibility (see section 6.4.2).

It is therefore possible that, because of the perception of negativity, subject advisers would like to disregard these influential others, but because of the influence these 'others' have on their relationship with teachers, they cannot help but care. If they do not take account of how these 'influential others' affect their relationship with teachers, it may become a constant source of friction in their interaction with teachers. As a result, 'influential others' were a key object of subject advisers' emotions.

8.2.4 'Self'

There is more to subject advisers' work than simply being a specialist who knows how teachers can best implement the curriculum. There was also a softer, less technical, less administratively compliant side to these subject advisers, which shone through when they spoke about their sense of 'self'. They spoke about the joys, hopes, and in some instances, fears associated with being a subject adviser. The quotes collected under the keyword 'self', offered a glimpse into the person enforcing the rules. When speaking about themselves and

their motivations, the subject advisers offered insights about their position in ensuring that teachers are adhering to policy directives. As they spoke about how their work affected them personally, this showed that they care about themselves and how their jobs made them feel on the inside. This was particularly important because they are the subject of this inquiry, and are the source from which the 'care' emanates.

Notably, the emotions directed at these 'objects' ('Department', 'Teachers', 'Influential Others' and 'Self') revealed the important aspects of the subject advisers' work, and this is in line with Nussbaum's argument that intense emotions are evoked by what is important to us. Further, the varied emotions expressed in relation to these 'objects' in chapter 4-7 indicate that subject advisers' work is emotionally laden.

8.3 Uncovering the emotional rules and labour of subject advisers' work

In order to illustrate the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work, this section discusses the emotional rules and labour embedded in their work, and how those rules and labour allow them or not to do their work productively. Emotional rules are often implicit, so it is only a careful analysis that reveals them, and allows us to understand the emotional labour that subject advisers perform.

In Chapter 1, I argued that looking through the lens of emotions will highlight important issues that may otherwise have been missed if a different lens was employed. The emotional rules and emotional labour of subject advisers' work are important avenues through which the nature of their professional work can be studied. Hochschild (1975) argues that emotional rules "define what we should feel in various circumstances" (p.289), and such rules differ from context to context and indicate what is acceptable and what is not. Steinberg (2015) describes "emotional rules as the implicit, socially constructed expectations of how emotions can be expressed, given and received in social encounters. These expectations are implicit rules which are aligned with hierarchy and social status, culture and ideology and possession of knowledge, wealth and power (symbolic media)" (p.430).

By analysing what the expressions of emotions by the subject advisers can tell about the motivation for and stresses of their professional work, I uncover specific contexts in which emotional rules are present, and the emotional labour the subject advisers perform. The subject advisers' emotions were elicited by different demands made by their jobs such as

dealing with administrative compliance, ensuring policy implementation, supporting teachers, conflicting authority relations between subject advisers, teachers and influential others, and dealing with the personal demands their jobs make. In the next sections, I analyse the emotional rules present and describe the emotional labour that the subject advisers performed.

8.4 The emotional rules and labour of being administratively compliant

Being administratively compliant i.e., writing reports, filling forms, and "scaling up" information to those above is an important part of subject advisers' jobs as it provides evidence and proof of work done (section 4.2). The subject advisers complained about the demands of being administratively compliant, and how this compliance was one of the biggest challenges of their position. Their frustrations were concerned with the amount of paper work required by themselves and teachers, about teachers' attitude towards subject advisers' recommendations and advice, and about the time and effort required to keep up with administrative tasks.

These reports have a dual purpose, namely that they provide information about what is happening in the schools and with teachers, and they provide evidence of the work subject advisers do. However, this demand of administrative compliance for accountability by writing so many reports made substantial emotional demands on subject advisers.

Vignette 1 *(Elmarie UP) …ja! Then we also have other major priorities, where we need to do office work and create data, we need to write reports and we need to send it to the provincial office. Other major work we do is to keep an analysis of results, looking at which schools are your performing schools and which are under-performing. Then we have other projects you need to ensure, like the Olympiads. And then you support the district with other priorities like going to check and monitor examinations, matric examinations. We also have the common paper that you moderate. Actually, you don't just moderate, you oversee whether the exams are running smoothly. Besides just curriculum support, you need to do SBA tasks. You also need to set up question papers. You need to make sure you set up tasks. And you need to ensure the scaling up of information to head office. That is very important. So ja, all of those things I have to do as a subject adviser and it is very demanding and time consuming (section 4.2.2.2). The most important part of my job, I think, is supporting teachers. I would like to support teachers more. The least important is just certain administrative work I feel has the least importance, like writing all those reports (section 4.2.2.4). I work with 240*

schools and more than 600 teachers. I have to support all the educators I work with. I have to compile and collate data about all the teachers and it is very time consuming, because I have too many schools and teachers to work with. So… one of the big challenges is my time. Besides just giving curriculum support, I also need to do SBA tasks. I am also setting up question papers. I need to make sure I set up tasks. And I need to ensure the scaling up of information to head office. That is very important. So, ja. All of those things I have to do as a subject adviser are very demanding and time consuming. The most important part of my job, I think, is supporting teachers. I would like to support teachers more. The least important is just certain administrative work I feel has the least importance, like writing all those reports. These days I am so exhausted. I was just on my phone now, because there is information on teacher's data that I have to compile and complete. I need extra time for that. I don't have the time to just set up all my emails. I have to have this data on my cell phone so that I can work from anywhere. This eats into my family time. On the weekends you want your family time, but now I have to sit and compile this because it is demanded now, now. So, I sit during weekends to do it. It takes away from my time with my family. It is the demand that kills me. It will make my life easier to send all the emails and the data or whatever you have to, to schools, your letters and I really need to reach that point. That's the goal for me.

With more than 600 teachers to monitor and support, Elmarie was caught up in a never-ending cycle of collating data, writing reports and scaling up information to those above, yet, there was never enough time to complete the tasks in the designated timeframe, leaving her exhausted. Because Elmarie believes that the most important part of her job is to support teachers, spending more time on the admin part of job caused her stress. Her belief is in contrast with her reality. So, in an effort to keep up with the demands, she tries to undertake her work remotely when necessary. As a consequence, work begins to compete and conflict with family time, as she takes work home. Torn between giving more time and attention to the least important aspect and the guilt of taking work home to encroach on family time, Elmarie was weighed down by the demands: "*it is the demand that kills me*."

Yin et al. (2012) argue that emotional rules are often disguised as ethical codes or professional norms, and Steinberg (2014) maintains that emotional rules are developed from professional norms and beliefs. From a professional norm perspective, subject advisers are expected to perform the administrative and support aspects of their work. However, subject advisers like Elmarie believe that supporting teachers is more important than the administrative tasks. However, time consuming and exhausting it may be to keep up with the

administrative aspect of her work, the administrative work must be done, as it is proof of her and the teachers' work. So, even though Elmarie would prefer to spend most of her time supporting teachers, in order to continue to fulfil the administrative aspect of their work, she develops emotional rules to cope.

Elmarie's belief is that **I have to do all aspects of my job. It is very important to do it all.** But the demand pulls Elmarie in different directions. On the one hand, the reports and compiled data are "demanded 'now-now' [without hesitation]", where the priority of supporting teachers is undermined; then family time is encroached on by work, albeit the least important but most demanding aspect of her work. These demands violate fundamental labour principles. Turner and Stets (2005) argue that "when individuals violate norms, they generally experience some form of shame such as embarrassment at the low-intensity end of the shame continuum and humiliation at the high intensity end of the shame spectrum. The more ideological and value content embodied in norms, the more individuals will feel not only shame, but guilt as well" (p. 546).

Emotionally, there is a sense of guilt that Elmarie's work took up precious family time. Guilt is a self-conscious emotion. So, on the one hand, there was a feeling of inadequacy as a professional, at not being able to complete work at her work environment, and on the other hand, there was the guilt of allowing work interfere with family time. In this instance, the boundary between work-life and home-life is beginning to blur. The guilt she carries about inadequacies regarding professional work and family life constitutes a form of emotional labour. She is living with the pressure of needing to fulfil too many demands; living with structural and emotional ambiguity of too much time spent on admin and too little on support; living with the guilt of not doing enough to support teachers; and also living with the guilt that family time is overtaken by work. Yet in spite of the feeling of guilt she must still fulfil the admin aspect of her work.

Turner (2014) maintains that "shame and guilt, are combinations of anger, fear, and sadness in somewhat different proportions" (p.15). In this context, Elmarie experienced shame when she was unable to complete her work in the specified work hours, and she experienced guilt when work encroached on family time. There is anger that the work expectations and the time allocated do not match, where there is some fear that not being able to successfully perform all the necessary tasks in time will impact on her performance record, and then there is the sadness that comes from the reality that the job is not an easy one. This juxtaposition creates

an emotional dilemma for Elmarie, where she is caught between the expectation and the reality of performing her duties. Offer and Schneider (2011) suggest that multitasking at work almost always leads to negative consequences.

For all of the subject advisers, their belief is that administrative compliance is necessary, but must not be overwhelming. The requirement from the *Handbook for Gauteng District Officials* is that 80% of their time is spent on supporting teachers. This support includes "assisting educators to improve the quality of teaching and learning in their institutions through school visits, classroom observation, consultation, cluster meetings, suitable feedback report and other means" (p.56). Yet, none of the tasks Elmarie listed as priorities fall under the district's description of support for teachers, rather these tasks seem to for "district support".

Elmarie prefers not to prioritise other tasks above teacher support tasks, but does so for fear of admonishment or sanction. As a consequence, in order to do her job, Elmarie breaks the 80/20% rule in ordered to accomplish "district priorities". Iszatt-White (2013) states that "in addition to the day-to-day activities associated with rapport building and valuing of the individual, there are also the complexities arising from the different roles that managers have to play, at different times and with different people, in order to meet their organisational remit" (p.26). For Elmarie, this involves less support to teachers and more support for the district. This conflict of rules frustrated Elmarie, and causes her to perform emotional labour. Vander Elst, Van den Broeck, De Witte, and De Cuyper (2012) state that employees get frustrated when they cannot stand behind their actions or feel they have to act against their will (p.254).

In this excerpt, Elmarie struggles with work-family balance, by highlighting the work/family conflict. Kim (2014) notes that successfully balancing work and family life is one of the major challenges facing current individual workers. Elmarie sacrifices family time for 'less important' administrative work. So, not only is Elmarie spending her family time for work, her family has had to make sacrifices too. Importantly, the work being done over the weekend is what she considers the least important but, as the district prioritises admin compliance, where she is forced to sacrifice family time, as well as knowing that the most important work, which is to support teachers, hasn't received adequate time. This illustrates that Elmarie performs emotional labour in order to keep up with the administrative demands. Elmarie is living with the pressure of needing to fulfil too many demands; living with the

structural and emotional ambiguity of too much time spent on administrative tasks and too little on direct teacher support; living with the guilt of not doing enough to support teachers, and also living with the guilt that family time is overtaken by work.

8.5. The emotional rules and emotional labour of dealing with teachers

Implementing policy with teachers is but one aspect of subject adviser's interaction with teachers that is fraught with tension. The juxtaposition between monitoring and support heightens the tension between subject advisers and teachers. In Vignette 2 below, two subject advisers, namely Selwyn and Vernesh, from two differently performing districts, discuss the emotional challenges regarding teachers not adhering to policy.

8.5.1 Vignette 2

Selwyn, a subject adviser for social science, who was new to the job, felt disappointed when he saw that teachers were not adhering to policy, nor to the advice he gave them. He complained *"When they are not complying with the basics, and because you know the expectation, you start to feel disappointed."*

On the other hand, Vernesh, an ICT integration specialist with about 10 years of experience as subject adviser, understood that

> *Some policy demands are so unfriendly, yet when the teachers don't manage to do what we have asked, at times we call it resistance, only to find out that they are not resistant. It is often just a plain unrealistic expectation, because they didn't receive the information on time. You know what? Teachers are supposed to be teaching, they are supposed to be in class delivering content and that is the most important thing. Yet, there is also the administrative part that teachers find themselves doing and teachers are complaining about it. It is just too much and draining. The curriculum is such that it demands a lot of time to be devoted to admin work and that takes up much of the teaching time. If we as officials are going there to support teachers, then we expect their files to be ready - and things like that actually take time to prepare. At times I find that we (department) make demands of unnecessary paperwork, rather than giving the teachers enough time to dedicate to their teaching.*

Over the years, Vernesh observed that teachers responded differently to subject advisers. He saw that

So, there are those that feel pleased to have us in their school and there are those that feel intimidated, they feel like you are there to police them. They think you are there to pick up issues and basically point fingers at them. Some don't think we are there to support at all, they think we are there to fault find. So, it is very challenging. Like I said earlier, when you give instructions, even when the instructions are very reasonable, it becomes difficult to comply with those instructions at times. I am not saying all of them, but some of them have those tendencies and the only way to get around that is just to win them socially. You have to relate with them on a personal level to do that. And that is also a challenge because the minute you relate with them on a personal level, they also take advantage and become complacent with their job. So, it is a 50/50 thing. You relate with them on personal level and you also make them aware that you are also a teacher on a different level. But you shouldn't bring levels into conversation or into your space. They also have to understand that you as an official also have to comply with the very same policies that are supposed to be implemented or followed. The minute they understand policy is policy and we are all governed by the very same policy, I am thinking that is how you will go about winning them over and getting them to comply with policy.

So, the issue of instructions coming from the top with unfriendly time frames kills me. They beat me below the belt, because I understand we need to follow policies, I understand we need to be seen working, but I mean poor management on someone's side should not impact negatively on my side. Because if the people above are failing to plan and they push things down my throat, I will definitely not be happy about it. So, the tendency within the department is that things are needed and they are needed now. And that is problematic, because the minute I get instructions from head office that has got unfriendly time lines, it pushes me to push educators and surely, they won't be happy. They won't start developing a negative attitude towards the head office, it will be towards me, because I am the face of the head office to them. Because the minute I send out communication to say this is needed, they will say 'Mr. V. needs this' they won't think its head office that needs it, they just equate it to be 'V. needs this' and so whatever emotion or attitude is

directed towards me. And so head office is off the hook, and they have given the burden to me, and I have to action all that working with teachers and it becomes a problem because they will say your timelines are not friendly, your instructions are not clear. So, I get blamed for something that is not my fault. So, I usually say to teachers, 'if you see a memo that 'says submit this', my wife does not need that, my kids don't need that. Someone above me is looking for this information, and someone above me gave this unfriendly timeline and that is why I am giving this unfriendly timeline. So, there is no way that my wife will ask me to fetch this information from you'. So, they will laugh about it, but still complain about it.

In this vignette, Selwyn and Vernesh talk about the complexities that are present when trying to implement policy with teachers, and how this makes them disappointed and unhappy. Selwyn, having limited experience as a subject adviser, gave no indication that he considered that teachers' contexts, influenced teachers' behaviour and attitude towards implementing policy. For, Selwyn, he expects teachers to adhere to the rules or policy demands. Thus, Selwyn had no conflict with rules and as such does not perform emotional labour in this regard.

Having had more experience on the job, Vernesh recognised that some of the policy demands were "unfriendly", and with the department prioritising administrative compliance, teachers were forced to focus more on completing the administrative work required from them, than on actual teaching "*At times I find that we* [Department] *make demands of unnecessary paperwork, rather than giving the teachers enough time to dedicate to their teaching"*. Vernesh seeing the conflict between the rules and reality says "*the curriculum requires that some admin tasks be completed, and completing those administrative tasks, such as having the teacher files ready for the subject adviser's visit, is time consuming. Consequently, more time is devoted to completing administrative tasks than on actual teaching*."

Vernesh' unhappiness is elicited by the "unfriendliness" of policy expectation in the light of teachers' realities. His disappointment is due to the fact that teachers' and subject advisers' work is adversely affected by the mismatch between policy expectation and reality. As the face of the Department to teachers, Vernesh feels frustrated because he is placed in a difficult position, where he needs to see to it that teachers comply with policy demands, yet he sees that some policy expectations are unrealistic and unfriendly in certain contexts

implementable in particular contexts, yet he must ensure that teachers complied even though he thinks such policy demands were often poorly prioritised.

Vernesh is conflicted, as he needs to balance both demands from the policy side, as well as the teachers' side. In order to remain compliant, he finds ways of getting the teachers to understand the complexity of the dilemma so that he and teachers are compliant. Turnbull (2012) affirms that in some instances, middle managers engage in 'resigned compliance', developed in order to follow instruction from management. So, some middle managers not only act out a prescribed role towards their subordinates and superiors, but are also required to sustain this when with their peers (p. 161). In this instance, Vernesh had difficulty following policy, because he is not 100% in agreement with the policy rules. The policy rule holds that teachers must have their files up to date and ready for assessment by the subject adviser, yet that requires that significant time be spent on fulfilling the admin task, which then limits the amount of time spent on teaching. Consequently, because Vernesh cannot overlook the administrative compliance aspect of subject advisers' and teachers' jobs, he is governed by the emotional rule that ***in spite of the conflicting demands, subject advisers and teachers must follow the rules they are given.***

Vernesh' unhappiness that the policy rule prioritises administrative compliance, conflicts with his belief that teaching in the classroom is the most important thing for teachers (section 5.4.3), so he performs emotional labour in order to do his job in the face of a conflict between the policy rule and this belief. Gallos (2012) states that leaders increase the odds that others will implement decisions when leaders convincingly convey their confidence in the new approach, whether the confidence is there or not (p.41). In this case, although Vernesh is not confident in the policy rule, he convinces teachers to comply, thereby affirming Gallos' point.

8.5.2 The emotional labour of implementing policy with teachers

The Personnel Administrative Measures (PAM) document states that from a leadership perspective, subject advisers are "to create and maintain sound human relations among colleagues and enhance the spirit of co-operation at all levels" (PAM document section 3.1.5 p.36).

This is an instance where policy makes emotional rules that subject advisers must follow. The expectation based on this statement is that subject advisers initiate and maintain a cordial

working relationship with teachers, in an effort to ensure that the implementation of policy is met with positivity. To do this, subject advisers need to respond and act in a manner that ensures sound human relations.

When Vernesh spoke about how he achieved teacher compliance with policy, his narration in the vignette suggest that it involved developing and fostering personal and social relationships with the teachers, in order to get them to understand that policy must be adhered to:

> *Some don't think we are there to support at all, they think we are there to fault find. So, it is very challenging. Like I said earlier, when you give instructions, even when the instructions are very reasonable, it becomes difficult to comply with those instructions at times. I am not saying all of them, but some of them have those tendencies, and the only way to get around that is just to win them socially. You have to relate with them on a personal level to do that. And that is also a challenge, because the minute you relate with them on a personal level, they also take advantage and become complacent with their job*.

In dealing with teachers, Vernesh suppresses the misgivings he had about policy expectations, striving to see to it that teachers complied. He underplayed his frustrations at the unrealistic and unfriendliness of policy expectations, and instead sought to foster and maintain a friendliness and cordiality with teachers through pointing out how both teachers and subject advisers are faced with similar problems. *They also have to understand that you as an official also have to comply with the very same policies that are supposed to be implemented or followed*.

Vernesh's approach exemplifies Gallos' (2012) point that "successful leaders learn to compartmentalise, suppress or modulate their own emotional response to criticism or circumstances, so as to stay focused with their eye on the prize" (p.41). Although Vernesh is not pleased with the mismatch between policy expectation and reality, he cannot defy policy, rather he navigates his way around his and teachers' policy misgivings by developing and fostering personal, social relationships with teachers in order to get teachers to understand and comply with policy demands. His intention is to win the teachers over and get them to see that both teachers and subject advisers have similar work dynamics, so must band together to get the job done. Thus, he wants to approach teachers not just as a monitor of policy, but also as a support and friend.

Vernesh makes efforts to understand teachers' dilemmas, be empathetic to their situation, and also relate to their feelings as part of his own, because he too, like teachers, has to implement unrealistic policy expectations with the teachers. The emotional investment involved in creating and maintaining the personal and social relationship with teachers in order to ensure that policy is implemented, is the emotional labour Vernesh performs. In analysing the emotional labour involved in this instance, I realised that policy requires a substantial amount of emotional labour from subject advisers.

The nature of subject advisers' job is that they play multiple roles. One of the seven roles the educator must play is the *role of interpreter and designer of learning programs and materials.* This requires that the educator "*understand the principles of curriculum: how decisions are made; who makes the decisions, on what basis and in whose interests, they are made*" (Norms and Standards for Educators p.16). This role means that for Vernesh, while he is not in complete agreement with policy demand on teachers, he must adhere to the principles of the curriculum, that require administrative tasks be completed.

Another role subject advisers are required to play is a pastoral role, which requires that "*within the school, the educator will demonstrate an ability to develop a supportive and empowering environment for the learner and respond to the educational and other needs of learners and fellow educators"* (Government Gazette No. 20844, 4 February 2000, p.6).This stipulation by the norms and standards concur with the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) Collective Agreement of 2017, subject advisers are required to "*monitor and support the implementation of the curriculum in the relevant subject."* They are also required to *guide and support teachers in effectively delivering the curriculum in the classroom* (p.18). The job description of subject advisers requires them to operate from two paradigms; a monitor of policy implementation and a support for teachers. In a sense, the former is a policing role (monitoring) and the latter a pastoral role (support). These roles are sometimes in conflict, which can create tension in subject advisers' relationship with teachers.

In Vernesh's circumstance, fostering a personal, cordial relationship with teachers does not protect him from the repercussion of the negativity caused by unfriendly policy and timelines. As a representative of the Department, and an enforcer of policy, Vernesh is at the receiving end of teachers' attitude directed towards the department. He is caught in between the department and teachers, and gets "*blamed for something that wasn't my fault*". Vernesh

bears the brunt of teachers' wrath that is meant for those higher up the hierarchy in the Department, merely for performing his duties.

Grace, another subject adviser from a top-performing district, talked about how unsuccessful attempts at getting a teacher to implement policy made her feel. *"If I see that a teacher hasn't made an effort towards implementation even after mediation, it* ***finishes the passion*** *and I begin to feel* ***depressed and defeated****. I almost want to hold them and shake them up and say 'show me some effort'. I have put in all this time and energy in coming up with these tools and plan. I need some show of effort from the teacher. It is at these times that I pray to GOD and say: 'give me more ideas to encourage these teachers. Give me* ***more grace*** *so that I am* ***not demotivated****'* (Grace…section 5.2.1.3).

Subject advisers are to "facilitate correct interpretation, and ensure effective planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies" (ELRC Collective agreement no. 4 of 2017, p.16). Grace's comment shows how subject advisers' unsuccessful attempts at getting teachers to implement policy makes subject advisers feel like they have failed in some way, which weighs heavily on them. Grace internalised this failure and, feeling both depressed and defeated. Turner (2014) states that assertion-anger and disappointment-sadness generate feelings of depression, bitterness, and betrayal (p.19). This anger stems from a lack of effort by the teacher, even after mediation the teacher which diminishes Grace's effort in mediation process. Grace wants to see effort from the teacher, which reflects the effort she (Grace) has put in.

Because Grace cannot refuse to do her job, she had to find ways to rise above the negative feelings in order to continue to do her job. For a committed subject adviser like Grace, she sought external help through divine intervention to remain motivated to continue to do her work, and to get teachers to be more responsive in implementing policy. The weight of living up to policy expectation, and her desire to see teachers succeed, constitutes the emotional labour Grace performs as she implements policy with teachers. Grace continued to reach inwards to find motivation and the zeal to continue to "*encourage the teachers to implement policy.*"

8.6 The emotional rules and labour of supporting teachers

Subject advisers' work with teachers is supposed to focus mainly on support, according to the *Handbook for Gauteng District Officials 2013* (p.68). Subject advisers offer support to teachers in two ways: administratively, by providing them with the necessary resources to implement the curriculum effectively (policy) and emotionally, by helping teachers navigate the challenges of their contexts (professional norms and beliefs). Both forms of support demand significant investment of time and energy. The investment of time and energy is not one-sided, but has to be bilateral. The carer (subject adviser) and the cared for (teacher) must both contribute appropriately in the relationship (Noddings, 2013).

In Vignette 3, Thandi's' story demonstrates the emotional rule she is governed by, as she supports teachers. She demonstrates the belief about the superior-subordinate relationship, in her interaction with a teacher she supported emotionally.

8.6.1 Vignette 3

Thandi is a subject adviser in a top-performing district. She explained:

I have had an instance where I think I went beyond the call of duty to assist a teacher. I mean, she was really struggling and at her wits ends. ***I could see that it was not because she didn't know what to do or maybe she was being difficult. The situation she found herself in was just too tough.*** *I took it upon myself to mentor her and in some ways reignite the passion for teaching. Sometimes the system has the potential to mess you up, such that you forget why you even got into teaching. After my meetings and conversations with her, I could see how that made a huge difference to her. I could see the smile come back to her face, and for me personally, I could also feel my passion being reignited. It is small moments, yet big in the way they make you feel, that make this job worthwhile. What she may not have known is that while she thinks I saved her, she also saved me, and you know, lifted my spirit and passion.*

In the excerpt above, Thandi's engagement with the teacher is on a more personal level, where she did not only focus on ticking-off the boxes to see if the teacher was implementing policy. Instead, she related to the teacher on a more personal level, such that she understood and paid attention to the teacher's challenge. This kind of intimate support tailored to the specific need of the teacher, is the type of support subject advisers desire to give teachers, yet conditions and demands of their own jobs do not allow for such interaction and interventions to occur frequently (section 7.2.4).

Significantly, Thandi, was elated at being able to achieve the desired level of support with the teacher. Thandi's scenario with the teacher illustrates the transactional relationship between subject advisers and teachers, as there was a mutual transaction and exchange of value (Glaso and Einarsen, 2005). Thandi has helped the teacher overcome her challenge, and had thus reignited the teacher's passion for teaching, which is positive and noteworthy. However, Thandi held off openly acknowledge to the teacher that she (Thandi) had also benefitted from that interaction.

Thandi's reluctance to show the teacher how she had been personally impacted could be tied the emotional rule **that a subordinate is typically more dependent on the superior than vice versa, which stems** from the Collective Agreement No. 4 of 2017, which mandates subject advisers to "promote constructive employee relations" (p.20). In this emotional rule, the belief is that becoming actively emotionally involved with subordinates is not part of professional behaviour, such that being too close to the teacher in this instance runs counter to one's professional role (Einarsen, Skogstad, & Glasø, 2013). Thandi's masking of her feelings suggests this belief, because Thandi deemed it inappropriate to express or show the teacher how she truly felt, in order to maintain professionalism. This masking of how she truly feels is the emotional labour Thandi performs, in order to support the teacher and maintain her dignity as a superior.

Einarsen et al. (2013) suggest that leaders are likely to manage their emotions experienced during interaction with subordinates, because emotions influence the way subordinates perceive leaders and the emotional expression used by leaders typically matter more to subordinates than the objective content of the actual messages. Humphrey (2012) argues that, in interactions between a leader and a follower, the relative power between the two parties is another factor that greatly influences emotional labour processes. The relative power advantage determines the direction of appeals to emotional labour. The less powerful person usually has to direct his or her emotional labour towards winning over the more powerful party's goodwill, whereas the more powerful person often only has to use emotional labour to convey gracious acceptance or rejection (p.90). In the context of this study, the power difference between Thandi and the teacher could explain why Thandi is not letting the teacher know how she also impacted Thandi positively, so as not to be the undermined by the teacher. The power in this case lies with Thandi as the leader, yet Thandi's comment in section 7.4.4 also suggests that she values the teachers' positive impression of her, is important to her (Thandi) wellbeing and flourishing.

Masking certain emotions while displaying others indicates emotional labour. In Vignette 4 below, Grace described a situation where she muted particular emotions, just to highlight other,' more productive emotions. The scenario described is about how emotional labour can lead to positive outcomes.

8.6.2 Vignette 4

(Grace TP) There was once this teacher who needed a lot of intervention, but her attitude was like 'Grace, I don't like you'. I kept feeling like 'how do I even go about assisting someone who almost cannot stand the sight of me?' Yet I had never even had any negative interaction with her before. Well, I decided that her attitude would not deter me from rendering the support I knew she really needed. ***So, I kept putting up this bright and happy face and attitude whenever I had to interact with her****. Eventually she said to me one day, "you know, I didn't like you at all before, but now I can see that you really want to help and you are good at what you do." That was the moment I would say that broke the ice. She and I have become really good friends. You see, if you are not strong, such experiences can actually frustrate and depress you. A negative energy from teachers can actually demotivate subject advisers. (Section 5.2.3.5)*

Grace, committed to supporting teachers even in the difficult times, was compelled to manage her emotional display when interacting with a difficult teacher. Grace's belief was that negativity from a teacher should not deter her from supporting the teacher, especially where there was an obvious need for support. Frost (2004) argues that no matter what leaders do, they often find themselves under fire from people who dislike the leader's direction, strategies, or persona, where taking these responses to heart can even lead to illness. In section 8.5.2 Grace spoke about how failing to get teachers to implement policy made her feel "depressed and 'finished her passion'."

For Grace, the key to breaking the ice and doing her job required a consistent effort to act in a certain way. Hochschild (1979) refers to this as deep acting. In this case, Grace managed her facial expression, and also managed her attitude whenever she interacted with the teacher, that is deep acting. According to Grandey and Diefendorff (2013), Grace's approach to the teacher is a "response-focused emotion regulation" (p.99) because, although Grace could have followed the negativity the teacher presented, she manipulated her emotional expression and reaction to the situation, into a more positive stance, therein performing emotional labour.

Emotional labour is sometimes perceived in the negative sense, especially if the outcome of the labour is negative. For instance, Ward and McMurray (2015) describe emotional labour as work that can be emotionally disturbing, wearying, deeply upsetting, stigmatising, and yet is necessary for the effective functioning of specific organisations and society at large (McMurray & Ward, 2015, p.2). However, Gallos (2012) states that some emotional labour strategies facilitate productive and positive interpersonal connections with followers. Leadership is the property of a relationship. Capacities for empathy and emotional engagement, for *caritas*, or true caring, and service, for discerning another's emotional state, or for reflecting another's fears and feelings help forge the bonds of trust and collaboration at the heart of leadership effectiveness and progress (p.41). In Grace's instance, the emotional labour performed yielded positive outcomes, as, through the management and display of emotions, Grace was able to change the teacher's perception and attitude from negative to positive. Thus, the outcome of the emotional labour was positive. Grace's story highlights emotional labour with a positive outcome.

In Elmarie's commentary below, the instance described concerns the emotional labour of administrative support.

(Elmarie UP) The other thing that is ***really also frustrating*** *is what is currently happening in the schools. In our senior phase, there's a change of teachers every year.* ***I'm finished, I am exhausted. I really don't enjoy*** *the rotation of teachers. The teachers who are now teaching General Education and Training (GET), maybe next year, if they see that the teacher is very good, then they take her to Further Education and Training (FET). Then what do you do? That new teacher will phone you and say I need lesson plans; I need all the documentations for the subject. And they call you again. By then you say to yourself, '****I was there yesterday, I did all this before!'***

The yearly rotation of teachers was a challenge for Elmarie, as it stifled the continuity of support, she was able to give. It demanded that she again provide documents to each new teacher, which she considered a repetition of tasks, and forging a cordial work relationship with each new teacher. The yearly rotation also meant that she would be unable to follow up on the teacher with whom she was already working.

Support here happens on two levels: administratively, where Elmarie needs to "ensure that educators have the requisite curriculum and assessment document for the subject" (ELRC 2017 Collective Agreement. p.19), and emotionally, where Elmarie has to create and

maintain a good working relationship with the new teacher. Elmarie's professional mandate requires her to "develop a supportive and empowering environment for the learner (teacher) and respond to the educational and other needs of learners and fellow educators (Government Gazette No. 20844 dated 4 February 2000. p.6), where both documents make emotional rules, Elmarie must follow. Both her professional norms and collective agreement compel Elmarie to curb her frustrations in performing her duties satisfactorily.

Elmarie cannot express her displeasure, so she vents to herself. She keeps her frustration in check, so that she can begin to forge a cordial relationship with the new teacher, to support the teacher both administratively and emotionally. Cote, Van Kleef, and Sy (2013) argue that emotional labour is enacted within a dyadic context, in which the agent controls his or her emotions for the benefit of someone else (a customer, client, co-worker, or manager). By not expressing her true feelings and having to mute her feelings just to get the job done, Elmarie performs emotional labour.

8.7. The emotional rules and labour of authority relations

Teacher unions are significant players and an active part of the education system, as they contribute to the broader educational enterprise and collaborate to support important initiatives (Bascia & Osmond, 2013). Most teachers, being affiliated to unions, are obligated to abide by union instructions.

A key aspect of leading is the amount of power and control a leader maintains. Cote et al. (2013) suggest that "leaders are typically more powerful, and powerful others are more likely to shape the emotions of less powerful others, and less powerful others are more likely to pay attention to the emotions of more powerful others" (p.92). Subject advisers, school leadership and teacher unions lead teachers in various ways. Amongst these three sets of teacher leaders, is a subtle power struggle that plays out in the interaction that subject advisers have with schools and teachers.

Hargreaves (1998) argues that "teachers' emotions are shaped in part by their experiences of power or powerlessness" (p.12). I argue here that not only teachers, but also subject advisers' emotions are shaped in part by their experiences of power or powerlessness.

In the commentary below, Elmarie narrates her perception about the authority of a subject adviser.

(Elmarie UP) The other thing is also that we found in those years, the early years, there was a type of respect, or a type of honour, when subject advisers or maybe the inspectors got into the schools. Lately, there is a bit of undermining of our position and the status of the work that we are doing. Because it seems almost like that sense of authority is actually no more. And the problem is because teachers can easily call and cancel a school visit. They can easily stay absent; they can easily do whatever they want because they have got backup. So, you can't be strict with them anymore. They do whatever they want. At the end of the day, they say, 'oh… she is too strict, she is racist you know' and all that kind of stuff, then it becomes a union issue. So now, I need to have that good relationship with teachers. To do my work, I now have to come with another kind of relationship. And not that firm, strict type of authoritative type of thing… although you need to be firm… but at the end of the day… that's one challenge…

Elmarie expected that certain respect and dignity should accompany the position of subject adviser. However, Elmarie felt undermined and disrespected by teachers, due to her perception that the authority that came with the position of subject adviser is to some degree undermined by union influence.

The Collective Agreement no. 4 of 2017 states that subject advisers' job purpose is to provide professional guidance through "conducting regular onsite support visits to teachers in schools" (p. 16). It goes on to state that subject advisers should "guide and support educators in effectively delivering the curriculum in the classroom" (p.18).

The Collective Agreement acknowledges subject advisers as professionals. In the two statements above, they are tasked with providing support and guidance to teachers and schools. The Collective Agreement thus reinforces the authority of subject advisers as they are legitimated in their task of guiding and supporting teachers in effectively delivering the curriculum in the classroom. The Norms and Standards for Educators state that "the educator will practice and promote critical, committed and ethical attitudes towards developing a sense of respect and responsibility towards others" (p.14).

These norms guide all educators, so the expectation is that both subject advisers and teachers will respect each other as educators. The South African Council of Educators (SACE) code of ethics states that "an educator refrains from undermining the status and authority of his or her colleagues; respects the various responsibilities assigned to colleagues and the authority that

arises there from, to ensure the smooth running of the educational institution" (section 6.1-2, p. 5).

The SACE code of ethics and the Norms and Standards for Educators firmly demand that educators recognise and respect each other. On the backdrop of the Norms and Standards, the Collective Agreement and the SACE code of conduct, Elmarie's understanding is that, as a professional and leader whose duty it is to guide and support teachers, teachers need to acknowledge and respect the authority of the subject adviser, and in the same vein, subject advisers must also respect teachers.

Elmarie's belief is that subject advisers have significant power and authority over teachers and this belief stems from her own history and experience with inspectors as a teacher. Some of the evidence of the power and authority to substantiate her belief was that during her days as a teacher being led by inspectors, teachers could not cancel scheduled visits and they could not be absent from school without justification. The authoritarian style of leadership ingrained and practiced by the apartheid system of education ensured that in that system, teachers feared inspectors.[10] Leadership from inspectors was autocratic, and inspectors exercised power and authority over teachers and schools. That was the experience of leadership many subject advisers like Elmarie had. The leadership approach of inspectors, especially during apartheid, was authoritarian, and teachers often had little or no power, so they complied (even if reluctantly) with directives given to them. The view was that teachers were State workers or State functionaries, with little authority, power or interest in controlling their work (De Clercq, 2013). In that era, teachers' social agency went unrecognised.

Those experiences of leadership created perceptions and beliefs about leadership that Elmarie took with her into her role as a leader. The belief that is underlying her emotional rule is that the ***subject adviser must be honoured and respected by teachers***.

Presently, in the post-apartheid era, power and authority are no longer one-sided. Through the power and influence of unions, teachers have developed agency, and with teacher agency

[10] Pre-1994, support was like, inspectors come and observe the teacher for like three hours and would write a report. In those times, support was more of instilling fear and admonishing the teachers, and this really made teachers fearful of inspectors coming to their classrooms. In the reports, the emphasis would be on the negative. "Ja! here are all the things you are doing wrong etc. In fact, inspectors' visits were like a fault- finding mission. It seemed like they were all out to get you" (Grace TP).

comes power and authority too. One of the benefits for teachers is that they can now call subject advisers to cancel a scheduled school visit if they deem the scheduled time to be inconvenient. In the apartheid era, teachers were not at liberty to do that. Such a shift demonstrates that since apartheid, there has been a paradigm shift in the type of leadership practiced in the Department, and this has also affected the distribution of power between subject advisers and teachers. It has emphasised the need for mutual respect between all educators.

Gallos (2012) explains that "unhappy or complicated histories may have faded from institutional consciousness and records, but they still reside in the social system, as do memories of ineffective leaders and failed change efforts from the past. New challenges and pain can rekindle unresolved past emotions (p.44). In this case, Elmarie's past experience of leadership conflicts with the expectations of leadership in the post-apartheid era. More so, the reality and agency of teachers in the post-apartheid era differs from Elmarie's experience as a teacher, with little or no agency in an autocratic leadership. Elmarie's experience of leadership was one where the leader told the subordinate what to do and made sure the subordinate complied without questions. Under that style of leadership, the subordinate had little agency. So, her experience of leadership is that it is something done to people. Elmarie is caught between her experience and perception of an outdated style of authoritarian leadership and a more liberal approach to teaching and leading, as stated: "so now, I need to have that good relationship with teachers to do my work. I now have to come with another kind of relationship. And not that firm, strict type of authoritative type of thing. Although you need to be firm, but at the end of the day, that's one challenge."

This statement suggests that there is a conflict of authority relations between Elmarie's experience of leadership (authoritarian) and the expected style of leadership (democratic). Being caught between these two paradigms of leadership was a challenge for Elmarie. This conflicting position left her feeling 'powerless', and she felt she "can't be strict with them anymore". The disjuncture between her understanding of leadership and the policy expectation of leadership created an emotional dilemma for Elmarie.

In this conflict of paradigms, Elmarie experienced a perceived loss of power and the fear of being labelled. She values her work, so in order to do her work, she decided that she "needs to show a different kind of leadership style that is firm, yet not authoritarian", which she acknowledges is a struggle. The struggle lies in the required change of leadership identity and

approach. In the democratic leadership role, respect and honour goes both ways, from the teacher to the subject adviser and from the subject adviser to the teacher. It topples Elmarie's previously held belief and emotional rule that teachers must honour and respect subject advisers.

In the last three sentences of her comment, the emotional rule she follows and the labour that Elmarie performs becomes visible. Her statement shows that Elmarie values her job and position, and her emotional understanding is that in order to maintain it, she **"needs to develop that good relationship with teachers to do my work"**. That was the emotional rule Elmarie operated by. It suggests that Elmarie is struggling to adjust to the demands of leading, which involves developing a good relationship with teachers. In making this adjustment, Elmarie performs emotional labour.

In order to "come with a new kind of relationship", i.e., a different way of interacting from the authoritarian style she had been used to, Elmarie has to take different steps, and make changes to expression and belief, so as to lead the teachers as expected, and that is the emotional labour she performs, to do her job. She found that to be challenging.

The emotional labour performed by Elmarie could be attributed to what Loader (2010) refers to as an unnatural transition from teacher to administrator. This unnatural transition is results from a misconception about the readiness of new administrators for leadership, and this misconception arises from the metaphor of growth. Loader argues that newly appointed administrators have not had time for new growth. In this case, although Elmarie may have been fully grown as a teacher, in the role of subject adviser she is still vulnerable and needing support to understand the demands of a changed role and different style of leadership.

Elmarie attributed her perception of teacher attitude towards the position of subject adviser to union influence. Turner (2014) maintains that "individuals are always making causal attributions for their feelings, and since defence mechanisms are always an effort to protect self, the attributions are externalized towards others and social structures" (p. 190). From Elmarie's perspective, the loss of power and control over teachers has happened because of union interference, given that it is through the bargaining power of unions that teachers have acquired power and agency, which may be detrimental to the position of subject adviser. Thus, from her perspective, unions are a 'breeding ground' for the undermining and disrespect of the subject adviser's role. From this perspective, unions have more power and

control over teachers than do subject advisers, and Elmarie feared that any effort to exert her own power over teachers would result in problems with the unions.

8.8 The Emotional rules and labour of dealing with union influence over teachers

The subject advisers' emotional rules regarding union influence over teachers is due to subject advisers working under preconceived negativity from teachers fostered by unions, and understanding that teachers require better support, yet being structurally unable to adequately off the kind of support teachers need. In the next vignette, Grace Devin and Vernesh talk about their perception regarding union influence on teachers.

8.8.1 Vignette 7

"Sometimes, it becomes difficult with union interference. The unions make it seem as if we just want to victimise the teachers, like we are there to punish them or something. It makes no sense at all. Because all we are doing is to make sure that the system works right. But when unions are telling the teachers what to do and what not to do, it seems as if the officials and the system just want to punish teachers and make them scape goats. Yes, unions have that much power [smirks, shakes her head in disappointment and hisses]. *Union influence complicates the relationship between us and teachers because they make it seem like we are the devil seeking whom to devour. It really makes our jobs tougher" (Grace TP section 6.2.1).*

"You see, traditionally, unions don't want us in classrooms observing teachers. So, it is a union influence. It has never happened in my ten years as a subject adviser that a teacher would invite me. Of course, we can only go to the classroom to observe if we are invited. But as far as it stands, the unions are very clear to say we do not visit classrooms as per the collective agreement. The Performance Management and Development (PMD) and the Integrated Quality Management Systems (IQMS) only allow a Head of Department and a peer to observe the teacher in the classroom. We, as outsiders, cannot" (Devin TP section 6.2.2)

"Getting teachers to comply with policy can be so, so difficult. You know teachers belong to different unions and they in a way use the union to back their wrong doing. So, it is very challenging. Even when you give instructions that are reasonable, it becomes difficult to get them to comply with the instructions because of union influence" (Vernesh TP section 6.2.2).

Grace, Devin and Vernesh described the extent of union influence in their interaction with teachers. They described how union influence made the interaction with teachers difficult, and complicated their relationship with them. Subject advisers have no direct interaction with teacher unions during school visits or other interactions with teachers, yet the subject advisers felt that unions significantly influenced their interactions with teachers. In essence, their interaction with teachers is subject to third party involvement.

In Vignette 7, Grace, Devin and Vernesh each emphasise different issues relating to unions that impact their interaction with teachers. Grace spoke about unions portraying subject advisers as a threat to them. Devin spoke about unions encumbering the process and effectiveness of subject advisers' support work with teachers, and Vernesh spoke about teachers using union influence to cover up for their incompetence. These three issues reveal the type of influence subject advisers believe teacher unions have on subject advisers' interaction with teachers. For these subject advisers, their main tasks and responsibility is to support teachers (see section 4.2.2.2). Policy requires that subject advisers monitor, guide, and support teachers in implementing the curriculum. The subject advisers themselves also have a personal moral mandate to support teachers in order to improve the education system (see section 7.2).

Due to the policy rule, their personal moral mandate, as well as the professional norm that states that "within the school, the educator will demonstrate an ability to develop a supportive and empowering environment for the learner and respond to the educational and other needs of learners and fellow educators" (Norms and Standards for Educators p.6), the subject advisers are guided by the belief that *"teacher unions must understand that we are here to support teachers to do their jobs effectively."*

Yet, contrary to subject advisers' belief, and by their own observation, the subject advisers' felt that unions made them out to be villains before teachers, considered them to be outsiders from whom teachers must be protected, and gave teachers the backing to cover up their incompetence. The subject advisers' opinion is that unions made it seem that they were up to no good with teachers (see section 6.2), and this amplified the feelings of mistrust between subject adviser and teacher. Additionally, this perception of being up to no good placed subject advisers in an emotionally complex situation, where they are not only contending with teachers' negative perceptions about them, but also with some of the contradictory dynamics at play in their jobs.

In spite of subject advisers' desire to better interact with and support teachers, they were still considered outsiders by the unions and teachers. Though subject advisers are indeed outside the school setting, unions are also not part of the schools either, yet teachers did not consider them outsiders. Subject advisers being regarded as outsiders stems from the negative historical impression of inspectors, whose interactions with teachers often elicited fear and anxiety about inspection visits to classrooms. Gallos (2012) states that "individuals develop frames of reference and belief systems to make sense, giving meaning and predictability to their experience" (p.42). For the post-apartheid subject advisers, these negative impression teachers have of inspectors of the apartheid days, has been carried over to post-apartheid subject advisers, and additionally, the juxtaposition of monitoring and support, where teachers feeling unsupported by subject advisers only amplifies the notion of being outsiders. In order to counter these negative perceptions and be able to do their own jobs, the subject advisers perform emotional labour.

It became difficult for the subject advisers to see that in some ways, their roles and responsibility were infringed upon by these negative impressions created by unions to teachers. The burden and negativity associated with being regarded as "the devil seeking whom to devour", and "outsiders", as well as the difficulties and challenges embedded in the primary task of subject adviser (monitor and support teachers), creates room for emotional labour.

In order to do their job, the subject advisers were obliged to find ways to navigate the difficulties and challenges that abound, especially in having to prove that they are not tyrannical towards teachers, but rather partners in progress. Therein lies the emotional labour. Devin's commentary highlights the kind of emotional labour subject advisers engage in as they try to support teachers and also correct the negative impression teachers have about them.

There are all kinds of teachers in the system. You find that some teachers understand your job and the reason you have to constantly check on them. So, they appreciate your visits and are willing to engage with you. Then you also find the others who don't want to even hear the word 'subject adviser' and they are ready to frustrate your efforts to support them. I think maybe because they assume we are there to judge them. And really, we are not. We are only there to help and support them. I find also that some of those teachers who don't like us may have had a previous unpleasant experience with some other officials and so they now cast

aspersions on the rest of us. We all become fault finders in their eyes. It takes a lot of time and patience to deal with such teachers. Sometimes you win them over, sometimes they have made up their minds not to like you regardless. So, in such instances I just carry on with my job regardless of how they feel about me (Devin TP section5.2.3.4).

In this scenario, Devin describes how teachers preconceived negative notion about subject advisers affects the reception and the interaction he has with some of those teachers. He becomes 'the bad guy', whose intention is to find fault in what the teacher is doing, rather than a support who simply wants to help the teacher succeed. Devin states that "it takes a lot of time and patience to deal with such teachers". Yet, regardless of the time and effort invested, there is no guarantee that the teacher will change their perception. So, Devin not only bears the brunt of the negativity, but he needs to carefully find means and measures that will help win the teacher over. In some instances, it works, and he is able to win them over, and in other instances it fails, and the teacher remains adamant. In case of the latter, Devin moves on with his job, with no further consideration of how the teacher feels about him and his responsibility. Gallos (2012) argues that successful leaders learn to compartmentalise, suppress or modulate their own emotional response to criticism or circumstances, so as to stay focused (p.41).

From Devin's point of view, he felt he had given his best to change the teacher's perception, and the lack of success suggested to him that there was no use in trying further. This process of trying to overcome and change preconceived notions in order to adequately support the teacher involves emotional labour he chooses not to expend.

The emotional labour lies in subject advisers having to show teachers who are already wary of subject advisers' intentions that they [subject advisers] are not tyrants, rather they are partners in progress. This may be through modification of expression, attitude, and approach to monitoring and support tasks with teachers. Grace and Devin perform emotional labour when they strive to show that they are nothing like the label that has been ascribed to them by the unions and teachers' perceptions.[11] The outcome of that labour could go either positively,

[11] (Devin TP) *We all become fault finders in their eyes. It takes a lot of time and patience to deal with such teachers. Sometimes you win them over, sometimes they have made up their minds not to like you regardless. So in such instances, I just carry on with my job, regardless of how they feel about me*.

(Grace TP) *Well, I think there are those who like me and those who don't. The ones who don't like me, sometimes don't have a personal problem with me, they just don't like the concept of a DO coming to monitor them, and I understand, really. If they have had negative experiences with a DO, it is very natural that they would not really want me. And the truth is that teachers struggle with some DOs. When the job gets tough, some*

where they try to show teachers that they have teachers' best interests at heart in an effort to establish some trust, or negatively, where they allow that mistrust to fester by ignoring the perception and carry on doing their jobs.

8.9 The emotional rules and labour of dealing with own emotions

"All educators come to their work as people. It is, after all, the 'self' who decides to join the profession and the occupational identity which is absorbed (if it is) into the personal" (Nias 1989 p. 150). The way subject advisers feel about themselves significantly determines how they adapt or not to workplace conditions, and how they overcome challenges faced at work. Dealing with one's own emotions is a foundational basis for being able to deal with the emotions of others. Regulating our emotions is a fundamental aspect of our social lives (Côté, 2005), and is particularly essential for interpersonal communication (Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008; Van Kleef, 2009).

Subject advisers' work in this study, has been shown to be an emotion-laden environment. Therefore, how subject advisers deal with their own emotions is an important component to understanding the complexities of their work. Policy does not make determinations about how subject advisers ought to feel about their work, but there is an underlying assumption that they are skilled in emotional intelligence as they tasked to "create and maintain sound human relations among colleagues and enhance the spirit of co-operation at all levels" (PAM document section 3.1.5 p.36). To achieve this, the subject advisers need to be emotionally intelligent, which refers to the "ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and action" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 189).

Palmer (1998) states that "a leader must take special responsibility for what's going on inside his or her own self, inside his or her consciousness, lest the act of leadership create more harm than good" (p.200). According to Palmer (2003), our emotions are not just something that we feel but they are a source of information (p.6). On the basis of Palmer's statement, the emotions (information) subject advisers have about themselves and others, shape their approach and adaptability to work contexts. When the subject advisers in this study reflected on their self and how they dealt with their emotions, they express either confidence or

of my colleagues, you know, become judgmental and the teachers don't like that. Unions often interfere and this contributes to the negativity.

apprehension at being able to acknowledge and embrace the emotions that their work elicited in them.

Although there are no explicit policy statements that suggest how subject advisers ought to feel about their work, their professional norm requires them to "reflect on and assess their own practices" (Norms and Standards for Educators No. 20844, p. 22). This norm requires an internal judgment call to be made, as they "reflect on and assess their practice". As they reflect on their practices, they also reflect on how they feel. In a way, the professional norms require educators to acknowledge and realign (where needs be) their modus operandi to be able to do their job effectively. The professional norm implies that subject advisers need to deal with their own thoughts and feelings and behaviours.

According to Gallos (2012) "leaders will also be challenged by their own internal conflicts, and they serve others better if they strengthen and support themselves. They will need to embrace self-reflection, accept their strengths and limitations, and dig deep into their moral core to manage ego and 'personal hungers'" (p.50).

In Vignette 8 Elmarie narrates her internal conflict with her role as a subject adviser. She discusses her fears of not living up to expectations.

Vignette 8

Elmarie … "I don't want people to elevate me, I don't. If I can avoid going to this specific place [the schools where she used to teach] *I do. I do my work, but I avoid that place if I can. When I find myself in my old community, if I can avoid going to my old school, I do.*

When I was there, I was not that kind of person that was like… I wasn't loud, I wasn't the leader, because you know how they associate leadership with talk and being bold, well I am not. I am quiet, but I do my work. And now when I get back there, I am sure they all ask 'oh, how did she get the post? "Does she deserve the post?' So, I would get some kind of attitude from them. When I go to my meetings there, I get this kind of vibe, they sometimes try to be funny or they have this distance. And then you know what I do? It's almost like, at the back of mind I have to prove myself.

Once, I got so ill, I got so ill here, because I had that mentality about how you see yourself as a subject adviser: you need to have all the knowledge, you need to have a perfect life, like you need to have it all under control and you need to be a professor of some sorts and you have to have it all together to be there, a subject adviser, I mean. And then when you get to the

schools you feel like that type of attitude and that's how people see you. Which people still see you like that, if you go, you need to have all the knowledge. And then at the beginning it made me feel so sick. You know getting panic attacks and things like that because of work.

Now I am more experienced, I know I don't have to do things the way they should be done, I can do things differently. And you know what? I've learnt, I've told people, I'm not that knowledgeable. You know what I've learnt as a subject adviser? That, I'm a leader, I'm leading my teachers, I'm managing my teachers, I'm a manager, but it doesn't mean I need to have all the knowledge in the world. Because somebody can have all the knowledge but he can't be a good teacher or leader or manager. So, I need to take that type of initiative, I have to lead my teachers, to manage them, to making sure that everything is fine and everything is in order. And then… and if I don't know, I just go to the textbook to check and I say, you know, this is how it is meant to be done.

Previously, Elmarie had talked about the authority and respect and honour she believed subject advisers should have (see section 8.7). In the vignette above, Elmarie explores her inner conflict about how to be elevated as a subject adviser.

When she was new on the job and faced with people who knew her when was a teacher, before becoming a subject adviser, Elmarie worried about their perception of her in the new status. Her fears and anxieties were that she did not have what it took to be a subject adviser: "*I had this mentality about how you see yourself as a subject adviser*" and she also worried about how her former colleagues perceived her in the new role… "*And when I get there, I am sure they'll as oh how did she get that post? Does she deserve that post?"*

As she reflected on her sense of self as a subject adviser, Elmarie seemed to be in conflict between who she thought a subject adviser should be, who she really is, and who she thought others expected her to be. With these internal conflicts came her fear of not living up to expectations. These were her internal struggles in the beginning of her career as a subject adviser.

Elmarie's previously held belief was that as a subject adviser, "*you need to have all the knowledge, you need to have a perfect life, like you need to have it all under control and you need to be a professor of some sorts and you have to have it all together to be there, a subject adviser."* This belief may stem in part from the expectations indicated in the Collective Agreement no. 4 of 2017 that subject advisers are to "have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the relevant subject/phase CAPS, and build CAPS knowledge among

educators" (p.19). This belief is in conflict with the reality that her life is not perfect as she struggled with balancing work and home life (see section 8.4), and she did not have all the knowledge.

Elmarie's unspoken emotional rule was that a subject adviser must be *bold and loud*, yet was opposed to being put on that pedestal. She rejected any notion that as a subject adviser, she is to be elevated, because she thought her personality did not fit the role. Her fears and anxiety were especially heightened when she visited her old school community and former colleagues, as these are people who know her well. They know she is quiet and not loud. In her opinion, being bold and loud are qualities of a leader, and she does not possess either. Not possessing these qualities in her opinion does not qualify her for an elevated status, especially in her old community. She wanted to remain the same quiet, conscientious Elmarie, who was teacher in that community, and so a change of role and job title should not change their perception of her.

Elmarie understood how teachers in that community perceived subject advisers, and she did not want to be associated with that. She did not want to be considered an outsider or tyrant to teachers, she wanted to be familiar and liked, not aloof from her former colleagues. In essence, she did not want to be associated with the negativity that the term 'subject adviser' appears so often to connote.

Knowing how she and her former colleagues may have felt about visits from subject advisers during her days as a teacher, she particularly dreaded visits to her former school community. In a bid not to encounter and confront her feelings in that setting, she avoided going to that school if she could. In instances she was unable to pull out of such visits, she was petrified of how her former colleagues may perceive her. From her statement, there was no indication that her former colleagues actually behaved differently towards her. These descriptions may have been projections from her, yet to counter those assumptions, she strove to prove herself, to prove that she is capable and deserves to be a leader, a subject adviser, despite how others may feel.

In this context, Elmarie attempts to conquer the pressure of living up to expectations. These expectations have mostly emanated from her presumptions and beliefs, but they have nonetheless created room for emotional labour. Hay (2004) writes that "the thoughts we think create our feelings, and we then begin to live our lives in accordance with these feelings and belief" (p.4). For Elmarie, the burden of living up to her assumptions and her perception of

others' opinions was overwhelming: "*Once, I got so ill, I got so ill here because I had that mentality, about how you see yourself as a subject adviser: you need to have all the knowledge, you need to have a perfect life, like you need to have it all under control and you need to be a professor of some sorts and you have to have it all together to be there, a subject adviser, I mean…"* to the extent of vomiting as a physical manifestation of her inner turmoil. According to Hay (2004), vomiting is the body's way of expressing a violent rejection of ideas. It connotes a fear of the new. Feelings of anxiety usually indicate not trusting the flow and process of life. Elmarie's body manifested the goings on in her mind. She was rejecting being elevated as a leader, and the idea that she had to have perfect life, know it all, and have it all together.

Even with those expectations weighed so heavily over her, she dug herself out from under the throes of the emotional labour she experienced. During the conversation, Elmarie came to the realisation that a leader was not necessarily perfect and had room to grow, even with their subordinates, which gave her, Elmarie, the opportunity to ease into the role.

In this context, it can be argued that Elmarie's emotional labour led to a positive outcome. According to Hay (2011), if we can use our problems and illnesses as opportunities to think about how we can change our lives, we have power.

8.10 Chapter summary

As seen through their emotional rule and emotional labour in this chapter, the nature of their role as the intermediary between the department of education and teachers generates a dilemma for subject advisers, where due to their personal desire to make a positive impact on the education system, they do not want to offend the teachers and the unions. However, they resent being seen as tools of oppression, when needing to follow the instructions of the DoE. As a result, their profession is intrinsically emotionally difficult.

Their emotion management strategies are focused on one important task: eliciting the desired emotional response for commitment from important others (Gallos 2012). In this chapter, the attempt to uncover the emotional rules that govern subject adviser work, and the emotional labour they perform, showed how conflicting policy expectations and the complexities of their work contexts created difficulties in the relationship between subject advisers and teachers. The policy requires that subject advisers offer support, while monitoring compliance during the same visit, yet, given their time constraints and the departmental

emphasis on compliance, they are left with little choice but to primarily monitor the application of policy.

As a result, they are faced with hostility from teachers, whom they are meant to support. The impact of the hostility towards the subject advisers results in subject advisers having a differentiated approach to overcoming the hostility, where some may ignore and forge ahead, while others will engage and find a way forward. Subject advisers are operating under conflicting paradigms, empathetically giving encouragement and support on the one hand and administratively monitoring and inspecting on the other, as their job constantly requires them to find a balance between these opposing roles.

CHAPTER NINE

THE COMPLEX NATURE OF SUBJECT ADVISERS' WORK WITH TEACHERS

Introduction

In the chapters 4-7, I respond to the first and second sub-questions: *What are the key objects in their work that subject advisers feel strongly about? What do the emotions that subject advisers have in relation to these objects tell us about the nature of their work with teachers?* The chapters analyse this by illustrating the four key 'objects' of subject adviser emotions, viz. *Department of Education, Teachers, Influential others and Self,* and the emotions expressed in relation to each object. Chapter 8 responds to the third sub-question *What emotional labour do district officials engage in so as to continue doing their work productively?* It does so by excavating the emotional rules that govern subject advisers and the emotional labour they perform.

This chapter responds to the critical, overall research question posed by this study, namely **"What do the emotions of subject advisers regarding their work with teachers tell us about the nature of their work with teachers?**

In response to the main research question, I make five claims, which arise from my observation that subject advisers' dual obligation of offering support to teachers while being administratively compliant generates powerful yet competing dynamics, which impact the subject adviser - teacher relationship. My claims are as follows:

1.The subject advisers are frustrated by the conflicting demands generated by their monitoring and support roles and these generate tensions that complicate the interaction between subject advisers and teachers.

2.The disempowering emotions of subject advisers are caused by a lack of influence, both upward and downward.

3. The subject adviser-teacher relationship is complicated by competing power dynamics.

4. Subject advisers remain committed to improving the education system despite the challenges they encounter.

5. Emotional labour is generated by the tension between the monitoring and support functions of subject advisers.

9.1: Claim 1. The subject advisers are frustrated by the conflicting demands generated by their monitoring and support roles and these generate tensions that complicate the interaction between subject advisers and teachers.

This claim concerns how the conflicting demands of subject advisers' monitoring and support roles frustrate subject advisers, and complicate their relationship with teachers. The main findings are that, firstly, contrary to the district directive that 80% of subject advisers' work ought to be focused on supporting and only 20% on monitoring schools and teachers (Handbook for Gauteng District Officials, p.56), subject advisers say that they prioritise monitoring over support when dealing with teachers. Secondly, proper support, from subject advisers to teachers and from top management to subject advisers is paramount if they are to flourish in their work.

9.1.1 Contrary to the district directive, subject advisers' work prioritises monitoring over support

My argument in this section is that in spite of the district directive being that 80% of subject advisers' work should be focused on supporting teachers and only the remaining 20% be spent on monitoring, the subject advisers' reality is that, due to the large number of schools and teachers they are responsible for, subject advisers spend most of their time on the monitoring aspects of their jobs, to the detriment of proper teacher support. Additionally, poor communication between management, subject advisers and teachers, coupled with the use of teacher files and learner books as the only means of assessing teacher performance promote the priority on monitoring (Chapters 4 -5).

Scheier and Carver (2014) state that "humans usually pursue many goals simultaneously, but can have only one top priority at a given moment. People attain their many goals by shifting among them. Thus, there are changes over time in which one goal has the top priority" (p.66). By analysing the tasks that subject advisers perform, and how each of those tasks fulfil either a monitoring or a support role, and seeing how performing those tasks made the subject

advisers feel, I realised that the subject advisers in this study struggled with striking a balance between monitoring and supporting teachers. The struggle is evident when they talk about how much time they devote to each aspect of their job (section 4.3). For instance, in section 4.3.1, all the subject advisers complained about having to devote more of their time to the administrative aspects of their job, while knowing they ought to be spending more time supporting teachers to overcome challenges and struggles they faced in the classrooms. Colman (2021) argues that when policy enactment is focused on inspection (monitoring), it becomes problematic, as it raises tensions between the school, teachers, and the inspectors (district officials). Thus, schools become "sites of struggle between the inspector, school leaders and teachers" (p.10). Such tensions can be seen in this study, where subject advisers spend most of their time monitoring the many schools and teachers for which they are responsible, while desiring to spend more time attending to the needs of teachers, and teachers on the receiving end "feel unsupported by subject advisers" (Steinberg, 2014; Bantwini, 2017; Nwachukwu, 2016). In the light of the subject advisers' own feelings of disappointment and sadness about spending less time on real teacher support, this suggests that teachers are indeed not being adequately supported by the subject advisers (Chapter 5).

Poor communication further exacerbates the problem, as indicated in section 4.4, where the subject advisers expressed frustration at how poor communication between subject advisers and teachers, as well as between subject advisers and others in the department, negatively impacts their work and relationship with teachers. This poor communication with teachers further intensified existing tensions (section 4.4) and creates the impression for teachers that subject advisers are faultfinders and lack the knowledge to support them. Because knowledge- and information-sharing constitutes a core focus of their work, subject advisers require proper channels of communication as the foundation for sharing of information and knowledge. Communication involves not only which information is shared, but also how it is shared. Yet, the subject advisers acknowledge that the information they give to teachers is sometimes unfriendly in its expectations and comes with short time frames (section 4.4 1). Tschannen-Moran (2014) argue that essential resource that unites school actors toward common goals and responsibilities, is trust, as it is like a lubricant which eases the flow of information exchanges for shared knowledge creation. Yet in this study the poor communication between subject advisers, teachers and top management erodes trust.

Information from subject advisers to those further up in the hierarchy of the Department is usually conveyed via reports and completed forms (section 4.2). Sending reports and filling

out the relevant forms is an indication that work is being done, as it provides information about the work that subject advisers do with teachers and schools, as wells as information about what teachers are doing at schools. In sections 4.2 and 4.4, subject advisers are quoted as stating that the primary means of sharing information with those above them is through writing reports, and with teachers it is through making recommendations. Subject advisers consider these recommendations to be a form of support to teachers. In section 4.2, the subject advisers expressed their frustration regarding what they believe to be teachers' negative attitude towards recommendations they gave. After perusing teacher files and learner books, feedback to the teacher is communicated via recommendations made by the subject adviser (section 5.2). However, the evidence of teachers the recommendations having been implemented or not, is seen by the subject adviser only when next he or she reviews the teacher files and learner books, as subject advisers are not allowed to observe teachers in the classrooms (section 6.2.2). Subject advisers' recommendations to teachers as the primary source of teacher support is thus both problematic and insufficient for teachers. This recommendation/feedback/support is often insufficient, as even subject advisers have bemoaned the nature of solely making recommendations based on assessing teacher files and learner books (section 5.3 & 4.3).

Subject advisers expressed concern that they are unable to see where there are pedagogic shortcomings; they cannot tell whether learners struggle because the concept is not being taught properly by the teacher, or whether they have other difficulties. Bantwini (2020) argues that incongruence between pedagogical and assessment approaches does not benefit the teaching and learning process, and even more detrimental is a box-ticking compliance approach. Bantwini further states that the tendency to please authorities nullifies the whole purpose of teaching and learning, which ought to benefit students by developing them to be critical thinkers, problem solvers and productive future citizens of a country (p.87). In the context of this study, subject advisers' interactions with teachers and their assessment of teachers' work through learner books and teacher files, perfectly exemplifies the tick-box compliance approach that Bantwini warns about.

The problem with giving recommendations as the prime form of support to the teacher is that this form of recommendation-based support is informed by findings from the monitoring process (section 5.3.1.). However, other challenges that teachers encounter in the classroom, not captured in the files and books, often go unaddressed. This is because subject advisers believe that those are issues that can be attended to at PLC meetings or any other personal

interaction they may have with the teacher. Yet these interactions happen infrequently, leaving such issues unaddressed. Leithwood (2013) highlights that it is only when district leaders adopt a service orientation to their schools, aiming to timeously provide reasonable support and resources requested by the schools under their jurisdiction, that the relations between the schools (teachers and school principals), and the district officials become supportive, professional, and collaborative. So, even though subject advisers may regard the recommendations they give as support, teachers do not see them as reasonable support. This dynamic adds to the mistrust that exists between subject advisers and teachers.

9.1.2 Proper support from subject advisers to teachers and from top management to subject advisers is paramount if subject advisers are to flourish in their work

As indicated in chapters 4 - 7, subject advisers continuously expressed the desire to support teachers better. Based on subject advisers' comments about the insufficient support given to teachers, it suggests that support receives the least time and attention. That is ironic, as support is the aspect which the subject advisers consider to be the most important aspect of their job (section 4.2.2.4). Proper teacher support is crucial to the success of teaching and learning, where it is through support that teachers can reflect on and see how to improve their practice (Borrogo, 2020, p.73). Likewise, it is through giving support that subject advisers are able to share their knowledge with teachers. Importantly, giving proper support to teachers allows subject advisers to reap the moral rewards of their job (section 7. 2).

There exists an 80-20 split between support and monitoring (Handbook for Gauteng District Officials (p.56) is as Devin a subject adviser in this study said "the 80/20 is only a mental thing to arouse their consciousness not to be like the inspectors of the apartheid days" (section 8.8). This suggests that combining the monitoring and support roles has proven to be challenging for subject advisers to fulfil side-by-side, as they struggle to separate between what counts as monitoring and what counts as support, especially in the face of a rising emphasis on administrative compliance.

Aside from school visits, subject advisers' work with teachers extends to Professional Learning Communities (PLC) meetings and workshops where they interact with teachers. PLC meetings are presented by the Department of Basic Education (DBE) as collaborative learning communities that are fundamentally social and should be established in all schools (DBE, Republic of South Africa, 2015). PLC meetings have the potential to resolve teacher

challenges related to pedagogy, discipline or even internal politics that occur at schools. PLC meetings aim for teachers to share best practices, to encourage one another, and find strategies and solutions to any problems they may be experiencing at schools. So these PLCs serve as professional development sessions for teachers. Feldman (2020) suggests that the collaborative dialogue within PLCs make it an adequate site for teacher professional development and growth. Learning in PLCs is collaborative and social, and invites participants to engage with one another with regard to how the social, cultural, and physical structures in schools work towards stability and change in teachers' educational practices. Their purpose involves that changing or adapting teachers' practices must take into account the social and organisational structures that have become embedded as features of the social (school) site (Feldman, 2020).

Yet, based on what the subject advisers have noted, PLC meetings are insufficiently utilised for support purposes. The subject advisers bemoaned the infrequency of their personal interaction with teachers. Subject advisers' personal interaction with teachers often happened at PLC meetings, which were held "once per term and three times in a year, and mostly for one or two hours on a Friday afternoon" (section 4. 2.2.3).

Devin's comment[12] suggests that subject advisers' agenda at these meetings deviate from support, and instead focus on offering clarity on compliance related issues noted during school visits, therefore side-lining collaborative dialogue that would help foster teacher development and promote teacher support. And I think that this encroachment of compliance issues at PLC meetings happens because subject advisers have no delineation of where monitoring ends and support begins, even though they state that PLC meetings are support sites.

Fullan and Hargreaves (2012) provide a clear understanding of how PLCs need to be organised and carried out if they are to succeed. They explain that support systems like

> professional learning communities need an architecture or design if they are going to be productive. They have to be organized and arranged. Time allocations in the school day must honour teachers' need to have time outside

[12] "*If you visit 10-15 schools in a month for instance, you look for the common themes across those school, so when you get to the PLC meetings, the subject adviser starts off with the issues he/she has come to address. So in that one-hour meeting, we may end up only looking at the issues that the subject adviser has presented, and there may not be time to address the challenges teachers may have" (Devin TP section 4.4.),*

> of the classroom together to inquire into their practice and how to improve it. Team meetings need a commonly agreed purpose and agenda. Staff meetings need to look more like high-quality professional learning experiences than places to deliver announcements (p.144).

A key way in which subject advisers understand to be appropriate for support is one-on-one interactions with teachers (section 7.2.3). Donaldson (2006) affirms that relationships grow best when people can interact directly with one another (p. 54). Yet the opportunities for personal one-on-one interactions are limited, where opportunities to provide quality support to teachers prove limited. However, subject advisers have seen that when these interactions do occur, they are often productive, which makes the advisers feel good because they are able to better support teachers. In those instances, the emphasis is on support and there is no place for monitoring. That is a space where subject advisers can help teachers grow and they too can reap their moral rewards and fulfil their personal moral mandate.

Donaldson's (2006) position is that support between groups in an organisation mobilises relationships, as individuals and groups influence one another and there is a willingness to shape and be shaped (p.53). As I have shown in section 5.5 on appreciation from teachers, it is safe to say that when there is proper support, both teachers and subject advisers are able to reap the moral rewards of their jobs. This is because it is through the explanatory feedback and knowledge sharing received during support that teachers are able to take steps to improve their practice (Nkambule & Amsterdam, 2018), and subject advisers can feel that they too have achieved their own goals. The positive effects of support as described by the subject advisers in section 6.5 confirm Donaldson's (2006) suggestion that feedback, when beneficial to improvement of practice, fosters trust between subject adviser and teachers. Importantly, support through useful feedback is what builds interpersonal and professional trust (Donaldson 2006, p. 53).

Based on the joy and happiness expressed by the subject advisers in section 7.2, it is easy to tell that when subject advisers feel they give teachers useful feedback and attention, especially when they have one-on-one interactions with teachers, they see their personal moral mandate "*to improve the educational system*" come to fruition (section 7.2.). This positive interaction between subject advisers and teachers affirms Hargreaves and Connor's (2017) point that adults are drawn together when they feel they can sufficiently trust others to care about them and contribute to a collective purpose. Additionally, it is through

collaborative efforts that social capital is developed (p.78). Donaldson (2006) argues that leaders nurture trust, openness, and affirmation in relationships when they themselves value interpersonal connections and caring in their own right (p.53).

The trajectory of support also extends to subject advisers receiving support form their own superiors. Subject advisers desired to be supported by their superiors (section 4.6), yet, just like teachers in Nwachukwu (2016), the subject advisers in this study also felt they only received support from their colleagues, but not from those above them. The subject advisers lamented that support in the form of useful feedback and constructive criticism were in short supply, especially feedback that allows the subject adviser to know which areas of their work to improve upon (section 4. 6). Sheppard et al. (2009) argue that when teacher leaders feel valued and supported, and when they are given opportunities to engage in dialogue, they develop individually and collectively as leaders, and thereby contribute to the organisation's leadership capacity and to organisational learning (p.19).

In this study, the subject advisers stated that their performance is evaluated every quarter, using the PMDS (section 5.2). Focus is often placed on the number of teachers who receive contact and the number of workshops conducted, not on how productive the interactions with teachers prove to be. Subject advisers are monitored in terms of the quantity of their visits and not the quality of their support interactions (section 5.2.3.1). I attribute this focus on quantity rather than quality to the accountability structure of assessing teacher files and learner books only. Additionally, when subject advisers encounter problems in their work and inform their superiors with the hope of receiving support, they are asked to find solutions to their problems (section 4.6.2). So, they feel "*They are left to sink or swim*" (section 4.6.1), and have been abandoned by their superiors, who are supposed to help them.

The pressure from those above the subject advisers in the hierarchy to provide proof of work, (reports and data that show that subject advisers are engaging with schools and teachers) with minimal feedback, in addition to the push from teachers to be adequately supported, creates a conflict and tension between subject advisers and teachers.

Summarising Claim 1, I have shown that there is tension between the monitoring and support roles that subject advisers perform. Subject advisers spend most of their time on monitoring the implementation of policy, rather than on giving teachers support. This is problematic for both subject advisers and teachers, where the emphasis on administrative compliance fuels the dysfunctional conflictual relationship between teachers and subject advisers.

This lack of support affects teachers as well as subject advisers. Subject advisers' superiors do not adequately support them, and subject advisers themselves do not adequately support teachers, even though both subject advisers and teachers value support more than monitoring. Emotionally, subject advisers are frustrated that they are unable to mediate both roles successfully.

9.2. Claim 2. The disempowering emotions subject advisers feel are caused by a lack of influence, both upwards and downwards.

Subject advisers' disempowering emotions are linked with their experience of lack of influence on teachers on the one hand, and with their experience of lack of support from top management on the other hand. In essence, this claim describes the effect of the tension between monitoring and support on the effectiveness of subject advisers. The sub-claims below illustrate how it is that subject advisers are unable to wholly perform their roles, because they lack the required downward influence to appropriately fulfil their roles towards teachers and also lack the required upward influence to appropriately fulfil their role towards top management, thereby making the subject advisers feel disempowered.

In section 1.4, I explained the subject adviser's role in the bigger scheme of things in the department. From an organisational behaviour and design standpoint, as middle level leaders (they lead others, and are led by others). Subject advisers, as per policy expectation, are tasked with "providing the top leadership with first-hand information about what is happening in schools, and also helping teachers at the bottom communicate their challenges to the top" (Hargreaves 2020, p.95).

In the context of this study, subject advisers should ideally act as the bridge between the macro- and micro-levels of the DoE (section 7.1), in addition to their organisational role and mandate (section 1.4). However, the reality for these subject advisers is that, in spite of their desire to improve the system, there are structural and contextual issues that sometimes make it seem like their efforts barely make a scratch on the surface. The compendium of problems that riddles the education system demand a lot from subject advisers and teachers alike.

Subject advisers as middle managers have two upward and two downward forms of middle management influence (Livijn, 2019). Their upward influence includes a *synthesizing role*, in which they interpret ambiguous data from teachers and their reports may have the power to

change the strategic agenda, and a *championing role*, where they advocate new ideas and reshape the strategic thinking of top management. The downward influence of middle managers relates to their roles as change agents, where they play a *facilitating role* that stimulates learning and development in teachers, and an *implementing role* where managers engage in an ongoing set of interventions and create organisational action in line with overall strategies (Livijn 2019, p.3).

In this study, the findings suggest that subject advisers are unable to successfully fulfil these various roles downwardly and upwardly. This is because the important resource in subject advisers' work is knowledge. By the description of subject advisers' roles in the collective agreement, and the PAM document, subject advisers are knowledge workers, as their primary work centres around knowledge sharing, i.e. providing knowledge to teachers and obtaining relevant knowledge from trusted sources (Swart, Kinnie, Van Rossenberg, & Yalabik, 2014). Thus, their work is focused on knowledge sharing in the organisation (Department of Education) and they are professionals who have mastered a specific knowledge base or expertise (Yalabik, Swart, Kinnie, & Van Rossenberg, 2017).

9.2.1 Subject advisers' lack the required upward influence to fulfil their role towards management

Through my reflection on a chance informal conversation with a top department official at the commencement of this study, it was apparent that there is an understanding by those at the top of the hierarchy that subject advisers are passive agents in the policy process. This top official at the DoE had stated that "the main function of a subject adviser's role is to take directives from us (top management) and make sure that teachers and school implement those directives, as well as policy". The impression I got from this comment is that subject advisers are to receive and pass on orders for further implementation by teachers.

In sections 4.4 and 4.6 of this study, I discussed the subject advisers' frustrations of poor communication and lack of support from those above to subject advisers, and from subject advisers to teachers. According to Buick et al. (2018), although middle managers are often seen as important, their role in practice is often seen as being about implementing imposed processes and instructions. In the context of this study, Buick et al.'s assertion is seen in the minimal influence, which the subject adviser exerts both upwardly towards top management and downwardly towards teachers.

Based on the key performance area outlined by the Collective Agreement 4 of 2017, subject advisers do not play an active role in the policy design process, but are to "provide professional guidance through the implementation of systems and structures that allow for effective management" (p.16). This suggests that subject advisers' attention and influence should be focused mostly downwardly, towards schools and teachers, with less influence in the interface with upper management. The policy is assumed to be a final product, which teachers and subject advisers are required to implement. However, because of the different contexts within which policy is implemented, subject advisers from this study have had to actively take on the role of adapting the policy to fit the different contexts of implementation (section 5.4). The key issue that arose in subject advisers' responses about their superiors was feelings of being unsupported. The subject advisers disclosed that there was no support from those above and even when they encountered challenges, their superior offered little or no support, so they felt "left to sink or swim" (section 4.6.1).

Buick et al. (2018) state that middle managers need to have sufficient time to undertake sense-making activities with senior managers facilitating the interpretation process through frequent and consistent change-related communication and information. Additionally, the strategic communication loop must not only involve middle managers, but also utilise their professional expertise (p.227). Reflecting on the issue of time constraint, as described in section 4.3, suggests that subject advisers have insufficient time for sense-making activities, which is further complicated by the problem of poor communication with management and teachers, outlined in section 4.4. The inadequacy in providing valuable information and knowledge makes subject advisers appear as less competent and this could be the reason why top management does not take subject advisers as seriously as they ought to. This affirms Buick, Blackman, and Johnson (2018)'s position that middle managers are typically not responsible for implementing change, but are subjected to it (p.225). It becomes difficult for middle managers (subject advisers) too, as they need to "navigate bureaucratic and power structures and influence internal stakeholders to enable change to happen" (p.226).

9.2.2 Subject advisers lack the required downward influence to appropriately fulfil their roles towards teachers

Turner (2014) notes that when individuals are unable to secure resources in the institutional domain, they experience negative emotions. Subject advisers were disappointed that they were unable to give teachers the kind of support they felt teachers deserved (sections 5.3, 5.4). In the preceding sections of this analysis, I have stated that knowledge is a valuable

resource and that having the requisite knowledge allows subject advisers to better interact with teachers and proffer solutions to teachers' problems, which in turn allows them to flourish in their jobs. Consequently, there is an inability to access knowledge affects the quality of the interaction that subject advisers have with teachers, which also impacts the feedback information they are able to take to those above them in the hierarchy. Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) argue that supportive interactions among teachers, as well as between teachers and administrators, promotes social capital. Social capital helps individuals gain confidence, learning, and feedback from having the right kind of people and the right kinds of interactions and relationships around them (p.4). The subject advisers decried the emphasis on monitoring rather than supporting teachers.

So far in this analysis, it appears that the lack of knowledge percolating between teachers at the bottom, subject advisers in the middle, and superiors at the top, diminishes subject advisers' influence as well as their effectiveness. Because subject advisers are the bridge between the department and teachers, when either those at the top in the department hierarchy or the teachers below them do not regard the subject advisers as being able to provide information and knowledge that can change the strategic course, and consequently do not take suggestions from them, this causes subject advisers to feel powerless and ineffective (see section 4.6).

By analysing support from their superiors above, I recognised that a lack of support from above negatively affects the impact and extent of influence which subject advisers have in the hierarchy. Balogun (2003), Olsen and Stensaker (2014) and Kelliher and Parry (2014) all strongly argue that if middle managers are to become change agents in the manner in which they are intended to be, then they will require organisational authority, and the initial support requirement is to recognise the potential strategic contributions middle managers can make and respect this as a part of their core work.

Summarising Claim 2, subject advisers in this study lack organisational support, where top management do not recognise them as change agents, nor do they recognise the potential contributions subject advisers can make. According to Jarvis (2012), many people working in the lower level of hierarchical organisations often complain of feeling disenfranchised or powerless (p.482). In this study, subject advisers did not explicitly use the term powerlessness to describe how they feel, but their feeling of being unable to adequately help teachers, even though they are touted as a support system for teachers, in a constraining

system, points to powerlessness. For example, as described in section 5.3 (the rules of engagement with teachers), the subject advisers express that they do not like how their interaction with teachers is constrained by policy, which tailor their focus on teacher files and learner books rather than on meaningful interactions with teachers.

9. 3. Claim 3. The subject adviser-teacher relationship is complicated by competing power dynamics

In Claim 2, I argued that the disempowering emotions subject advisers feel result from a lack of upward influence with top management and downwardly with teachers. In this third claim, I unpack where subject advisers' power lies, and how this power is underutilised and even misused, therein complicating subject advisers' relationship with teachers. The first sub-claim depicts the legitimate power subject adviser have, the informational and expert power they need, and the coercive power they use. The second sub-claims show the teachers' own power through agency, and how subject advisers interpret and understand authority relationship.

According to Raven (2008), power has six bases: namely Informational, Reward, Coercion, Legitimate, Expert and Referent power. In the context of subject advisers, it can be argued that although they have some of these bases of power, it is in the exercise of said power that it gets complicated. The pertinent question then is 'what powers do subject advisers have, what should they have, and how do they utilise such powers?'

9.3.1 Legitimate, information and expert power are the essential powers subject advisers need, however they utilise coercive power

The data in chapters 4 and 5 illustrate what counts as subject advisers' legitimate power. This is the kind of power exercised when the "target accepts the right of the agent to require the changed behaviour, and the target's obligation to comply" (Raven 2008, p.3). In the subject adviser - teacher interaction, legitimate power is exercised when teachers submit their learner books and teacher files for subject advisers to assess and check for compliance. Teachers comply due to the position of the subject advisers, and not necessarily due to the information that will be given to them by the subject advisers. Further analysing this power dynamic between subject advisers and teachers, I have come to understand that while their hierarchical position gives subject advisers legitimate power, their inability to influence teachers to heed their advice and recommendations is the crux of their feelings of powerlessness.

In section 5.2.3, subject advisers described their relationship with teachers and stated that teachers gave them negative attitude because they regarded them as fault-finders. These kinds of comments are an indication of subject advisers feeling of powerless, and also what appears to be teachers' disregard for subject advisers' legitimate power. Anderson and Brion (2014) explain that one critical determinant of competence in organisational settings is the ability to access and control the information that enables individuals and groups to accomplish their goals. One's network position impacts one's ability to obtain information, and consequently to obtain the power to achieve one's job / what is necessary (p.72). The subject advisers experience their legitimate power as insufficient to ensure that desired outcomes are achieved. What subject advisers desire to achieve with teachers in the form of adherence and compliance is contrasted with their inability to get teachers to act as desired, and shows that although subject advisers possess legitimate position power, that alone is not sufficient to achieve goals and expectations.

Informational and expert power are necessary for subject adviser to succeed. Raven (2008) explains that informational power is exercised

> when the superior carefully explains to the subordinate how the job should be done differently, with persuasive reasons why that would be better and a more effective procedure. The subordinate understands and accepts the reasons and changes behaviour. Thus, informational influence then results in cognitive change and acceptance by the target (Raven 2008, p.1).

This suggests that subject advisers need informational power. Similarly, expert power "results from the target's faith that the agent has some superior insight or knowledge about what behaviour is best under the circumstances" (Raven 2008, p.3). Raven explains that understanding the reason is what distinguishes expert power from informational power. When agents get others to understand the reason why the job should be done differently, and why it would be better and more effective, only then can the agent be said to possess expert power. In short, expert power gives credence to informational power, while on the other hand, it is having acquired the informational power that gives credence to being an expert.

At first glance, it would seem that subject advisers have informational power, as they are the bridge between the department and teachers, and pass information from the department directly on to teachers. However, a close analysis of subject advisers' commentaries about poor communication between their superiors, subject advisers and teachers shows that

receiving information from above, and passing it to teachers, constitutes one of the biggest challenges they faced (section 4.4). Additionally, when teachers do not heed to subject advisers' advice and recommendations (section 5.2), this suggests that although subject advisers may have some informational power, they lack expert power as they are unable to get teachers to understand the reasons why the job should be done differently. Connecting Raven's explanation about how informational and expert power are symbiotic, it implies that the inability of subject advisers to access and disseminate information timeously as well as their inability to get teachers to understand and heed their advice and recommendations, shows that subject advisers have minimal informational power and expert power. On subject advisers' testimony, giving and receiving correct and timely information is a vital aspect for the improvement of subject adviser/teacher interaction. So, if subject advisers are unable to provide teachers with the information that helps teachers to do their job more effectively, with better outcomes, and are unable to promote teachers' understanding, thus enabling improvement in their teaching, then this suggests that subject advisers have little or no informational power. In addition, teachers complained that subject advisers often gave them conflicting information and at other times told them, "Nothing we don't already know" (Nwachukwu, 2016, p.75). This led to teachers not having faith that subject advisers have the necessary insight or knowledge to help them, and it results in subject advisers being seen as lacking expert power.

The subject advisers can influence teachers to perform their jobs more effectively, if they combined their legitimate power with informational and expert power. Sloof and von Siemens (2021) argue that the availability of the right information is of course important for taking the right decisions. Subject advisers would be able to perform their jobs better if they had access to and could give teachers the right information, and importantly, on time. The information given to and received from teachers is what would enable subject advisers to perform their own responsibilities properly. Thus 'objects' that negatively impact access to and quality of information are detrimental to the success of subject advisers' work, and will elicit negative emotions such as sadness and frustration. This is because appropriate information supports, while lack of it inhibits, both their own and the teachers' flourishing.

Coercive power involves "the agent bringing about change by threatening the target with negative, undesirable consequences" … It is not only limited to real physical threats, it is also about a threat of rejection or disapproval from someone we value highly (Raven 2008, p.2). Although subject advisers say they have no power to hire or fire teachers, they utilise

coercive powers when they threaten teachers into compliance. For instance, Vernesh noted, *"I have seen that threatening them about the policy doesn't work. If you tell them this is policy and you need to do this, sometimes it doesn't work. So, they need to be reminded. For example, with assessment, 'if you do not give learners the assessment, you are violating policy and therefore you can be charged'. Who wants to be charged? So, some start to play ball when you talk about charging, and others become very difficult and they start looking for excuses and reasons why they are not supposed to be doing that"* (section 5. 2).

Coercive power involves surveillance, such that the agent is able to determine whether or not compliance has occurred (Raven, 2008). Subject advisers' primary aim for school visits is to ensure that teachers are complying with policies (section 4.2). In instances where they feel like teachers are not complying with policy, the tendency is to try and get the teachers to comply, and one of the ways this is done is through the exercise of coercive power. Raven (2008) suggests that "targets of coercive power (teachers) resent the threat of punishment, resent feeling forced, and have ill feelings towards the agent (subject advisers), as well as towards the behaviour they are forced to accept" (p.2).

9.3.2 Teachers also possess and utilise their power through teacher agency

In section 5.2.3.1 Vernesh talked about how teachers kept subject advisers waiting during school visits because teachers know that subject advisers' own performance is dependent on teachers' performance, and Elmarie's perception was that teachers undermined the status and authority of subject advisers' position, complaining that teachers did "whatever they want", such that they could easily cancel a school visit, or even stay absent (section 5.2.1.2).

Vernesh and Elmarie's viewpoint suggests that teachers are not powerless in their interaction with subject advisers. Although the subject advisers attributed teachers' power to cancel a school visit or keep the subject advisers waiting during school visit to the backing of the unions, I understand now that teachers' power over subject advisers is what Raven (2008) refers to as reward power. The teachers exercised their power by making subject advisers wait, even when they themselves had scheduled the appointment at that specific time. I attribute this sort of power to reward power, as teachers eventually rewarded the subject advisers with the time for surveillance or monitoring, as well as with the data (through teacher files and learner books) that the subject advisers require to do their job. So, if the subject advisers complied with the teachers' directive to meet at a time convenient for the teachers, then the teachers rewarded the subject advisers with the information needed to write

those reports. In those instances, the subject advisers' coercive power is muted. They cannot threaten the teacher, but have to comply with the teachers' own directive.

Summarising Claim 3, the legitimate powers the subject advisers have is ineffective, because it is not utilised with the informational and expert powers they need. More so, conflicts with the coercive power they utilise. Significantly, if teachers possess reward power, this then shows that, although they are at the bottom of the school system hierarchy, they are not disenfranchised or powerless. It also shows that the power circulates between subject advisers and teachers, albeit, in a dysfunctional and conflictual form. This power dynamic between subject advisers and teachers shows that power is a matter of dependence (Emerson, 2019), whereby the teacher has power over the subject adviser, because the teacher has something the subject adviser wants.

9.4. Claim 4. Subject advisers remain committed to improving the education system despite the challenges they encounter

In the previous sections, I made three claims that unravel the complicated nature of subject advisers' work with teachers. This shows that subject advisers feel powerless due to lack of influence, and the competing dynamics between power, authority, and influence pervade subject advisers' work with teachers. Yet there is no indication that subject advisers are giving up due to these challenges, where instead, there is a sense of hope and resilience coming from the subject adviser in this study.

This section brings a different perspective, by showing that subject advisers are committed to doing their jobs well, even in the face of these challenges. The two sub-claims below unpack the organisational and professional commitments expressed by subject advisers', and positions their professional commitment as the key stimulus of their commitment in the face of many challenges.

9.4.1 Subject advisers are organizationally and professionally committed to their job

Bogler and Somech (2004) refer to organisational commitment (OC) as the relative strength of the identification of the individual and his or her involvement in a particular organisation. This is comprised of: 1. a strong belief in and acceptance of the organisational goals and values (identification); 2. a willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organisation (involvement); and 3 a strong intent or desire to remain with the organisation

(loyalty) (p.557). The subject advisers in this study have shown organisational commitment (Chapter 4). Their commitment to the DoE is seen in their determination to see that the curriculum is implemented and that schools and teachers are supported and monitored to implement the curriculum (section 4.2). These subject advisers feel that the most important part of teachers' jobs is to comply with curriculum implementation policies, and so they often feel disappointed when they see teachers are not adhering to policy directives (see section 4.2). Compliance with policy is the kind of identification expressed by the subject advisers, in this study. They spend more of their time on the administrative aspect of their jobs, and it is the administrative aspect of their jobs that gives the Department the indication that subject advisers are performing their duties (section 4.2). They express their involvement in the organisation through this kind of administrative performance. This administrative aspect of their job requires a lot of time and energy, and subject advisers like Elmarie sometimes have to take work home (section 4.3.2). The time invested, the effort exerted and the emotional labour (chapter 8) performed by the subject adviser are the forms in which the subject advisers meet the organisational goals set out by the DoE. Whereas their organisational commitment focuses on achieving policy goals and emphasises monitoring, their professional commitment focuses on the support, growth and development of teachers and the teaching profession. As they perform both monitoring and support roles, the dilemma for the subject advisers lies in which role and commitment to emphasise.

When I asked what motivated them to become subject advisers, all the subject advisers affirmed their desire to make a positive impact on the educational system (section 7.2), and this suggests that their commitment extends beyond mere compliance with the DoE to the SA education system as a whole. Professional commitment refers to the degree to which a person's work performance affects their self-esteem. So, for a professionally committed person, work is a vital part of life. This means that the nature of the work itself is very meaningful to the identity of the employee, in addition to the importance s/he attaches to colleagues and the organisation as a whole (Bogler and Somech, 2004). Similarly, Yalabik, Swart, Kinnie and Van Rossenberg (2016) state that professional commitment is a macro-level focus, and is an employee's attachment to their occupation or profession (p.5).

In the context of this study, the subject advisers' desire to have a positive impact on the educational system is linked to professional commitment, a commitment that goes beyond the DoE. One key motivation that subject advisers expressed is "having a passion to make a difference in the education system" and "making a difference to teachers and by extension to

learners" (section 7.2.1, 7.2.2). The passion or desire to make a difference to the education system goes beyond the commitment to ensuring that the goals of the DoE are met. It is more wholesome in reach and impact, and stems from an internal desire, not from externally set goals and objectives of the Department.

Section 5.3 shows that supporting teachers to improve their work lives is a key aspect of subject advisers work that has received less time and attention than they wished to give it. This happens not due to a lack of desire or motivation from the subject advisers, but because of the bureaucratic nature of their relationship with their superiors at the DoE. As a result, the subject advisers' yearning to adequately support teachers "in a manner that they deserve" and "in a manner that benefits the teachers" (sections 4.3, 5.4) remained such. These subject advisers expressed a determination to help teachers overcome challenges that impeded success in schools. Although they use coercive power at times, their determination indicated that subject advisers are committed to making sure that teachers and the teaching profession succeeds. When teachers are perceived to fail, it is the profession that is at stake. So, their efforts and the desire to support teachers to succeed are directly linked to a commitment to the success of the teaching profession, a profession to which subject advisers also belong.

9.4.2 Professional commitment is the key stimulus of subject advisers' commitment

I analysed the subject advisers' comments that indicated their commitment to their jobs. I realised that their commitment is directed at three targets - the teacher, the teaching profession and the policy, thus confirming Klein, Solinger and Duflot's (2022) position that employees form commitments to multiple targets and the coordination of those multiple commitments has become a ubiquitous part of the contemporary workplace.

The findings of this study illustrate that subject advisers are committed to the DoE through overseeing to the proper implementation of **policy**, they are committed to supporting teachers, so they are committed to **teachers**, and then they are committed to ensuring that overall, the education system improves, thus they are committed to the **profession**.

The policy is a target of subject advisers' organisational commitment. Their commitment to the policy is heavily premised on compliance. The other targets of subject advisers' commitment – teachers and the teaching profession – are targets of their professional commitment. The subject advisers' commitment to teachers and the profession is premised on a foundation of knowledge and knowledge sharing. Analysis of the comments indicated commitment and classified them according to the three mind-sets of commitment. These

mind-sets are: **affective** commitment, where there is an emotional want or desire, **normative** commitment, where there is an ought to or obligation, and a **continuance** commitment, where there is a 'have to' or cost involved (Allen & Meyer, 1996).

As Nussbaum (2001) suggests, emotions are often directed at objects that affects one's flourishing. Similarly, Estigoy, Sulasula, and Guodu (2020) argue that employees with strong affective commitment are emotionally attached to the organisation, and have a greater desire to contribute meaningfully (p.164). This could explain why subject advisers are more affectively committed to teachers, as they desire to contribute meaningfully to teachers' work lives via proper support. Their commitment stems primarily from their desire for greater educational good.

> (*Selwyn UP) … I love this job and I know that things will get better. It is my job to help fix the system and I know we have people whose hearts are in the right place working here. Are we going to get it done in one year? No. Rome was not built in a day. We just have to be persistent; it is the key ingredient. Is it an easy job? No! Can it be better? Yes! Will it get better? Definitely. Will I give up? … Never. That's how I feel most days. But hey, maybe it's because I haven't been doing this job for as long as Elmarie and them have been doing it* … [laughs]…

The desire for and hope that the education system will improve in such a way that teachers are in a position to teach effectively and learners are able to excel in their academic endeavour, drives the subject advisers' affective commitment. The affective mind-set towards their ultimate goal of positively impacting the education system is the foundation of their commitment towards the teaching profession and teachers. There is the hope that circumstances can improve, there is the belief that they too can contribute meaningfully to the education system. There is a collective desire to improve the education system (section 7.2). In order to maintain focus on the greater good, even in the face of daunting challenges, they commit to hope. "Hope is a choice, and a practical habit and is crucial to the energetic pursuit of a difficult goal" (Nussbaum, 2019, p. 210).

It is in a bid to achieve this seemingly difficult goal, that the subject advisers perform emotional labour.

9.5 Claim 5: Suppressing or masking their real emotions constitutes the main form of emotional labour subject advisers use to cope with the tensions in their role.

The ways in which subject advisers cope emotionally in view of the over emphasis of monitoring in their role can be understood in Chapter 8 on emotional labour, I showed how different aspects of subject advisers' work generates emotional labour. I uncovered that the push to be administratively compliant causes subject advisers to sacrifice their family time, as they often take work home to be able to complete their tasks, and this blurred the boundary between work and home life. The subject advisers are governed by the emotional rule that "I have to do all aspects of my job. It is very important to do it all" (section 8.4). Their emotional labour is generated by the pressure of trying to combine both aspects of their job, and feeling that they are failing to achieve a good balance.

9.5.1 The pressure of administrative compliance generates emotional labour for subject advisers

Holman and Cameron (2013) suggest that emotional labour occurs with goal directed episodes; each episode is directed by an agent's goal to fulfil his or her role requirements. Because the episode is defined and characterised by the agent's emotional labour goal, it is these goals that drive and sustain the emotional labour (p.101). Thus, the failure of the subject adviser to accomplish the goal of completing both aspects of their work timeously and effectively constitutes the key driver of the emotional labour.

In section 8.5, I showed that subject advisers try hard to get teachers to comply with policy. The emotional labour arises because teachers' different work contexts do not always allow for the implementation of curriculum as intended by policy, so subject advisers often struggle to get teachers to implement certain policy expectations that are difficult to implement in teachers' contexts. Teachers get upset with subject advisers' insistence to implement policy even in the face of the apparent difficulties, and so, because subject advisers are the primary contact and face of the Department for teachers (Bantwini, 2018), they bear the brunt of teachers' negativity (section 4.3.2).

Adam (2019) explains that, because district officials are the intermediaries in the school system, their actions (or inactions) spread into schools in ways that affect teachers' working conditions directly and student outcomes indirectly. Yet these actions or inactions and their consequences for the work of teachers stem from decisions and actions at the executive level, not from the district officials themselves. It is this disconnect that pressurises subject

advisers, even when they can see that the policy expectation is impractical and "unfriendly" for teachers, to insist on compliance from teachers – which leads me to the realisation that subject advisers are themselves governed by the emotional rule that "subject advisers and teachers must follow the rules they are given". Thus, subject advisers stick to this emotional rule by trying to get teachers to implement the policy, even though they can see that the policy expectation is impractical and "unfriendly" for teachers. The effect of following this emotional rule is that subject advisers feel like they have failed in their jobs, because they can see how the strict policy implementation negatively affects schools and teachers, and how they too are not supporting teachers in a way that helps teachers properly. In this case, the impractical polices to be implemented in difficult and differing school and teacher contexts are saddled on the subject advisers, who in turn find it difficult to ensure strict compliance with policy implementation. The result is that subject advisers realise that they are unable to help teachers to provide quality teaching and learning, and so they see themselves as failing teachers in some ways, needing to perform emotional labour simply to keep going.

9.5.2 The failure to adequately support teachers drives the emotional labour subject advisers perform

Subject advisers are governed by the emotional rule a subordinate is typically more dependent on the superior than vice versa. Yet subject advisers see that, as teachers' superiors, they were failing to support teachers in a way that teachers desired and deserved. The subject advisers felt teachers were sceptical of their intentions and so developed preconceived notions about them. To curb the negativity and to foster a healthier relationship with teachers, subject advisers then managed their emotion displays when they interacted with teachers by sometimes suppressing or masking their real emotions (section 5.2).The subject advisers' emotion management is congruent with Cote, Van Kleef, and Sy (2013) position that leaders are typically more powerful, and more powerful others are more likely to shape the emotions of less powerful others. Less powerful others are more likely to pay attention to the emotions of powerful others (p.93). So, in order for the subject advisers to mitigate the negativity that stems from the lack of adequate support given to teachers, they manage their emotional displays with teachers in order not to exacerbate the problem. Managing their emotional display is the emotional labour which subject advisers perform in some of the instances where they interact with teachers to support them.

In the analysis of teacher union and school leadership influence on the subject adviser/ teacher relationship in Chapter 6, I show how the lack of proper support from subject advisers

to teachers and the pressures of both monitoring and being monitored breeds mistrust in the subject adviser/teacher relationship. Because teachers cannot trust subject advisers to give them support, they seek and receive support from others. School leadership and teacher unions support teachers and so they are able to influence teachers. This influence further strains the relationship between subject advisers and teachers.

The issues outlined in this section, which generate emotional labour for subject advisers, arises from the tension in their role. The push for administrative compliance from teachers places their focus on monitoring, which then conflicts with their desire to give more support to teachers.

9.6 Chapter summary

At beginning of this chapter, I stated that my aim was to show what the emotions of subject advisers tell us about the nature of their work with teachers. Based on the data collected and analysed, I am here making final five claims:

Claim1: The subject advisers are frustrated at the inability to mediate between their monitoring and support roles, which generates complex sets of tensions in their interactions with teachers.

Claim 2: The disempowering emotions of subject advisers are caused by lack of influence, both upwards and downwards.

Claim 3: Competing power dynamics are resolved through coercion.

Claim 4: Subject advisers remain committed to their job despite the challenges they encounter.

Claim 5: Suppressing or masking their real emotions constitutes the main form of emotional labour subject advisers use to cope with the tensions in their role.

These claims show the nature of subject advisers' work with teachers by highlighting the aspects of their work that affect them emotionally. Using arguments about emotions being a relevance signalling mechanism (Frijda 1986), which shows which 'objects' we consider important to our flourishing (Nussbaum 2001), as well as positive emotions being a desirable symbolic medium (Turner 2005). It can be said that the tension between the monitoring and support aspects of subject advisers' work is the foundation of the dysfunctional relationship that subject advisers have with teachers.

Further analysis of the power dynamics between subject advisers and teachers indicates that they have a legitimate position power (section 9.3.2), but they lack informational and expert power (section 9.3.4), a vital requirement for their work with teachers. So, to make up for this lack of informational and expert power, they exert coercive power (section 9.3.3), which is detrimental to their relationship with teachers (section 9.3.4). It also robs them of opportunities to influence teachers positively (section 9.2.3).

Somehow, despite the tension between the monitoring and support aspects of their work that causes them to feel powerless to effect change (section 9.1), pushes them to exert a less effective type of power (section 9.3.3), thus creating a conflict between power, authority and influence (section 9.3), these subject advisers remain committed to their jobs (section 9.4).

They are motivated by the hope that they can, and are able to make positive changes, with evidence from some of their limited but positive interactions with teachers. They commit to teachers and to the profession, because therein lies their hope of making significant impact. The following quote of hope closes the chapter.

> (*Thandi TP) … I love this job not because it is easy, but because I can do it and it is my own contribution to our nation. This is my own Nelson Mandela story, whereby I give my all for the good of others. I want us to get to the point where we write international benchmark tests and do really well. Then the media will finally have something good to say about the system.*

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION, REFLECTIONS AND INSIGHTS

This concluding chapter has three sections. The first section draws conclusions from the data presented and the subsequent analysis of the data and reflects on the significance of the research findings. The second section reflects on the entire process of doing this research, and insights gained on this journey. The last section gives directions for further research and considerations.

10.1 Conclusions from the data presented

The major quest of this study was to better understand subject advisers' work with teachers, using their emotions as a lens. Nussbaum (2001) explains that when emotions arise in people, these are indicative of their evaluation of how an 'object' impacts on the person's flourishing. These 'objects' indicate the people and issues that affect subject advisers flourish, especially in work related matters. Therefore, subject advisers' emotions towards the 'objects' register their vulnerability, dependence, and attachment (Nussbaum, 2019). The findings of this study indicates that the key objects of subject advisers' emotions are the 'Department of Education', 'Teachers', 'Influential Others' and 'Self'.

The conceptual framework of emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour allowed valuable insights into understanding that subject advisers' work in the DoE is negatively impacted by the overpowering of the monitoring aspects in their role, at the expense of support. The tension between monitoring and support described in section 9.1, is generated by the Department's emphasis on accountability through strict administrative compliance. Analysing the issues that elicit the negative emotions from subject advisers, it became clear that there are many issues that affect subject advisers' ability to do their work efficiently and effectively. It begins with the high numbers of schools and teachers for which subject advisers are responsible. Then poor communication from those higher up in the department's hierarchy negatively affects subject advisers' ability to be efficient, as it leads to time constraints in delivering important information to school and teachers. When teachers receive information too late, it further constrains the opportunities for subject advisers to offer teachers proper support. The powerlessness which subject advisers feel in relation to these

constraining issues, point to a systemic problem that lies beyond the control of subject advisers.

It is this imbalance between their monitoring and support role as a result of the Department's emphasis on compliance, that negatively affects subject advisers' relationship with teachers. It breeds mistrust between subject advisers and teachers and the minimal infrequent interaction between subject advisers and teachers fosters this mistrust and gives rise to a dysfunctional relationship between them. The Department's emphasis on administrative compliance, focuses on ensuring that teachers adhere to policy directives and demands administrative proof of work done in the classrooms. Consequently, this approach prevents subject advisers from supporting teachers in a more informal, i.e. in a more conversational, specific to each teacher, subject knowledge specific way. They feel obliged to focus on making sure that teachers adhere to policy directives, which leaves little time left over for teacher support engagement. That in turn leads to subject advisers being viewed as villains and oppressors by teachers, rather than as leaders and partners in progress who are there to support, inform, and motivate teachers.

The subject advisers in this study, acknowledged the shortcomings related to their lack of proper support for teachers. They attributed the short-comings to the structural constraints of the union-negotiated agreement which prescribes interaction with teacher files and learner books as the primary means of monitoring and supporting teachers. In the light of the constraints on their work, subject advisers hoped to find succour and support from their superiors, but they did not receive the support they desired from them.

By analysing the positive emotions which subject advisers expressed about teachers, it showed that they express hope to mend the relationship with them. These positive emotions illustrate that in spite of the challenges and difficulties in their job and interaction with teachers, they remain committed to the teaching profession. Their desire is to support teachers in a manner that helps teachers improve their practice, as well helps subject advisers themselves meet their personal and organisational goals.

Remarkably, subject advisers are affected by teacher union and school leadership. At the beginning of the study, I had not anticipated that teacher unions and school leadership would be a key object of subject advisers' emotions. It was interesting to see the power dynamics between subject advisers and teachers through the subject advisers' perception of the influence of teacher unions and school leadership. I realised that through the union's push for

teacher agency, teachers have some power over subject advisers. This is due to the unions' push for teachers to exert greater agency in order to combat the impact of the tension brought on by the emphasis on administrative compliance. Yet, subject advisers considered this expression of teacher agency through union influence to be negative to their flourishing, because this impedes on subject advisers' tendency to dwell on less important, but more emphasised administrative matters.

On a personal level, the subject advisers have a strong sense of self as they strive towards fulfilling their moral mandate of improving the education system. Sensing that they are capable of doing good, the subject advisers try to live up to that expectation. Their sense of self, although threatened by the conditions of their work, is also enhanced by the positive affirmations and appreciation received from teachers (even though it happens only occasionally). As Nussbaum (2019) says, "hope often has to begin with a few" (p.225). Subject advisers hold onto this glimmer of hope and aim to serve public good. This hope, even in the face of difficulties, affirms Nussbaum's (2019)'s position that "if hope focuses on reasonably concrete pictures of the just society, which one is prepared to defend with good arguments against alternative pictures, it is easier to advocate wisely for measures calculated to bring that goal about" (p.240).

Importantly, seen through the lens of their emotions, I could see that subject advisers have different emotional rules that govern their work. In Chapter 8, the emotional rules are as follows:

- "I have to do all aspects of my jobs. It is very important to do it all."
- "Subject advisers and teachers must follow all the rules they are given."
- "A subordinate is more dependent on the superior than vice versa, thus subject advisers must be honoured and respected by teachers."
- "Subject advisers must be honoured and respected by teachers."
- "Subject advisers need to develop a good relationship with teachers', in order to do their work."
- "We are here to support teachers to do their jobs effectively."
- "Subject advisers must be specialists and knowledgeable in their job."

These emotional rules govern subject advisers to do their job. So when subject advisers feel they are unable to abide by these rules due to structural constraints or misunderstanding with

teachers, they perform emotional labour. Subject adviser's emotional labours as described in Chapter 8 points to areas that need improvement.

After analysing the emotional rules and labour present in subject advisers' work in Chapter 8, it is possible to observe the dynamic between subject advisers and teachers, as well as between subject advisers and the department. My understanding is that because subject advisers bear the brunt of teachers' frustrations towards the Department, they are burdened by their position as the intermediary between the Department on the one hand, and teachers on the other hand. The study reveals how emotional support could give rise to positive emotional labour while administrative support often gives rise to negative emotional labour. This is because emotional support focuses on the person and their needs, while administrative support focuses on the process and compliance.

In the light of the emergent issues in this study, I have come to an understanding that policy directive indicates that the roles and functions of a district office have one principal purpose of helping all education institutions to deliver education of high quality. This suggests that, while districts ought to ensure that schools comply with policy, they must at once offer adequate teacher support so that the schools and teachers are able to deliver high quality education. This is a complex reality for the districts because schools may require a lot of support, while districts are also required to hold schools to account. Districts thus need to strike a balance between demanding compliance and giving support. This introduces a dilemma where officials are given a double responsibility that requires them to support teachers, yet also required to make sure that teachers comply with policy. The distinction between monitoring and support is therein blurred. This study shows that subject advisers struggle to successfully perform both roles due to the blurring of a delineation of where monitoring ends, and support begins.

10.2 Reflection and insights gained

This study began with the aim to understand subject advisers' perspective on their interaction and relationship with teachers. Using emotions as a methodological lens made visible, subject advisers' own perspective on the nature of their work. Therefore, this study adds on to the existing body of knowledge in emotions research especially in education, specifically the relatively under researched area of subject advisers' emotions in relation to their work. This study was able to uncover previously unnoticed aspects of the conflictual relationship subject advisers have with teachers, such as the emotional rules that govern subject advisers, and the

emotional labour they perform in order to do their work productively. This information is important, given that comparable studies about subject advisers did not focus on the emotions involved in their work. As such, this study provided much needed empirical data on the emotions involved in subject advisers work with teachers (Chapters four –seven). The emotions revealed the important objects in subject advisers' work – the Department of Education, Teachers, Influential others (teacher unions and school leaders) and Self. Through the range of emotions expressed, I was also able to see that the positive interactions with teachers generates a hope and sustenance for subject advisers, and negative interactions with teachers frustrates the subject advisers, and breeds mistrust with teachers. This results in a dual insight that may have otherwise been missed had I not used emotions as a lens.

Using the conceptual frame of emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour helped elucidate that subject advisers' emotions are directed at and aroused by the DoE, Teachers, Influential others and Self. Their strongly expressed emotions aroused by these objects indicated subject advisers value judgement regarding how these objects impact their work and flourishing and consequently shape their motivation and behaviour. While excavating the emotional rules that govern subject adviser, and the emotional labour they performed, it was easier to see how subject advisers perform emotional labour in many aspects of their work, such as in being administratively complaint; dealing with teachers; implementing policy with teachers; supporting teachers; authority relations; dealing with union influence over teachers and also in dealing with their own emotions.

Insights gained are that subject advisers and teachers share similar struggles in relation to their jobs. Like teachers with too many learners in a class, the subject advisers are allocated too many schools and teachers to support. For subject advisers working under tight time constraints, their visits to teachers become administrative, rather than supportive. They feel constrained by performance assessments based on the quantity rather than on the quality of their interaction with teachers (see section 5.2.3.1). They are burdened by some of the failures of the system, as they are the face of the Department to teachers. They feel unheard and unsupported by their superiors. And importantly, the focus on the administrative rather than on the support aspect of their work complicates their relationship with teachers. These struggles give rise to the tensions and dysfunctionality that exists between subject advisers and teachers.

Notably, the relationship between subject advisers and teachers is complicated, but there is hope to build trust and mend the relationship, if teacher support is given the prominence it deserves. Possible mitigation strategies for some of the challenges that subject advisers encounter, is to encourage more emotional support-based interactions between subject advisers and teachers in a space where teachers can freely meet with subject advisers and have one on one interactions and consultations. In some cases, role playing activities may allow for both subject advisers and teachers to better understand each other's roles and the challenges that come with the roles. This may allow both subject advisers and teachers to be more understanding of each other, while developing better working relationship and practices. For instance, subject advisers can be stationed at the teacher development centres so that teachers can easily access subject advisers, being that subject advisers are to help develop teachers. By this, teachers do not have to wait for subject advisers to come to schools or PLC meetings before they can utilize their services. This approach opens up possibilities for better teacher support and interaction with subject advisers, so that teacher concerns can be better addressed. Teachers' concerns need to be heard and addressed by the subject advisers where possible. In doing so, the negative perceptions teachers have of subject advisers may be dispelled, and trust can be built.

Additionally, even though subject advisers are in leadership position, they too need support and further training to fully understand their roles so that they can contribute more meaningfully to teachers, and the education system as a whole. Trainings prior to taking on the role of subject adviser, as well as yearly trainings are necessary for subject advisers to develop and share best practices that further enhance their work. Subject advisers need to be trained in leadership approaches - so as to facilitate changes in the top-down mentality that exists. Consistent training in effective communication strategies can aid in improving communication issues that besets the subject adviser-teacher interaction.

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are limitations of this study, from a methodological standpoint, as a research process which uses emotions as lens through which to observe the situation may produce unevenness of data, as participants often need to establish trust with the researcher, if they are to be free and openly honest about their emotions. There may be instances where some participants are more emotionally expressive than others. This may be because of gender, personality, or even timing.

Emotions in the workplace require consideration and discussion. As emotional beings, work and emotions have a synergy that yields insight. Therefore, it is important to dispel the belief that being emotional or talking about ones' emotions in relation to work is unprofessional. The use of emotions as a methodological lens must be encouraged.

10.3 Directions for further research

For further research, it may be worth using the same conceptual frame, but varying the sample to include more subject advisers and also collect data over a longer period, as this may allow the researcher see how the emotions develop or vary over time. Other possible areas for future research will be to investigate what strategies can best promote and sustain the relationship between subject advisers and teachers. A qualitative study with a group of teachers and the subject advisers they work with may help provide further insight into the dynamic between subject advisers and teachers and how to reframe issues of monitoring and support in developmental ways. Further research could shed light on the dynamics of knowledge circulation, sharing, and exchange among subject advisers and the teachers by asking what sort of support infrastructure they need, both individually and as a group, to support the knowledge sharing between subject advisers and teachers.

Narrating the perspectives of subject advisers may allow policy makers, trainers and consultants and others, to design initiatives, tools, and activities that will help subject advisers improve their practice. For instance, developers of policy documents could take note that the emphasis on administrative proof of work is time consuming for teachers and subject advisers alike. It takes away for the intended support initiative and breeds negative vibes between subject advisers and teachers. Additionally, if policy is more focused on the quality of subject adviser and teacher interaction rather than the quantity of teacher files and learner books subject advisers assess, the pressure to be administratively compliant will be minimised, or even eliminated. The basic checklist approach to support should be abandoned for a more reflective and conversational approach to the subject adviser-teacher support process.

In conclusion, this study has contributed to my development as a person and as a researcher. I have become more sensitive to the emotions of others. As a researcher, I better understand how emotions can be a powerful motivating force. Although emotions do not receive the significant attention in the work place, emotions are nevertheless important in every aspect of our lives. I am now more aware of the power of emotions thanks to Frijda, Nussbaum, Turner, Hargreaves, Palmer and Steinberg.

I have always believed that there are two sides to every story. In the story of subject advisers and teachers' relationship, I can say that I now know both sides of the story, having previously researched teacher emotions, and this time, focused on subject advisers' emotions. Subject advisers and teachers need to be in a reciprocal, supportive relationship, committing themselves to cultivating open, trusting, and affirming relationships if they are to succeed. So in line with Nussbaum (2018), I have confidence that hope and committed action are difficult in solitude, therefore subject advisers and teachers must band together for a hope building and a hope sustaining community.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Letter to District Office

Chioma Nwachukwu,

University of the Witwatersrand,

Student number: 393066

16 October 2017.

The Circuit Manager

……District

Dear Sir/Madam,

Request for permission to interview Subject Advisers,

My name is Chioma Nwachukwu, a Doctoral Student at the Wits School of Education. I am conducting research titled ***"Investigating the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers"***. If given permission, I would like to interview subject advisers. The aim of the research is to investigate what subject advisers feel about their work, so that the ways in which their work (leading) is an emotional practice can be better understood. The study will thus be asking questions about how subject adviser think and feel about various aspects of their work with teachers- their roles and job description, what emotions they experience, how they cope or deal with these emotions.

The discussion will be audiotaped, and the content of the discussions will be treated as confidential. I will assign pseudonyms to each official so that they their true identity will not be revealed. The research will be published as a PhD thesis, conference proceedings, journal articles and for other academic purposes.

The questions for discussion are attached. The questions enquire about their feelings in relation to various aspects of their work. Often, we tend not to talk about how we feel especially in the workplace so this research is using feelings/ emotions as a lens for gaining insight into subject advisers' work. The study is underpinned by philosopher Nussbaum's (2001) theory of emotions, which defines emotions as a cognitive and evaluative feeling towards something. Emotions are important elements of us as humans and as such alert us to things or events we consider important and valuable in our lives. Thus, emotions should not be ignored when we are trying to understand or deal with a problem. In this research, my aim is to understand from the perspective of subject advisers, their relationship with teachers.

I sincerely hope that the above-mentioned categories of subject advisers in your circuit will be willing to participate in this study.

Attached are the other documents that provide more details of the study, including research approval letter from the Gauteng Department of Education and approval letter from the Wits ethics clearance committee. Thank you for your kind consideration.

Yours' Sincerely

Chioma Nwachukwu

0832227372

rite2chi@yahoo.com

Appendix B:

Letter to volunteers for focus group discussion

Dear ……

I am inviting you to participate in my PhD research study, entitled: 'Investigating the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers'. The aim of the research is to investigate what subject advisers think and feel about their work especially with teachers, so that the ways in which your work as leaders is an emotional practice can be understood. The study will be asking questions about how you as subject advisers think and feel about the various aspects of your work with teachers - your roles and job descriptions, what emotions you experience, and how you deal or cope with these emotions. I am hoping that you will enjoy spending an hour or so reflecting on what gives you pleasure (or frustration) in your job.

Focus groups will meet at a time and venue that is jointly negotiated and convenient. I approximate that the discussions will last for about 2 ½ hours. The discussions will be audiotaped. I will not use your name in the research study. I will only use pseudonyms, and only I will know which pseudonym is allocated to which person. I would be grateful if you did not tell any outsider who the other participants in your focus group were, so as to ensure that the identities of everyone in the focus group remain anonymous, i.e. to ensure that confidentiality is maintained. You can tell outsiders anything that you might have learned about yourself during the interview, but please do not talk about what others said.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and choosing not to participate will have no consequences whatsoever. Should you choose to participate and then change your mind, you may withdraw from the study at any time. You have a right not to answer any question that is asked.

The research is for academic purposes, so I will write a PhD report, present at conferences and publish academic articles. The data collected will not be used for any other purposes. Confidentiality and anonymity will be guaranteed - the names of participants or their districts will not be used in the writing of the research report.

Any information gathered will be kept private and confidential and will be destroyed within 5 years upon completion of the project.

The questions for discussion at the focus group are attached, so you can reflect on what you want to say. If there are any questions you would prefer not to answer, you are welcome not to. This focus group is an exploration of how you feel about different aspects of your work; it is not intended to judge you in anyway. The questions are meant as a probe for your ideas. So please feel free to not answer questions, to voice your difficulty with any of the questions, or to comment on areas that are not covered by the questions.

When you participate in the focus group discussion, please will you fill in and bring the three attached forms. The first form asks for your consent to me using your opinions and ideas for my research. The second form asks for your consent to audiotape the discussion. The third form requests some basic biographical information about you. There is no financial benefit to you for participating in this research. But I hope that reflecting on, listening to other colleagues and talking about your emotions around your work; you may better understand the extent to which your work is an emotional practice and some of the issues that you find valuable to your flourishing.

Yours sincerely,

Chioma Nwachukwu

0832227372

rite2chi@yahoo.com

Appendix C

PARTICIPANT'S INFORMATION SHEET (Individual interview)

I am Chioma Nwachukwu, a Doctoral student at the University of Witwatersrand, doing research into emotions in education. My study is entitled: **Investigating the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers.**

I am interested in subject advisers who are working with teachers, especially officials responsible for monitoring and supporting teachers to implement policies. The study aims at understanding what issues subject advisers' emotions are directed at as they carry out their work. The data collection for this research is scheduled for February and March 2018.

The research methods involve individual and focus group interviews during which I will be asking you and other participants, questions about how you experience your work as a subject adviser, i.e. how you think and feel about it.

You are kindly invited to participate in this study. I am hoping that you will find it interesting to spend an hour or so reflecting on what gives you pleasure (or frustration) in your job. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and choosing not to participate will have no consequences whatsoever. Should you choose to participate and then change your mind, you may withdraw from the study at any time. You have a right not to answer any question that is asked.

I will not use your name in the research study. I will only use pseudonyms, and only I will know which pseudonym is allocated to which person. I would be grateful if you did not tell any outsider who the other participants in your focus group were, so as to ensure that the identities of everyone in the focus group remain anonymous, i.e., to ensure that confidentiality is maintained. You can tell outsiders anything that you might have learned about yourself during the interview, but please do not talk about what others said.

The research is for academic purposes, so I will write a PhD report, present at conferences and publish academic articles. The data collected will not be used for any other purposes. Confidentiality and anonymity will be guaranteed - the names of participants or their districts will not be used in the writing of the research report.

Any information gathered will be kept private and confidential and will be destroyed within 5 years upon completion of the project.

Thank you in advance.

Yours truly,

_____

Chioma Nwachukwu

0832227372

rite2chi@yahoo.com

Appendix D

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT FORM

I am Chioma Nwachukwu, a Doctoral student at the University of Witwatersrand. I am doing research on emotions in education titled: **"Investigating the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers".** Where I am seeking to understand what issues subject advisers' emotions are directed at as they carry out their work with teachers.

I kindly request your participation in this study. This study is for academic purposes only.

This letter serves to inform you that participation in this research is voluntary and that you have agreed to the following:

I have received, read and understood the information sheet regarding this study and I am aware that all the information I give will be processed anonymously in this study and its final report.

I understand and agree that the data collected for this study can be processed by the student and destroyed once the study is completed and passed.

I may at any stage without prejudice withdraw my consent and participation from this study and have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and declare that I am participating voluntarily in this study.

If you agree to participate in this study, please sign on the space below

PARTICIPANT'S (Initials only)

SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: _____

RESEARCHER'S

SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: _____

Thank you,

Chioma Nwachukwu

Appendix E

Participant's Consent Form for audio-taping

Please could you kindly fill and return the reply slip below and indicate your willingness to have your interview audiotaped for my PHD research project: **Investigating the emotional dimension of subject advisers' work with teachers.**

The reason for audio-taping the interviews is to ensure that your exact words, ideas, comments and conceptions are clearly captured so that I can capture your exact words and be better able to interpret, quote and understand you.

Permission to be audio taped

I

_____

__ give my consent to have the interview recorded.

- I know that I may withdraw from the study at any time and will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way.
- I know that I can stop the audiotaping of the interview at any time without repercussions.
- I know that the tapes will be destroyed within 5 years after completion of the project and will be kept safe until then.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Thank You.

Chioma Nwachukwu
rite2chi@yahoo.com
0832227372

Appendix F

Participant profile information

1.Name_____

2. Male or Female _____

3. For how many years have you been serving as a subject adviser?

_____

4. Were you a teacher before you became a subject adviser? If yes, what subject and grade did you teach and for how long?

_____

5. What is your current job title?

_____

6. What are your most important responsibilities?

_____

_____

_____

_

7. How many schools and teachers do you work with?

_____

_____

8. What training have you received in preparation for/ while you have been a subject adviser?

_____

_____

_____

9. What resources are available for you to carry out your duties?

_____

_____

_____

Appendix G

Interview schedule

You as a subject adviser

Let me start off by asking you how you understand yourself as a subject adviser

- What are your duties as a subject adviser?
- How many teachers are you responsible for?
- How often do you see each teacher in a year?
- What kinds of issues come up in your conversations / meetings with teachers?
- What parts of your job do you enjoy? Why?
- What parts of your job do you not enjoy? Why?
- What motivated (why and how) you to become a subject adviser?
- What makes your job as district official worthwhile?
- What kinds of decisions do you need to / are you able to make about teachers?
- Can you tell the story of a time when decisions you made worked particularly well and or of a time when decisions you made didn't work out the way you wanted them to?

Roles and Job description

- When you were a teacher, did you work with subject advisers? If yes, how did you feel about them?
- How do you think teachers are seeing you now?
- What do you think is the value that you add to teachers?
- Can you describe to me what is it about school visits that you particularly enjoy and/or you find difficult?
- What is the best/worst thing about your job?
- What aspect of your job do you consider to be the most/least important?

What aspect of your job do you spend the most time on?

- What do you think are the important aspects of teachers' jobs as prescribed by policy that teachers should comply?

I read in the policy, that you have 4 main roles

- ***Planning: to collect and analyse school, circuit and district data***
- ***Support: assisting school principals, teachers and educators to improve quality of teaching and learning.***
- ***Oversight & accountability: hold principals accountable for their school performance***
- ***Public engagement: informing and consulting the public in an open and transparent manner.***

- Which of these roles do you like the best / like the least?
- What you do when you visit a school to support teachers and educators?
- How do you recognize when a teacher does good work?
- What makes you pleased about supporting teachers? When does it become difficult for you?
- How do you get teachers to comply with policy?

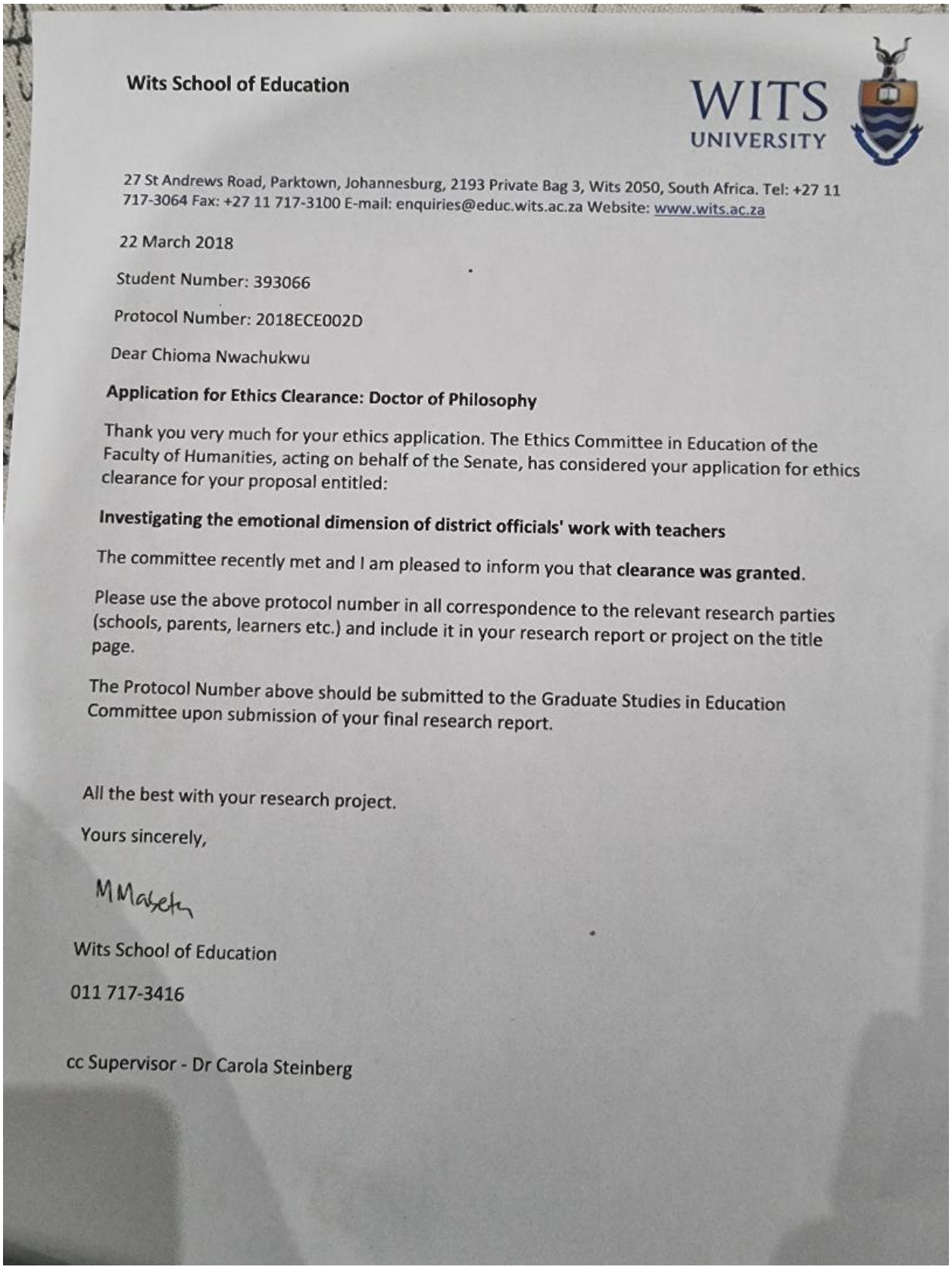
Dealing with Emotions

- Do you encounter resistance with teachers? If yes, how?
- What kinds of interactions with teachers make you feel good or bad? And which do you have more often? The good or the bad?
- When you interact with teachers, what sort of emotions do you experience? What is it that makes you feel that way?
- How do you deal with these emotions – the good and the bad – that you experience in your job?
- Can you tell me about a time when you think you managed to deal with your negative emotions in a productive way?
- Can you tell me about a time when you no longer wanted your job as a subject adviser? What happened?
- What sort of emotions do you think the teachers feel when you interact with them?
- Outside of school visits, what other difficulties you experience in your work? And how do you feel about them?

Ending the interview

- Is there anything else you would like to share with me regarding your work as a subject adviser?
- Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Appendix H



Wits School of Education

WITS UNIVERSITY

27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193 Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa. Tel: +27 11 717-3064 Fax: +27 11 717-3100 E-mail: enquiries@educ.wits.ac.za Website: www.wits.ac.za

22 March 2018

Student Number: 393066

Protocol Number: 2018ECE002D

Dear Chioma Nwachukwu

Application for Ethics Clearance: Doctor of Philosophy

Thank you very much for your ethics application. The Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate, has considered your application for ethics clearance for your proposal entitled:

Investigating the emotional dimension of district officials' work with teachers

The committee recently met and I am pleased to inform you that **clearance was granted**.

Please use the above protocol number in all correspondence to the relevant research parties (schools, parents, learners etc.) and include it in your research report or project on the title page.

The Protocol Number above should be submitted to the Graduate Studies in Education Committee upon submission of your final research report.

All the best with your research project.

Yours sincerely,

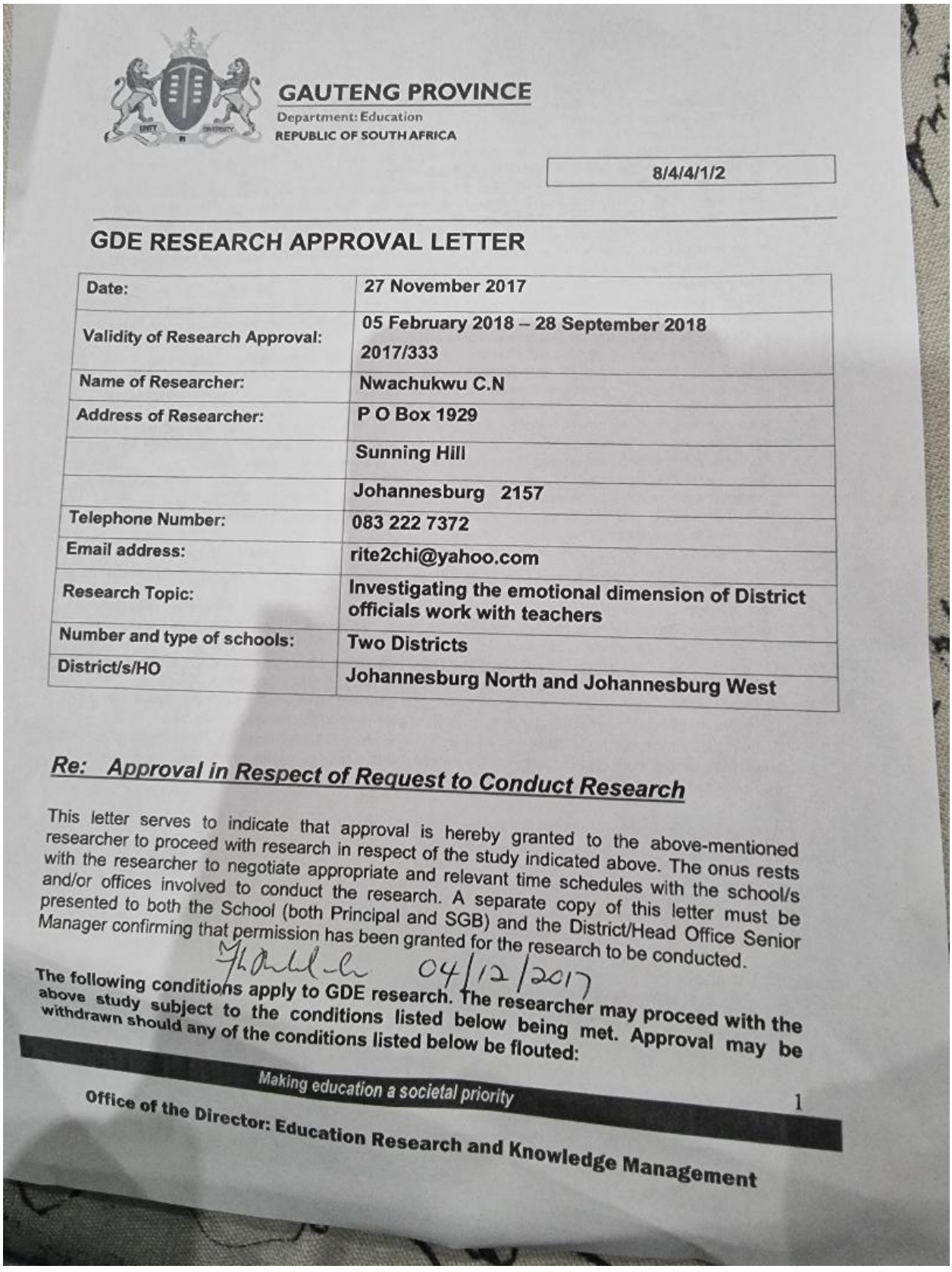
M Mabeta

Wits School of Education

011 717-3416

cc Supervisor - Dr Carola Steinberg

Appendix I



GAUTENG PROVINCE
Department: Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

8/4/4/1/2

GDE RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	27 November 2017
Validity of Research Approval:	05 February 2018 – 28 September 2018 2017/333
Name of Researcher:	Nwachukwu C.N
Address of Researcher:	P O Box 1929
	Sunning Hill
	Johannesburg 2157
Telephone Number:	083 222 7372
Email address:	rite2chi@yahoo.com
Research Topic:	Investigating the emotional dimension of District officials work with teachers
Number and type of schools:	Two Districts
District/s/HO	Johannesburg North and Johannesburg West

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved to conduct the research. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to both the School (both Principal and SGB) and the District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted.

04/12/2017

The following conditions apply to GDE research. The researcher may proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met. Approval may be withdrawn should any of the conditions listed below be flouted: